

EARLY DRAFT
POL 494H1-F

Citizenship – Renewing Civic Engagement

AH206 Weds 6-8 pm
Office Hours Weds 4-6 pm TF 002

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Course Description

This Course assesses the vitality of Canada’s citizenship in the context of its overall democratic health. Citizenship is both a right and a **responsibility**. “Active citizenship involves building caring communities that embody both rights and responsibilities [E. Shragge]. “Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country” [JF Kennedy]. “It’s about we, not me” [B. Obama].

To enjoy or exercise citizenship may be more a **matter of attitude** than institutions. While other Courses may focus on remedies that involve extending rights via legal, Charter or institutional (e.g., electoral or parliamentary) reform – or “what government can do for *us*” -- this Course considers *our* decline in collective values, trust, and reciprocity as factors affecting duty, respect, the common good, responsibility and efficacy. The overall objective of the Course is to provide students with an understanding of, and possible remedies for, their generation’s low citizen (civic and political) engagement. How do we motivate and empower citizenship?

This is a pragmatic “how-to” Course. It increases your job market-ability! It aims to teach how to provide policy analysis and advice for day-to-day governance. It focuses on practical solutions for public figures. Thus the Course is supplemented by coaching sessions led by community actors and past students now practising in a policy environment. **Coaches** will also initiate role-play situations. Writing assignments are aimed at producing an industry-standard **Briefing Note** containing policy advice on concrete steps to improve democratic participation.

It is also supplemented by Community exposure through attendance at one or more public consultations outside of Class hours. Since politics is the art of “getting to yes” over divisive economic/ social/cultural matters among stakeholders who may disagree, students can be empowered in their senior years of study to understand and facilitate this. This Course includes a unique experiential format using community-interface negotiations among many interests and priorities. The student participates with intentional learning goals, which permit reflection on the role, objectives, challenges and achievements of stakeholder accommodation, from the Course perspective. .

Community-exposed learning aims to stimulate lifelong leadership skills in civic participation. It *is* active citizenship! Your attending at a municipal or NGO consultation is pre-designed to help test the ideas studied in the Course and develop your **critical reasoning, life choices** and civic awareness. In our stakeholder mapping exercise students will: explore 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; evaluate the potential for common ground in complex multi-stakeholder environments.

Course Learning Objectives

The Course first develops a diagnostic of the elements in a “democratic deficit”. To remedy this deficit based on **citizenship**, we then survey the stimulation of social cohesion, public judgement and social capital in our civic society as preconditions for heightened political engagement, which, indeed, **governments** should reciprocate. Next, we consider those citizen initiatives to overcome low civic engagement through voluntarism, direct/participatory/representative/associational democratic processes, and community self-development. Finally, we consider what government can do to enrich civic activism.

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 nation’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

[note: this marking scheme is currently a draft version and will be revised when the Course commences]

12 weeks of 2 hour classroom seminars *plus* additional hours attending public hearings. Written assignments include: a) a Briefing Note survey of the citizen deficit literature (25%); b) Stakeholder mapping 15%; c) a second Briefing Note that explores Course remedies for low citizenship (30%); Consultation attendance 15%. Class participation/presentation (15%). The draft content of written assignments listed in this Syllabus may be later superseded by Class handouts. Contents of our weekly meeting, listed below, may be altered.

This is a role-play course where you are learning the skills of a policy analyst/adviser. You are client-driven. Following protocols, formats, and timely delivery of your products is a must. The penalty for late material is 5 marks off the project grade every 24 hours or part, including weekends, until the end of Term, thereafter the paper is not accepted. If written work misses the specified word count by 5% more or less there is a deduction of 1 mark for every 100 wds *or part* over or under. Attendance: one mark will be deducted per missed Class; two or fewer absences will not incur the penalty. *Documented medical or extreme family matters may waive or lessen the penalty.* To be fair to all students these rules are strictly applied.

Please ensure you know the Faculty rules re Plagiarism: see <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>
Ensure you can download/print a significant volume of Course readings. Please communicate by email using only your UTOR email address; attachments must be in Word, not pdf.

