

Embracing Participatory Democracy: An Evaluative Model to Support Modern, Open, Accountable Governance in The Bahamas

by

David Jonathan Allens

A dissertation submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Laws (LL.M) in Drafting Legislation, Regulation and Policy
Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (IALS), School of Advanced Studies,
University of London
SASREC_2425-1653-LLM

Embracing Participatory Democracy: An Evaluative Model to Support Modern, Open, Accountable Governance in The Bahamas

David Jonathan Allens

Master of Laws (LL.M) in Drafting Legislation, Regulation and Policy

Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (IALS), School of Advanced Studies
University of London

2026

Abstract

In an era characterised by ongoing, deepening, and intersecting crises that threaten the self-determination of peoples worldwide, engagement with the concepts of community-driven development and participatory governance in legal theory and legislative outcomes becomes increasingly urgent and significant. In the face of various factors that often lead to democratic dysfunction, public policy practitioners and technocratic civil service staff can foster the development of vibrant and free societies by promoting active and constructive participation of people in all facets of governance through evolutionary solutions that effectively embed democratic rights, principles, and delegations into critical policy-making processes. This research advocates for a deliberate restructuring of policy advisory systems to promote active citizenship and community-engaged learning, thereby facilitating the development of technocratic policy approaches that are rooted in and responsive to the needs of local communities. These participatory-policy advisory systems (P-PAS) aim to recognise communities and technocrats as equal subject-matter experts and knowledge holders. A composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices is proposed for this P-PAS. These practices, skills and procedures are leveraged to produce an Evaluative Model comprising our Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC) and a Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM). Through this, it seeks to form a conceptual successor to national strategic objectives of The Bahamas by theorising adaptations to regional and international best practices in alignment with approved public policy directives.

Acknowledgments

I would like to first thank my supervisory committee, consisting of Dr Constantin Stefanou and Dr Maria Mousmouti of the Sir William Dale Centre for Legislative Studies, for their invaluable feedback, knowledge, and expertise in the field of legisprudence. My most profound appreciation also goes to my colleagues in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas, particularly Mr Eugene Poitier, then Permanent Secretary and now Deputy Chief of Mission at The Bahamas Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, who provided the Ministry's recommendation for the programme as a way to enhance further my knowledge, skills, and abilities in support of the Government of The Bahamas. Likewise, I wish to acknowledge the current leadership of the Ministry, H.E. Jerusa Ali, Director General, and the Hon. Fredrick Mitchell MP, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as my colleagues and supervisors at the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat, including Ms Elizabeth Solomon, Assistant Secretary General for Foreign and Community Relations, and Ms Angella Prendergast, Director of Foreign and Community Relations, for their unwavering support for my academic and professional development. Thanks also extend to all those who have served as a valuable sounding board for many of the conceptualisations outlined in this work, as well as for their years of support and assistance in better contextualising the complex public policy landscape of The Bahamas.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction to a Theoretical and Critically Engaged Approach to Policy Advisory in The Bahamas.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Methodology.....	4
1.3 Historical and Political Context of Vision 2040.....	7
1.4 Scope of Conceptual Research.....	9
Chapter 2 Theorising Governance Reform: Supporting the Implementation of a Participatory Policy Advisory System.....	13
2.1 Policy Advisory and Participatory Governance.....	17
2.2 Supporting Societal Change.....	20
Chapter 3 The Spirograph of Reform: Introducing an Iterative Process Improvement Cycle.	26
3.1 Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC).....	26
3.2 Institutionalised Participatory Governance and Community Centred Analysis.....	32
Chapter 4 Supporting Participatory Governance: Leveraging Community-Engaged Approaches to Policy Advisory.....	35
4.1 Evidence-Based Policy Creation.....	42
4.2 Projectised Policy Delivery.....	45
Chapter 5 Conclusion: A Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM).....	49
5.1 Ensuring a Social Change Focus.....	51
Bibliography.....	58

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1 Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC)</i>	30
<i>Figure 2 Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM)</i>	50

Chapter 1

Introduction to a Theoretical and Critically Engaged Approach to Policy Advisory in The Bahamas

1.1 Introduction

In a period marked by ongoing, deepening, and intersecting crises that threaten the self-determination of peoples worldwide, engagement with the concepts of community-driven development and participatory governance in legal theory and legislative outcomes becomes increasingly urgent. In the face of various factors that often lead to democratic dysfunction, public policy practitioners and technocratic civil service staff can foster the development of vibrant and free societies by promoting active and constructive participation of people in all facets of governance. Evolutionary innovations in approaches to governance may guide systems towards the meaningful entrenchment of democratic rights, principles, and delegations into critical policy ideation procedures. Building active citizenship through community-engaged learning, developing civil society through empowerment, and connecting with storytellers and artists—viewing democracy as a creative practice—is argued to play a pivotal role in designing, implementing, and overseeing this dissertation’s conceptual and critically engaged proposal to bolster legislative capacity in the cross-cutting themes of democratic social change.

In many post-colonial settings, remnants of colonial governance continue to maintain narrow channels of influence in essential decision-making processes, where the law regulates access to land, education, citizenship, and collective life. However, laws also depend on communities to take shape—as interpreters, resisters, reformers, or co-creators. Globally, the entrenchment of unequal power relations in liberal democracies often results in the public having less influence over decision-making. Some communities create and enforce their laws or orders, while others are persistently denied legal recognition. Laws can be used to foster connection or to enforce exclusion. Those that encourage the detachment of communities from socially determined

methods of support, development, and thriving often lead to feelings of anomie or the more frequent use of alternative pathways of influence, such as patron-clientelism.¹

This research asks: What does it mean to develop policy advice towards legislative proposals and regulatory outcomes that actively leverage community knowledge? For the Caribbean, efforts to achieve this objective are compounded by the historical and political effects of colonisation, neoliberalism, and neocolonialism, which have shaped many of the power structures that persist today, limiting the ability to collectively define community needs and dynamics. Notably, many Caribbean nations function without a robust system of municipalities or local governments, relying instead on a centralised administrative process.² This stymies the benefits of community-based ideation and the pathways through which they may be gleaned. Communities, however, come into being through relationships, requiring active decision-making pathways for their co-creation and growth. Consequently, the law must be viewed not only as a system of rules or governance, but also through its connections to and within communities.

In The Bahamas, the development of *Vision 2040: The National Development Plan of The Bahamas* sought in part to mitigate the challenges that have arisen from this policy environment by implementing a strategic approach for the design and development of a “comprehensive policy framework that will guide Government decision-making”³ in areas that include community development and participatory governance. Guided by broad consultative engagement, interdisciplinary research, and extensive analysis, the national development plan has delineated goals, strategies, action items, outputs, and outcomes that aim to address four interrelated policy pillars: “Human Capital, Governance, the Environment and the Economy.”⁴ As such, the fifteen broad-based goals – each supported by strategies and further delineated into actionable items –

¹ Wouter Veenendaal and Jack Corbett, ‘Clientelism in Small States: How Smallness Influences Patron–Client Networks in the Caribbean and the Pacific’ (2020) 27 *Democratization* 61.

² Bishnu Ragoonath, ‘Local Governance in the Caribbean’ in Ali Farazmand (ed), *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance* (Springer International Publishing 2018) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20928-9_2987> accessed 11 April 2021.

³ NDP Secretariat, ‘Vision 2040: The National Development Plan of The Bahamas’ (Government of The Bahamas 2017) 2nd Working Draft for Public Consultation 3.

⁴ *ibid* 10.

align with these pillars. Of relevance to this research is the development of capacity under the pillars of Governance and Human Capital; more specifically, this includes Goal 1: Modern Open Accountable Governance and its strategy 1.1 “strengthen internal government decision-making processes to deliver results for the people of The Bahamas” as well as Goal 7: Poverty and Discrimination and its strategy 7.4 “promote policies which encourage participatory governance and community engagement in policy development and service delivery.”⁵

The objective of this dissertation is to present an evaluative model for introducing participatory governance in The Bahamas, as a component of the existing policy advisory systems, to enhance the assemblage of processes within which governments and other actors engage for policy purposes. This evaluative, rather than instructive, model allows us to visualise better how the socio-political processes of law operate in action. This dissertation posits that legislative drafting is a crucial point in the policy analysis, development and implementation process. It adopts the definition of legislative drafters as “two sets of officials intimately connected with the bill-creating process: officials formally trained in drafting techniques, and ministry officials with expertise in the bill’s substantive area.”⁶ This covers the drafting procedures ranging from the defining of policy by political authorities, the formulation of a detailed programme of implementation by technocratic civil servants, and the task of “translating policy into effectively implementable law that, in a country’s unique circumstances, will likely induce desired social, political and economic transformations.”⁷

Drafters possess a unique skill in translating competing requirements into practical, long-term solutions. Consequently, this dissertation aims to contribute to the literature on legisprudence and the socio-political processes involved in law-making that uphold democratic principles, especially those necessary for participatory governance. While public consultation in the drafting process is not a new research area, challenges to democracy emerge within socio-political spheres,

⁵ *ibid* 29.

⁶ Ann Seidman, Robert B Seidman and Nalin Abeyesekere, *Legislative Drafting for Democratic Social Change: A Manual for Drafters* (Kluwer Law International BV 2001) 6.

⁷ *ibid* 5.

demanding an interdisciplinary understanding of law and sociology, approached with reflexivity to account for diverse perspectives. This research advocates for meaningful evaluation of our deliberate restructuring of policy advisory systems to promote active citizenship and community-engaged learning, thereby facilitating the development of technocratic policy approaches that are rooted in and responsive to the needs of local communities. These participatory-policy advisory systems (P-PAS) aim to recognise communities and technocrats as equal subject-matter experts and knowledge holders. They also propose organisational alternatives, acknowledging that "aggregating and brokering community and interest-group aspirations require a different skill set"⁸ than that typically shown in the Westminster administrative tradition. This research suggests that such skills may be developed through the strategic practice of viewing democracy as a creative practice.⁹ Legislative drafters would act as mediators in this balance, bridging communities, local groups, and 'inter-sectoral action units'¹⁰ to foster a culture of democracy alongside their technopolitical counterparts.

1.2 Methodology

Before beginning to conceptualise pathways that enhance a citizen's ability to exercise their right to influence change and collectively define their communities at the national level, this dissertation will use a focused analysis of the historical and political context of *Vision 2040* to establish the scope of the conceptual research presented throughout. It will then introduce a composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices aimed at enabling the efficient and effective development of technocratic policy approaches grounded in and supported by the needs of local communities. These include project management for policy work, active citizenship education, empowered participatory governance, democracy as a creative practice, community-engaged learning practices, and legisprudential skills and procedures to produce a

⁸ Jonathan Craft and John Halligan, *Advising Governments in the Westminster Tradition: Policy Advisory Systems in Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand* (Cambridge University Press 2020) 4 <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/advising-governments-in-the-westminster-tradition/C6738DD54F28E4A9E767FD1747F39473>> accessed 19 April 2022.

⁹ Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024).

¹⁰ Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (Verso 2003) 15.

Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle and a Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management.

The use of document analysis as a methodological approach is based on its proven value in the development and critical evaluation of law and public policy, as well as in social science research more broadly. As an approach, it involves the "systematic collection of data" through the analysis of documents that "contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study."¹¹ By leveraging a set of techniques to "categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of [...] written documents" and various other sources,¹² document analysis provides a way to assess the current dynamics of a policy situation and conceptualise viable solutions and development opportunities. While often only leveraged as the principal method in, for example, ethnographic, linguistic, or historical research,¹³ the viability of its usage in a plethora of other social science research specialities is often not adequately explored. Yet it critically supports public law research. This forms part of the "internal studies of the administrative state focus on the internal structures of government and how policy is implemented, locating the role of law within this architecture."¹⁴ In many ways, it operates as an underutilised approach and is especially practical in environments where extensive research has already been conducted, there is a desire to build upon already established goals, and gaining multiple access points may prove unlikely or raise the need for organisational permission for confidential datasets. This is of practical value to research in public law, including legisprudence, as the broader discipline begins to "suggest a future of public law research which takes a more methodologically diverse approach to understanding the relationship between public law and the administrative state in the common law world."¹⁵

¹¹ Monageng Mogalakwe, 'The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research' (2006) 10 *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 221.

¹² *ibid* 222.

¹³ Carol Cardno, 'Policy Document Analysis: A Practical Educational Leadership Tool and a Qualitative Research Method' (2019) 24 *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice* 623.

¹⁴ Paul Daly and Joe Tomlinson, 'Researching Public Law and the Administrative State', *Researching Public Law in Common Law Systems* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023) 105.

¹⁵ *ibid* 106.

When combined with a grounded theory methodology, document analysis enables the development of public policy conceptualisations, as is the case in this dissertation. Grounded theory methods employ a systematic approach to inquiry that allows the construction of new theories from the collected data, in this case, primary source documents, thereby accounting for the scope and drawing conclusions from the data. As such, grounded theory methodology argues that “simultaneous data collection and analysis [helps] researchers to focus on developing concepts about the data steadily and to gather further data that flesh out their nascent concepts.”¹⁶ In this vein, this approach favours theory construction over description, the development of new concepts over applying received theory, and the theorising of processes over assuming stable structures¹⁷. The methodology, therefore, involves constructing hypotheses and theories through the collection and analysis of data. In line with this approach, this research aims to ‘remain curious’ as it builds upon the conceptual foundations laid out in *Vision 2040*.¹⁸

Our grounded theory approach is introduced in Chapter Two, providing preliminary social-theoretical considerations of the work and situating the role of the drafter. Chapter Three continues by introducing the central proposal of the Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle. In support of the work of legislative drafters, it seeks to add to the literature in the areas of jurisprudence and the socio-political processes of law-making that prioritise participatory principles. Chapter Four proposes the institutional form of the procedural adaptations, including the use of democracy as creative practice, empowered participatory governance and projectized policy delivery to ensure its efficiency and effectiveness. Chapter Five concludes by outlining the multi-tiered solution and conceptual framework of the dissertation that serves as a composite proposal in the area of jurisprudence. This proposal aims to explore an adaptation of existing policy advisory systems that enables legislative drafters to incorporate participatory input into their policy analysis, development, and implementation processes, thereby facilitating the formulation of a detailed

¹⁶ Kathy Charmaz and Robert Thornberg, ‘The Pursuit of Quality in Grounded Theory’ (2021) 18 *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 305, 306.

¹⁷ *An Introduction to Grounded Theory* (SAGE Publications Ltd 2017) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Es-PHU52qEE>> accessed 20 August 2022.

¹⁸ NDP Secretariat (n 3).

implementation programme that is likely to produce the desired social, political, and economic changes.

