**DRAFT
POL 491/2191Y**

Democracy in Decline – Renewing Civic Engagement

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Course Description

"Democracy in Decline" explores different ways of assessing the health of democracy. The overall objective of this course is to provide students with an understanding of, and possible remedies for, their generation's low political engagement. This is a pragmatic "how-to" course. It aims to teach how to do policy briefings for day-to-day governance. It focuses on practical solutions for public figures. Writing assignments are aimed at producing a "book" of policy advice on concrete steps to improve democratic participation, with individual chapters written by each student.

This course examines elements of the "democratic deficit" and those initiatives to overcome low civic engagement through voluntarism, direct/participatory/representative/associational democratic processes, and community self-development. While other courses may focus on remedies that involve electoral or parliamentary reform, this Course considers declines in collective values, trust, and political efficacy as factors affecting duty, the common good, responsibility and reciprocity. To remedy the democratic deficit we survey the stimulation of social cohesion, public judgement and social capital in our civic society as preconditions for heightened political engagement. The course is team taught by community actors and past students practising in a policy environment.

Politics is about what issues are public, how to "get to yes" over divisive economic/social/ cultural matters, and who is invited to do so. Students can be empowered in their senior years of study to understand and facilitate this. The course includes a unique tri-campus learning format using a **service-learning*** placement with a local community agency or organization negotiating among many interests and priorities. Service-Learning is reflective participation by a student in a community initiative/event for the purpose of testing academic insights. As *Service*, the student donates hours of "volunteering" to support an agency event/activity to meet their designated needs. As *Learning,* the student participates with intentional learning goals, which permits reflection on the role, objectives, challenges and achievement of stakeholder accommodation, from the Course perspective.

Service-learning is not a co-op/internship because no life career is being sought. Yet service-learning is not mere observation, volunteering or community "hours" because a lifelong leadership skill in civic participation *is* being sought. Twenty hours of community volunteering with municipal or NGO agencies spread across the GTA will help test the ideas studied in the course and develop a student's critical reasoning, life choices and civic awareness. In this service-learning component students may serve as facilitators in stakeholder discussions on community redevelopment; research models of service/renewal in other jurisdictions; attend and report on service provider meetings; develop databases; do literature searches; and evaluate the potential for common ground in complex multi-stakeholder environments.

* see Appendix

Course Learning Objectives

How to re-engage people towards a common good

The restoration of civic engagement matters: it reflects social engagement and sociality which
- creates a basis for shared meaning
- fosters awareness of and support for a common good
- increases the likelihood of concerted action
- diminishes the elite/exclusive act
- provides a basis for concerns re fairness and justice
- enables greater adaptability to social change and social heterogeneity

The way back to new citizenship and interest in the above includes:
- affirming a citizen's sense of identity
- justice in claims making
- openness to competing identities
- tolerance of others who disagree
- a willingness to show self restraint in place of laws of enforcement
- a willingness to deliberate together
- action that is top-down [changed governance] and bottom-up [community organization]

Course Presentation and Grading

One two-hour seminar meeting weekly; 20 additional service-learning hours with a community partner (every effort will be made to find placements in communities close to the student's home campus). Four written assignments include: a) a survey of the democratic deficit literature 20%; b) a community issue mapping 15%; c) service-learning reflection 20%; c) a policy manual chapter [plus outline presentation] 35%. Class participation 10%. The penalty for late material is 5 marks off the project grade every 24 hours or part, including weekends. There are deductions if written work misses the specified word count. Attendance: one mark will be deducted per missed Class; four or fewer absences will waive the penalty. *Medical or extreme family matters may waive penalty.*

Please ensure you know the Faculty rules re Plagiarism: see www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html
Please ensure you have the capacity to download [print] a significant volume of Course readings.

Texts

Nevitte, N. *Value Change and Governance in Canada*; Yankelovich, D. *Coming to Public Judgement;* Breton, A. et. al. *A Fragile Social Fabric.* Available at UofT Bookstore at College/St George St.

Meeting 1 Course overview [Sept 12]
- what is a policy briefing, understanding community politics, understanding service-learning

Cameron, D. "The Landscape of Civic Engagement in Ontario" (2002) [text on website]

Quiney, R. "How to write a superior briefing" [handout]

Meeting 2 The Democratic Ideal [Sept 19]
- the desired democratic form of policymaking; the role of civic society

Schmitter, P. et. al. "What Democracy is …and is not" *Jnl of Democracy* Summer 1991[link on website]

Diamond, L. "Towards democratic consolidation" loc. cit. July 1994 [link on website]

Part I: Coming to Terms

Meeting 3 Symptoms -- the big picture [Sept 26]
                        - the decline of social/civic/political participation; loss of community

    Putnam, R. "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America" [1996]   www.prospect.org

    Putnam, R. "The Prosperous Community" [1993] loc.cit.

Meeting 4 Causes -- the democratic deficit in a Canadian context [Oct 3]
                        - the withered state; postmaterial damage

    Breton, et.al. *A Fragile Social Fabric* chs. 1-2

    Fukuyama, F.   "The Great Disruption" *Atlantic Monthly* May 1999, pp. 55-76 [link on website]

    Whitaker, R. "The Changing Canadian State" in Lazer, H ed., C*anada: State of the Federation* 1998
                        [link on website]

    Waitzer, R. "Philanthropy and prosperity" http://www.charityvillage.com/cv/research/rphl4.html

Meeting 5 Diagnostics – The Pre-political Stage [Oct 17]
                        - social capital, social cohesion

    Cameron, D. op. cit. pp. 16-22

    Nevitte, N. ed. *Value Change and Governance in Canada* chs. 1, 5

    Breton, A. op. cit., chs. 5-7

    Fukuyama, F.   "Social Capital and Civil Society" pp. 1-6 [link on website]

Meeting 6 Diagnostics – The Political Stage [Oct 24]
                        - political readiness, political engagement

    Nevitte, N. op. cit. chs. 2, 3

    Yankelovich, D. *Coming to Public Judgment* pp. 1-54

    Breton, A. op. cit. chs. 8-10

    Laforest, R. & Phillips, S. "Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process" 2004 [link on website]

Meeting 7 Diagnostics – The Post-political Stage [Oct 31]
                        - co-governance; Service-Learning

    Social economy student network http://www.socialeconomy.info/en/overview

    Young, L. in Nevitte, chs. 4, 6

    Phillips, S. & Orsini, M. "Mapping the Links…" CPRN 2002, pp.1-10 [link on website]

    Edgar, L. et. al. "Partnerships: putting good government in practice" Institute on Governance 2006 [link on website]

Part II: Indigenous Idealism

Meeting 8 The Third Sector as social capital [Nov 14]
          - the voluntary sector as animateur

Fukuyama, F.   "Social Capital and Civil Society" pp.11-14 op. cit.

Foster, M. et. al. "The role of social capital" CVSS, 2003 [link on website]

Phillips, S. "Interest Groups…" in Bickerton, J. & Gagnon, A. *Canadian Politics* 4th edn [handout]

Laforest, R. & Reed, P. "The social logic of contributory behaviour" [link on website]

Meeting 9 The Third Sector as political readiness/citizenship [Nov 21]
          - advocacy/participation

Laforest, R. & Reed, P. op. cit.

Laforest, R. "Does a Compact Need a Concept of Citizenship?" ARNOVA 2002 pp. 25-43 [text on website]

Phillips, S.   "Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process" op. cit. [+ handout]

Meeting 10 The Third Sector as co-governance [Nov 28]
          - gov't-mandated service delivery

Hall, M. & Reed, P. "Shifting the burden: how much can the government download" [link on website]

Laforest, R. "State and Community Sector Relations" *The Philanthropist 2006* [link on website]

Part III: Government's Stake in Us

Meeting 11 Consultative Democracy – the challenges [Dec 5]
          - why consult: mindset problems; moving government to governance; getting to "yes"

Turnbull, L. & Aucoin, P. "Fostering Canadian's Role in Public Policy" CPRN pp.31-39 [link on website]

Yankelovich, D. op.cit. pp. 59 -114

Meeting 12 Consultative Democracy – the opportunities *[NOTE: WED Dec 7]*
          - how to consult: institutional reforms

Phillips, S. & Orsini, M. op. cit. pp. 8-32

BC Auditor General "Public Participation: principles and best practices" [link on website]

Part IV: Civic Duty

Meeting 13 The assumptions behind the term "citizen" [Jan 9]
    - can citizens be reflective, reasoning, pass judgement?