Required Readings

Course readings are provided on Blackboard; most texts are also available at Kelly Library. Class handouts **[Issue Notes]** are provided weekly and should be assembled into your own Coursepack. You may be quizzed in Class on your readings... Sources for the following citation may be found on-line in POL 494 Blackboard

Part I: Diagnostic Framework

Meeting 1: How to Understand Citizenship [Sept 14]

- introduction to: Service-Learning, Diagnostics and Briefing Notes

Cameron, D. "The Landscape of Civic Engagement in Ontario" (2002)

Meeting 2: Citizenship in a Democratic State [Sept 21]

- the desired benchmarks of healthy citizenship; statics and dynamics

Schmitter, P. et. al. "What Democracy is ...and is not" *Journal of Democracy* (1991)

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

Meeting 3: Symptoms of a Sick Civics [Sept 28]

- the anecdotal evidence for social/civic/political deficits; loss of community

Putnam, R. "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America" (2002)
"Still Bowling Alone" (2010)

Meeting 4: Causes of the Decline in Participation [Oct 5]

- the clinical factors behind low citizenship

Fukuyama, F. "The Great Disruption" (1999); also "Social Capital and Civil Society" pp. 1-6 (1999)

Breton, et.al. *A Fragile Social Fabric* ch. 1

Meeting 5: Citizenship in Social Engagement: critical factors [Oct 12]

- social capital, social cohesion

Putnam, R. "*E Pluribus Unum*" (2007)

Berger, I. "Ethnicity, Social cohesion and Social Integration" (2005)

Banting, K. "Diversity, belonging and shared citizenship" (2008)

Meeting 6: Citizenship in Civic Engagement : voluntary action [Oct 19]

-the voluntary sector as animateur

Diamond, L. "Towards democratic consolidation" (1994)

Foster, M. et. al. "The role of social capital" (2003)

Meeting 7: Citizenship in Civic Engagement: readiness [Oct 26]

- readiness

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

Nevitte, N. op. cit. ch. 4

Meeting 8: Citizenship in Political Engagement: federal government reciprocity [Nov 2]

-advocacy, ad hoc responses

Phillips, S. & Orsini, M. "Mapping the Links..." (2002), pp.1-10

Laforest, R. & Phillips, S. "Citizen Engagement: Rewiring the Policy Process" (2004)

Part II: Remediation

Meeting 9: Rethinking Citizenship: the macro approach [Nov 9]
- partnership with government

Lenihan, D. *Progressive Government for Canadians* Ch. 10

Auditor General of BC *Public Participation – Principles and Best Practices*

Meeting 10: Citizenship as Deliberative Democracy [Nov 16]
- who speaks for “us”?

Montpetit, E. “Public Consultations in Policy Network Environments” (2003)

Fuji-Johnson, G. “Deliberative Democratic Practices in Canada” (2009)

Meeting 11: Citizenship as New Access: eDemocracy [Nov 23]
- the virtual voice

Peters, J. & Abud, M. “E-Consultation:...” (2009)

Sunstein, C. “The Daily We: is the internet really a blessing for democracy?” (2001)

Wellman, B. *et. al.* “Does the internet foster social capital?” (2001)

Meeting 12: Citizenship as Discovering Community [Nov 30]
- Asset Based Community Development

Mathie, A. “From Client to Citizen: Asset-Based Community Development” (2002)

Stoecker, R. “Community Development and Community Organization...” (2001)

Shrage, E. *Activism and Social Change*, ch. 4 (2003)

Key Diagnostic Terms

Indicators of healthy citizenship and democracy
Diagnostic

1. Acceptance of:
 - regime principle
 - regime performance
 - institutions
 - political actors
2. Transmission of trust
 - elitist
 - popular sovereignty
 - bounded uncertainty
 - contingent consent
3. Covenant
4. Consent
5. Confidence
6. Common good
 - as end/outcome
 - as means/process
7. Trust
 - vertical
 - horizontal
8. Social capital
 - bridging
 - bonding
9. Social cohesion
 - belonging
 - inclusion
 - participation
 - recognition
 - legitimacy
10. Hunkering down
 - contact
 - conflict
 - constrict
11. Individualism
12. Generation Y effect
13. Voluntarism
 - social embeddedness
 - social continuity
 - social anchoring
 - instrumentalist
 - altruist
 - familist
 - affiliator
14. Community action
 - asd