1.3 Historical and Political Context of *Vision 2040*

A document analysis methodology involves systematically collecting and analysing data about a social phenomenon or policy system to find or understand patterns, irregularities, and development opportunities. This similarly requires an in-depth understanding of the context in which the document being analysed was developed. *Vision 2040: the National Development Plan of The Bahamas* was conceived in part as a tool for the enhancement of economic sustainability in The Bahamas. The strategic plan was developed with the initial mandate of “leading the preparation of a long-term National Economic Development Strategy [which] would be prepared with the participation from and validation by the Bahamian” citizenry writ large including consultations with “the private sector and the opposition, to ensure the level of ownership needed to transcend the current administration and serve as a road map for informing public and private investment decisions and policy-making going forward.”¹⁹

The historic national development plan of The Bahamas was noted at the time as the first of its kind in the region.²⁰ The comprehensive consultation process was leveraged to gather feedback and insights from a cross-section of Bahamians, resulting in the unveiling of a first draft of the plan in 2016.²¹ The Plan’s second working draft was published on 15 May 2017.²² Despite a lack of codification, successive administrations have consistently indicated that their policies and objectives were aligned with the plan. In defense of their handling of the National Development

¹⁹ Inter-American Development Bank, ‘BH-T1034: Strengthening Institutional Capacity of the Office of the Prime Minister’ (Inter-American Development Bank 2013) Technical Cooperation Agreement 1–2 <<https://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=EZSHARE-2007539984-448>> accessed 7 August 2022.

²⁰ ‘PM Launches National Development Plan - Video | The Bahamas Investor’ (19 November 2014) <<https://www.thebahamasinvestor.com/2014/pm-launches-national-development-plan-video/>> accessed 24 September 2022.

²¹ University of The Bahamas, ‘Prime Minister the Hon. Philip Davis Foreshadows Completion of National Development Plan’ (*University of The Bahamas*, 18 July 2022) <<https://www.ub.edu.bs/prime-minister-hon-philip-davis-foreshadows-completion-national-development-plan/>> accessed 24 September 2022.

²² NDP Secretariat (n 3) 3.

Plan and its objectives, then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance the Hon. K. Peter Turnquest argued that the NDP “laid out an overall vision for the country in a very bi-partisan way as to where we saw the future and invited governments to decide from among its priorities what would be the priority areas to tackle.”²³ He continued, “if you look at the manifesto this government put forward or [the] speech from the throne one would see that all elements in there are aligned with the NDP. We went through it to ensure we were addressing the needs of the Bahamian people.”²⁴

The incumbent Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Philip Davis, argued in a lecture series on the topic of a National Development Plan for The Bahamas that “without a Plan, governments would [...] have to start every initiative from scratch, obtaining basic data, formulating options, and consulting the public before determining a course of action. Any rigorous planning exercise, done properly and well, helps to ensure success. It does not guarantee it, but without a plan, success is likely to be far more elusive.”²⁵ In this speech, the Prime Minister “foreshadowed” the re-examination and completion of the national development plan which represented the first ever coordinated effort to plan development in the country through a systematic, evidenced-based methodology that leveraged cross-sectional public consultation.²⁶ The Davis Administration, in this vein, reappointed the National Development Plan Committee and convened a discussion forum in August 2024, which had bipartisan support.²⁷ At that event, Minister of Economic Affairs, Senator, the Hon. Michael Halkitis, described the National Development Plan of The Bahamas as

²³ the Hon. K. Peter Turnquest in Natario McKenzie, ‘Government’s Policies Aligned with National Development Plan, Says DPM’ *Eye Witness News* (3 February 2020) <<https://ewnews.com/governments-policies-aligned-with-national-development-plan-says-dpm>> accessed 24 September 2022.

²⁴ the Hon. K. Peter Turnquest in *ibid.*

²⁵ Prime Minister the Hon. Philip Davis in University of The Bahamas (n 21).

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ Natario McKenzie, ‘National Development Plan Gains New Momentum’ (*Eye Witness News*, 19 August 2024) <<https://ewnews.com/national-development-plan-gains-new-momentum/>> accessed 9 July 2025.

a “living document, a breathing roadmap that guides us toward a smarter, faster, and stronger Bahamas.”²⁸

As a part of this continuous re-examination procedure, there is an opportunity to reify the conceptualisations of the National Development Plan, considering global and regional best practices and new insights in the respective areas of developmental praxis. This is the space in which this research seeks to occupy. This research acknowledges that, according to the UN Regional Observatory on Planning and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, ministries, departments, and agencies are still “currently using [the NDP] to guide their work and adjusting it to their responsibilities.”²⁹ This provides a basis for the relevance of the research at the operational level of the public service, which aligns with the support provided at the political level. Similarly, the body of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) notes that “this Plan has been articulated with the [Sustainable Development Goals] SDGs through the [Rapid Integrated Assessments] RIA methodology of [United Nations Development Programme] UNDP, and it shows an 88% of compatibility”³⁰ supporting its long-term viability due to its alignment to broader frameworks.

1.4 Scope of Conceptual Research

In the Caribbean, there is a clear proximity between citizens and political action that is comparable to other regions with small, often tightly knit democracies. This has, by and large, led to the development of societies with strong democratic dispositions, eager for pathways to engagement. It is nonetheless the case that globally, “many public officials [as well as] members of the public are unfamiliar with such methods of collaborative governance practice as mediation and facilitation, process design, authentic public participation, cross-cultural communication, and

²⁸ Youri Kemp, ‘National Development Plan Re-Launched’ *The Nassau Guardian* (19 August 2024) <https://www.thenassauguardian.com/business/national-development-plan-re-launched/article_32ffd3ae-5cd0-11ef-b951-6ff5f1e6362a.html> accessed 9 July 2025.

²⁹ ECLAC Regional Observatory on Planning for Development, ‘Vision 2040, National Development Plan of the Bahamas | Regional Observatory on Planning for Development’ <<https://observatorioplanificacion.cepal.org/en/plans/vision-2040-national-development-plan-bahamas>> accessed 24 September 2022.

³⁰ *ibid.*

reflective dialogue.”³¹ It is a reality that “people are not born knowing how to be citizen co-creators”³² it requires the active reinforcement at various stages of development of a culture of democracy that facilitates “an approach to citizenship in which citizens are co-creators, *builders of the common world, not simply voters and volunteers who fit into that world or protesters who oppose it.*”³³ This may then be provided with institutional pathways for engagement. The latter is the focus of this conceptual work, which proposes that a modern system of open and accountable governance may depend on active citizenship and procedural political agency through participatory policy advisory mechanisms. A limitation of this research is that the realisation of new public policy systems requires comparatively didactical and agile social and organisational development conceptualisations to support the implementation of these change management processes. This dissertation provides a foundation for further work but does not aim to offer a comprehensive approach to the societal change management requirements of the construct.

Instead, this dissertation seeks to add to the literature in the areas of jurisprudence and the socio-political processes of law-making that prioritise democratic principles, particularly those required for participatory governance. It is written for the academic traditions of legislators and legislative drafters, broadly defined. Legislative drafting has emerged as a space for scholarly research and the advancement of practical avenues for strengthening public policy processes through consideration of legislative outcomes and research into the legislative design and conceptualisation processes. Legislative drafters are “highly skilled government lawyers who create the text of primary and, increasingly, secondary legislation,” paying close attention to “legal detail, syntax, sentence construction, coherence, and grammar in a creative process that produces powerful legal documents and social effects.”³⁴ As defined by Seidman, they are also the skilled technocrats with expertise in the bill’s substantive area, tasked with developing a policy

³¹ Booher (2004) in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), ‘Introduction: The Unraveling of Democracy and Reweaving Civic Life’, *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 12.

³² Boyte (2018) in *ibid.*

³³ Boyte (2018) *ibid* 5–6.

³⁴ Emily Grabham, ‘The Crafty Power of Text: Methods for a Sociology of Legislative Drafting’ (2022) 49 *Journal of Law and Society* S1, S2.

programme and theory of change that “will likely induce the desired social, political and economic transformations.”³⁵ Legislative drafting is functionally an act of the administrative state. Taking high-level political direction from the Executive in the form of manifestos, statements, or policy papers, these are formulated by technocrats into legislative instructions that are then acted upon by the Legislative Counsel. There are, of course, iterative technocratic interactions across these systems, underscoring the fluidity of governance.

As noted, the key pillars of relevance from *Vision 2040* to this research are ‘Governance’ and ‘Human Capital.’ Beginning with the former, governance is defined in the NDP as the processes through which governmental decision-making occurs, with more effective governance resulting in fairer processes, stability, “better economies and more developed social capital.”³⁶ Legislative drafters are instrumental in this process. In the context of The Bahamas, there are lower comparative challenges to governance development than in many environments in the Global South. With “a stable parliamentary democracy, [...] robust multi-party electoral system, and high levels of voter participation,” Bahamians demonstrate engagement in public discourse and care about the issues of public life.³⁷ Similarly, the government and civil society in The Bahamas are characterised by peaceful transitions of power, independent courts and media, as well as a high level of overall respect for human rights.³⁸

As such, the goals under the governance pillar seek to outline a framework “for a more open, transparent and accountable government, with improved capacity to plan, coordinate and implement decisions.”³⁹ In line with this pillar, Goal One sets out for The Bahamas to “have a Modern, Open and Accountable, Service Oriented Government that is well-trusted by citizens, residents and the business community, have well-governed institutions and engaged citizens to

³⁵ Seidman, Seidman and Abeyesekere (n 6) 5.

³⁶ NDP Secretariat (n 3) 47.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *ibid.* 48.

strengthen our democracy.”⁴⁰ In the context of this research, this includes the implementation of measures to strengthen participatory governance as well as active citizenship and community-engaged learning methodologies, more broadly acknowledging that “effective modern governance ensures that the voice of citizens is heard and they are engaged in public life.”⁴¹ This acknowledges that for legislative drafting to be effective, there must be a firm embedding in the social context, applying considerations of the proposed policy instruments' structures, efficiencies, and social impacts.

In considering the pillar of ‘Human Capital,’ the National Development Plan acknowledges that it must inherently cover a “broad range of public policy endeavours and national development considerations” and requires “continuous, proactive improvements [that] account for changes in the economy”⁴² in ways that protect Bahamian economic systems from external economic shocks. Of relevance is goal 7 – the reduction of poverty and discrimination. As a broad-based goal, it includes and is not limited to aims such as increased food security, increased access to economic opportunities in low-income communities, “community development initiatives [which] ensure that the voices of those in the grassroots are heard and their ideas included in public policy resulting in safer communities and increased access to economic, social and cultural opportunities for residents,” the strengthening of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society, investment processes that allow for the private sector to provide support for “their adopted community; funding [for example] streetlights, playgrounds and clean-up programmes” as well as stronger social policy programming.⁴³ This research argues that this should include directed investment in active citizenship education and the creative arts, seeing democracy as a creative practice.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

⁴¹ *ibid* 49.

⁴² *ibid* 137.

⁴³ *ibid* 143.

Chapter 2

Theorising Governance Reform: Supporting the Implementation of a Participatory Policy Advisory System

In the law and policy-making process, various elements of democratic legitimacy intersect at key points throughout the socio-political process to ensure that the law remains reflective of the social realities in which it operates. Participatory governance frameworks are positioned to foster this reflexivity. Legislative drafters work in this environment, translating government policy into concise, practical, and logically sound legislative solutions. A "drafters' input and involvement spans most – if not all – of [the stages of the policy processes]"⁴⁴ and as such legislative drafters are constantly tasked with facilitating social, political and economic transformations. In supporting legislators, drafters are empowered as part of "a small handful of people, constitutionally entrusted with [a] nation's legislative power, to carry out the law-jobs essential for transforming the existing institutions."⁴⁵ For this research, legislative drafters are the "two sets of officials intimately connected with the bill-creating process: officials formally trained in drafting techniques, and ministry officials with expertise in the bill's substantive area."⁴⁶ This research asks: What does it mean to develop policy advice towards legislative proposals and regulatory outcomes that actively leverage community knowledge? This continues to be explored, and conversely, we introduce the query: How can drafters be best empowered to integrate community knowledge and participatory policy advice into the typically top-down public policy advisory processes of the Westminster system?

This dissertation defines policy advisory systems as the assemblage of processes through which governments and other actors engage for policy purposes, including policy analysis,

⁴⁴ Constantin Stefanou, 'Comparative Legislative Drafting' (2016) 18 *European Journal of Law Reform* 123, 2.

⁴⁵ Ann Seidman, Robert B Seidman and Nalin Abeysekere, 'Assessing Legislation: A Manual for Legislators' (2003) 1.

⁴⁶ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 6.

development, and implementation. These policy advisory processes must be managed with a critical awareness of the importance of developing and maintaining democratic practices, through procedural frameworks that are enabling environments that will facilitate "the efforts of relevant social actors to develop and use [socio-economic] resources" in more efficient, effective, and desirable ways.⁴⁷ Legislative drafting is, in this way, a vital stage in the policy advisory process. The creation of normative instruments is a necessary step whenever solutions are introduced or revised. Furthermore, drafters possess a unique skill in translating competing requirements into practical, long-term applications. Consequently, this dissertation aims to support the work of legislative drafters. It seeks to contribute to the literature on jurisprudence and the socio-political processes of law-making that prioritise democratic principles, particularly those essential for participatory governance.

It acknowledges that the challenges to democracy that emerge in socio-political spheres require an interdisciplinary understanding of law and sociology, to be considered with reflexivity, recognising the plurality of perspectives involved. As such, this research proposes an evaluative model which may support a jurisdiction's intentional restructuring of policy advisory systems to develop a participatory policy advisory system (P-PAS) around a composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices that seek to enable the efficient and effective development of technocratic policy approaches grounded in and supported by the needs of local communities. Our evaluative, rather than instructive, model relies on project management for policy work, active citizenship education, empowered participatory governance, democracy as a creative practice, community-engaged learning practices, and jurisprudential skills and procedures to produce a Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC) and a Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM). As part of the research methodology, a cross-country analysis of social, political, and legal outcomes, as well as the socio-political contexts of the law in the Caribbean, will not be taken. In narrowing its perspective to The Bahamas, this research serves as a multidisciplinary enterprise, utilising social science paradigms and methods towards an evaluative model which may examine the use, legal

⁴⁷ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45) 13.

empowerment, and regulation of public power in all its forms. In the context of jurisprudence, the public power in question is that surrounding participatory access to the law-making process.

The scope of this conceptual work is informed by the re-examination of The Bahamas' national development plan, *Vision 2040*, which represents the first-ever coordinated effort to plan development in the country through a systematic, evidence-based methodology that leveraged cross-sectional public consultation.⁴⁸ Described as a “living document,”⁴⁹ *Vision 2040* seeks to guide advancement towards more open and accountable decision-making that leverages participatory governance. This work also acknowledges that “aggregating and brokering community and interest-group aspirations require a different skill set”⁵⁰ than typically demonstrated in the Westminster administrative tradition and presents a baseline against which its expanded role may be evaluated. Legislative drafters would act as the arbiters of this balance between communities and their techno-political counterparts.

