

*This is a job-readiness, hands-on, policy skills course, learned in a community setting. Community service pays huge dividends in networking and skill-building. Please note that this Course requires students to participate in Service-Learning, along with its normal academic load of once-weekly classes over **two** terms, readings and written work. The Fall Service-Learning component will comprise a total of 20-25hrs of activity, additional to that of mandatory Class attendance. Please note that a H-Y course requires a full two Term attendance [Sept –Mar] and yields a 0.5 credit. If you have an exceptionally heavy academic load elsewhere, please see the Instructor. As well as additional hours, the Service-Learning component may require additional written work for the Partner, not the Course. Please see the instructor if you have questions about the overall volume of written work.*

Session 2015-2016

Dept of Political Science
University of Toronto

POL 494H1-Y

Citizenship – Renewing Civic Engagement

AH206 Weds 6-730pm
Office Hours Weds 4-6pm TF 002

Dr. Anthony Careless
a.careless@utoronto.ca

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 county” [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 Service-Learning. 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 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 ~20 hours of “volunteering” to support an agency event/activity to meet its designated needs. As *Learning*, the student participates with intentional learning goals, which permit reflection on the role, objectives, challenges and achievements of stakeholder accommodation, from the Course perspective. See p. 12, below.

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. It *is* active citizenship! Your community volunteering with a municipal or NGO agencies is pre-designed to help test the ideas studied in the Course and develop your **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; or 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]

15 weeks of 1.5 hour classroom seminars spread over two Terms *plus* 20 additional Fall service-learning hours with a community Partner. 2 weeks of Class Peer Reflections. 5 *optional* weeks of practitioner Coaching Sessions. Written assignments include: a) a Briefing Note survey of the citizen deficit literature (25%); b) Service-Learning hours, plus two written reflections on your Service-Learning Placement (30%); c) a second Briefing Note that explores Course remedies for low citizenship in the context of your actual service-learning (30%). Other marks based on: your service Partner’s professionalism assessment of you (5%), and Class participation/presentation (10%). Optional Coaching Sessions earn 0.5 bonus marks per evening. 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; four or fewer absences will waive 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 Course books are also on STL at Robarts and Kelly. 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: Foundations

Meeting 1: How to Understand Citizenship [Sept 16]

- 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 23]

- 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

Part II: Coming to Terms

Meeting 3: Symptoms of a Sick Civics [Sept 30]

- 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 7]

- 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

Part III: Diagnosing Citizenship

Meeting 5: Citizenship in Social Engagement: critical factors [Oct 14]

- 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 21]

-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 28]

- readiness

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

Nevitte, N. op. cit. ch. 4

Part IV: Citizens in Civic Action

Meeting 8: Citizenship in Political Engagement: federal government reciprocity [Nov 4] -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)

Meeting 9: Citizenship in Political Engagement: active Quebec citizenship [Nov 11] -social activism, social economy

Laforest, R & Phillips, S. "Rethinking Civil Society..." (2001)

Laforest, R. "State and Community Sector Relations" (2006)

Coaching Session 1: Politics and Civic Action [Nov 18] -- Servicing the Citizen: PSAA function with Councillor Joe Mihevc [location TBA]

Coaching Session 2: The Challenges and Opportunities of Consultation [Nov 25 TBC] Nicole -- Managing the stakeholders How to consult ... and mean it "show me how govt and citizens can creatively consult" → offering bonding and bridging

Coaching Session 3: Issue Mapping [Dec 2 TBC] Nicole

Part V: The Renewal of Citizenship

Peer Reflections [Jan13] CCP - the Service-Learning experience

Peer Reflections [Jan 20] CCP - the Service-Learning experience

Meeting 10: New Visions for Citizenship [Jan 27] - social activism

Aucoin, P. & Turnbull, L. "Fostering Canadian's Role in Public Policy" (2006) pp.31-39

Aucoin, P. & Turnbull, L. "The democratic deficit: Paul Martin and Parliamentary reform" (2003) pp.13-14

Meeting 11: Citizenship as Deliberative Democracy [Feb 3]

- partnership with government

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

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

Meeting 12: Citizenship as “Voice” [Feb 10]

- who speaks for “us”?

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

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

Meeting 13: Citizenship as eDemocracy [Feb 24]

- 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 14: Citizenship as Discovering Community [Mar 2]

- Asset Based Community Development

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

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

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

Meeting 15: What Community?! [Mar 9]

- Social Economy

Shragge, E. *op. cit.*

Coaching Session 4: Acting locally: community social planning [Mar 16 TBA]

.- Managing the on-the-ground applications of policy

How to walk the talk

“why did it look so good and seamless on paper but so uneven on the ground?”