Remedial/Strategic

15. Causal paths
 - SE→CE→PE
 - IPT→CE≠TG
 - IPT→CE→IPT→TG
16. Readiness
 - opinion
 - judgement
 - working-through
17. Reciprocity
 - letting-in
 - setting-out
 - cult of technical control
 - input legitimacy
 - output legitimacy
18. eDemocracy
 - filtering, group polarization, social cascades
 - eService
 - eInformation
 - eConsultation
 - eDecisionmaking
19. Community Encouragement
 - Community Need/Charity
 - Community Organization/Development
 - Assets
20. Communicative Action
 - debate
 - dialogue
21. Voice
 - strategic
 - rule-led
 - communicative

Websites

Saguaro Seminar Bettertogether www.bettertogether.org

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

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

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

CD Howe Institute www.cdhowe.org

CPRN www.cprn.org [here you Search for the name of the author, e.g., Abelson]

Cody Institute [ABCD] www.coady.stfx.ca

CVSS www.ryerson.ca/cvss/working_papers/index.html

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

Canada 2020 www.canada2020.ca/news-ideas/research-papers

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

Volunteering www.sectorsource.ca/research-and-impact/sector-research/volunteering-research

Writing Assignments

[Draft version; final version issued before Assignments are undertaken]

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 comprehensive diagnostic. 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! Samples are provided on the LBN webpage [They are only student examples, not replacements for the Syllabus instructions]

Just as a doctor will analyse a patient's biological/mental health by: listening to symptoms, asking about vital signs, knowing the parameter of 'good' health for each, mapping an illness scenario, and prescribing interventions for recovery... so also with the "body politik" you will: understand diagnostic terms [pp. 5-6, above], map a deficit scenario, and prescribe interventions for a healthy citizenship/democracy.

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.

The end product is a Briefing Note and Class interaction, which develops your policy analyst/policy advisor skills. You will not have written Briefing Notes before, so pay close attention to requirements; they cannot be varied.

You must use the Chicago bibliographic style for registering footnotes at the bottom of relevant pages [not endnotes] and footnote numbers in your text [nothing more]. See <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/documentation> See pp. 11-12, below, for all protocols governing written work in POL 494.

1. A word on Stakeholder/Briefing Notes: how to construct policy analysis and policy advice

Briefing Notes enable a Minister to receive very precise information/advice related to her, not your, interests.

There are *diagnostic* and then *remedial* Briefing Notes; you will write one of each; the format is tightly prescribed: to promote rapid comprehension and transferability. You are *not* writing essays in this Course...read on...

1. You are applying *the Course literature* in briefing language. Avoid other sources, theory, exhortations ["must"], and reifications ["Canadians", "Citizens", "people"]. Use footnotes to wrestle with authors ["Smith says this, but Russell says this"], or to provide anecdotal information ["in my Service-Learning..."]. Avoid "I"; this is not a personal letter to a friend.

2. It's a Minister of Democratic Renewal's briefing note; not an academic, free-standing literature survey. You need to think "what does the Minister NEED to know?" and for each paragraph you write, ask "why should the Minister be interested in this?" "Would my language make sense to a Minister?" If you talk about 'trust', why would the Minister be interested in/concerned about this?

3. Don't blame. It is a two-way street: the covenant concept requires maturity of citizens *and* government. *How* you present will determine if you are shown the door --- or invited back. You can indeed suggest "Minister you will see that this diagnosis/remedy suggests 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 contend] in your footnotes, the more I can sense if you understand how/why these tests are used.