In the face of various factors that often lead to democratic dysfunction, public policy practitioners and technocratic civil service staff must develop innovations that guide systems towards the meaningful entrenchment of democratic rights, principles, and delegations into critical policy ideation procedures. Actively fostering social cohesion practices is essential for managing multicultural societies within a democratic framework, promoting inclusivity and representation, and strengthening democratic participation and stability. This is ultimately the conceptual space within which this work sits. Evaluations in this space provide us with an opportunity to consider the fault lines in existing practices and how systems may better ensure that, through participatory governance approaches, democratic principles are reflected in the policy and legislative solutions that are created. This research also acknowledges the need for a decolonial system of public policy advisory services that seeks to overcome pre-existing hierarchies of governance, previously intended for the colonial subaltern, which continue to affect the general populace in a largely post-independent Common Law Caribbean. It proposes pragmatic adaptations that leverage the

⁴⁸ University of The Bahamas (n 21).

⁴⁹ Minister Michael Halkitis in Kemp (n 28).

⁵⁰ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 4.

“evolutionary, not revolutionary” constitutional governance traditions of the region, which, by design, have provided for continuity of governance through successor institutions that maintain a similar character to the institutions they replaced.⁵¹ Therefore, our evaluative model for participatory governance, comprised of the PAPIC and CF-SCM, seeks to support our ability to develop methodological solutions. Solutions that are better equipped to address the growing challenge of promoting citizen participation in the face of illiberal practices can balance community-integrated systems to collect, analyse, and collate the national public policy needs of respective communities into comprehensive policy proposals, while maintaining the much-needed ongoing stability that is critical to post-colonial societies.

Under the proposed dispensation, it is intended that policy proposals are supported in their ability to align with both the mandate of a political directorate and the needs of the public. Essentially, two central questions will be considered: What is a viable conceptualisation of participatory policy advisory in the Common-Law Caribbean, considering the constraints of the region’s Westminster tradition? Based on this, what are the ideal support structures needed to make this P-PAS viable? As a proposed solution, it considers Fung and Wright’s empowered participatory governance⁵² as well as Craft and Halligan’s community of policy leaders,⁵³ supported by roles responsible for legislative drafting and policy translation, as an apt space for this change. This would serve as a projectized public policy approach⁵⁴ based on a participatory policy advisory system that complements the existing administrative tradition, thus providing a pathway to the delivery of meaningful, citizen-directed public policy. This work will similarly present a composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices including project management for policy work, active citizenship education, empowered participatory governance, democracy as creative practice, community-engaged learning practices

⁵¹ Jane E Cross, ‘The Vestiges of Colonial Constitutionalism’ in Richard Albert, Derek O’Brien and Se-shauna Wheatle (eds), Jane E Cross, *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Constitutions* (Oxford University Press 2020) 634.

⁵² Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, ‘Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance’ (2001) 29 *Politics & Society* 5; Fung and Wright (n 10).

⁵³ Craft and Halligan (n 8).

⁵⁴ Chivonne Algeo and others, *Developing Government Policy Capability: Policy Work, Project Management, and Knowledge Practices* (Project Management Institute 2017).

and legisprudential skills and procedures to produce a practical reform approach and evaluative model, that is the PAGIC and CF-SCM, which evaluates our delivery of efficient and effective development of technocratic policy approaches grounded in and supported by the needs of local communities.

2.1 Policy Advisory and Participatory Governance

Policy advisory systems are conceptualised "as an assemblage of advisory units and practices that exist at a given time with which governments and other actors engage for policy purposes."⁵⁵ Similarly, participatory governance processes are defined as the institutional arrangements that "facilitate the participation of ordinary citizens in the public policy process," allowing the public to take part in the "deliberation, negotiation, and administrative decision making about public affairs."⁵⁶ Leveraging these definitions, in this research, participatory adaptations of these advisory systems or P-PAS refer to institutionalised structures, including those related to policy analysis, development, and implementation, that facilitate ongoing and integral citizen empowerment and engagement in deliberations over public policy issues. In this way, these systems may enable the broader citizenry to participate equally in the development and analysis of policy-based problems, rather than merely being subjects involved in stakeholder engagement exercises. Considering the proposed solution, integrating improved participatory systems into national policy ideation is valuable. While similar inclusive structures may exist throughout the public sector due to individual administrators' desires, without a centralised framework and coordinated processes for institutionalisation, the potential for participatory governance to enhance policy performance remains limited. This research recognises that "participatory governance is not a panacea that uniformly improves policy performance in all conditions"⁵⁷ however, it argues that even marginal improvements that lead to a paradigm shift in institutional governance—focusing on understanding and addressing the needs of the general populace in policy development—create

⁵⁵ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 4.

⁵⁶ Krister Andersson and Frank van Laerhoven, 'From Local Strongman to Facilitator: Institutional Incentives for Participatory Municipal Governance in Latin America' (2007) 40 *Comparative Political Studies* 1085, 1089.

⁵⁷ Jongkon Lee, 'Designed to Succeed: Participatory Governance, Transaction Cost, and Policy Performance' (2016) 31 *The Korean Journal of Policy Studies* 1, 2.

opportunities for the iterative growth of participatory governance. This work aims to promote such a shift within the Westminster administrative tradition, considering its inherent pragmatism, further contextualised by the evolutionary constitutional governance traditions of the Common Law Caribbean. Any solution (this research contends) that narrows the gap between public needs and the policies devised to meet them is pragmatic and should be implemented in ways compatible with the ability of Westminster practices to manage daily functions efficiently. This approach offers similar efficiency for policies that often require what this research will term as robust systems of 'societal change management.'

Within considerations of participatory decision-making and social democracy more broadly, which advocates for the creation and sustainment of social structures that maintain the equitable distribution of power in society, these proposals are reminiscent of structures like participatory budgeting initially introduced in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1989 and now evident at the municipal level in more than 3,000 examples globally.⁵⁸ This is demonstrative that these systems of social and participatory democracy are not new. As a result, integrations of the conceptual understandings proposed in this dissertation into the levels of policy advisory in the Westminster tradition should not be seen as radical propositions. However, regardless of the notional benefits to Westminster governments presented and the benefits that participatory political engagement yields broadly, it is essential to recognise that the operationalisation of these principles is a 'wicked problem.' Used primarily in policy studies, 'wicked' problems are "complex and intractable," leading to a sense that what is faced is "difficult to comprehend and [seemingly] unresolvable."⁵⁹ In this context, for example, who will participate and how? Which systems ensure that the policies developed remain equitable, efficient and effective?

To address these intersecting questions, this research is situated within theories, frameworks, and knowledge practices that centre people at the core of policy and decision-making, with a proven track record of fostering positive social transformations. This includes the active

⁵⁸ New York City Council, 'About Participatory Budgeting NYC' (*Participatory Budgeting*) <<https://council.nyc.gov/pb/>> accessed 19 April 2022.

⁵⁹ Lynda Shevellar and Peter Westoby, 'Wicked Problems and Community Development: An Introductory Essay', *The Routledge Handbook of Community Development Research* (Routledge Handbooks Online 2018) 4 <<http://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315612829-1>> accessed 17 April 2022.

and constructive participation of individuals in all aspects of governance, the meaningful engagement of policymakers, the building of cross-cutting partnerships, and connecting citizens to play a crucial role in designing, convening, nurturing, and overseeing spaces for positive social change. These efforts aim to amplify advocacy and provide meaningful recommendations. Understanding these structures is vital to assessing how this conceptualisation may prove viable. The necessary connections will be made as this research further delineates the framework.

To provide a basis for the role of a drafter in this evaluative process, this dissertation adapts the four-part role of a legislator⁶⁰ considering the intersecting role of a drafter in the policy process.⁶¹

- A. To facilitate democratic social change, a legislative drafter must ensure that proposed policy solutions are more than inspiring pronouncements. A Drafter is tasked with cogently translating these visions into *effective* normative instruments.
- B. This task requires a drafter to perform a three-part role in supporting law-making: guiding the coherent creation of laws for enactment, "observing the implementation of a complex Bill to identify possible errors or lacunae identified by enforcement agencies and the courts,"⁶² and engaging in ongoing communication with government stakeholders to consider the normative instrument's long-term efficacy. This depends on a drafter's capacity to *assess* a bill in the public interest.
- C. To assess a bill in the public interest requires that a drafter acts in their subsidiary constitutional role as a 'trustee for the public interest' to evaluate a normative instrument based on *reason informed by experience*.⁶³

⁶⁰ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45).

⁶¹ Stefanou (n 44).

⁶² *ibid* 9.

⁶³ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 88.

- D. To do so – and thus to facilitate the effective exercise of legislative power -- a drafter must answer a central question: *Why do people behave as they do in the face of legal rules?*

2.2 Supporting Societal Change

Through a snapshot into a much larger and more nuanced socio-legal perspective, this dissertation is situated within the understanding that the purpose of normative instruments and that of the drafter is to facilitate continuous development, innovation, and good governance. Perspectives that see these as essential roles of the drafting process "[underscore] that at the heart of the development enterprise lies institutional transformation, that is, *behavioural change*" with the law's primary aim being to "induce deliberate change in existing problematic behavioural patterns"⁶⁴ at societal, governmental, and individual levels in support of ensuring peace, order and good governance as well as to embed further the social rights enshrined by and in constitutional or normative provisions.

Understanding this perspective, this research also considers the need for an interdisciplinary paradigm in what may be regarded as societal change management. This necessitates a thorough examination of the most effective methods for promoting social change. To guide such examination, this research is situated within theories, frameworks, and knowledge practices that centre people at the core of policy and decision-making, with a proven track record of fostering positive social transformations. In changes that bring about large-scale improvements in how we express our roles in "more open, transparent and accountable [governance],"⁶⁵ this research argues we benefit from applying creative and cultural practices in deliberate efforts to build democratic ways of working and community interaction.⁶⁶ This acknowledges that "culture, unlike democracy, is self-propelled and self-propagating; it is persistent in ways that democracy

⁶⁴ *ibid* 208.

⁶⁵ NDP Secretariat (n 3) 39.

⁶⁶ Borrup and Zitcer (n 9).

strives to be; it is effusive, in ways that democracy should be; it is practical, as democracy must always be; and it is critical, in ways democracy is too often not.”⁶⁷

These are beneficial perspectives for a policy solution that seeks to achieve the active and constructive participation of individuals in all aspects of governance, the meaningful engagement of policymakers, the building of cross-cutting partnerships, and connecting citizens to play a crucial role in designing, convening, nurturing, and overseeing spaces for positive social change. It is from this perspective which we acknowledge that “culture’s strength and importance to civic life are that it runs through everything,”⁶⁸ including all aspects of policy creation, such as efforts to actively define political direction, promote democratic initiatives, and support clarifying citizens’ social rights to resolve social issues.

These efforts aim to amplify advocacy and hear meaningful recommendations, are enhanced by cultural place-based action and civic processes that promote and sustain “ethical community life [based on] complex forms of association” – or practices.⁶⁹ These ‘practices’ are “specific to a given time and place, derived from traditions, and based on shared narratives”, and through them, communities may actively “pursue democratic, just and inclusive ends.”⁷⁰ These support the advancement of “micro-practices of democracy-in-action,” where, through everyday life, we promote the development of “more people-centred, pluralistic and richly intelligent political cultures in which diverse voices get to be listened to respectfully.”⁷¹

It is ultimately the case that “rarely have just and humane societies come about through a focus on outcomes (or ends) while neglecting the ways of getting there (the means).”⁷² As a result,

⁶⁷ Jeremy Liu and John KC Liu, ‘Introduction to Place-Based Actions: Following the Thread of Place-Based Actions’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 22.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ Borrup and Zitcer (n 9) 10.

⁷⁰ Zitcer (2021) in Borrup and Zitcer (n 31) 10.

⁷¹ Healey (2012) in *ibid.*

⁷² *ibid* 11.

there must be an increased expectation of the technocratic functions of legislating and how these may impact the theory, methodologies, and research underpinning its practice. While "legislation is the domain of the Legislatures,"⁷³ the executive branch is instrumental in developing legislative policy frameworks and drafting normative instruments. In this work, this research argues there is value in considering the viability of various social change practices in building bridges, welcoming participation, and fostering political agency among individuals and groups⁷⁴ in ways that may advance "more open, transparent and accountable government."⁷⁵

Understanding these structures is vital to assessing how this conceptualisation may prove viable, as this suggests a sustained capacity in public service policy advisory, development, and drafting into normative instruments. To provide a basis for the role of a drafter in this process, this work has first provided us with an opportunity to consider the intersecting role of legislative functions⁷⁶ in the policy process.⁷⁷ As we have now identified, to facilitate democratic social change, a legislative drafter must ensure that proposed policy solutions meaningfully translate a strategic vision into *effective* normative instruments, including observing implementation,⁷⁸ considering the normative instrument's long-term efficacy, *assess* a bill in the public interest⁷⁹ and evaluate a normative instrument based on *reason informed by experience*.⁸⁰

While this three-part role broadly dictates what policy creation can mean in practice, there remains room to theorise our ideal ways of working. Methodologies of creative and cultural work

⁷³ NK Nampoothiry, 'The Role of Parliamentary Counsel in Legislative Drafting' (2010) 36 Commonwealth Law Bulletin 57, 58.

⁷⁴ Borrup and Zitcer (n 31) 11.

⁷⁵ NDP Secretariat (n 3) 39.

⁷⁶ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45).

⁷⁷ Stefanou (n 44).

⁷⁸ *ibid* 9.

⁷⁹ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45).

⁸⁰ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 88.

with an inherent focus on “engaging people in stimulating imaginations, building relationships, and learning to work together in communities to define critical social issues, co-create new solutions, build power and mobilise people to action” are vastly underemployed⁸¹ and have the capacity to bolster the design and assessment of legislative solutions in the public interest by supporting evaluative judgements based on ‘reason informed by experience’.⁸² These are valuable tools in the work of “shaping more just and inclusive forms of democracy on the governmental level and in daily life, institutions, and professional practices.”⁸³

Through innovative mediums, “artists and artistic leaders can be creative problem-posers who use the arts as a tool to galvanise communities into collective problem-solvers.”⁸⁴ If participatory processes are to be impactful, they must leverage all facets of democratic empowerment and “practices that are grounded in culture have a particular value in advancing an equitable and just democracy and resilient and regenerative civic life.”⁸⁵ To do so places us in the social realities of national communities and supports a drafter’s ability to answer a central question: *Why do people behave as they do in the face of legal rules?*⁸⁶ Creative practice may guide our consideration of this theme, as it follows the path of culture, shedding light on our relations with the law in respect of our engagement with a system of rules or governance, expressed through its connections to and within communities. Our evaluations of creative practice may reveal the extent to which it is “interwoven with democratic values manifest in community gardens, affordable housing, historic preservation, community organising, economic development, sustainability, politics and policy, and arts such as performance, poetry and film.”⁸⁷ Democracy

⁸¹ Borrup and Zitcer (n 31) 14.