→ implementing the paper ideas, and getting feedback

Coaching Session 5: The Rationale Voter? What can we expect of citizens? [Mar 23 Chris]

-- Managing your assumptions

How to revisit your presumptions

“how did we so misjudge the voter’s capacity to ‘be rational’?”

→ when things go wrong, reassessing our presumptions

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
 - SACA/social economy

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

Service-Learning

Please see Course website: *SL Coaching* and *SL Primer* for more detail

Service Learning Objectives

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]

Service-Learning Placements [10%+ 5%]

In October or January [TBC] all the students in POL 494 will have a community Partner placement to buttress/test the Course concepts. Students will perform 20-25 service hours in the community supporting groups engaged in social and civic development. You will then write about your insights, from a Course diagnostic, in two Reflections papers and Briefing Note #2. You earn 10% of your Course mark for your 20-25 hrs, and 5% from your Partner’s evaluation of your professionalism.

Students are expected to complete a minimum of 20 hours of service. This may include:

- preparing for or minute-taking at collaboration/conciliation meetings
- issue/stakeholder mapping
- literature/on-line searches for similar initiatives elsewhere
- establishing links to related organizations
- profiling other related/unrelated organizations
- giving active presentations on civic literacy, governing systems or public policies
- facilitating stakeholder consultations

Typical past placements:

- MassLPB: facilitate stakeholder consultation on district health priorities
- Regent Park: literature search on world techniques at social cohesion and proposals
- Regent Park: community mapping of community organizations and interview
- Lawrence Heights: literature survey on community safety + stakeholder interviews
- Toronto Police Service Board: advice on Carding
- Lake Wilcox: community retrofit plan: messaging and facilitated community events
- pool closures in Public Schools
- Better Ballots: website design on alternative electoral systems
- Toronto Election Services: reformed voting proposals
- prepare material for public consultations on Ontario Place Revitalization
- compile Democracy Talks material for research NGO focussed on low citizen/youth participation
- compile residents’ replies on needed improvements in their Priority Neighbourhood
- initiate Campus Democracy Project: a UofT-based consultation of greater student involvement in campus politics
- increase awareness of the Toronto Greenbelt; research how other jurisdictions protect their greenbelt
- help immigrant women into community awareness, readiness and education
- information provider to resident of TCHC housing community
- write radio and television scripts with youth in a Priority Neighbourhood
- general support to Metro Councillor’s office
- researched use of taser weapons for a Police community relations board
- campaigned for higher minimum wages and help establish chapters in new communities
- outreach to ensure residents attend community meetings in a Priority Neighbourhood
- determining advocacy mandate for a community health centre

Six Essentials

1. Consult with your Instructor: a) if you cannot do daytime/weekdays; b) to clarify the beginning and ending dates of your placement.
2. Ballot by email to a.careless@utoronto.ca for your preferred placement. [see Blackboard website: S-L Coaching]. Ballots close on Sept 29th at midnite: no ballot, no assignment
3. Contact your Partner, within 24hrs of them being assigned to you, via an introductory email [see below], cc. the Instructor
4. Meet with your Partner, develop a workplan, sign waivers, and send them a contract email [see below], cc. the Instructor
5. Complete two Reflections [related to Course themes] during your placement. You will establish due dates once you start.
6. Make a five-minute oral presentation in the January Class on your placement

Suggested S-L Introduction to your Prospective Partner Organization

Introduce yourself via email as a student in: "POL494 –'Citizenship', a University of Toronto senior politics course aimed at exposing students to different ways of thinking about and assessing the health of citizenship, governances and ways to strengthen the local democratic process. You look forward to assisting the Partner in enriching your personal understanding through supporting their vision. "I look forward to meeting with you to define my assignments with" [the organization]

What to exchange in your first meeting with your Partner

What they want of you.

What you have to offer: 20-25 hrs over two months in the Fall or Winter.

What the Course needs out of your experience. [see Reflections, pp.13-14, below]

Why you might ask for an interview if your activities do not reveal answers to the questions posed in the Reflections

An example of a Service-Learning Contract email**

"Thank you for our first meeting to establish the terms of my service-learning. I would like to summarize what I believe we discussed. My 20 hours of service-learning placement will centre around public meetings held to discuss a draft policy and to provide various opportunities for stakeholders to voice concerns, recommendations, or support. Specific activities include:

- Attending three public meetings (estimated 2 hrs/meeting – expected 6 hrs total).
- For each, producing a summary identifying the key issues raised, and where possible, the individuals or groups that Voiced them (estimated 2- 2.5 hrs/summary – expected 7 hrs total).
- Attending a follow-up meeting with the community partner to discuss the implications of the preceding series of public meetings, and any key themes, concerns and recommendations drawn from those meetings (estimated 7 hrs).