4. Don't Advocate. Academics or interest groups might...but you are an advisor...there is no place for passions.

5. There are general rules-of-thumb for drafting a good Memorandum to Cabinet:

- use everyday language
- avoid long complicated sentences and paragraphs
- use the prescribed headings [and sub-sideheads within, if you wish]
- avoid technical terms, jargon or acronyms that would be unfamiliar to the non-academic
- be concise and stick to the key points; don't go into side points [or, put them in footnotes]
- build the narrative and arguments step by step
- make sure you link paragraphs ["so far", "thus", "consequently", "to recap", "next"] and summarize ["in a nutshell"].
- rework every sentence until each word counts
- read it to a friend: to see at what point they lose interest

Stakeholders/Issue Mapping: 1250 words, due XXXX by 6:10pm in Class

Analysts provide a stakeholder mapping to a politician or client when they wish to know what interests need to be accommodated in reaching a consensual *action* that, then, may or may not be undertaken.

Politics is the art of finding common ground among stakeholders who disagree.

You will present: what action you have chosen to map and why; the issues likely to arise; the stakeholders most affected /interested; and what might be three contentious, political issues needing resolution [do not offer solutions].

Because you are using a standard format: **proposal/actions/issues/stakeholders/controversial decisions**, you do not need an intro paragraph -- as you might with an essay.

Select one of the proposals in the list below and prepare a Minister's briefing note on issues/stakeholders [other topics may be added]

Most recent issues:

- PortsToronto (formerly known as the Toronto Port Authority) Environmental Assessment on Runway Extension and Jets
- Ontario Energy Board consultation on TransCanada's Energy East Proposal
- City of Toronto "TOcore" consultation to seek understand and address issues related to living, working
- Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture & Sport consultation on a new proposed new Park at the east end of Ontario Place
- City of Mississauga – Dundas Connects
- Midtown in focus – Growth, Built Form, and Infrastructure Review at Yonge and Eglinton, Toronto
- Moss Park Feasibility Study, the 519 and City of Toronto
- City of Toronto "TOcore" consultation to seek understand and address issues related to living, working in Toronto

Older issues:

- Metrolinx Consultation on GO Electrification of the Air Rail Link (Union-Pearson Express)
- City of Toronto/Waterfront Toronto Consultation on the Future of the Gardiner Expressway EA
- Toronto Lands Corporation Aquatics Working Group – Consultation on keeping pools open in Toronto schools
- Toronto & Region Conservation Authority consultation on Renaturalization of the Don River Mouth
- City of Toronto Consultation on a Vision for Queen Street East (Coxwell to Neville Park)
- City of Toronto consultation on Dogs off-leash policy in Toronto Parks
- City of Toronto Condo Consultation
- Metrolinx Eglinton Crosstown (LRT line construction) consultation

1. Use the internet to get familiar with the materials available on the project and the issue. The lead organization/ public agency will often have a website specifically dedicated to the project, often including links to presentations delivered at meetings and meeting minutes. Key stakeholders (including many interest groups) often also have their own websites, blogs and newsletters that share their perspectives on projects. The media is also a good place to help track down references to key stakeholders and their issues. Be creative, follow links, and try your best to get a balanced understanding of what the project is all about. Other hints:

- Similar projects in other cities/jurisdictions are also good sources of information.
- 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)

2. Write a half page synopsis on the topic giving: **proposal/action*** being mapped and why. Why is the Minister reading this now? Suggest what might be [was] involved in the proposal. What *types* of changes are being [were] contemplated, and why? *Why* are you briefing the politician?

3. 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.

4. Identify a minimum of 6 different **stakeholder organizations*** 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 political stakes/interests [what's the POLITICAL issue the minister will have to deal with?] related to the proposal that would be of most interest to each organization. Also suggest a general public issue(s)/interest as a separate para.

5. Conclude by identifying **three controversial issues*** related to the proposal that could be controversial, and explain why. Select only those most likely to be at Council or Cabinet

* use these words as your only major sideheads

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

This mapping is to be double-spaced in whatever format you prefer [point form/matrix are acceptable], and DO include a word count [exclusive of biblio and footnotes] on the cover; number pages please; you should choose more of a report format than an essay format. Include a bibliography and do not forget to include your access date for website sources. Use the Chicago bibliographic style for in-text citations.

Briefing Note #1 *Diagnosing Citizenship* [25%] 2500 wds due XXXX in Pol Sci Office

What could be the leading cause of the democratic deficit in Canada and the significance for governance?