⁸² Seidman, Seidman and Abeyesekere (n 6) 88.

⁸³ Borrup and Zitcer (n 31) 14.

⁸⁴ Ross in (Erenrich & Wergin, 2017, p.260) *ibid* 15.

⁸⁵ Liu and Liu (n 67) 23.

⁸⁶ Seidman, Seidman and Abeyesekere (n 6) 88.

⁸⁷ Liu and Liu (n 67) 21.

happens in these and “all the places where ideas, beliefs, and values are manifested.”⁸⁸ Led by the creative work in communities, “asking probing, challenging questions and leading processes in which people come together to learn and to devise unique solutions for social problems.”⁸⁹

Leveraging these tools helps us to envision post-colonial community life not as a return to historical conceptualisations or "territorial re-appropriations, but as decolonial practices, places and relationships."⁹⁰ Decolonisation has more to do with reimaging opportunities for interconnectedness and meaningful democratic alternatives.⁹¹ Ultimately, “democracy – the value and its practice – requires constant nurturing, widespread participation, regular renewal, visible processes, and meaningful outcomes.”⁹² This research seeks to add to the body of jurisprudential literature in support of these objectives.

As we have noted, policy work has been deemed a 'wicked' problem⁹³ due to a variety of factors including and not limited to "the entanglement of formal and informal activities, immaterial labour and invisible work that sustain the overt activities, the episodic nature of the process, the cascading contexts of activities, and the societal dimension."⁹⁴ For this reason, a similarly robust process for coordinating these intersecting factors is imperative. This dissertation defines policy advisory systems as the assemblage of processes through which governments and other actors engage for policy purposes, including policy analysis, development, and implementation. This dissertation aims to scaffold the approaches outlined in *Vision 2040*, establishing a framework through which participatory-driven ideation can be facilitated. These P-PAS refer to institutionalised structures, including those related to policy analysis, development, and

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Borrup and Zitcer (n 31) 15.

⁹⁰ Craig Fortier, *Unsettling the Commons* (ARP Books 2017) 60 <<https://arpbooks.org/Books/U/Unsettling-the-Commons>> accessed 11 November 2021.

⁹¹ *ibid.* 63.

⁹² Liu and Liu (n 67) 21.

⁹³ Shevellar and Westoby (n 59) 4.

⁹⁴ Algeo and others (n 54) 122.

implementation, that facilitate ongoing and integral citizen empowerment and engagement in deliberations over public policy issues. We will continue to elaborate on the composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices proposed for this P-PAS, aiming to promote the efficient and effective development of technocratic policy approaches grounded in and responsive to the needs of local communities, thereby producing a PAPIC and CF-SCM. Through this, it seeks to form a conceptual successor to national strategic objectives by theorising adaptations to regional and international best practices in alignment with approved public policy directives. It leverages publicly accessible and published public policy and seeks alignment with national developmental goals of a “well-governed [public sector] institution” capable of “[engaging] citizens to strengthen [Bahamian] democracy.”⁹⁵

In narrowing its perspective to The Bahamas, this research serves as a multidisciplinary enterprise, utilising social science paradigms and methods to examine the use, legal empowerment, and regulation of public power in all its forms. In the context of jurisprudence, the public power in question is that surrounding participatory access to the law-making process.

The scope of this conceptual work is informed by the re-examination of The Bahamas' “living document,”⁹⁶ *Vision 2040*, the national development plan, which represents the first-ever coordinated effort to plan development in the country through a systematic, evidence-based methodology that leveraged cross-sectional public consultation.⁹⁷ The proposed participatory-policy reforms aim to ensure that both communities and technocrats are recognised as equal subject-matter experts and knowledge holders, through operational alternatives to our current way of working. This acknowledges that “aggregating and brokering community and interest-group aspirations require a different skill set”⁹⁸ than typically demonstrated in the Westminster administrative tradition. Legislative drafters would act as arbiters in the balance between this evaluative model, mediating between communities and their techno-political counterparts.

⁹⁵ NDP Secretariat (n 3) 48.

⁹⁶ Minister Michael Halkitis in Kemp (n 28).

⁹⁷ University of The Bahamas (n 21).

⁹⁸ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 4.

Chapter 3

The Spirograph of Reform: Introducing an Iterative Process Improvement Cycle

3.1 Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC)

Participatory democracy is understood as a bottom-up solution and requires strong local institutionalisation. Before independence, much of the Commonwealth or Common-Law Caribbean had local government systems. However, over time, national governments "re-evaluated the efficacy of the [pre-existing, colonial] local government systems," resulting in no local governance in Antigua, Grenada, St. Kitts, and St. Vincent, and a central government-appointed council in Barbados and St. Lucia.⁹⁹ While constitutional and elected local government systems exist in the region, their application varies. In The Bahamas, for example, local governments only exist in the 'Family Islands' while New Providence, with 70.1% of the country's population,¹⁰⁰ remains administered by the central government. As with many other countries in the region, this results in a system where the national government retains responsibility for the most populated areas.

For the region, the historico-political effects of colonisation, neoliberalism, and neocolonialism have shaped many of the power structures that persist today, resulting in direct or indirect consequences such as community silos and government-community disconnection. In the broader contemporary Westminster tradition, "the amplification of partisanship and the entrenchment of permanent campaigning have become common factors."¹⁰¹ The functioning "in

⁹⁹ Ragoonath (n 2).

¹⁰⁰ Bahamas Department of Statistics, '2010 Census of Population and Housing' (Government of The Bahamas 2012).

¹⁰¹ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 1.

continuous election mode"¹⁰² is compounded in a regional context by the general lack of adequate local government or participatory systems, both of which lead to increased opportunities for systems of executive patronage, as seen in the Caribbean.¹⁰³

Within this policy environment, it is still the case that "pressures for transparency, disclosure and 'open government' have become mainstays" and in some instances "formal government policies" leading to "paradoxical situations where citizens and policy stakeholders are promised greater consultation and opportunities for participatory engagement but experience dated processes" that remain in favour of established powerful voices due to a lack of adaptive systems.¹⁰⁴ In seeking to develop an adaptive system that achieves the goals of 'open government' and participatory engagement in the policy advisory process, this research recognises that advisory work extends beyond "problem definition and framing for the broader policy world."¹⁰⁵ Still, it is also about making policy happen, rather than merely determining which options are viable.¹⁰⁶ As such, the evaluative model of the PAPIC and CF-SCM presented through this work seeks to guide participatory policy advisory systems from ideation to implementation, considering 'implementation' in the broader sense to include the monitoring and evaluation of policy effectiveness based on community determinants.

In proposing the first part of this evaluative model, it recognises that for many jurisdictions in the region, the issue of effective policy advisory is multi-pronged, noting the need for a cyclical solution. As a methodological basis, this PAPIC will leverage an adaptation of the Seidman Four-Part Problem-Solving Methodology¹⁰⁷ to guide consideration of some of the challenges in developing participatory governance approaches through its application. Our adaptation of the

¹⁰² *ibid* 2.

¹⁰³ Veenendaal and Corbett (n 1).

¹⁰⁴ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 2.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid* 4.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45).

approach begins in *Step One* by providing an evaluative approach to considering the social problems at hand facing communities, this research argues that on an ongoing basis this can be best achieved through the meaningful introduction of participatory governance practices in policy advisory, which is defined in this dissertation as the institutionalised structures, including those related to policy analysis, development, and implementation, that facilitate ongoing and integral citizen empowerment and engagement in deliberations over public policy issues. In line with *Step Two*, which instructs consideration of ways to “alter or eliminate the [explanations] of the relevant social actors’ problematic behaviours,”¹⁰⁸ the use of evidence-based policy creation is advocated to develop grounded and well-considered research into the basis of social problems, thereby facilitating democratic social change. For *Step Three* of the adapted problem-solving methodology, this work underscores the need for the efficient and effective delivery of social change in ways that provide positive outcomes for the communities they serve. It proposes that project management skills for policy work provide the foundation for delivering social change in ways that ensure the considered development of legislative solutions, from initiation through planning, execution, monitoring, evaluation, and closure, across various ways of working.¹⁰⁹ In *Step Four*, this work presents opportunities for ensuring a Social Change Focus as part of a broader alignment to what this research calls societal change management. It is acknowledged that “no [legislative solution] ever works exactly as anticipated,”¹¹⁰ requiring an iterative focus on the social realities of intended behaviour change and testing against broader challenges to ensure a positive impact throughout implementation. Facilitating agency through participatory practices which support formally democratic institutions and procedures is critical to inculcating positive social change and good governance throughout a society’s operating ethos. As such, this research introduces, in its adaptation, *Step Five* of community-centred analysis, in a direct adaptation to the Seidman methodology. This is an extrapolation of aspects of Step Four and its monitoring and evaluation of a new law’s effectiveness. As an added step, it asks us to remain mindful of the ways these systems may enable the broader citizenry to define the impact of social change solutions and drive

¹⁰⁸ *ibid* 68–69.

¹⁰⁹ Algeo and others (n 54); Scott Ambler and Mark Lines, *Choose Your WoW: A Disciplined Agile Delivery Handbook for Optimizing Your Way of Working* (Project Management Institute 2020).

¹¹⁰ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 45) 68–69.

discussions regarding how they can be continuously improved. It considers the inverse of Step Four, which determines whether people and organisations behave as the bill prescribes.¹¹¹ This step assesses whether the bill meets the needs and requirements of those it is intended to benefit. In this way, it conversely facilitates the effective public management of resources and the realisation of human rights with due regard for the rule of law, through the effective inclusion of the public.

As a critical aspect of the conceptualisation presented below, this work acknowledges that broader scholarship argues that policy cycles often provide a “misleadingly simple description of how policy is made,” outlining an ideal that is meant to be contrasted with more realistic accounts.¹¹² In particular, modern theory presents us with “something akin to a spirograph of many interacting cycles and portrays multi-directional arrows linking each stage” that denotes a more complex reality of policy creation.¹¹³ This research reflects this reality through interconnected stages with shared interdependencies and predecessors, offering a way to engage with the ‘bounded rationality’ of policy work, providing a heuristic to help us “consider how policy is made in the real world” and assess its limitations against an artificial standard that encourages us to think about what truly happens and how policymakers and other technocratic actors should adapt.¹¹⁴ Moreover, it underscores that in practice, there are critical intersections across policy creation, advisory and legislative drafting processes that often lead to “drafting sub-processes [to] take place in no predetermined or well-defined order.”¹¹⁵ Instead, conceptualisation and drafting processes intertwine, “[amid] research there springs to mind an idea for a bill, drafting the bill inspires a new thrust for the research report, writing the report sparks a new line of research.”¹¹⁶ The proposed interdependent process improvement cycle adheres to these norms.

¹¹¹ *ibid* 69.

¹¹² Paul Cairney, *The Politics of Evidence-Based Policy Making* (Palgrave Pivot 2016) 17.

¹¹³ *ibid*.

¹¹⁴ *ibid*.

¹¹⁵ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 207.

¹¹⁶ *ibid*.

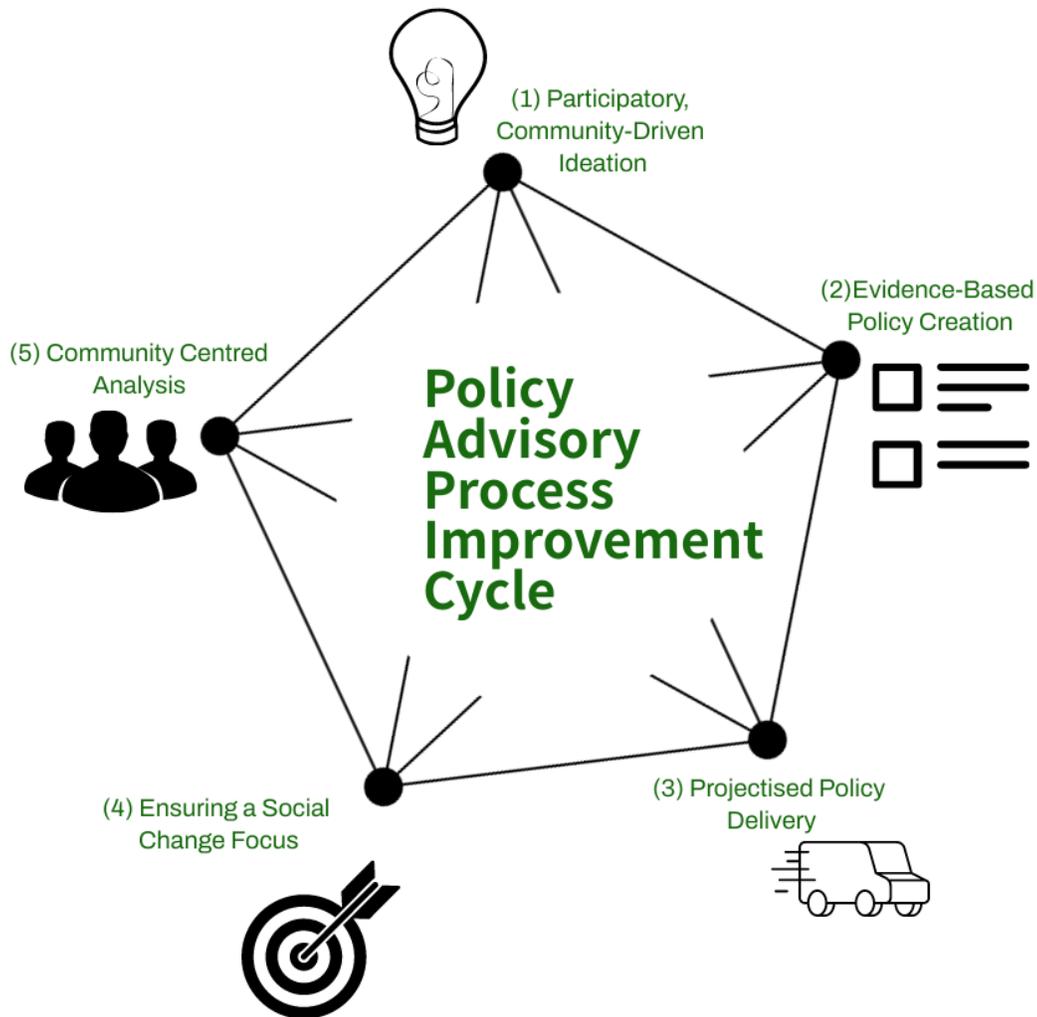


Figure 1 Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle (PAPIC)

- (1) **Participatory, Community-Driven Ideation** requires institutionalised systems that effectively gather community opinion on developmental initiatives. In alignment with the CF-SCM, this research posits that this need can be facilitated through the inculcation of active citizenship education, the integration of democracy as a creative practice, and the development of legisprudential skills and procedures.
- (2) **Evidence-Based Policy Creation** after initial policy ideation is conceptualised at the community level, these policies must be collated and reified by a centralised and projectized technocratic core capable of: a) further evidence-based research on the needs, issues, and viability of the social change proposed and b) the development of clearly

defined public policy, 'theory of change' metrics, business analysis and public policy project documentation;

- (3) **Projectised Policy Delivery.** After the collation and reification of policy issues into project documentation, there is a need for structures to manage the implementation of the initiative and coordination of what this research refers to as 'societal change management.' In some instances, the management of project implementation will require broader capacity building and public sector workplace learning initiatives to facilitate the change proposed;
- (4) **Ensuring a Social Change Focus** when referencing 'societal change management', this research argues that there is a need for a concerted refocusing of public policy and the public administration of these projects and policies on the social impacts they will have and how to best manage these changes for public benefit. This includes an iterative focus on the social realities of intended behaviour change, which is tested against broader challenges, ensuring the positive impact throughout implementation.;
- (5) **Community Centred Analysis.** Finally, it is with this in mind that implementation analysis may occur at the societal level in community-based bodies to measure the effectiveness of the change and initiate the cycle (or spirograph) again for more community-driven ideation.