"Should the placement deviate substantially from the activities described above, I ask that my community partner supervisor be available for a brief interview, so that I might explore his/her organization's activities from the perspective of POL 494 Course themes.

"Thank you for this opportunity...."

** Note: the contract above is simply an example. Whatever the specific activities you are expected to undertake in service learning it is incumbent upon you (in consultation with your community host, Course instructor, as needed) to forge connections between your service-learning assignment and the Course material

When you conclude your placement your Partner will fill out a professionalism assessment of you [5%]

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 politic" you will: understand diagnostic terms [pp. 6-7, 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. 16-17 for all protocols governing written work in POL 494.

1. A word on 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

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 April 6 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 relevant to your service-learning. 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
- Improved education/traditional 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.

You may need to go behind your actual assignment [answering phone calls] and look at the bigger issue. *If your SL does not apply, please see the Instructor.*

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!

BN #2 Appendix

As Appendices to your briefing-note #2, please include the following:

→Partner Profile:

Service-learning for which organization _____

Contact Person _____

Focus of organization _____

Nature of task (in max of 2 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

→ the Log of your service-learning hours

→ Would you recommend that your specific placement be offered to future students in this Course? If not, why not?

Service-Learning Reflections [10% +10%]

[Draft only: final version provided in Class and on website, "Service-Learning Coaching", once Placements confirmed]

a) Overview

In this Course, Reflections are the primary means through which students connect and test their service-learning community experiences with Course learning objectives. Reflections are critical components of service-learning in that they "enable learners to examine and form their beliefs, values, opinions, assumptions, judgments and practices related to an action or experience, gain a deeper understanding of them, and construct their own meaning and significance for future actions." [J. Moon 1999 *Reflection in Learning and Professional Development*]. The value of Reflections is described in the CCP *Student Handbook* distributed by the Centre for Community Partnerships.

The Reflections you'll be asked to complete are for the Course, not for your community partner – in the same way as you'd read a text about POL494 issues. They are to assist you in your personal as well as academic development. During your placement we ask, below, some Course-generated diagnostic Reflections, and then, in your final BN#2, we again ask you to apply your service-learning experience to Course material.

b) Reflections

You will submit [*by email*] two Reflections. Each will be based on two stages of your placement, with your observations framed by the questions, below. Our evaluation of *your* Reflections will assess how well you are able to relate your service-learning experiences to Course concepts and theories. **Dates for submission will be established once your placement is confirmed. Each Reflection [10%] should be about 1000 words [excluding any biblio or footnotes].**

There are three ways that you can collect the information you need in order to answer the Reflection questions: 1) by evaluating the content of the work you are doing (for example, what you have learned from attending a meeting, conducting a jurisdiction scan or a literature review, mapping stakeholders, or conducting fieldwork); 2) by evaluating the work environment of the organization for which you are providing service; and 3) [if you are unable to gather the information you need from the other means] by conducting an interview with your community partner to get their perspective on the question you must answer for your Reflections.

c) Format of Reflection

The aim of the Reflections, below, is to prompt you to think about [and revise!] your Coursework theory in your service-learning experiences and observations. Your Reflections, therefore, should be **analytical** and **diagnostic**, *not descriptive or anecdotal*. Please ensure that you respond to the questions posed and/or address each requirement of the Reflections. When completing your Reflections, please consider the following tips:

- written Reflections may be in point form but must consist of properly constructed sentences.
- do not describe your placement in **minute detail** but rather in **broad patterns**.
- the aim is "reflection," to your best ability, on your service-learning experiences and observations as they relate to the **themes of the Course**. Not all of you will be able to do this equally well if you end up licking envelopes. If this is the case, we suggest that you arrange a meeting with your Partner to explore their organization's activities from the POL494 perspective. [You would have signalled this option in your Contract email]

We require you to organize your Reflections using the bolded items, below, as sideheads and take care to **bold** Course terms as they are used in your paras. Please consult Key Diagnostic Terms in this Syllabus (pp. 6-7).

d) Stages of Reflections

There are two stages of Reflection: at the start of your placement (Reflection 1), and once it concludes (Reflections 2).