   The Cochrane Reader [handout]

   Nevitte, N. op.cit. ch.3

   Yankelovich, D. op. cit. pp. 120-137

Meeting 14 Citizens and direct, representative and participatory democracy [Jan 16]
     - forms of social reasoning / civic judgement

   The Cochrane Reader [op. cit.]

   Abelson, J. *Moving from consultation to deliberation* [handout]

   Aucoin, P. & Turnbull, L. "The democratic deficit: Paul Martin and Parliamentary reform" pp.13-14 [link on website]

Meeting 15 Dealing with "Voice" [Jan 23]
    - who speaks for "us"?

   Montpetit, E. "Public Consultations in Policy Network Environments" *CPP* Mar 2003 [link on website]

   Johnson, G. "Deliberative Democratic Practices in Canada" *CJPS* Sept 2009 [link on website]

Part V: Community Self-Awareness

Meeting 16 From Community Development to Community Initiative [Jan 30]
    - ABCD

   Mathie, A. "From Client to Citizen: Asset-Based Community Development" [link on website]

   Bergdall, T. "Reflections on the catalytic role of the outsider" [link on website]

   Stoecker, R. "Community Development and Community Organization…" 2001 [text on website]

Meeting 17 Acting Locally: the Politics of the Tribe [Feb 6]
    - cohesiveness in diversity?

   Berger, I. "Ethnicity, Social cohesion and Social Integration" CVSS paper # 32, 2005 [link on website]

   Banting, K. et. al. "Diversity, belonging and shared citizenship" IRPP 2008 [link on website]

   Nevitte, N. & Kanji, M. " 'New' Cleavages, Value Diversity, and Democratic Governance" B&G [on website]

   Breton, A. op. cit. chs. 13-14, 16

Meeting 18 Acting Locally: Community Social Planning [Feb 13]

   Breton, A. op. cit. ch 17

Part VI: Deviations from Democracy

Meeting 19 "Democracy" and Elites? [Feb 27]
          - experts, know-how, and results

Breton, A. op. cit. pp. 60ff

Campbell, M. "The Lobbyists remain for better or worse" G&M 2008 [handout]

Franks, CES. "From Gomery to the Accountability Act…" *Policy Options* June 2006 [text on website]

Meeting 20 Democracy and the Rule of Law: ADR [Mar 5]
          -improving democracy? A non-traditional approach to justice

MacFarlane, J. "The Mediation Alternative" in *Rethinking Disputes: The Mediation Alternative*, (Toronto: Edmond Montgomery, 1997) pp. 2-17

Part VII: Reconstructing Democracy

Meeting 21 Digital Democracy [Mar 12]
          - the virtual voice

Roy, J. "E-government and local government" in *Cda Pub Admin and Management* Jan/06 [link on website]

Peters, J. & Abud, M. "E-Consultation:…" (2009) *Policy Choices* [link on website]

Sunstein, C. "The Daily We: is the internet really a blessing for democracy?" [link on website]

Wellman, B. et. al. "Does the internet foster social capital?" UofT Centre for Urban Studies Dec 2001 [link on website]

Meeting 22 Peer Reflection/editorial session/ [Mar 19]

Meeting 23 Taking Stock [Mar 26]
          - working with what we've got?

Yankelovich, op. cit. ch 13; pp.215-219; 234-249; Choiceworks handout

Breton op. cit. ch. 17

Gidengil, E. *Citizens,* ch. 7 [text on website]

MacKinnon et. al. *Lost in Translation: (Mis)understanding Youth Engagement* CPRN Oct 2007 [link on website]

Meeting 24 Rethinking Democracy [April 2]
          - who cares?

Aucoin, P. & Turnbull, L. "Obstacles to meaningful public involvement" [handout]

Lenihan, D. et. al. *Progressive Governance for Canadians* chs.10 -12 [link on website]

Cameron, D. et, al. "Democracy in Ontario" 2003 [text on website]

Websites

Saguaro Seminar   bettertogether @ www.bettertogether.org

Harvard Kennedy School of Government www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro

NSGVP   www.nsgvp.org   click on reports

STATSCAN www.statcan.ca/english do a search for the author of the paper

IRPP www.irpp.ca usually the article will be part of the Policy Options or Policy Choices series

CD Howe Institute www.cdhowe.org

CPRN www.cprn.com/en/doc-cfm?doc= [here you enter the document number, e.g. 160]

Cody Institute [ABCD] http://coady/stfx.ca

CWF www.cwf.ca do a search based on article title, year

CVSS www.ryerson.ca/cvss/work.html

CVSRD www.cvsrd.org go to discussion papers

CASR www.carleton.ca/casr/

Institute on Governance www.iog.ca [great citizen engagement papers]

www.ekos.ca [click on media - short pieces on polling results]

Crossing Boundaries www.crossingboundaries.ca

Public Policy Forum www.ppforum.ca

Social Economy www.socialeconomyhub.ca; www.urbancentre.utoronto.ca

Appendix
Writing Assignments

The aim of writing assignments in this Course is for each student to develop good, pragmatic policy advice by demonstrating proficiency with concepts, issue mapping, problem identification, and policy options -- and for the class as a whole to integrate these into a single document. This incorporates critical listening, literature search, service-learning, interactive discovery and argument.

It may be quite different from what you have done so far in your writing output, so read on!

Just as a doctor will analyze biological health by: identifying vital signs, knowing the parameter of "good' health for each, map an illness scenario, and prescribe interventions for health… so also with the "body politic" you will: understand critical terms, see them as 'concepts' with parameters, map a deficit scenario, and prescribe interventions.

The end product is a Class "book" or report on the evidence for, causes, implications, and remedy of democratic deficit, if indeed it exists.

This is a clinical approach [political science], not a normative advocacy [political theory], and mirrors the "fact-finding" that might be done in a corporate, public sector or negotiating setting.

You will be handling 5 concepts: social capital [trust], social cohesion [sharing], political readiness [duty], political reciprocity [engagement], and political co-governance [post-elitism]

Assignment 1 – 20% due Dec 7 2500 words What are indicators and benchmarks of democratic "health"?

Write a ministerial briefing on: the key concepts of a healthy democracy, related deficits, and the 5 "tests" of a healthy democracy and why they are, as addressed in Course literature.

You may not have written a briefing note before so here is some advice:

The first "essay" is a briefing note, for an imaginary Minister, of factors that reflect or test for a democratic deficit, which you are to define from among the features of a healthy democracy ["a healthy democracy would look like this"]. You will explain what you have selected, from the literature, as the top democratic ideals; what seem to be the deficits regarding these; and what are the kinds of remedial areas you'll be looking into [use the 5 set out in Class]. In your S-L and mapping exercise these will be applied to real life situations. In your chapter you will zero in on one theme for an in-depth discovery/treatment.

 You can be selective in presenting some of the many possible democratic health features; we don't need an exhaustive litany of what is health -- or what is deficit [Minister will doze] but I'd suggest you choose just those that key in to the conventional tests you'll then use. For 90% of your paper you will be exploring/explaining/ illustrating the various Class tests that might be applied to understand the deficit [if that] and why. Do think about unity in your paper: perhaps how each test addresses some aspect of the deficit or ideals you have chosen and perhaps the most compelling direction for further inquiry, not just "We shall explore/consider" -- not a thesis at all… but: ..."Minister, these 5 tests should add up to a comprehensive remedy because..." or "Minister, altho this is a standard battery of tests, I sense #3 will be the most n.b. because..." or "Minister you will see that these tests presage essentially a two-way street ... or, they're not as simple as governance only... or, the ball is likely in your court"..., or "we choose these kind of tests because they tell us, and we suspect..." -- but you need not be argumentative at this point; it's a briefing after all. The more you can illustrate and perhaps weigh [in your text or footnotes], the more I can sense if you understand what /how/why these tests are so prominent in the literature. This is not a course on "democracy quo vadis" and at this point is quite focussed on your facility with terms.

An appreciation of at least all the prescribed literature [covered in meetings 4/5/6] will be necessary. Further readings can be provided on demand. You are here showing your facility with the tools of diagnosis and that means 5-6 factors [trust, cohesion, capital, readiness, reciprocity and cogovernance]. Certainly you can put weight on the most compelling in your mind but it is not a selection process -- yet. These are conventional tests and I would like to make sure the students understand them; when they are applied next Term some may well be of lesser urgency or importance. As long as the material is handled with scholarship, there is no "wrong" understanding – do make sure you write to the brief: "what should I be looking into to address a democratic deficit?" [defined as…]. Actually the question is very closed: what's health, what's deficit, what's the tests, …and why [and maybe some hunches as to findings]. Your own Dr. would do no less?