As part of our evaluative model, the PAPIC allows us to consider how we empower participatory governance in action. It is intended as evaluative rather than instructive, much like other policy cycles portrayed by theorists, “allows us to consider how policy is made in the real world, when our assumptions don’t hold and when conditions are not met.”¹¹⁷ Through such an iterative process, this system could provide a pathway for delivering meaningful, citizen-directed public policy, thereby centring the civil service on the needs of the general populace. In this way, it also aims to reduce the broader conflicts that often emerge "between evidence-based policy-

¹¹⁷ Cairney (n 112) 18.

making and decision-making based on the interests and values of the community"¹¹⁸ by centring the collective opinions of the public as a critical knowledge source in support of evidence-based research. On this basis, by exploring opportunities to develop meaningful policy solutions, operational processes can be realigned to focus on societal change, making effective change management a core function of the public sector.

3.2 Institutionalised Participatory Governance and Community Centred Analysis

This research recognised the reality that policy processes in practice are a complex, “spirograph of many interacting cycles” rather than a truly cyclical process.¹¹⁹ These elements may be seen as interdependent antecedents. Facilitating agency through participatory practices, in addition to formally democratic institutions and procedures, is crucial for instilling positive social change and good governance throughout a society's operating ethos. This implicitly must also underscore the importance of community-centred analysis, which asks us to remain mindful of the ways these systems may enable the broader citizenry to define the impact of social change solutions and drive discussions regarding how they can be continuously improved. This can be best achieved on an ongoing basis through the meaningful introduction of participatory governance practices, which are defined in this dissertation as institutionalised structures, including those related to policy analysis, development, and implementation, that facilitate ongoing and integral citizen empowerment and engagement in deliberations over public policy issues.

Participatory governance is often presented as a positive next step for developing countries. By including citizens in public policy decision-making in intentional ways, "patterns of particularistic policy-making [may be broken up], empowering citizens, as well as by promoting public deliberation and citizenship."¹²⁰ However, an issue arises as participatory democracy and participatory governance often imply decentralisation as both "a process in its own right" as well

¹¹⁸ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 3.

¹¹⁹ Cairney (n 112) 17.

¹²⁰ Johanna Speer, ‘Participatory Governance Reform: A Good Strategy for Increasing Government Responsiveness and Improving Public Services?’ (2012) 40 *World Development* 2379, 2379.

as "a particular feature of democracy" as without these interrelated factors "it appears difficult to activate citizen participation and expand citizens' decision-making capacity without devolving powers to the level at which citizens can effectively influence issues."¹²¹ At face value, decentralisation and participatory frameworks appear to tie in well, yet pure decentralisation will often lead "decision-making processes [to become] less linear; [further reducing] the accountability of elected officials."¹²²

As a result, this research is in line with contemporary theorists who advocate for adaptations to this understanding of participatory democracy through the addition of "mechanism[s] of accountable imputability," which ensure that the "devolution of powers and resources to new political entities [are recentralised] at an intermediary level" to prevent the paradoxical weakening of citizens' power through the excessive overlaying of decision-making levels that lead to decreased accountability.¹²³

In this vein, Fung and Wright present a model for successful participatory governance referred to as empowered participatory governance (EPG) that seeks to guide democratic improvements to the dominant "institutional forms of liberal democracy [namely] representative democracy plus techno-bureaucratic administration" which are increasingly characterised as "ill-suited to the novel problems [of] the twenty-first century."¹²⁴ Ultimately, they argue, in line with other proponents of participatory governance that the dominant mechanisms of political representation in many of the world's liberal democracies "seem ineffective in accomplishing the central ideals of democratic politics: facilitating active political involvement of the citizenry, forging political consensus through dialogue, devising and implementing public policies that

¹²¹ Caroline Patsias, Anne Latendresse and Laurence Bherer, 'Participatory Democracy, Decentralization and Local Governance: The Montreal Participatory Budget in the Light of "Empowered Participatory Governance"' (2013) 37 *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2214, 2214.

¹²² *ibid* 2215.

¹²³ *ibid* 2216.

¹²⁴ Fung and Wright (n 52) 5.

ground a productive economy and healthy society, and [...] ensuring that all citizens benefit from the nation's wealth."¹²⁵

Based on five successful experiments, three political principles are presented to enable participatory practices to achieve these ends and transform political decision-making.

Institutional forms of participation must:

- Have the capacity to deal with specific, tangible problems
- Engage the public on the ways they may be affected by these problems through a bottom-up approach
- Resolve these problems through a deliberative approach

'Institutional design features'¹²⁶ similarly stem from these principles. Namely:

- The devolution of decision-making power to local and inter-sectoral action units
- The coordination and accountability of these local units before a higher political body
- And the restructuring (or in some cases, development) of local government structures following these imperatives of new participatory arrangements

These principles and design features must similarly be considered in the context of research that has demonstrated that, regardless of the policy issue and specific process preferences of citizens, "people want transparent, participatory processes with face-to-face interaction among participants and expert advice to deal with complicated issues" when they may arise.¹²⁷ This research provides an adaptation of these institutional design features to imagine how they would function when conceptually limited to policy advisory systems.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ Fung and Wright (n 10) 15.

¹²⁷ Henrik Serup Christensen, 'How Citizens Evaluate Participatory Processes: A Conjoint Analysis' (2020) 12 *European Political Science Review* 239, 239.

Chapter 4

Supporting Participatory Governance: Leveraging Community-Engaged Approaches to Policy Advisory

The Westminster model and its resulting administrative tradition are not a firm set of rules and procedures, but rather a set of shared principles and practices, some more defined than others, which guide actors, including politicians and public servants, in the engagement of governance activities – in this case, advisory activities and exchanges.¹²⁸ However, Craft and Halligan argue that a distinctive element of the Anglophone-Westminster administrative tradition is its ability to both facilitate and constrain change, with constraints being derived from the political model itself as well as routines and conventions developed through experiential learning. Similarly, the ability to subvert these constraints through pragmatism stems from the British administrative tradition and “the colonial development experience where conditions [such as a] lack of political parties with strong ideologies reinforced it.”¹²⁹ While their writing primarily focuses on Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, there are strong applications to the Common Law Caribbean. What is of paramount importance and equal application in this context is the potential for pragmatism to outweigh more traditional approaches.

From a historical perspective, Anglo-American systems have been “identified with the ‘pragmatic and incremental nature of governing’” with ideology playing “‘a relatively minor role in Anglo-American politics, and perhaps even less in public administration’” when compared to most European political and administrative systems.¹³⁰ This research argues that aspects of this analysis can be applied to the broader New World colonial project. As part of the Caribbean’s colonial project, a theoretical focus was seen as less important than practical experience and the

¹²⁸ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 5.

¹²⁹ *ibid* 20.

¹³⁰ Peters in *ibid*.

need to resolve problems pragmatically. In many ways, this can be seen as a significant factor in the largely atheoretical (in a traditional sense) development of politics. For the subaltern, the primary focus was decolonial movements that pushed for independence and increased autonomy. Observers have argued that, before independence, “local social and political life” (in this case, in The Bahamas) “was characterised mostly by an inarticulate, uninformed and apathetic public [with] submissive tendencies resulting from a dependency syndrome.”¹³¹ Post-independence, repetitive administrative changes centre around the public’s typically ‘apolitical’ whims through political parties, which observers often argue have minimal, if any, ideological differences.¹³² Voter evaluations occur without the influence of policy platforms as in “the absence of ideological or programmatic forms of competition, voting behaviour” in the region at large is often instead “based on voters’ personal connections with politicians, the traditional political affiliation of their families, or because of anticipated benefits that people expect in return for their votes.”¹³³ This research argues, in part, that this is an unfortunate overlap of the postcolonial effects of the Westminster system and the frequent occurrence of clientelism in small island states.

As a proven-effective methodology, these practices have persisted in Small Island Developing States in the Caribbean and Pacific, whose “societies produce a remarkable closeness between citizens and politicians,” which can have positive effects but often in practice leads citizens to “use their access to politicians to demand personal favours.”¹³⁴ It is put this way by one politician in St. Kitts and Nevis:¹³⁵

People feel that as a politician, as their representative, you become their friend; you become, in many respects, a figure that they can turn to if they have difficulties. And it’s not always money. Oftentimes, if they are having a problem of some kind, you become the

¹³¹ Lois Wells-Symonette, *Understanding Government: With a Bahamian Perspective* (Rivercross Publ 2002) 79.

¹³² Peter Galanis, ‘Voting for the FNM’ *The Nassau Guardian* (26 July 2021) <<https://thenassauguardian.com/voting-for-the-fnm/>> accessed 19 April 2022.

¹³³ Veenendaal and Corbett (n 1).

¹³⁴ *ibid.*

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

priest, you become the doctor, you become the lawyer, you become the brother, you become the confidant, you become someone in the community that people look to. And that obviously can be difficult because it creates immense pressure.

This individualised attention is, however, essential for small democracies. In this context, the challenge then becomes developing effective systems that facilitate personalised interactions with the political system without leading to inequitable networks of control. This is what this research explores. Actively fostering social cohesion practices is essential to managing multicultural societies within a democratic framework, promoting inclusivity and representation and strengthening democratic participation and stability.

4.1 Proposed Institutional Form

In terms of a practical structure through which the coordination of the P-PAS proposed may see application in the translation of the New Zealand system of a community of policy leaders, which may be enhanced as a community of practice, “with the overall purpose of embedding collective responsibility and improving the quality of advice across the state services.”¹³⁶ In this context, the head of the policy profession across the service is the chief executive of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, who maintains responsibility “for improving the ‘policy system’ with support from a policy profession board of eight chief executives and three deputy chiefs with respective policy responsibilities and a focus on “frank and fearless advice” as well as policy stewardship across administrations.¹³⁷ The latter are essential aspects for any meaningful participatory policy advisory system in the Common Law Caribbean; however, by taking an interdisciplinary approach, we have positioned the region’s legal tradition in line with the need to sustain community agency and decolonial ideals. This requires that such an evaluative model takes advantage of academic traditions which encourage the integration of civic engagement in all aspects of life.

¹³⁶ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 195.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

In their writings, Fung and Wright¹³⁸ provide initial criteria for developing EPG systems that can potentially meet these requirements, especially when applied to small, closely knit countries. However, while the capacity requirements for these institutional forms are precise, the most suitable framework for their application in specific jurisdictions remains uncertain. This work suggests an agile policy solution that enables the decentralisation of policymaking through ‘inter-sectoral action units’,¹³⁹ to implement community-engaged practices and active citizenship education, before harnessing community-driven ideas for recentralising policy efforts through legislative drafters. This evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, change would enable researchers to be embedded within existing community-based institutions, conducting evidence-based scholarly work that actively incorporates community input. These alternative pathways for engagement and knowledge creation could include fostering democracy as a creative practice to engage community members in meaningful ways.

Evidence-based research that drives decision-making should be based on bottom-up, decentralised and horizontal consensus-building. This research posits that it should rely on the deployment of active citizenship education approaches through multisectoral solutions, ensuring that citizens are actively encouraged and taught from a young age, and through processes of continuous adult learning, to engage in frameworks that value a range of human dimensions. Such efforts would be indicative of an ontological shift towards the “political activation of relationality” through which we “might collectively construct worlds that are healing, caring and life-sustaining.”¹⁴⁰

4.2 Democracy as Creative Practice

Communities should be provided with a space that allows for structured self-organisation surrounding the monitoring and adjustment of community resource usage. To cultivate this space, it is essential to look to those with the capacity for sustainability. Local artists, performers,

¹³⁸ (n 10)(n 52).

¹³⁹ (n 10)(n 52).

¹⁴⁰ Escobar (2018) in Diane Ragsdale and Shannon Litzenberger, ‘Introduction to Aesthetic Strategies: Remaking Worlds and Ourselves: Aesthetic Strategies for a Culture of Democracy’ in Tom Borup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 80.

storytellers, and cultural producers are catalysts who challenge injustice, guide the expression of identity, and amplify community voices. These community actors have “the power to democratise public discourse by shifting who has a voice in the public sphere.”¹⁴¹ This meaningfully influences political and cultural shifts, sparks dialogue, and fosters social change, critically evaluating society and creating a vision for a better future. The community co-creation driven by these artistic expressions “offers a structure of democratic inclusion and builds relationships in the service of progressive social change.”¹⁴²

Providing researchers and artists who are responsible for administrative and technical functions, encouraging community engagement, ideation, and co-creation, and ensuring accountability enables the community to remain focused on ideation, forecasting, and innovation. This allows peer-to-peer knowledge creation, facilitating collaboration and diversity of viewpoints. Ultimately, “by participating in civic dialogue, community participants increase their voice in the public sphere, their access to democracy, and their capacity to be agents of change.”¹⁴³

These elements are fundamental to actual participatory governance. Theorists and practitioners have argued that “even though we seldom see it in practice, the possibility of real democracy lingers in collective memory and imagination.”¹⁴⁴ Even in instances where there is disuse, “it can be restored through exercise, even on the smallest scale.”¹⁴⁵ An example of an approach that occurs when the use of democratic principles may be at its lowest is how democracy, as a creative practice, can support the reinforcement of democratic tenets through ‘creative recovery.’¹⁴⁶ This is particularly relevant to the vulnerable Small Island Developing States in the

¹⁴¹ Andrea Assaf, ‘Co-Creating Democracy: Aesthetics in Action’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 84.