Your first BN answers for the Minister: “why is democracy ailing?” via a survey of the *Course* literature regarding the different factors which cause or reflect Canadian democratic deficit from a non-anecdotal, holistic, clinical view. You must use a minimum of 10 Syllabus textual sources for your bibliography. Use the following headings.

Executive Summary

3 sentences only: why this Note, how it proceeds, what will we discover?

Issue

What, within the *Course* literature, is the anecdotal [e.g., “headache”] evidence of the current democratic/citizenship deficit in Canada? You may illustrate using symptoms/anecdotes that people commonly talk about [“they don’t vote”] provided you extract a leading issue; take 1-2 pp. to do this [use footnotes to talk more if you wish]. Ensure you cover both citizen and governance deficits

Diagnostic Indicators

How would you deepen the Issue? What diagnostic tools [e.g., blood pressure] do we use to probe the *causes* of these symptoms more deeply than anecdotal? Explain these 6 indicators*?: Why is each n.b. for causing good governance? What might they tell us, as tests? 4-5pp.* 6 indicators = trust, social capital, social cohesion, readiness, reciprocity, co-governance

Findings

Why do you say this? What evidence [e.g., lab reports] of deficit emerges from applying these 6 indicators to Canada/US democratic [mis]behaviour? In using a scientific, clinical method [pol. *science*] the rationale for selecting indicators is separated from the evidence [findings], even though reusing the indicator headings may seem repetitive. This allows you to discover clinical causes behind the issues/symptoms. These might include material from: Putnam, Berger, Howe, Banting, Breton, Fukuyama, Phillips, Yankelovich, etc. 3-4pp.

Next Steps: the map

Where and/or *when* [not how] might remediation be undertaken? Explain the overall map. Your findings do not just “float out there”; they are located in arenas and stages [explain why these are n.b. diagnostically]. On balance, what do you think the evidence suggests could be the most useful 3/3 arena/stage(s) to start remediation (not remedies, yet!)? Here you show how the indicators are/may be dynamically linked to each other [does one stage/arena come before the other; is there causality?]. Basically you are locating symptoms/findings (what), causes (why), on a “map” (where), so that you may move on to multifaceted remediation (how) in your second BN. 2-3pp.

(A stumbling point is often the terminology around political and post-political: *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 is often a point of common confusion/imprecision -- Nota Bene)

Briefing Note #2: *Remediating Citizenship* [30%] 3000 words, due XXXX in Pol Sci Office

What strategy might be employed to improve citizenship in Canada?

You will choose one of our 6 democratic deficit indicators most urgent for you. Set it up as *the* Issue for your Briefing Note. Next, explain the pros/cons of each the following remedies as a strategy to address your Issue. Choose one as the *most* appropriate remedy and do it last, making it your recommended strategy.

- ABCD
- eDemocracy
- Deliberative/Consultative democracy
- traditional remedies: improved education/Parliamentary reforms/ASD
- Social Economy

Plan to spend 1-2p on Issue: 1-2 pages per each of the four Alternatives you choose not to recommend; and the remaining 6pp of the BN on [the fifth and preferred] Recommendation and Impact. There is no need to bold Course terms.

Please follow the Briefing Note format precisely ... their format/elements do not permit leeway

1. **Executive summary** should have only 3 sentences: what's the issue, which recommendation will you offer [of the 5 alternatives], and why would it have impact.
2. State the **Issue** [not "issueS"] in one sentence at the beginning of this section. Choose your Issue based on the leading diagnostic feature* arising from your placement experience [e.g., low trust, low social cohesion, absent reciprocity]. State why it is the leading issue. Leave out the microdetails of your placement -- you did that for your Reflections... and the Minister does not need to know it. *choose from one of our six indicators. 1-2pp.
3. **Alternative Strategies** Choose your preferred remedy [out of the 5 Alternatives]; hold it for your Recommendations section "I will describe 5 possible remedies, the suitability of each for our Issue, and recommend one for application, examining its detail and implications/impact" Describe each of the other 4 **Alternatives**: in terms of what each does and why not suitable for your Issue. State pros and cons. 1-2pp. per each one.
4. **Recommendation** Next, make the fifth Alternative your Recommendation. This requires a more detailed assessment of content and relevance. 3pp.
5. In your **Considerations/Impact** section say about your Recommended action what can't be done, what might go wrong, what the political costs may be. It is here that you may wish to add one of the other 4 as a *partial* supplement [e.g., Education supplements eDemocracy] 3pp.
6. Do not stray into non-Course initiatives; there is just too much to do with the five first! Do not advocate: it's a two way-street – If you do, the Minister will say, "every one is a victim but no-one is responsible"
7. No need to use bibliographic sources from the Course or have a minimum biblio BUT, do have a biblio!