In a nutshell:

1. It's a Minister's briefing note; not a free-standing literature survey. You need to think "what does the Minister NEED to know"? and for each para you write "why should the Minister be interested in this?"

2. It's about governance so once you select your key ideals in democratic theory [e.g., participation] make sure, after each of the 5 tests that you describe, you conclude with what that test tells you about the ideal…that's what the Minister will be asking. Each test should illustrate a/the democratic health ideal you've chosen. That way the briefing has coherence.

3. These ideals should be practical and appeal to the governor as well as the governed.

4. Terminology I: Social capital ["I trust"] and Social cohesion ["I share": voluntarily –a noun; or involuntary – a verb] are different but they may be linked: bridging social capital may be a precondition for belonging, inclusion, recognition…. Social capital may be the means, social cohesion the ends. You may reverse the order.

5. Terminology II: Reciprocity is the willingness of gov't to return a citizen's interest [readiness] with access, participation in its sole decision-making authority -- governing; Co-governance is sharing authority so that [non-

elected?] communities exercise rulemaking powers; it's a division of powers, like federalism…each of the two [co] is autonomous. This was a point of common confusion/imprecision so it did not weigh heavily in marking – provided you covered all the same ideas.

6. Minor points: number your pages; include page # in your footnote/textnote, **V** means I think a reference is needed here; AWK means a expression is confusing or you are using "must" or an exhortation; SS is a sentence fault; SP is spelling error. I like sideheads in a briefing. You must include on your paper a word count that excludes the bibliography or foot/end notes; failure to do so will result in a 2 mark deduction from your paper's grade .You may exceed or fall short of the 2500 words by 5%; then 1 mark will be deducted from your grade for every 100 wds [or part] above or below this margin of 5%

Assignment 2 –15% Stakeholders/Issue Mapping: due Jan 16 ~1700 words

Select one of the proposals in the list below and prepare a Minister's briefing note on issues/stakeholders

- Whether Toronto should bid to host the Olympics
- What to do with Toronto's garbage
- Revitalization of Lawrence Heights
- GO Electrification
- "The Big Move" (Metrolinx Regional Transportation Plan)
- St. Clair West (streetcar line construction)

1. Write a half page synopsis summarizing the project. What would be involved in the proposal. What *types* of changes are being contemplated, and why?

2. Brainstorm a list of the issues that might be created by the proposal. Make it a long list, and think about the proposal from a number of different perspectives (looking through a number of different "lenses"). Group issues.

3. Identify a minimum of 8 different organizations, in addition to the general public, that would have a vested interest in how the proposal unfolds. Provide a very brief summary of the mandate of each organization. Also identify the issue(s) related to the proposal that would be of most interest to each organization. Attempt to suggest a general public issue(s)/interest.

4. Conclude by identifying three issues related to the proposal that could be controversial, and explain why.

Remember, this is a briefing: stay clinical, not hortatory; be "brief"; focus on the public policy decisions to be made

- Considerable information is available online to support this work. Similar projects in other cities/jurisdictions are also good sources of information. Other hints on how to find the information you need for this work:
- Look on-line for staff reports to Committees of city/town Council and/or records of Council decisions
- Look for other on-line policy support documents in specific departments (all 3 levels of government)
- Look on-line for media coverage, blogs covering the topic.
- Find a non-profit/advocacy organization that would have an interest and check their website(s)

This mapping is to be about 6pp in length [1500-1700 wds], whatever format you use, and DO include a word count on the cover; number pages please; you may choose to use bullets and employ more of a report format than an essay format. Do not forget to include your access date for website sources. If in doubt, please contact the instructor.

Assignment 3 – 25% Service-Learning Dossier: due March 5 – see below

Assignment 4 – 35% Policy Chapter: due April 3   3500 words

You are writing a policy briefing chapter on your chosen topic. Overall, it should answer this question:
 a) "does the political state of your topic area reflect/cause an element of the democratic deficit -- according to the 5 diagnostics, below and, b) could it be refashioned to lessen the deficit"? These diagnostic tools i) assess whether a certain level of democratic health is present, ii) gauge how serious/significant is this deficit [if at all] and, iii) suggest what remedies might be considered. Please ensure you stick to the diagnostics, not stray into other

philosophical avenues, as we are assessing your ability to handle the literature. Give policy advice, not a narrative or story telling; it's a "how to" approach; be pragmatic, not hortatory [no "musts"].

You will review attitudinal deficits of the governors and governed and the prospects for institutional remedies. Propose steps to a no-deficit scenario in your topic area [e.g., diversity] by addressing our 5 democratic elements: social capital [trust], social cohesion [sharing], political readiness [duty], political reciprocity [engagement] and, co-governance [post-elitism]. While all five should be covered, some may attract more consideration.

Structure your chapter as follows…so each replicates the next chapter… [At all times ask "What's my point got to do with democratic deficit as the Class has defined it? What does a policymaker, e.g., minister, need to know"?]

1. Elements/Breadth of your Topic [e.g., diversity]. How do *you* define it for your briefing?

2. Define the five standards of democratic health in the: pre-political, political, post-political stages and assess your topic area against these standards? [i.e., if not healthy, how not, and why not]

3. Any myths about successes/deficits? Often the minister needs to be told that certain views are not in fact well-supported; e.g., what does the word "citizen" connote: a right, a skill, interest, a homogeneous group, an earned status, an attributed status? Or that interest groups speak for all their people; or that going to PR really would improve turnout...in other words keep the minister away from non-productive thinking...even "shifted interests" needs explaining: most don't vote, yet most still say they are interested BUT that can't be corroborated apart from them just saying that to pollsters...so....

4. Past failures

5. Helpful achievements

6. Future possibilities [be pragmatic…not "cure poverty"]

The following Chapters will be assigned for our 2012 Book:

1. An introduction to the social, political, and post-political dimensions of democratic health in a Canadian setting.

2. What role does cultural diversity play?

3. What role does education play?

4. What role does generation play? [can moral individualism be conquered?]

5. What role does low income play?

6. What role does protest play?

7. What role do faith communities play?

8. What does citizenship require?

 What is the scope for associational democracy:

9. Is voluntarism able to build civic engagement?

10. Are CSO's able to assume governance?

11. Does "voice" negate communicative action?

What is the scope for direct democracy:

12. Can the citizen be motivated and rational?

13. Would edemocracy help?

14. What is the scope for representative democracy: will parties help?

What is the scope for deliberative democracy:

      15. How committed is the 1st sector? [can gov'ts be trusted to govern?]

      16. How committed to politics is the 2nd sector?

17. Could community government replace government at a distance?

18. Can the social economy replace governance by/for the market economy?

Class presentation: on your Chapter [Mar 20]

Please remember:

- You are presenting to a newly-appointed provincial minister
- You are in the realm of focussed, pragmatic policy advice, not academic inquiry/advocacy
- You will offer concrete assessments and suggestions [within the possible limits of policymaking
  -- assume no $$; assume rights are maxed]…"what can you/they do…" [if you feel there *is* a deficit!]

Make sure you balance the "blame": responsibility is two-way [at least in the areas we have selected and according to the literature we have assigned]. Advocates may point the finger; analysts don't.

Time and brevity is absolutely of the essence: your item will take 5 min; drop matters that are descriptive, anecdotal; don't overwhelm your listener or speak at hyperspeed [Policy briefings are very short, btw]

Practice your presentation; it is only an extract of your chapter; make sure it flows…

Most likely you'll start by defining your area: "by [e.g.] 'protest' I mean…"

And, "by deficit I mean"

And, "overall I conclude…"

And, "I do so by looking at …."

And, "I'd suggest…"

Service-Learning

Service-learning achieves three objectives: information acquired outside the classroom or textbook; support for a community partner where the student is placed; exposure for the student to civic service and leadership. Civic learning encompasses a wide range of possible outcomes, from personal character development such as respect, empathy, ability to work with others, etc.; to skills for active engagement in community life, such as running meetings, organizing projects, etc.; to understanding the social, political, and economic root causes of social issues; among others [Howard, 2001; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004].