¹⁴² *ibid* 85.

¹⁴³ *ibid*.

¹⁴⁴ Goldbard (2004) in *ibid* 90.

¹⁴⁵ Goldbard (2004) in *ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ Anna Kennedy-Borissow, ‘How “Creative Recovery” Stimulates a Culture of Democracy: Case Studies of Post-Disaster Creativity in Rural Australia’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 50.

Caribbean, given its ability to “inspire hope and future planning, cultivating a sense of agency and purpose” while contributing to “trust and a sense of generosity toward and within disaster-affected regions, strengthening collaboration and self-determination.”¹⁴⁷

In Australia, this term “describes a framework and process of embedding creativity and the arts in disaster recovery,” though community-engaged approaches that emerge after natural disasters.¹⁴⁸ Participation in these programmes across a range of art forms has been used in hundreds of Australian examples that have helped “individuals and communities make meaning from their experiences, and help re-establish trusting relationships and connections *within* communities, as well as *between* communities.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, these processes have been shown to foster a culture of democracy in communities affected by disasters, encouraging active participation in the common good, offering opportunities for reflection and meaning making from community experiences, fostering a sense of belonging, providing social support, inspiring agency, inculcating hope for the future and giving voice to the underrepresented.¹⁵⁰

Transformations, including aesthetic ones that can transform “harsh recovery infrastructure such as temporary fencing and marquees,”¹⁵¹ into spaces for community thriving through art and live music, are adaptable to communities, practically demonstrating how self-determination, collective efficacy, listening, and positive goal-setting remain effective despite collective community trauma.¹⁵² Democracy, as a creative practice, has applications in a variety of community dynamics. For example, collaborative art practices that empower communities to

¹⁴⁷ *ibid* 62.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid* 50.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid* 51.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*.

¹⁵¹ *ibid* 54–58.

¹⁵² *ibid*.

enhance their culture of democracy,¹⁵³ seminal partnerships that advance democratic action,¹⁵⁴ fun, civically focused cultural events¹⁵⁵ or an envisioned reality where artists hold a permanent role in connecting government and community to achieve civic goals and foster a culture of democracy.¹⁵⁶

By creating safe spaces for expression, these approaches foster a sense of connectedness and belonging, leading to greater understanding between community members and policymakers. Leveraging the initial concept for these spaces in community-based and driven development, they provide a platform for collecting public opinion on nationally relevant issues as well as those of importance at the local level. When empowered to do so, the framework described maintains:

- The capacity to deal with specific, tangible problems,
- the ability to engage those in the general public or ‘ordinary people’ affected by these problems through a bottom-up approach, as well as
- the ability to resolve these problems through a deliberative approach leaning on the capacity of the inherent technocratic support systems.¹⁵⁷

After the devolution of decision-making power regarding policy advisory ideation to local and inter-sectoral action units in respective communities, policy advisory may then be recentralized in ministries, departments, or agencies with national responsibility for collating public policy advice

¹⁵³ Rui Goncalves Cepeda, ‘Mediating Provisional Communities: The Production and Management of Collaborative Arts Projects’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 107.

¹⁵⁴ Karen Mack and Elizabeth Cho, ‘Creating Our Next LA: Art Animating Powerful Congregation-Based Campaigns for Justice’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 192.

¹⁵⁵ Vincent Russell, ‘Warm Cookies of the Revolution: A Case Study of Democratic Culture Through the Framework of Civic Health’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 207.

¹⁵⁶ Johanna K Taylor, Amanda Lovelee and Mallory Rukhsana Nezam, ‘Civic Artists Reimagining Democracy’ in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 210.

¹⁵⁷ (n 10)(n 52).

and further developing technocratic and conceptual aspects. Through the existing capacity of legislative drafters who are, of course, the “two sets of officials intimately connected with the bill-creating process: officials formally trained in drafting techniques, and ministry officials with expertise in the bill’s substantive area.”¹⁵⁸ At this stage, we can transition into steps two and three of the spirographical PAPIC formulation provided.

4.1 Evidence-Based Policy Creation

The use and importance of evidence-based policy making have gained greater credibility as a practical approach to supporting rational and systematic decision-making in the public sector. This idea rests on the principle that “policy decisions should be better informed by available evidence and should include rational analysis.”¹⁵⁹ However, these processes often overlook community-level input in favour of more academic or practitioner-based understandings.

Furthermore, the term “evidence-based policy making is in common currency in media and social media,” yet its use often functions as a “vague, aspirational term, rather than a good description of the policy process.”¹⁶⁰ Policymakers constantly operate amidst uncertainty, ambiguity, and competition among actors, who interpret information and reach conclusions. When they are “unable to gather and analyse all information,” actors rely on “policymaking shortcuts” by using information from trusted sources that match their existing beliefs.¹⁶¹

Policymakers are encouraged to assume a vital role in offering evaluative judgements of evidence, weighing them against the preferences of various collective wisdoms, including technocratic staff, public service users, and organisations responsible for implementing policies. This “power is shared across many government departments, levels of government, and with a

¹⁵⁸ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 6.

¹⁵⁹ Sophie Sutcliffe and Julius Court, ‘Evidence-Based Policymaking: What Is It? How Does It Work? What Relevance for Developing Countries? -’ (Overseas Development Institute 2005) iii.

¹⁶⁰ Cairney (n 112) 1.

¹⁶¹ *ibid* 5.

range of quasi-governmental and non-governmental actors.”¹⁶² Despite this matrix of shared influence, community knowledge creation should not be excluded in ways that perpetuate (neo)colonial and often neo-liberal epistemological privilege. Instead, evidence-based policy should provide a clear focus on the provision of space for perpetual learning about what is essential to these communities and the improvements they collectively desire in their spaces.

By comparison, there is an opportunity to promote the use of more equitable and decolonial forms of knowledge and knowledge-based development. For scientists, the word “evidence” is synonymous with research, whose methods can be adapted to leverage community-led and community-engaged practices effectively. But for policymakers such as civil servants, “[evidence] is ‘more synonymous with data, analysis, or investigation.’”¹⁶³ Even when we look beyond the information being considered, the political process demands rapid decision-making in the face of uncertainty and the unpredictable shifts from one issue to another that often stymie our ability to assess problems through the lens of community knowledge-based development. This results in an overall disconnect between policymakers and academics, with “two extremes: at one, policymakers seem to ignore or [respond] inadequately to the cumulative wisdom of scientists; at the other, they pay disproportionate attention to limited information and act before the evidence is clear.”¹⁶⁴ This is further influenced by what is technically and politically feasible, as well as insights from the community, along with the phronetic guidance of theoretical knowledge, practical skills, and methodological experience.

In practice, “evidence is contested, the policy process contains a large number of influential actors, scientific evidence is one of many sources of information, and policymakers base their decisions on a mixture of emotions, knowledge, and shortcuts to gather relevant evidence.”¹⁶⁵ As is often discussed regarding indigenous place-making, the current neo-colonial paradigms of knowledge creation and decision-making ensure that we operate within the limits of a finite

¹⁶² *ibid* 15.

¹⁶³ *ibid* 22.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid* 42.

knowledge system that, through historical patterns of subjugation, has attempted to erase diverse and rich epistemologies across the subaltern. By exploring alternative ways of knowing, including community-centred methodologies with inclusive understandings of what ‘consultation’ involves, we can better support a shift towards a reoriented approach to community-driven policy development. Of course, this does not imply that there is no need for academic, practitioner, and scientific understandings; instead, these should underpin community ideation and be regarded as equal elements in the initial conceptualisation process.

For instance, the traditional practices of indigenous communities in the Americas exemplify a willingness to engage in humble learning, which can lead to a reconceptualisation of evidence-based policy development. Considerations of this nature are raised by Rhoades and Nazera¹⁶⁶ in their examination of a case study in Cotacachi, Ecuador, regarding the effectiveness of their research and solution creation. The latter conceptualises how contradictory approaches and research agendas may be consolidated to provide a rounded research and policy development perspective. As a place-determined practice of taking time to learn by building good relations and being in community, without the limitations of a predefined goal, learning and collective knowledge creation are, therefore, the means unto themselves. At the core of this mandate must lie the understanding of the participant as a subject matter expert rather than a subject. Technocrats and researchers must then approach this environment merely as facilitators of solution creation. When the general populace is exposed to deliberative processes in this way, it “produces better citizens: individuals who are more informed, active, responsible, open to the arguments of others, cooperative, fair, able to deal with problems, ready to alter their positions.”¹⁶⁷

The national development of organic ontological engagement frameworks that provide similar place-making is crucial to the Caribbean’s development agenda. Notably, this presentation recognises the importance of a comprehensive scientific foundation that considers the needs of

¹⁶⁶ ‘Reconciling Local and Global Agendas in Sustainable Development: Participatory Research with Indigenous Andean Communities’ (2006) 3 *Journal of Mountain Science* 334.

¹⁶⁷ Pellizzoni in Jürg Steiner, ‘The Foundation of Deliberative Democracy and Participatory Governance’ [2018] *Handbook on Participatory Governance* 48
<<http://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781785364341/9781785364341.00008.xml>> accessed 20 April 2022.

communities in research design. As such, Cairney finds that to minimise the gap in evidence-based policy provisions, the following key tenets must be in place:¹⁶⁸

- It is possible to produce a scientific consensus based on an objective and comprehensive account of the relevant evidence
- The policy process is centralised, and power is held by a small number of policymakers
- Scientific evidence is the sole source of knowledge for policymakers
- policymakers understand the evidence in the same way as scientists, and
- Policymakers have the motive and opportunity to turn the evidence into a solution that is consistent with, and a proportionate response to, the policy problem.

This is in no way a support for bodies of literature that seek to “assert the superiority of science and scientists,” but instead aims to present a more accurate picture of the legitimate policy-making role they play,¹⁶⁹ and how this best intersects with understandings of participatory governance.

4.2 Projectised Policy Delivery

Ultimately, policy ideation and its resulting capital projects are immensely complex undertakings that are “highly contested and characterised by diverse stakeholders with competing interests.”¹⁷⁰ Knowing this, the general public has no desire to be placed under undue pressure to be pushed to the extreme of over-participation, which will only benefit those in the privileged class who can do so.

Furthermore, governments constantly face the challenge of balancing “social outcomes [and] the economic consequences of policy initiatives” against that of inaction.¹⁷¹ While some policies

¹⁶⁸ Cairney (n 112) 129.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Algeo and others (n 54).

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

may be externally perceived as intuitively positive solutions during implementation, estimating social benefit based on causal factors is complex and often contested. The broader social and political costs and benefits are also frequently difficult to measure and account for within traditional corporate-like structures of analysis, such as cost-benefit and return on investment.

Even when the alignment between outputs, outcomes, and impacts is agreed upon, project/policy work often overlaps departments and requires coordination across the public sector.¹⁷² It is due to the complexities that these initiatives yield that a strong value proposition, which satisfies political, social, and bureaucratic needs, is essential. This requires a strong technocratic and strategic function at the “intermediary level.”¹⁷³ At this stage of recentralization, this research argues that project management principles and practices are paramount. This intermediary process, with necessary project management support structures, may then be able to manage:

- The coordination and accountability of these local units before a higher political body;
- And the restructuring (or in some cases, development) of local government structures per these imperatives of new participatory arrangements¹⁷⁴

Effective project management in public policy work is crucial for ensuring that developmental processes run smoothly and strategic outcomes are achieved. Project management methodologies positively influence stakeholder engagement, inclusiveness,¹⁷⁵ strategic influence, and the legitimacy of processes necessary to secure commitment and involvement of others.¹⁷⁶ Examples of internationally recognised project management methodologies include PRINCE2, the System

¹⁷² *ibid* 45.

¹⁷³ Patsias, Latendresse and Bherer (n 121) 2216.

¹⁷⁴ (n 10)(n 52).

¹⁷⁵ Pernille Eskerod, Martina Huemann and Claudia Ringhofer, ‘Stakeholder Inclusiveness: Enriching Project Management with General Stakeholder Theory’ (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 42.

¹⁷⁶ Sophie Hooge and Cédric Dalmaso, ‘Breakthrough R&D Stakeholders: The Challenges of Legitimacy in Highly Uncertain Projects’ (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 54.

Development Life Cycle, Erickson's PROPS, and the Guide to the Project Management Body of Knowledge PMBOK® Guide.¹⁷⁷ The latter has remained the most popular¹⁷⁸ and frameworks based on its methodology are provided with a foundation capable of: mitigating project risk, failures, delay, and cost overrun,¹⁷⁹ managing complex and unpredictable environments and the interconnections between people, technology, systems, organizational structure, and culture impact cost;¹⁸⁰ as well as addressing project efficiency that correlates to overall project success.¹⁸¹

The use of a project management methodology based on the PMBOK® Guide introduces guidelines that address the people, processes, and business environments in which projects operate. These provide a method for bureaucracies in SIDS to manage development processes and performance in complex sociotechnical systems with often scarce resources.¹⁸² In many of these environments, development initiatives frequently face “time scales that are wholly inadequate to the problem's urgency”¹⁸³ and constraints where “traditional, control-oriented conceptualisation[s] of project management [are] ineffective in managing policy work.”¹⁸⁴

The *PMBOK® Guide* acknowledges the role of project processes in describing, organising, and monitoring the project activities that work in tandem with the methods used to create a ‘product.’ It is a foundation upon which “methodologies, policies, procedures, rules, tools and

¹⁷⁷ Robert Joslin and Ralf Müller, ‘Relationships between a Project Management Methodology and Project Success in Different Project Governance Contexts’ (2015) 33 *International Journal of Project Management* 1377.

¹⁷⁸ Ofer Zwikael, ‘The Relative Importance of the PMBOK® Guide’s Nine Knowledge Areas during Project Planning’ (2009) 40 *Project management journal* 94.

¹⁷⁹ Bandar Alotaibi and Oluwasoye Mafimisebi, ‘Project Management Practice: Redefining Theoretical Challenges in the 21st Century’ (2016) 7 *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development* 2222.

¹⁸⁰ Olugbenga Jide Olaniran and others, ‘Cost Overruns in Hydrocarbon Megaprojects: A Critical Review and Implications for Research’ (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 126.

¹⁸¹ Pedro Serrador and Rodney Turner, ‘The Relationship Between Project Success and Project Efficiency’ (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal*.