Summary of Marking Scheme and Due Dates

Please pay close attention to this protocol and alert us to any variations in your placements. Rules in POL 494, to be fair to all students, are strictly enforced and reflect on your professionalism.

1. Stakeholder Mapping [15% 1500 wds] in Class
2. Briefing Note #1 [25%, 2500 wds]: in Pol Sci Office
3. Community attendance and note [15%]
4. Class participation [15%]
4. Briefing Note #2 [30%, 3000 wds]: in Pol Sci Office

Submitting papers

Please ensure you understand the following rules. Your compliance demonstrates your scholarship and maturity. These provisions are strictly enforced. Any exception must be arranged with the Instructor and confirmed in writing. All work submitted, whenever, to the Instructor will be marked; however, the grade entered on the student's record will depend on the following provisions. To discuss your grade always bring the benchmark writing example to our meeting.

Students should always personally hand in papers; don't trust it to a friend. Essays are due 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 until the end of Term; a "day" extends from the due date/time [e.g., Wednesday 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! Do NOT work on/discuss/share drafts of your essay with classmates.

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 nor a clinic Rx form.* According to the A&S Calendar: "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". See:

http://www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar/Rules_&_Regulations.html#appeals_petitions

It remains at the Instructor's discretion whether or not to accept a late assignment. DO NOT ASSUME IT ON YOUR PART. Again, 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 just 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.

Double-space your work. Number your pages; include page # in your footnotes. You must include on your paper a word count that excludes the bibliography or foot/end notes, or Appendix; 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%. Please use the Chicago Bibliographic style for in-text citations.

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/documentation>. Failure to use the Chicago form of footnote citation/bibliography will incur a deduction of 2 marks. Forgetting your bibliography will result in 5 marks deduction. Follow the Briefing Note format exactly. Do ensure you use the exact headings as proposed.

Marking will include the following: "V" means I think a reference is needed here; AWK means an expression is confusing or you are using "must" or an exhortation; SS is a sentence fault; SP is spelling error. Side[sub]heads are helpful as signposts. Use the format exactly as specified. You are expected to use Course texts as primary bibliographic sources. Issue Notes may be cited, but only as additional source material.

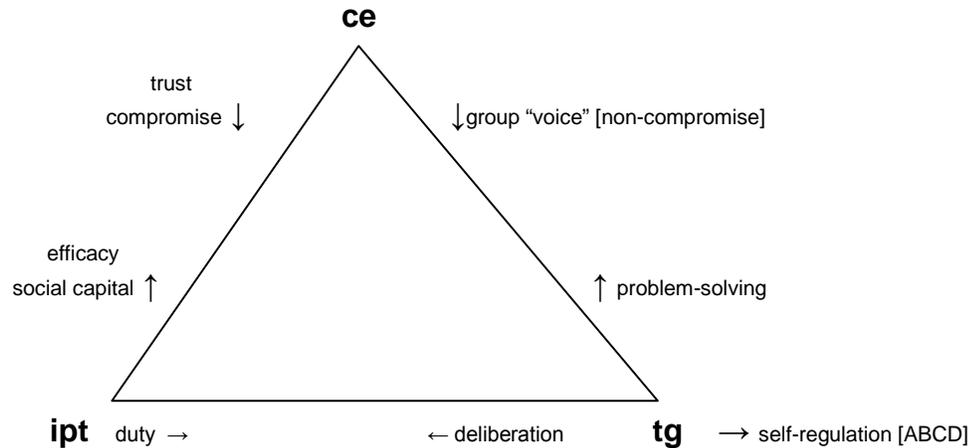
Deductions from your raw mark:

- no word count: -2 [you will eventually have to provide one, for wordage to be established; word count excludes biblio/fn's]
- no page #s: -2
- no, or faulty, Chicago style -2
- no page# in footnote: -1
- inexact format: -2
- no double-spaced: -2
- insufficient bibliography [10 Course texts required for BN#1. INs may be in addition to this]: → -5
- high/low word count: -1 per every 100 words or part above or below the 5% variation on the 2500 wd limit [footnotes and bibliography are not included in the word count];
- late: -5 per day/part thereof and w/e's

You as a policy Doctor: moving to a no-deficit scenario

Citizenship sits within the larger democratic map; 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**



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.

One 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 next 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

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 move 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

Governments govern and there are three **stages** of that act: pre-political activity, political rulemaking and post-political sharing of powers; Citizens engage one another and there are three **arenas** of engagement: social engagement, civic engagement and political engagement. These stages and arenas link to each other, there are causal paths.

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, comprehensibility, 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 'multi strandedness' [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 politik 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 per se may not be the problem but the *management* of conflict may be.

Common Good

[from Breton [op.cit.](#)]

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, [Atlantic Monthly](#) 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 like-mindedness [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. [A Fragile Social Fabric](#)]

Includes a normative and *social covenant* among people, and with the state institutions, as to what individuals can expect from 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 defined 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/political 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 enough 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

Readiness: voluntarism, opinion, judgement

Voluntarism: free service to friends or strangers; 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 [see Caldwell & Reed *Civic Participation in Canada* on the absence of a worldview in Quebec, pp. 221 –222]
- 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>>.

Readiness is the citizen’s/group’s capacity and willingness to engage in politics using public judgement, not just public opinion

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 is based on minimal interest/involvement in politics, inattentiveness to issues, poor information, pragmatism, inconsistency, and a focus on concrete concerns rather than general principles [Yankelovich, p. 19]

Public judgement means a particular form of public opinion that exhibits i) more thoughtfulness, more weighing of alternatives, more genuine engagement with the issues, more taking into account a wide variety of factors than ordinary public opinions as measured in public opinion polls, and ii) more emphasis on the normative, valuing, ethical side of questions than on the factual, informational side. [p. 3] [e.g., Citizen’s Assembly in Ontario/BC] Public judgement is public opinion that meets three standards of quality: stability, coherence, and willingness to take responsibility for the implications of that opinion. [p. 234] Public judgement is a state of highly developed public opinion that exists 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]

Voice: is the deliberative/consultative tactic used by stakeholders to achieve a) their own, or b) consensual objectives. [Montpetit] It can proceed by one of three tactics:

- *strategic* – getting your preferences into public policy using: persuasion, threats, bargaining, and exiting; it’s conflictual/demand-setting. The group has resources to communicate its demands; it can provide good info, BUT it engages in influencing decisions in a way that satisfies the actors’ policy preferences. Closure may be based on the consultee saying “if we don’t agree here, others will make the decision for us”
- *rule-guided* – closed, obligatory consultation; no real willingness on the part of consultors/consultees to radically change policy since cozy, shared expertise [telecoms]; the in-group provides well-established, sophisticated, technical info for the bureaucrat’s need; no new demands; exclusion; results guaranteed
- *communicative* – deliberating, puzzling, “problem-solving”, ‘truth-seeking’, two-way communication/debate/ deliberation on new info towards best policy; consultor gets unpredictable process and [maybe no] results; but they get knowledge, evidence, new data Note that these groups tend to be more global than targeted on issues – they see the broader network of “we”, not “me. [pp.311-312 Montpetit]

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 officials 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.

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 and 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 Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 176.

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

46 Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research (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, Coming to Public Judgment: Making Democracy Work in a Complex World (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991); Daniel Yankelovich and I.M. Destler, eds. Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

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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 official. 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 instills 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 heterogeneous 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]