One caution: Service-learning has "the liberal bias of higher education…it promotes a highly partisan orientation towards, for example, what it means to help the needy, what this help might look like and who should be at the forefront of such societal changes…To put it bluntly, service-learning practices do not usually promote a perspective of trickle-down economics favoured by neo-conservatives." [D. Butin, *Service Learning in Higher Education,* p. 100]

In January-February 2011, all the students in POL 491/2191 will consider the elements of democratic deficit from a community point of view. To buttress/test the Class presentations students will perform 20 service hours in the community, supporting groups engaged in social and civic development primarily through bridging and trust-building among contending view. Staff of the Centre for Community Partnerships [www.ccp.utoronto.ca] will secure placements and coach the Class in successful Service-Learning.

Typical placements: [one per student]

- Metrolinx: facilitate stakeholder consultations on new regional transit system
- Mass: facilitate stakeholder consultation on district health priorities
- Regent Park: literature search on world techniques at social cohesion and proposals
- Regent Park: minute community reactions to community gardens project
- Regent Park: community mapping of community organizations and interview
- Lawrence Heights: literature survey on revitalization in other jurisdictions + stakeholder interviews
- Community Social Planning: minute City council and public release of poverty study
- Downtown East: survey world techniques on resident [registries] direct democracy preferences
- Downtown East: lessons learned from process of social planning integration
- Downtown East: attend/minute meetings on local employment initiatives
- pool closures in Public Schools
- Better Ballots: website design on alternative electoral systems

Service-Learning Placements 20%

A. During Placement: framing questions

Your first essay will allow you to describe: a democratic ideal state, the associated democratic deficits, and a diagnostic map [pre-political, political and post political indicators]. Using this narrative present your service-learning exposure as follow:

One week prior to placement : Stages in Political development

Locate your placement on your map of pre-political through to post political arrangements. Explain why.

Identify likely stakeholders and suggest how might this stage affect the discussion among stakeholders?

Second week: Bridging versus Bonding

Review Putnam on the website as to the critical need for and differences between bridging and bonding cultures; why might this be important for understanding your placement? Can you cite examples in practice?

Third week : Trust in conversation

What do you think the role of trust plays in conversation among stakeholders? How does trust emerge in the conversations that you witness? How might trust differ in bridging and bonding cultures. Where does your placement fit in? [Hint: look also at the website entry by Montpetit on trust and voice -- meeting 15].

Fourth week : Democratic reciprocity

Recall from you essay that democratic renewal requires efforts by both stakeholders and gatekeepers. Does the mediator effort you have joined provide a means of addressing an ailing indicator or does it contribute the democratic malaise? Or both? Why would you say this? Please provide concrete examples.

Final week : Responsibility and commitment

Why is a sense of civic responsibility important for democracy? Reflecting on your placement, do you think that the conversation between stakeholders and mediator encouraged a stronger sense of responsibility, or less? Is there a political narrative at work here [see Whitaker] Or, was there no change? What might occur, post-politically, to impact this change?

. After Placement: your Service-Learning Dossier **due within a week of your finishing, or before March 6**

As you perform your service-learning you will compile and eventually hand in a Dossier of your contributions throughout the process, to be marked. Not all placements are similar so the marking will take this into account.

Reflection serves as a data source, much as a text would, except that it is interactive. We grade the learning – in the context of Course themes -- not the service.

Your Dossier should have a substantive element of about 6pp. On p.1 put #1 below; on pp. 2-6 put answers to #2, below. Include in any leftover pages, or as an appendix, your reflections related to the TA's questions in "A" above. You do not need to recraft earlier emails if you feel they are OK…this is a Dossier, not a paper. Nor is it a detail description of what you did. In the appendix include too your introductory email to the Sponsor and any subsequent emails, especially your "thank you" at the end of service. If you wrote a report for your host that could be shared with the instructor you may append it. We will add your CCP waivers, if handed in.

1. Put on page 1 of your Dossier the following [this will permit a quick profile to the Department]

    Service-Learning for whom _____
    Contact person _____
    Focus of organization _____
    Nature of assignment[s] (in max. of two sentences) _____
    Venue _____
    Total hours _____
    Committee or individual work _____
    Was the task: __ face-to-face; __on line; __ literature review; __data manipulation; __ observation?
    How was your time spent? ___% data/document manipulation; ___% listening/recording; ___% facilitation
    ___% interviewing; ___% other

2. On the following six substantive pages address:
    [They may be in point form]

…What did you learn about yourself (attitude, preconceptions, presumptions, values) with regard to your service work in the community with whom you worked? How similar were you to the participants?

…What did you learn about this particular community (issues and challenges, resources and knowledge, priorities and diversity of values)? What have you learned about the likelihood of common action, reconciliation?

…How did the academic concepts inform your service? [e.g., what three course themes were illuminated?]

…How did your service redefine your learning of the course material? [e.g. when is "consultation" not consultation?]

…Did your exposure contribute to your: civic responsibility, political consciousness, social understanding, intellectual pursuit, self-awareness…etc?

…What three things stuck in your mind about your service; [e.g. was there adequate pre briefing by your partner? Did the CCP briefing/documentation help? Were the introductory emails appropriate?]

    Did you exceed 20 hrs; if so, what were your total hours? Did you finish after the due date? When/Why?

…How inviting was the service? Was the assignment challenging? How did you recover from a weak assignment? What might you have done differently? What might we have done differently?

…What are the positive outcomes and drawbacks to a service-learning placement for an academic course?

Submitting papers

Please ensure you understand the following rules. Your compliance demonstrates your scholarship and maturity. These provisions are strictly enforced. All work submitted to the Instructor will be marked; however, the grade entered on the student's record will depend on the following provisions.

In-class submission of a paper, on the day indicated, should be in person, and only until 6:10 pm. Students should always hand papers directly to the Instructor; don't trust it to a friend. Essays are due in class at the time specified; essays overdue *by even one minute* are deemed late and will have to be submitted to the Political Science Office, Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall, and time stamped. Late penalties will accrue until a hard copy of the paper is received and is time stamped by the Pol Sci Dept. No paper can be accepted after Term is completed. *Late papers incur a penalty of 5 marks per "day" late, or part thereof; a "day" extends from the due date/time [Tues 6:10pm] to Office closing the next day and similar closings until you submit, including weekends [you may submit to my home].*

Students should NEVER leave a paper in an Instructor's university mailbox; this is an excellent way to have your paper go missing and end up with a zero. Unless otherwise arranged with the instructor essays can NOT BE SUBMITTED by fax, e-mail or other electronic means. Students are responsible for keeping a hard copy of their papers handed into the Department and retaining them until a final grade is assigned. Please back up your work as you are writing it!

To be fair to all students, exemptions from non-attendance penalties or extensions for handing in written assignments are considered ONLY in cases of DOCUMENTED medical problems or of DOCUMENTED immediate* family emergencies [*parents, siblings, children]. There are NO extensions issued for problems of time management, conflicts with other courses, part-time work, technical problems, delayed transit or holidays. Students should notify the instructor as soon as possible in advance of any deadline of a request for extension. You will help your cause if you alert us right away about your problem; **don't** tell us after the due date.

Documentation must be precise. It must be the original of the UofT medical; note, not a copy. According to the A&S Calendar (www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar/rules.htm#petitions): "the physician's report must establish that the patient was examined and diagnosed at the time of illness, not after the fact. The Faculty will not accept a statement that merely confirms a report of illness made by the student for documentation by the physician. General ailments such as 'gastroenteritis', 'headaches' or 'muscle aches' for which we receive a note from different walk-in clinics are rarely acceptable".

It remains at the instructor's discretion whether or not to accept a late assignment. DO NOT ASSUME IT ON YOUR PART. You will help your cause if you alert us right away about your problem; don't tell us after the deadline. Extensions are entirely at the discretion of the instructor and are proportionate to his judgement of the crisis. For example, a doctor's note indicating the student has had the flu merely indicates that the final version of the paper may have been affected, not that the two weeks to research and prepare the paper should be granted. Illness on the due date should not require any more preparation time. If in doubt about these provisions, please consult the instructor in advance. These provisions are strictly enforced.

Number your pages; include page # in your footnote/textnote. You must include on your paper a word count that excludes the bibliography or foot/end notes; failure to do so will result in a 2 mark deduction from your paper's grade .You may exceed or fall short of the paper's wordage by 5%; then 1 mark will be deducted from your grade for every 100 wds [or part] above or below this margin of 5%.

Marking will include the following: "**V"** means I think a reference is needed here; AWK means a expression is confusing or you are using "must" or an exhortation; SS is a sentence fault; SP is spelling error. Sideheads are helpful as signposts.