¹⁸² Nuno Gil and others, *Megaproject Organization and Performance: The Myth and Political Reality* (Project Management Institute 2017) 129.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Algeo and others (n 54) xvi.

techniques and life cycle phases needed to practice project management” may be built.¹⁸⁵ As a result, PMI project management methodologies and ways of working based on the *PMBOK® Guide* provide frameworks for maximising operation in various organisational structures, including government policy, which diverse stakeholders characterise with competing interests. Moreover, “government policy is an overtly political process that has abstract social and political objectives, elastic budgets, and indeterminate timelines.”¹⁸⁶ In this environment, managing and facilitating stakeholder communication through the project’s lifecycle is imperative.¹⁸⁷

Algeo et al., present a conceptual framework for project management in policy work is that argues it operates at four levels: (1) the technocratic core that addresses the iron triangle of budgets, time and scope; (2) the strategic level that deals with the organizational definition of the project, including its value and effectiveness; (3) the institutional level that manages the context (internal and external) and the support infrastructure for the project; and (4) the societal level as a project’s transformational effects across social, organizational, economic and industrial sectors of society.

As a result, this forms the basis for the policy environment, the project lifecycle and the broader development lifecycle. The steps in the ideation-to-implementation conceptual framework presented in this research will alternate between these four levels and across formal and informal processes, knowledge sources, and knowledge-based practices, incorporating the divide identified in Algeo et al. and acknowledging the conflictual dimensions of all evidence-based decision-making and its various knowledge sources. The methodology guiding these shifts between levels is a context-driven approach that enables adherence to functional governmental processes.

¹⁸⁵ Project Management Institute, *A Guide to the Project Management Body of Knowledge (PMBOK® Guide)–Sixth Edition* (Sixth Edition, Sixth edition, Project Management Institute 2017) 2.

¹⁸⁶ Algeo and others (n 54).

¹⁸⁷ Virpi Turkulainen, Kirsi Aaltonen and Päivi Lohikoski, ‘Managing Project Stakeholder Communication: The Qstock Festival Case’ (2015) 46 *Project management journal* 74.

Chapter 5

Conclusion: A Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM)

Leveraging the conceptualisations explored in this work, an overarching conceptual framework begins to take shape. Building on the concept of empowered participatory governance developed by Fung and Wright, and informed by recent research on the public's preferences for participatory governance frameworks,¹⁸⁸ adaptations have been made to Algeo et al.'s presentation of project management policy work. This results in a framework that guides policy work and decision-making across the four levels outlined by Algeo et al., applicable to both incremental improvements to participatory governance and large-scale procedural reform initiatives. Both fall under what this research has raised as societal change management. As stated at the beginning of this work, it is situated within the local context of The Bahamas and its National Development Plan, which is also incorporated into our conceptual framework. We have also explored approaches to democracy as a creative practice and will discuss active citizenship education as we conclude.

It is understood that the conceptual framework proposed relies on the EPG insofar as its capacity requirements and the decentralisation of research and community-engaged work through intersectoral units are intended to refine the public needs on a local level and glean policy ideation into community-designed, developed, and centred solutions. Moreover, in line with lessons learnt from the Westminster tradition, this work is supported by a community of policy leaders tasked with the ongoing quality assurance of the advisory system. This is an effective policy solution in the Common-Law Caribbean. Legislative drafters tasked with developing effective solutions leverage evidence-based research from the community and further develop concepts to create national policies that include meaningful public engagement through an institutionalised process.

¹⁸⁸ Fung and Wright (n 52); Fung and Wright (n 10).

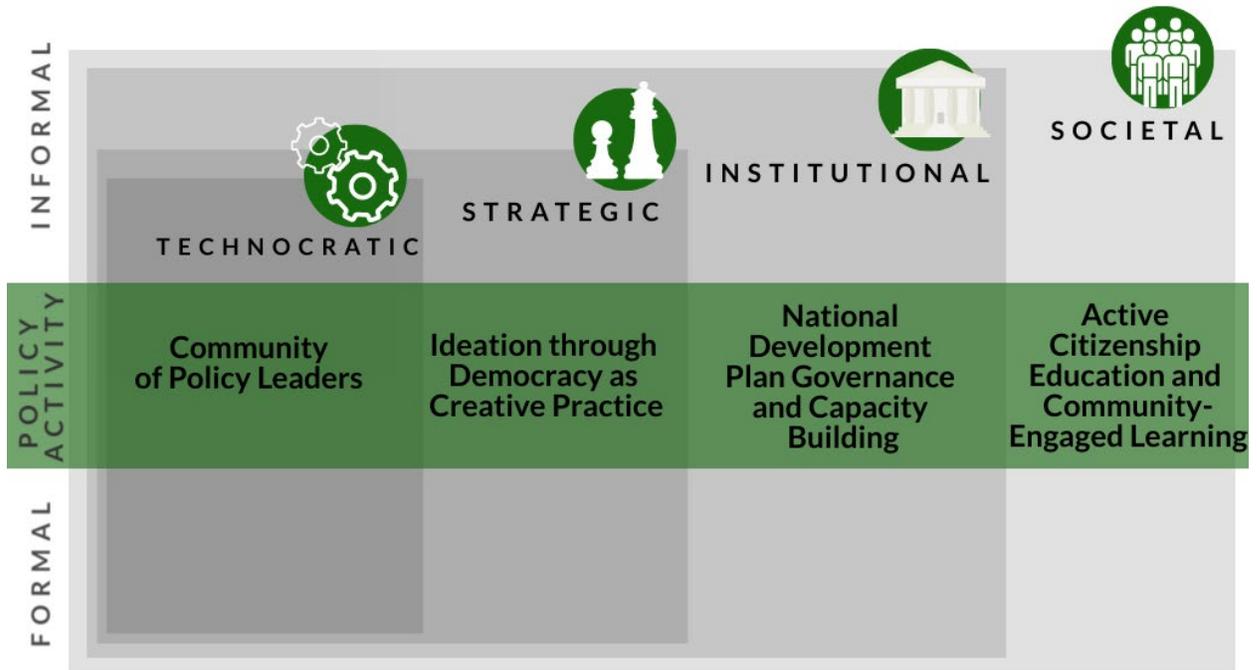


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework for Societal Change Management (CF-SCM)

The CF-SCM provides a conceptual framework with a particular emphasis on The Bahamas. It lays the foundation for evaluative work which conceptualises how a public policy approach—based on the National Development Plan, legisprudential tools and techniques, active citizenship education, empowered participatory governance, and democracy as a creative practice—can establish a P-PAS. As with Algeo et al., the interdependency between levels of the framework and formal and informal knowledge-based practices is demonstrated by a visualisation of cascading contexts in Figure 2 above. In this framework, informal and formal also refer to sources of knowledge, acknowledging the need to embrace the phronetic and bounded rationality nature of policy decision-making. As proposed by the lessons learnt presented in Craft and Halligan, the technocratic level which addresses the practical structure through which the coordination of the ‘iron triangle’ of scope, time and cost¹⁸⁹ is managed by community of policy leaders, "with the overall purpose of embedding collective responsibility and improving the quality

¹⁸⁹ Algeo and others (n 54).

of advice across the state services."¹⁹⁰ Public policy collation and conceptual development continue to be conducted at the strategic level that deals with the organisational definition of the project, including its value and effectiveness, through the recentralization of initial ideas, as mandated by the EPG.¹⁹¹ It is supported here by the ideation led by those who incorporate democracy as a creative practice to engage communities in meaningful, critical ways.¹⁹² The oversight of *Vision 2040*, the national development plan, guides institutional work towards capacity building that manages the context (internal and external) and the support infrastructure for the projects. At the societal level, it acknowledges that active citizenship and lifelong citizenship education are crucial for fostering public engagement and effecting transformational effects across social, organisational, economic and industrial sectors of society.

5.1 Ensuring a Social Change Focus

Change management is considered a collective term for the systematic approaches taken to deal with organisational-level transitions or transformations, as well as the support structures needed to assist individuals engaged in various stages of the change. When referencing 'societal change management,' this research argues that there is a need for a concerted refocusing of public policy and the public administration of projects and policies that lead to widespread social change and the organisation-level transitions needed to facilitate it. In these projects and policies, a focus must be placed on the social impacts they will have and how to best manage these changes for public benefit. This is not to say that this focus does not exist. Still, instead, in a process-focused, routinised, administrative environment, they are often clouded by the achievement of various milestones rather than maintaining a clear delineation of how various project goals achieve the intended 'theory of change.'

In addition to this benefit, critics of traditional policy analysis and advisory more generally argue that "the policy sciences have evolved from their original charge of being the 'policy sciences of democracy' into disciplines that are based largely on positivist methodology and limit citizen

¹⁹⁰ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 195.

¹⁹¹ Fung and Wright (n 52).

¹⁹² Borrup and Zitcer (n 9).

involvement in public decision making."¹⁹³ The addition of integrated participatory elements has thus been "advocated to embrace democratic ideals and better inform the policy process."¹⁹⁴ In line with global trends, policy, regulation, and legislative based supports may combine with "growing citizen activism and changing professional values [...] to give the public interesting roles in public decision making about community development" as well as issues of national import ranging from "crime prevention, mass transportation and environmental planning."¹⁹⁵

This seeks to provide a return to the intended role of "policy analysts [...] to support and improve democracy with the ultimate goal of 'the realisation of human dignity in theory and fact.'" Yet, "by limiting policy debates among citizens, becoming over-reliant on positivism, and separating analysts from the public,"¹⁹⁶ these aims are increasingly challenging to achieve, especially in a Westminster administrative structure that, in some iterations, has maintained "elitist, top-down dimensions."¹⁹⁷

As a part of this broader focus on meaningful social change, there must remain long-term structures of community engagement and 'consultation' that is best seen from the perspective of inculcating active citizenship education and leveraging democracy as a creative practice to allow the community to engage in the process of delineating whether the policy measures proposed met their needs and what could be done more, better, or differently in future iterations to achieve the desired change. Participation in civic life is essential for a healthy democracy; therefore, strong education in civics forms the foundation for effective participation.¹⁹⁸ To facilitate this, "citizenship education and adult learning and education for lifelong learning have been prominent

¹⁹³ David Haight and Clare Ginger, 'Trust and Understanding in Participatory Policy Analysis: The Case of the Vermont Forest Resources Advisory Council' (2000) 28 *Policy Studies Journal* 739, 739.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *ibid* 740.

¹⁹⁷ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 19.

¹⁹⁸ Susan Badger Booth, 'Introduction to Learning Environments: Learning and Practice: Democracy in Action' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024) 119.

throughout history,” from the Socratic dialogues and indigenous perspectives on the synchronicity of citizenship and lifelong learning and continuing through the United Nations and UNESCO.¹⁹⁹

In our modern context, it highlights the power and potential of adult learning and citizen education to develop the skills necessary for a sustainable, democratic future for everyone. From a multilateral point of view, efforts to remove barriers to participation have been undertaken by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in part through its Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA VI), which “for the first time in the history of UNESCO’s efforts on citizenship education” made a concerted effort to adopt a comprehensive approach that recognises every citizen as vital in the struggle to maintain the common good.²⁰⁰ In support of the Seventh Edition of CONFINTEA, the urgency of “citizenship education at the global level has been expressed extensively in the [2022] Fifth Global Report on ALE” as well as UNESCO’s Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL), thematic report *Citizenship Education and the challenge for adult learning and education*.²⁰¹

Citizenship education is a complex and evolving concept. Its complexity increases when it intersects with the goals of active citizenship. Active citizenship, also known as engaged or participatory citizenship, refers to the idea that citizens should be encouraged to participate actively in the democratic life of their community and society, both individually and collectively. It involves taking responsibility for one’s community, contributing to the common good, and working to shape society’s future. By extension, active citizenship education empowers individuals to become engaged community members by fostering knowledge, skills, and values necessary for democratic participation and social responsibility. It encourages practical involvement in solving community issues, nurturing a sense of agency and commitment to positive change. Additionally, it aims to ensure all citizens can participate freely, without barriers to access that hinder full democratic involvement.

¹⁹⁹ Mejai Bola Mike Avoseh, ‘CONFINTEA VII Marrakech Framework and the Challenge of and Urgency for Active Citizenship Education’ (2024) 35 *Adult Learning* 82, 82.

²⁰⁰ UNESCO (2021) in *ibid* 87.

²⁰¹ *ibid*.

Increasingly, marginalised or at-risk communities, which have been governed in a state of disenfranchisement and deracination from decision-making tools, are expected to transition towards active citizenship and co-creation despite lacking the necessary resources, limiting their effectiveness. While we often consider participatory governance from the perspective of structural reforms needed in policy systems, it must also address how this impacts interpersonal practices. Policy professionals shape citizen participation. Navigating a “differentiated approach” for communities in transition is crucial to provide adequate support, facilitating citizen involvement through a more nuanced view of meaningful empowerment.²⁰² Leveraging an example set of an in depth ethnographic case study of communities in the Netherlands who “[had] long been governed as a problematic group, living in ‘problem neighbourhoods’ or ‘priority zones’ and in need of help from the government,” to consider the adjustments to policy work found that actors worked between two competing narratives.²⁰³ It remained the case that policy professionals continued to find themselves leaning on narratives of both vulnerability and active citizenship as they moved towards “more bottom-up, participatory orientation aimed at facilitating opportunities ‘from within.’”²⁰⁴ Residents were recognised as possessing both problems and talents, requiring government assistance but also capable of initiating neighbourhood improvements. The study presents a more nuanced view of ‘empowerment’, revealing that a discursive governance shift does not automatically alter professional practices and highlighting that categories such as active citizenship and citizen participation are not discursively fixed; instead, they are continuously negotiated by those involved in participatory approaches.

As outlined in this dissertation, this is not to say that systems that place added pressure on the broader citizenry should be leveraged. Instead, structures of facilitation, appreciative inquiry, and communities of practice may be integrated to efficiently and effectively tease out community ideation and analysis, providing data of importance to the scaffolding processes of the broader policy decision-making framework. This research has instead sought to support our collective

²⁰² Simone Van De Wetering, ‘Facilitating Citizen Participation in Marginalised Neighbourhoods: Selective Empowerment in between Vulnerability and Active Citizenship’ (2024) 50 *Local Government Studies* 498, 498.

²⁰³ *ibid* 500.

²⁰⁴ *ibid* 514.

envisioning of more open, transparent and inclusive governance. As an evaluative model that incorporates the PAPIC and CF-SCM, it leverages various theories, methodologies, and approaches to support the evaluation of our envisioned progressive future.