If you have the printer capacity, please print double-sided.
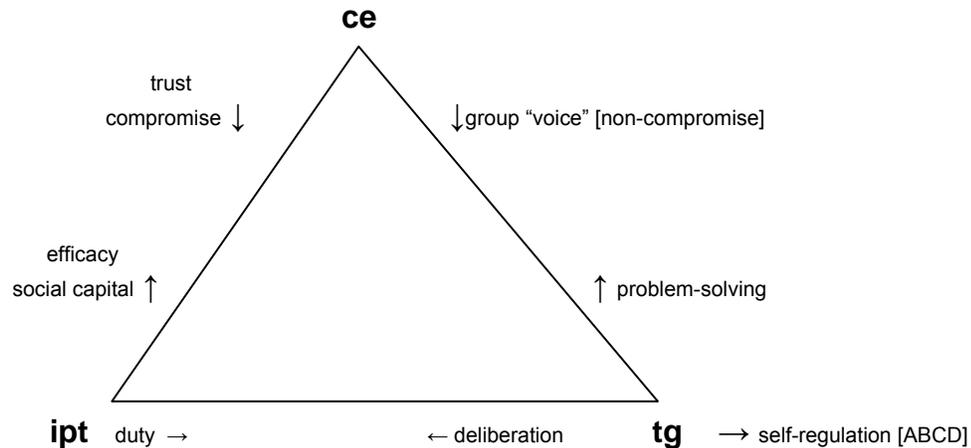
You as a policy Doctor: moving to a no-deficit scenario

What is the remedial path to a lessened democratic deficit?

See the triangle below: we are looking for a sense of **efficacy**, leading to **engagement**, producing **reciprocal trust** [horizontal and vertical] resulting in **co-operative problem-solving**

How to get there:

Promote through **social capital** [anti-individualism, covenants and rule-following]; **engagements** [s,c,p] that build confidence; broaden elitism through **voice**; de-concentrate power through **self-regulation**; overcome episodic citizenship through **duty**; reduce minority or majority tyranny though **compromise**; and pursue **reasoned and accountable** deliberation [social cohesion, inclusion and rights are end results]

ce

trust
compromise ↓   ↓group "voice" [non-compromise]

efficacy
social capital ↑   ↑ problem-solving

ipt duty →   ← deliberation **tg** → self-regulation [ABCD]

Course Framing: The diagnostic challenge

1. The symptoms

The medical question for the body politic is: "is there a democratic deficit; what causes, and remedies it"? Often there is a set of unwellness indicators [e.g., low voting, low sense of efficacy, low bridging] leading to "don't know"/ "don't care" symptoms, heightened by the excessive individualism of the post-materialism age which leads to not relating [bonding or bridging]. We see this as primarily an attitudinal deficit: people and governments lack the disposition to trust, and hence each gives up on the other.

We'll starts by identifying low trust in government and in the public:

- there is an "attitudinal deficit": lack of norms, reciprocity, trust and no sense of a "common good"; the public can't be trusted to be rational [Yankelovich]; government can't be trusted to give public a "voice" [Phillips]

- there is a gap between what Canadians expect of their political institutions in terms of democratic governance and what they perceive as reality: the increased concentration of power in the hands of the few – the PM and his court; the political influence of a business elite/special interests, and the lack of MP accountability with their failure to act as delegates [Aucoin]

We'll identify a low sense of efficacy [Nevitte/Patten]:

- the inability of citizens to have more than an episodic influence on the conduct of Parliament
- the downsizing of the state to NGO's puts too many policy-significant administrative decisions beyond democratic politics
- an atomistic view of society, with market/experts on top, such that political society is seen as an aggregation of individuals – group politics is dismissed as special pleadings

- the politics of cultural recognition is attacked as being incapable of acting in the "national interest", promoting set asides, privileges for the few, and the politics of minoritization
- voting is non-rational; there is no reward for acting rationally

We'll identify low citizenship/duty – rights not accompanied by responsibilities--[Putnam] with a lack of interest and involvement in the political process; and moral individualism:

> "To work properly, liberal democracy has always been dependent on certain shared *cultural* values. The tendency of contemporary liberal democracies to fall prey to excessive individualism is perhaps their greatest long term vulnerability…. There are serious problems with a culture of unbridled individualism in which the breaking of rules and tradition becomes in a sense the only remaining rule. The first has to do with the fact that moral values and social rules are not simply arbitrary constraints on individual choice but the preconditions for any kind of co-operative enterprise. … Individuals amplify their own powers by following co-operative rules that constrain their freedom of choice because these also allow them to communicate with others and to co-ordinate their actions". [Fukuyama]

2. The points of inquiry [what do we measure to gauge health?]

We'll then look at elements of the attitudinal deficits at the three stages of governance:

a) the *pre-political stage* where social cohesion, social capital, and trust promote civic awareness of a quality of governance and responsibilities. We assessed whether this is a social or legislated phenomenon.

b) the *political stage* of governance -- where citizen-government dialogue is critical here. But is there citizen "readiness" – how informed, rational, adaptable an input can they be and, will there be "reciprocity" by government offering different stages and depths of "consultation"?

c) the post governance stage by which is meant the point at which government is willing to release rule-making to others [off/downloading]. This post-deliberation *"co-governance"* may involve using the 3rd sector, corporatism or maybe even communities.

3. Treatment/Recovery

Next we'll moved onto the recovery stage: We have started a broad-scale review of a road to recovery – always remembering we are briefing a minister with re-election in mind, no $$, and maxed out on rights language in the Charter.

a) we asked whether the 3rd sector could help at all three stages

b) we'll explore whether the 1st sector can and does enhance reciprocity and access at the political stage or would be willing to enter a post political stage [ABCD] of community self-development

c) at the same political stage we'll look at whether there is political readiness on the part of the "citizen" and what can be expected of him/her to be informed, rational and open to compromise. Within this diagnostic we'll ask whether education hurts or helps civic engagement, whether diversity is a problem, whether Gen X is a problem, whether "citizenship" is too narrow, and whether public judgement, not just public opinion, is realistic.

d) then we'll move on to look at the realities of groups having "voice"; how to "deliver" co-governance to communities; what are community dynamics; and whether the legal system [courts] can actually deliver a win=win democratic-like compromise in legal matters of rights. We will return to reality with a sober examination of why elites always win -- or whether they must.

Recovery: mapping our actions

Pre-political [social, civic engagement]

 - political involvement is pre-determined by social and civic associations
 - how much social capital and social cohesion do we have?

- social capital is highest in smaller settings, homogeneity fosters trust, shared experiences/language, easier tacit communications, fosters mutuality, face-to-face
- for power, tho, density, large scale matters; smaller can be parochial, NIMBY, pro inertia
- federating help facilitate both: bridging and mixing of homogeneous groups
- to overcome tough bridging use common spaces/events [fairs]; creative and performing arts/religion best at bringing together the ethnically diverse

Political [political engagement]

 - enhanced citizen involvement requires citizenship skills first
 - what is the status of political readiness and political reciprocity?

- encourage public opinion to become public judgement?
- provide routine possibilities for participation and connection

Post-political [grassroots empowerment]

 - governance does not mean only "government" but handbacks
 - what's the disposition to co-governance?

- decentralized gov't fosters access, human-scale, comprehensability, training, co-decisionmaking
- reuse existing social networks [libraries/schools], friendships [churches] to build self-reliance
- create common spaces: building, parks, newspapers, internet, opportunities for encounters to encourage overlap of interests and 'multistrandedness' [that's why chatrooms and designer TV channels are so bad as you will not encounter the unexpected/unfamiliar]
- create new spaces/events for recognition, connection, conversation [street parties, arts centres]

Glossary of Terms re the Democratic Deficit

Body politic is a metaphor. It suggests that a nation is considered to be an organic whole like human body with government as the head of state, and includes the citizens, public servants and corporation as other anatomical parts. Analogies can be made between the supposed causes of human disorders and their equivalents in the political field. See Hobbes.

Democracy

Democracy: Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives [Schmitter]

Direct democracy: direct links between elected officials and citizen that give them greater unmediated control through referenda, recall, e-democracy; greatest accountability but episodic, except for e-democracy

Representative democracy [voting]: formal mediated expression of citizen interests with greater accuracy in expression and more effectiveness/consistency in MP representation; accountable but episodic.

Associational democracy [interest aggregation]: voluntary CSOs [family, faith, interest, ideology] that perform a role of: service delivery, advocacy, and citizenship-building [social capital] role. May be elite driven or resolved; ongoing process but fitful

Deliberative democracy [iterative deliberation]: face-to-face inclusive reasoning among citizens and with public officials; accountability. Unlike CSO advocacy it is considering together different points of view and coming to a reasoned decision [not elite driven or resolved]; may be episodic or ongoing.

E-Democracy denotes using IT in political and governance processes for broader and more active citizen participation. But since it is virtual membership/deliberation in a self-selected community if "belonging" as a part of social cohesion denotes "…to a local community in term of face-to-face contact [Jenson p. 19; also Putnam, ch. 9], this element is lacking.

Social Capital
[from www.cfsv.org/communitysurvey]

It's the store of goodwill in a organization, community or association that permits people to get along or get ahead

Social capital describes networks, norms and trust that make possible collective action. Civic engagement may generate this condition – it is impossible to legislate it [See Jenson pp. 26-27].

Among literally hundreds of different measures of social capital in the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, some people (or communities) broadly are more (or less) socially connected. People with lots of friends are more likely to vote more, to attend church more often, and to bowl in leagues. This means that you can speak of a person (or a community) as being generally high (or low) in social capital. On the other hand, closer examination reveals different sub-dimensions (comparable to the difference between mathematical, verbal, emotional, and spatial intelligence).

What follows is a brief description of different facets of social capital … There are two dimensions of "social trust" (whether you trust others), two measures of political participation, two measures of civic leadership and associational involvement …

Trust
   Social trust at the core of social capital is the question of whether you can trust other people. Often this trust is forged with specific people through common participation in groups, associations, and activities. Nevertheless, when this trust transcends from trust of specific individuals to generalized trust, it is extraordinarily valuable. Much like cash is more efficient than barter (because it eliminates the need to negotiate each transaction), generalized social trust is extremely important in lubricating social interaction and getting things accomplished. Our first index of social trust combines trust of people in one's neighborhood, coworkers, shop clerks, co-religionists, local police, and finally "most people."

Inter-racial trust: as we've discussed earlier, a critical challenge facing communities attempting to build social capital is the fact that it is simply harder to do in places that are more diverse. The measure of inter-racial trust looks at the extent to which different racial groups (whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) trust one another and is thus one proxy for the health of inter-racial relations in a community.

Diversity of friendships: equally important to their levels of social trust are how diverse people's social networks are. These "bridging ties" are especially valuable in producing community solidarity and in forging a larger consensus on how communities need to change or work together.

Political participation
Conventional politics participation: One of the key measures for how engaged we are in communities is the extent to which we are involved politically... how many in our communities are registered to vote, actually vote, express interest in politics, are knowledgeable about political affairs and read the newspaper regularly?

*Protest politics participation:*The data in the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey indicate that many communities that exhibit low levels of participation in conventional/electoral ways, nonetheless exhibit high levels of participation in protest forms, such as taking part in marches, demonstrations, boycotts, rallies, participating in groups that took action for local reform, participating in labour and ethnically-related groups. This dimension is a composite of those types of participation.

Civic leadership and associational involvement**:** Many people typically get involved locally by joining groups that they care about (be they veterans groups, sports groups, literary groups, or new age poetry clubs). We measured such engagement in three ways:

Civic Leadership: this is a composite measure both of how frequently respondents were engaged in groups, clubs and local discussions of town or school affairs, and also whether the respondent took a leadership role within these groups. Communities that rank high on this aspect of social capital benefit from a hum of civic activity.

Associational involvement: … participation in the following types of groups: organizations affiliated with religion; sports clubs, leagues, or outdoor activities; youth organizations; parent associations or other school support groups; veterans groups; neighbourhood associations, seniors groups, charity or social welfare organizations, labour unions, trade, farm or business associations; service or fraternal organizations; ethnic, nationality , or civil rights organizations; political groups; literary, art, or musical groups; hobby, investment, or garden clubs; self-help programs; groups that meet only over the Internet; and any other type of groups or associations.

Informal socializing: While many communities (or individuals) are either higher or lower generally in social capital, some communities or individuals are more likely to develop social connections through formal memberships and associations ("machers") and others are more likely to develop these connections through informal friendships ("schmoozers"). While the "civic leadership" and "associational involvement" measured above capture the formal social ties, the "informal socializing" dimension measures the degree to which residents had friends-over to their home, hung out with friends in a public place, socialized with co-workers outside of work, played cards or board games with others, and visited with relatives

Social Cohesion
[from Jenson]

- shared values and commitment to community which comprises: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, legitimacy

- may be social or legislated [thru democratic dialogue, space for claims, reducing disparities in wealth and income – or at least equality of opportunity, enabling people to be engaged]

- social order may be a "consequence more of values than interests, of consensus more than conflict and of social practices more than political action [Jenson p. vii]

- social cohesion is : a process, a definition of who is in the community, shared values: a sense of commitment and a desire to live some part together,

- some turn to gov't; others to 3rd sector to foster: some see it as getting a job [social economy]. Some say democracy plays no role in fostering social order but rather markets, other private institutions including families, churches, so on.

- others say that in a plural society living with value conflicts is a product of institutions: social cohesion is a collective construct not just an aggregation of individual decisions

Common Good or Common Values – see discussion on p. 31, 38 of Jenson. Value diversity may be a hallmark of modernity and pluralism; the diversity <u>per se</u> may not be the problem but the *management* of conflict may be.

Common Good
[from Breton <u>op.cit.</u>]

A concern for the well-being of others; well-being = fairness in the functioning of society, recognition, trust in relationships with others; institutional trust, sense of belonging, mutual indebtedness, mutual obligations, and contributions to the functioning of society [p.177]

…favoured by those who are collectively oriented and not so much by those who are self-oriented [i.e., life as a personal project]… may be a concern for the common good but no feeling of personal *responsibility* for it…may need to be a shift from the "politics of identity" to the "politics of community" [p. 188]

The public sphere may be responsible for the common good: policies that determine the quality of life. Gov't is the one institution of which all citizens are members. Their power should be used to generate and mobilize resources to attain common goals ..goals that benefit society as a whole.

Reduced radius of trust
[from F. Fukuyama, <u>Atlantic Monthly</u> May 1999, p. 71]

Despite the decline in trust group memberships are increasing… but on a reduced radius of trust;the authority of most large organizations [e.g., church] has declined and the importance of a host of smaller organizations has grown [these are designer organizations] characterized by likemindedness [chat rooms]. So there is the rise of interest groups at the price of broadly based political parties. So they choose low-cost-of-entry, low-consequence [non-consequential living] groups. Each "community" is thus a smaller circle than before and has little hold on its members. The rise of moral individualism means the "minaturization of community" [p. 72]

Communicative Action is the disposition to communicate across national, linguistic and ideological barriers to reach a mutual understanding based on people talking *to* and *with* each other, not *at* each other [Yankelovich p. 216]

Civic culture
[from Breton, A. <u>A Fragile Social Fabric</u>]

Includes a normative and *social covenant* among people, and with the state institutions, as to what individuals can expect form their society [rights] and their society can expect from them [responsibilities], e.g., fair treatment, full acceptance, respect, trust in dealings with others, social obligations, and recognition of their contribution to community. A market culture, based on individual[ism] accumulation, elevates private greed, self interest, self-reliance and perpetuates inequalities. [Although, oddly, even market transactions require social norms of trust/fairness/mutual obligations/fidelity but these are means, not ends]. [pp. 4-17]

"At an earlier period in our society's history the church may have been the central guardian, preserving the civic culture and assuring the good functioning of society. Today, however, even though churches still have a role, governmental institutions have the primary responsibility to strengthen the social fabric and to deal with threats to its integrity." [p. 16]

Covenant
Society relies on a social and normative infrastructure….The infrastructure involves an *implicit covenant* that defines what individuals can expect from the society and what society can expect from them. This covenant is part of the *civic culture* of the society.

The covenant defines what individuals can count on when dealing with each other and with institutions… such as full acceptance, respect, fair treatment and trust in dealing with others. these are ideals that people expect to see incorporated in public policies.

The covenant defines what the society and its institutions can count on in terms of inputs and responses from individuals in the pursuit of the common good. They define what people are willing to do to support each other and sustain the collective capacity to cope with …problems

Thus membership entails obligations…members owe something to each other. The boundaries of membership identify those for whom one has a certain sense of responsibility…

This focus is relevant at a time when a pervasive *market culture* is eroding the *civic culture* underlying the social covenant….