This dissertation lays a foundation for further exploration into participatory policy advisory processes as a pathway to democratic entrenchment in the context of the Common Law Caribbean. In the Westminster System more broadly, "policy advisory landscapes are now depicted as more contested, dotted by a constellation of advisory actors and practices that challenge the orthodox notions of advisory production, brokerage and consumption,"²⁰⁵ yet they have not seen widespread reorientation to systems of participatory governance that allow the populace an opportunity to engage in the policy planning process meaningfully. However, this research benefits from the fact that Westminster PAS (much like the system itself) "is not defined by a single static system" but is, in many ways, characterised by its elasticity, enabled by "an administrative tradition that is pragmatic and highly instrumental."²⁰⁶ "The flexibility inherent in the tradition is conducive to the elasticity of PAS,"²⁰⁷ and thereby facilitates the integrations of institutional participation as outlined.

Our grounded theory approach was introduced in Chapter Two, providing preliminary social-theoretical considerations of the work and situating the role of the drafter. Chapter Three continues by introducing the central proposal of the spirographic Policy Advisory Process Improvement Cycle as the first element of our evaluative model. In support of the work of legislative drafters, it aims to contribute to the literature in the areas of jurisprudence and the socio-political processes of law-making, specifically evaluating how we prioritise and implement participatory principles. Chapter Four proposes the institutional form of procedural adaptations, including the use of democracy as a creative practice, empowered participatory governance, and projectized policy delivery to ensure its efficiency and effectiveness. Chapter Five concludes by outlining the multi-tiered conceptual framework of the dissertation that serves as a composite

²⁰⁵ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 37.

²⁰⁶ *ibid* 178.

²⁰⁷ *ibid* 181.

proposal in the area of legisprudence and the final element of our evaluative model. This proposal aims to explore conceptually how jurisdictions may choose to adapt existing policy advisory systems, enabling legislative drafters to incorporate participatory input into their policy analysis, development, and implementation processes. This, in turn, facilitates the formulation of a detailed implementation programme that is likely to produce the desired social, political, and economic changes.

In this context, this work aims to explore how these participatory elements can be integrated, considering the composite of various interdisciplinary theories, methodologies, and knowledge practices presented, including project management for policy work, active citizenship education, empowered participatory governance, democracy as creative practice, community-engaged learning practices and legisprudential skills and procedures. This consideration aims to provide a pathway for a decolonial system of public policy advisory services that overcomes pre-existing colonial hierarchies of governance, previously intended for the colonial subaltern, which continue to affect the populace in a largely post-independent Common Law Caribbean. This research proposes pragmatic, evolutionary adaptations that leverage community-integrated systems and intersectoral action units of researchers and community actors to collect, analyse, and collate the national public policy needs of respective communities into comprehensive policy proposals that partisan administrations can act upon.

As a primary feature of the proposal, it suggests the institutionalisation of participatory advisory that enables the creation of effective systems for gathering community opinion on developmental policy initiatives. It is proposed that a broader understanding of evidence-based reasoning is needed that leverages alternate epistemologies of knowledge and does not unfairly discount non-academic and non-practitioner ways of knowing. Central to the evaluative model is that policies are collated and reified by a centralised and projectised technocratic core capable of this evidence-based research on the needs, issues, and ideation raised by communities and the development of clearly defined public policy, 'theory of change' metrics, business analysis and public policy project documentation. This research proposes that legislative drafters may act as arbiters of this process and adopts the definition of legislative drafters as “two sets of officials intimately connected with the bill-creating process: officials formally trained in drafting

techniques, and ministry officials with expertise in the bill's substantive area."²⁰⁸ This covers the drafting procedures ranging from the defining of policy by political authorities, the formulation of a detailed programme of implementation by technocratic civil servants, and the task of "translating policy into effectively implementable law that, in a country's unique circumstances, will likely induce desired social, political and economic transformations."²⁰⁹

This work acknowledges the need for structures to manage the implementation and coordination of community-engaged initiatives, as referred to in this research as 'societal change management.' This dissertation argues that a projectized framework and ideation, utilising democracy as a creative practice, are best suited to manage this change. Refocusing on the social change that the initiatives aim to achieve allows the social impacts and the best ways to manage these changes to remain in view. In recognising that "the great virtue of the anglo-tradition is that a variety of governance arrangements and PAS configurations can operate within its principles and still be regarded as one of the family,"²¹⁰ this research takes advantage of the pragmatic technocratic traditions of the Caribbean in proposing its solution. In the context of the Caribbean Common-Law policy advisory structure, these proposed conceptualisations seek to leverage the level of political engagement typical in small island nations, but through structured pathways of equitable consultation rather than clientelist systems. This dissertation aims to provide a preliminary consideration of these intersecting inquiries.

²⁰⁸ Seidman, Seidman and Abeysekere (n 6) 6.

²⁰⁹ *ibid* 5.

²¹⁰ Craft and Halligan (n 8) 181.

Bibliography

- Algeo C and others, *Developing Government Policy Capability: Policy Work, Project Management, and Knowledge Practices* (Project Management Institute 2017)
- Alotaibi B and Mafimisebi O, 'Project Management Practice: Redefining Theoretical Challenges in the 21st Century' (2016) 7 *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development* 2222
- Ambler S and Lines M, *Choose Your WoW: A Disciplined Agile Delivery Handbook for Optimizing Your Way of Working* (Project Management Institute 2020)
- An Introduction to Grounded Theory* (SAGE Publications Ltd 2017)
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Es-PHU52qEE>> accessed 20 August 2022
- Andersson K and van Laerhoven F, 'From Local Strongman to Facilitator: Institutional Incentives for Participatory Municipal Governance in Latin America' (2007) 40 *Comparative Political Studies* 1085
- Assaf A, 'Co-Creating Democracy: Aesthetics in Action' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)
- Avoseh MBM, 'CONFINTEA VII Marrakech Framework and the Challenge of and Urgency for Active Citizenship Education' (2024) 35 *Adult Learning* 82
- Bahamas Department of Statistics, '2010 Census of Population and Housing' (Government of The Bahamas 2012)
- Booth SB, 'Introduction to Learning Environments: Learning and Practice: Democracy in Action' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)
- Borrup T and Zitcer A (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)
- (eds), 'Introduction: The Unraveling of Democracy and Reweaving Civic Life', *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)
- Cairney P, *The Politics of Evidence-Based Policy Making* (Palgrave Pivot 2016)
- Cardno C, 'Policy Document Analysis: A Practical Educational Leadership Tool and a Qualitative Research Method' (2019) 24 *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice* 623
- Cepeda RG, 'Mediating Provisional Communities: The Production and Management of Collaborative Arts Projects' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)
- Charmaz K and Thornberg R, 'The Pursuit of Quality in Grounded Theory' (2021) 18 *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 305

Christensen HS, 'How Citizens Evaluate Participatory Processes: A Conjoint Analysis' (2020) 12 *European Political Science Review* 239

Craft J and Halligan J, *Advising Governments in the Westminster Tradition: Policy Advisory Systems in Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand* (Cambridge University Press 2020) <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/advising-governments-in-the-westminster-tradition/C6738DD54F28E4A9E767FD1747F39473>> accessed 19 April 2022

Cross JE, 'The Vestiges of Colonial Constitutionalism' in Richard Albert, Derek O'Brien and Se-shauna Wheatle (eds), Jane E Cross, *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Constitutions* (Oxford University Press 2020)

Daly P and Tomlinson J, 'Researching Public Law and the Administrative State', *Researching Public Law in Common Law Systems* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2023)

ECLAC Regional Observatory on Planning for Development, 'Vision 2040, National Development Plan of the Bahamas | Regional Observatory on Planning for Development' <<https://observatorioplanificacion.cepal.org/en/plans/vision-2040-national-development-plan-bahamas>> accessed 24 September 2022

Eskerod P, Huemann M and Ringhofer C, 'Stakeholder Inclusiveness: Enriching Project Management with General Stakeholder Theory' (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 42

Fortier C, *Unsettling the Commons* (ARP Books 2017) <<https://arpbooks.org/Books/U/Unsettling-the-Commons>> accessed 11 November 2021

Fung A and Wright EO, 'Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance' (2001) 29 *Politics & Society* 5

———, *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (Verso 2003)

Galanis P, 'Voting for the FNM' *The Nassau Guardian* (26 July 2021) <<https://thenassauguardian.com/voting-for-the-fnm/>> accessed 19 April 2022

Gil N and others, *Megaproject Organization and Performance: The Myth and Political Reality* (Project Management Institute 2017)

Grabham E, 'The Crafty Power of Text: Methods for a Sociology of Legislative Drafting' (2022) 49 *Journal of Law and Society* S1

Haight D and Ginger C, 'Trust and Understanding in Participatory Policy Analysis: The Case of the Vermont Forest Resources Advisory Council' (2000) 28 *Policy Studies Journal* 739

Hooge S and Dalmasso C, 'Breakthrough R&D Stakeholders: The Challenges of Legitimacy in Highly Uncertain Projects' (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 54

Inter-American Development Bank, 'BH-T1034: Strengthening Institutional Capacity of the Office of the Prime Minister' (Inter-American Development Bank 2013) Technical Cooperation

Agreement <<https://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=EZSHARE-2007539984-448>> accessed 7 August 2022

Joslin R and Müller R, 'Relationships between a Project Management Methodology and Project Success in Different Project Governance Contexts' (2015) 33 *International Journal of Project Management* 1377

Kemp Y, 'National Development Plan Re-Launched' *The Nassau Guardian* (19 August 2024) <https://www.thenassauguardian.com/business/national-development-plan-re-launched/article_32ffd3ae-5cd0-11ef-b951-6ff5f1e6362a.html> accessed 9 July 2025

Kennedy-Borissow A, 'How "Creative Recovery" Stimulates a Culture of Democracy: Case Studies of Post-Disaster Creativity in Rural Australia' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

Lee J, 'Designed to Succeed: Participatory Governance, Transaction Cost, and Policy Performance' (2016) 31 *The Korean Journal of Policy Studies* 1

Liu J and Liu JKC, 'Introduction to Place-Based Actions: Following the Thread of Place-Based Actions' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

Mack K and Cho E, 'Creating Our Next LA: Art Animating Powerful Congregation-Based Campaigns for Justice' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

McKenzie N, 'Government's Policies Aligned with National Development Plan, Says DPM' *Eye Witness News* (3 February 2020) <<https://ewnews.com/governments-policies-aligned-with-national-development-plan-says-dpm>> accessed 24 September 2022

——, 'National Development Plan Gains New Momentum' (*Eye Witness News*, 19 August 2024) <<https://ewnews.com/national-development-plan-gains-new-momentum/>> accessed 9 July 2025

Mogalakwe M, 'The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research' (2006) 10 *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 221

Nampoothiry NK, 'The Role of Parliamentary Counsel in Legislative Drafting' (2010) 36 *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 57

NDP Secretariat, 'Vision 2040: The National Development Plan of The Bahamas' (Government of The Bahamas 2017) 2nd Working Draft for Public Consultation

New York City Council, 'About Participatory Budgeting NYC' (*Participatory Budgeting*) <<https://council.nyc.gov/pb/>> accessed 19 April 2022

Olaniran OJ and others, 'Cost Overruns in Hydrocarbon Megaprojects: A Critical Review and Implications for Research' (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal* 126

Patsias C, Latendresse A and Bherer L, 'Participatory Democracy, Decentralization and Local Governance: The Montreal Participatory Budget in the Light of "Empowered Participatory Governance"' (2013) 37 *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2214

Project Management Institute, *A Guide to the Project Management Body of Knowledge (PMBOK® Guide)–Sixth Edition* (Sixth Edition, Sixth edition, Project Management Institute 2017)

Ragoonath B, 'Local Governance in the Caribbean' in Ali Farazmand (ed), *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance* (Springer International Publishing 2018) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20928-9_2987> accessed 11 April 2021

Ragsdale D and Litzenberger S, 'Introduction to Aesthetic Strategies: Remaking Worlds and Ourselves: Aesthetic Strategies for a Culture of Democracy' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

Rhoades RE and Nazarea V, 'Reconciling Local and Global Agendas in Sustainable Development: Participatory Research with Indigenous Andean Communities' (2006) 3 *Journal of Mountain Science* 334

Russell V, 'Warm Cookies of the Revolution: A Case Study of Democratic Culture Through the Framework of Civic Health' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

Seidman A, Seidman RB and Abeysekere N, 'Assessing Legislation: A Manual for Legislators' (2003)

Seidman A, Seidman RB and Abeysekere N, *Legislative Drafting for Democratic Social Change: A Manual for Drafters* (Kluwer Law International BV 2001)

Serrador P and Turner R, 'The Relationship Between Project Success and Project Efficiency' (2015) 46 *Project Management Journal*

Shevellar L and Westoby P, 'Wicked Problems and Community Development: An Introductory Essay', *The Routledge Handbook of Community Development Research* (Routledge Handbooks Online 2018) <<http://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315612829-1>> accessed 17 April 2022

Speer J, 'Participatory Governance Reform: A Good Strategy for Increasing Government Responsiveness and Improving Public Services?' (2012) 40 *World Development* 2379

Stefanou C, 'Comparative Legislative Drafting' (2016) 18 *European Journal of Law Reform* 123

Steiner J, 'The Foundation of Deliberative Democracy and Participatory Governance' [2018] *Handbook on Participatory Governance* <<http://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781785364341/9781785364341.00008.xml>> accessed 20 April 2022

Sutcliffe S and Court J, 'Evidence-Based Policymaking: What Is It? How Does It Work? What Relevance for Developing Countries? -' (Overseas Development Institute 2005)

Taylor JK, Lovelee A and Nezam MR, 'Civic Artists Reimagining Democracy' in Tom Borrup and Andrew Zitcer (eds), *Democracy as Creative Practice* (Routledge 2024)

Turkulainen V, Aaltonen K and Lohikoski P, 'Managing Project Stakeholder Communication: The Qstock Festival Case' (2015) 46 *Project management journal* 74

University of The Bahamas, 'Prime Minister the Hon. Philip Davis Foreshadows Completion of National Development Plan' (*University of The Bahamas*, 18 July 2022)

<<https://www.ub.edu.bs/prime-minister-hon-philip-davis-foreshadows-completion-national-development-plan/>> accessed 24 September 2022

Van De Wetering S, 'Facilitating Citizen Participation in Marginalised Neighbourhoods: Selective Empowerment in between Vulnerability and Active Citizenship' (2024) 50 *Local Government Studies* 498

Veenendaal W and Corbett J, 'Clientelism in Small States: How Smallness Influences Patron–Client Networks in the Caribbean and the Pacific' (2020) 27 *Democratization* 61

Wells-Symonette L, *Understanding Government: With a Bahamian Perspective* (Rivercross Publ 2002)

Zwikael O, 'The Relative Importance of the PMBOK® Guide's Nine Knowledge Areas during Project Planning' (2009) 40 *Project management journal* 94

'PM Launches National Development Plan - Video | The Bahamas Investor' (19 November 2014) <<https://www.thebahamasinvestor.com/2014/pm-launches-national-development-plan-video/>> accessed 24 September 2022