Implicit is rejection of the view of society as merely a mass of individuals…simply engaged in economic transactions as consumers/taxpayers…[to] …a conception of society at a set of interdependent people engaged in a multiplicity of different kinds of social relations and collective projects promoting: belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy.

"… there is a worry that people no longer have a sense of higher purpose…[that they] lost the broader view because they focus on their individual lives" p. 8 Breton

When assessing the state of society it is therefore crucial that the society not be reduced to a marketplace with its material infrastructure. We need to take account of the quality of social relations among people and between individuals and the collectivities in which they live, *quality* being define by the experience of fairness, trust, belonging, indebtedness, mutual obligations, and social contributions.

Citizenship

A sense of responsibility, not entitlement; an ability to tolerate each other; a desire to participate in political process to seek and promote public good, willingness to show self-restraint. People fail at citizenship not because they are apathetic but because they do not think their action or views make any real difference

Citizen readiness is the citizen's capacity and willingness to engage in politics using public judgement, not just public opinion

Social engagement: participation in an affinity group for mutual self-benefit [ski club]

Civic engagement: citizen participation in non-political, non-market civic organizations for civic betterment [Rotary]

Political engagement: membership in a political party or action group for the purpose of changing or initiating public policy [Liberals Greenpeace]

Political Engagement
[from Cameron]

maybe it's just limited participation in citizen responsibilities: voting, paying attn to public issues, attending formal political events and working on campaign

OR

not just choosing a political representative and influencing them, but going beyond to deliberative democracy or public judgement:
- either as individuals or groups
- initiated by gov't, 3rd sector or individual
- adequate advanced info
- open process, facilitated
- long enuf to permit deliberation, not just a "consultation"
- accountable process, feedback about decisions

and disengagement may not mean unengagement but re-engagement elsewhere [p. 24].

Gidengil says "the same people who grassroots/protests are the same who vote" p.173

Social Learning: Voluntarism

Occurs in one's lifetime through
- youth civic activity
- religious affiliation
- civic participation
- parenting
- informal helping

Social Values
Volunteering is more a product of social dynamics than of one single motive or sense of individualistic gain.

Social reasoning is rooted in six possible values:
- Fulfilling an interest [instrumentalist]
- Helping others [altruist]
- Improving the world [idealist]
- Kids [familist]
- Meeting people [connectors]
- Building community services [supporters]
  [See Laforest & Reed *The Social Logic of Contributory Behaviour*]

→ is derived from a context called [pro]social embeddedness

Social Embeddedness [Reed & Selbee *Distinguishing Characteristics of Active Volunteers* 2000]
Is the link to one's social context; consists of: social connectivity, social continuity, social anchoring.
a) social connectedness

Measures the breadth of a person's involvement in the "community"; is an index of the degree to which people are involved in their community: membership in civic associations, interaction with family and friends, church attendance, length of residence in the community, number of organizations volunteered for, informal helping

Proximate connectivity: entails awareness of and attention to a limited radius of individuals and groups; mainly family or affinity group→ informal volunteering

Extended connectivity: attention to a radius of individuals and groups beyond one's immediate social world; e.g., membership in civic organizations, religious groups, service clubs → formal volunteering

Exposure to connectivity determines volunteering: needs, causes, acquaintances, requests, directly related to level of connectivity but hard to find consistent significance among volunteers

b) social continuity

Assessment of the length of time one enjoys same job, friends, marriage, residence positively correlated with a disposition to volunteer.

c) social anchoring

The extent of value, beliefs, life-ordering principles

Individual's other-directed considerations: awareness/respect for beliefs, values, needs, feelings of others determined by his involvement in a specific socio-political context; he is NOT just a possessive individualist. Politics is a feature of the ties of citizens to each other; not just an upwards link of individuals to government in a methodological individualism. Modern citizenship is not just a vertical reciprocal relationship between government - individuals; citizens are horizontally, politically interdependent. Collective action includes conceptions of the common good and one's responsibility to the collective. Compliance, participation, collective action, and public opinion are a feature of social anchoring.

Signs of social anchoring are:
- Recognition of a civic or communal good
- Belief in necessity of active personal involvement in contributing to the common good
- A worldview that is universalistic, inclusive, trusting and prosocial rather than individualistic

- A worldview that sees individuals as interconnected
- A "culture of coherence" which recognizes the connection of the individual to others in society rooted in religion and republicanism
- A heightened sense of social responsibility

So, three characteristics of social embeddedness produce:

- Basis for shared meanings,
- Fosters awareness and support for collective good
- Increases likelihood of concerted action
- Provides basis for concerns re fairness/justice
- Greater adaptability to social change and social heterogeneity

Third, voluntary Sector – organizations neither gov't [1st sector] or business [2nd sector] that provide charitable social services for needy others, often largely volunteer driven; most revenue from donations although some gov't fund for delivering programs; independent of government, non-profit; other- not self-help: no return to the donor

Social Economy -- Another name for [part of] the third sector; those self-help social associations that produce services for members with economic benefit [unions, housing/daycare co-ops, caisses, mutuals, Scouts, YMCA, arts organizations]; often [membership] fee is paid and any profits ploughed back. A very diffuse term: Google <<social economy OISE>>.

Reciprocity

Political reciprocity is the capacity/willingness of government to accept and engage citizen deliberative input. "Recapturing citizen engagement without political reform is a mug's game. The forces distancing citizens from conventional politics are far too powerful for that. In any case, it is not the duty of citizens to bend themselves to the needs of political institutions but the responsibility of institutions and political leaders to adapt themselves to what their people require" [p. 44 Cameron]

Culture of technical control stresses information not judgement: the policy decision depends on highly specialized knowledge and skills; that only experts possess this knowledge; the voters are apathetic to issues not directly affecting their pocketbook interests; that where the public does have a view it is accurately reflected in public opinion; that elected official represent the view of the public well; that public "education", where experts share their information with the voter will do if consultation is "mandatory"; the media can impart the information and understanding the public needs; [paraphrased, p. 9]

Corporate influence

"70% of Canadians feel that our country is run by a few big interest looking out only for themselves"

"Canadian believe that the actions of the corporate elite are among the most significant determinants of social fragility" [p.182.Breton]. Gov't leaders are seen as influenced primarily by large corporations and the wealthy rather than by citizens.

Public opinion is a snapshot of non-reflective thinking in the abstract conceived at the time of the out-of-context question [Yankelovich, p. 5-6] …it becomes public judgement when the public accepts responsibility for the consequences of its view… [p.24]

Public judgement is a state of highly developed public opinion that exits once people have engaged an issue, considered it from all sides, understood the choices it leads to and accepted the full consequences of the choices they make [p. 6] [Yankelovich. p. 24]

Good data alone does not make good choices: it involves the world of values, ethics, politics and life philosophies [p.7]

Government consultation exercises: "citizen consultation" asks for citizen input on one or more policy options; "citizen engagement" invites citizens to policy table before options are developed [Aucoin/Turnbull; see also BC Auditor's Report]
Co-governance -- the sharing of the state's authority to govern among different public decisionmaking assemblies

A **Community needs** [charity] model of recovery tends to encourage the notion that individual projects are a substitute for focusing on larger structural, community capacity building issues; It focuses on "needs" "problems" and "deficiencies". It often separates people into "helpers" from "helped" and sets up a relationship where the perceivably helpless people are targets for good and virtuous works of mercy and compassion by the more "privileged" members of society.

Community development is more a way of thinking and acting than a specific activity or program. It is based on values and beliefs such as participation, empowerment, mutual respect, and reciprocity. Communities speak and self-discover and self-remedy

From Cameron, D. "The Landscape of Civic Engagement in Ontario' Report for Cabinet Office Aug 2002

From the point of view of our inquiry into civic engagement, what we would wish to draw the reader's attention to is that each of the conceptualizations of social capital is preoccupied with the sphere of the social world that lies beyond the political and the economic, and the character of human relations that obtain within that sphere. Less explicit in the definitions themselves, but very much a working assumption supporting most of the writing on social capital, is the belief that there is a relationship between the state of social capital in a region or country and the quality of its government. Robert Putnam, based on his study of regional governments in Italy, asserts the link baldly, when he states that "good government in Italy is a by-product of singing groups and soccer clubs."44

Social cohesion is an idea that came into broad use in western countries in the last decade and a half. It speaks to the disquiet observers and policy makers feel about the atomizing and alienating effects of recent political and economic practices, which have diminished the supportive role of the government and left people more to their own individual devices. While satisfied with the fiscal and economic benefits that have come with the implementation of a range of programs reflecting neo-liberal beliefs about state and market, officials and analysts have been less content with what appear to be the negative social impacts of these changes. It is in this context that a number of international organizations, such as the OECD, and many western countries began to concern themselves with social cohesion. A 1997 OECD working group claimed that social cohesion "raises questions about our current grim realities," and asked the following questions: "Why is it that we can no longer, as we could yesterday, live together in accordance with our common values? How can we reinvent for tomorrow our ability to live successfully together?"45

Several of the definitions that we will mention below reveal the extent to which there is overlap with social capital theory. The main difference appears to be that social cohesion theorists tend to focus on the desired social outcomes of integration and the sharing of values, while students of social capital are more inclined to concentrate on the elements and processes, such as trust an reciprocity, that give rise to a shared sense of fate and identity. Here are several definitions of social cohesion, taken from Jane Jenson's thoughtful monograph on the subject.46 The first is from the working group of the Commissariat general du Plan of the French government:

"Social cohesion is a set of social processes that help instil in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognised as members of that community."

The second is from the Government of Canada's Policy Research Sub-Committee on Social Cohesion. Social cohesion, the Committee asserts, is:

"The ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians."

Jenson identifies five dimensions of social cohesion in the work of those who write about the concept:

Belonging, which involves shared values and feeling part of the same community;

Inclusion especially, the opportunity to participate in the economic life of the country

Participation especially political participation

Recognition of difference and the inevitable pluralism associated with modern life; and,

Legitimacy, meaning that the social, economic and political institutions of the modern state are acknowledged by its citizens to be authoritative and valid.

Acknowledging that social cohesion is a contested concept, Jenson makes the point that exponents of this understanding of society are inclined to see social order "as the consequence of values more than interests, of consensus more than conflict, and of social practices more than political action," and that an agenda based on this model risks down playing claims for social justice and recognition, a point of particular significance for a pluralistic modern democracy like Canada.47

Daniel Yankelovich has developed the idea of public judgement to get at one of the central deficiencies of modern representative government, and how it could be improved.48 He is concerned with the distance that has developed between citizens and those who influence or wield political power in the state -elected representatives, senior bureaucrats, policy elites, opinion makers and the like. He contends that the gulf between the citizen and his or her representative, and the frustration the public feels with politicians and the political process are understandable, when one takes account of the inequality between the two.

The governing elites in a society spend much of their time and effort engaged in attending an informal 'policy university', that is, a world of conferences, think tanks, policy journals, discussion groups and so forth, in which sustained analysis and conversation is carried on with respect to the major public issues the society is confronting. This deep, continuing discourse, informs the policy preferences of members of this group.

The citizen, on the other hand, has none of these advantages, and is not creatively invited by the policy elites to participate in this ongoing process. The citizen is expected to vote in general elections, but not do much of the other democratic work associated with the healthy political existence of the community. When he or she is suddenly called upon for broader participation, little information and less time for consideration and discussion

44 <u>Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy</u> {Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 176.

45 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, <u>Societal Cohesion and the Globalizing Economy</u> {Paris: OECD, 1997), p. 13. Cited in Jenson, op cit, p. 5

46 <u>Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research</u> (CPRN Study No. F/O3, 1998), p. 4.

47 Op. cit., p. vii and pp. 35-9.

48 He has published a number of works that develop his ideas on the subject: See, for example, Daniel Yankelovich, <u>Coming to Public Judgment: Making Democracy Work in a Complex World</u>

(Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press. 1991); Daniel Yankelovich and I.M. Destler, eds. <u>Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy</u> (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

F. Fukuyama "Social Capital and Civil Society" 1999 IMF Conference on Second Generation Reforms

Another way of approaching this question is through the concept of the "radius of trust.". All groups embodying social capital have a certain radius of trust, that is, the circle of people among whom cooperative norms are operative. If a group's social capital produces positive externalities, the radius of trust can be larger than the group itself. It is also possible for the radius of trust to be smaller than the membership of the group, as in large organizations that foster cooperative norms only among the group's leadership or permanent staff. A modern society may be thought of as a series of concentric and overlapping radii of trust. These can range from friends and cliques up through NGOs and religious groups.

Virtually all forms of traditional culture-social groups like tribes, clans, village associations, religious sects, etc.-are based on shared norms and use these norms to achieve cooperative ends. The literature on development has not, as a general rule, found social capital in this form to be an asset; it is much more typically regarded as a liability. Economic modernization was seen as antithetical to traditional culture and social organizations, and would either wipe them away or else be itself blocked by forces of traditionalism. Why should this be so, if social capital is genuinely a form of capital?

The reason, in my view, has to do with the fact that such groups have a narrow radius of trust. In-group solidarity reduces the ability of group members to cooperate with outsiders, and often imposes negative externalities on the latter. For example, in the Chinese parts of East Asia and much of Latin America, social capital resides largely in families and a rather narrow circle of personal friends. It is difficult for people to trust those outside of these narrow circles. Strangers fall into a different category than kin; a lower standard of moral behavior applies when one becomes, for example, a public officials. This provides cultural reinforcement for corruption: in such societies, one feels entitled to steal on behalf of one's family.

Traditional social groups are also afflicted with an absence of what Mark Granovetter calls "weak ties," that is, heterodox individuals at the periphery of the society's various social networks who are able to move between groups and thereby become bearers of new ideas and information. Traditional societies are often segmentary, that is, they

are composed of a large number of identical, self-contained social units like villages or tribes. Modern societies, by contrast, consist of a large number of overlapping social groups that permit multiple memberships and identities. Traditional societies have fewer opportunities for weak ties among the segments that make it up, and therefore pass on information, innovation, and human resources less easily.

Civic Engagement, Trust, and Democracy

The civil society / social capital literature offers a potential explanation for civic disengagement that warrants careful consideration and empirical investigation. The basic argument is as follows: advanced industrialized nations, particularly the United States, have in recent years experienced a decline in the quality of civil society. This decline is manifested in decreasing levels of associational membership and a tendency away from recreational activities in groups. With this decline of civic engagement comes a decline in interpersonal trust. The existence of a relationship between civic engagement and interpersonal trust is predicated on the assumption that involvement in the life of the community instils in individuals the habits and practices of cooperation. Those who are engaged in the community, according to this theory, are more likely to be predisposed to trust others, and assume that others will behave according to a sort of unwritten code enshrining norms of reciprocity. Trust, in turn, is necessary to a functioning democracy. Numerous empirical studies conducted over the past forty years have shown a correlation between interpersonal trust and the persistence of democratic institutions. According to Brehm and Rahn, '[t]hese norms [of reciprocity] become part of a community's social capital, allowing people to make inferences about the intentions of others even when direct knowledge about them is unavailable. Generalized trust allows people to move out of familiar relationships in which trust is based on knowledge accumulated from long experience with particular people. If outcomes in a democracy are inherently uncertain ...such global trust may be necessary in order for people to support democratic arrangements. From this notion, it is clear that declining trust could potentially affect confidence in and willingness to engage with democratic governance.

The past decade has witnessed a resurgence of interest among social scientists studying industrialized democracies in the idea of 'civil society' and 'social capital.' There are several reasons for this resurgence of interest; they include influence from scholars studying the importance of civil society in democratization processes in Eastern Europe and developing nations, and the publication of Robert Putnam's provocative works *Making Democracy Work* and 'Bowling Alone.' As William Galston observed, 'seldom has a thesis moved so quickly from scholarly obscurity to conventional wisdom ...Putnam's argument has touched a nerve. Most Americans believe that during the past forty years, important aspects of their society may have changed for the worse.'

One might speculate that this resurgence of interest is at least in part a reaction to the conditions of post-modern or post-industrial social organization. In a heterogenous society where there are ever fewer shared beliefs, cultural references, and practices, where the population is increasingly mobile and thus unrooted, where familial ties are strained by distances, where family structure has been transformed, and where we often seem to lack common purpose and common identity, the communitarian impulse of the civil society and social capital argument is without doubt highly attractive to many. That said, this literature frequently comes under attack for its nostalgic portrait of a bygone era as the golden age of civil society. Critics point out -entirely correctly - that such nostalgia can contain an unrealistic and possibly undesirable longing to return to an era that predates women's entry into the paid workforce, greater freedoms for women, increased legal and social tolerance of ethnic and sexual diversity, and a relaxation of punishing social norms dressed up as conventional morality. [Fukuyama]