i) Start of placement: Symptoms of Citizenship Deficit

Describe your Partner's **organization**, the overall **issue** it is seeking to address and your **task**. **Situate** their/your actions on our map of the **arena(s)** of social/civic/political engagement according to which your Partner is seeking to build/influence/express citizenship. What are three **Symptoms** of reduced citizenship or democratic deficit which your community Partner is seeking to address? Refer to points 7-12, 16 and 17 of the Key Diagnostic Terms in the Syllabus (pp. 6-7). Explain how you have observed these symptoms in relation to the community affected by your Partner's work. **Reflect** on your first impressions of your placement [pp.6-7 of CCP Handbook]

Base Reflection #1 on on-line research and conversation with your community Partner at your orientation meeting. Rely more heavily on conversation with your Partner if on-line information (website, newspaper articles, policy documents, etc.) about your organization is lacking or if your service work has not informed these questions.

ii) Final week of placement: Strategies for Democratic Renewal

What **strategies** does your Partner employ to encourage democratic renewal and or community (re)development? How do they **accord with** Course themes? [Refer to points 13, 14, 16, 17, or 19 in Key Diagnostic Terms, as applicable.] Identify **stakeholders** and what is the **voice of discussion** among stakeholders [strategic, rule-guided, or communicative, see p. 26, below]. Use examples. What **obstacles or complications** have you observed or can anticipate? Have you now seen broader **Policy Issue[s]** surrounding your or your Partner's tasks, as you have come to know them via our Course diagnostics? Does your Partner have its *own* issues? Provide concrete examples from your service-learning. **Reflect** on your change of self-awareness [see pp. 7-9 of the CCP Handbook].

Base Reflection #2 on your service experiences with the organization or interviews with your community partner.

In-Class Presentation

There will be two evenings of **presentations** in January. You'll choose one, by drawn ballot. Each evening during the presentations, we'll have time for discussion and questions. As audience members, be prepared to ask questions of your peers. As presenters, be prepared to field questions and expand on the points covered in your briefing. Your grade will be based on your attendance and participation in these Class discussions. Students will be expected to share their insights and experiences, and ask questions of their peers, in the two in-Class discussions.

Presentations are to be structured as an oral briefing to a Minister. Specifically, you – in the role of policy analyst – will be providing a community/stakeholder profiling to your Minister.

Presentations will be individually-based. They should be well-rehearsed, and adhere to the following format:

- 5 minutes in length. No more – you'll be timed! Plan and rehearse your presentation so that your points fit into 5 minutes, and you don't have to speak too quickly or slowly.
- notes can be used, but do not read your entire presentation. Eye contact is vital, as is rehearsal. No other materials (Powerpoint, visuals, etc.) are to be used. Don't do story telling...be analytical.
- use examples to illustrate your points, below

Questions to be addressed [think minister's briefing]:

- what is the **nature/structure** of the organization?
- what is the **purpose/activity** of the organization? [and your role in this]
- where do their activities fit in our diagnostic of **political stages** and **engagement arenas**?
- what are the organization's **assets**?
- who are its **stakeholders**?
- what community **symptoms** are being addressed? [use Course terms]
- what is the **remedial approach** of the organization? [use Course terms]
- what are its **achievements**?
- what does it see as its forthcoming major **challenges** and what are **strategies** for overcoming?
- what **obstacles** do *you* see?

Partner assessment of your professionalism [5%]

A professionalism evaluation questionnaire (see CCP Handbook) will be sent to your service-learning Partner. Their assessment of your conduct and professionalism will count towards 5% of your final grade.

Milestone Checklist

This checklist allows you to track your progress along the steps required in service-learning. Please ensure that you complete each task as outlined below.

- I have rank ordered my top four service learning preferences: and submitted them by the deadline..
- I have read and understand the Professionalism Statement, and have signed it.
- I have made contact with my community partner supervisor, and have arranged an initial site visit.
- I have made my first on-site visit to my community partner organization.
- I have discussed with my site supervisor my placement schedule for the term.
- I have been oriented by my community partner organization, and understand the organization's expectations.
- I have completed all the required waiver documentation in the Service-Learning Student Handbook, and have submitted them to my instructor.
- I have filled in my Placement Log Sheet from all my visits/assignments, had it signed by the community partner supervisor, and a copy is included with my BN#2.
- I have completed my service-learning placement, and have sent a thank-you email to my community partner supervisor.

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.

A Reflection submitted after the deadline will accrue the normal penalty of 5 marks per 24 hrs or part, including weekends.

1. Reflection #1 [10%] 1000wds]: Late October (date TBA for each student, depending on placement start date)
2. Briefing Note #1 [25%, 2500 wds]: Dec 9 in Pol Sci Office
3. Class presentation [Jan 13 or 20] and overall Class participation [10%]
4. Reflection #2 [10%, 1000wds]: Late Jan (date TBA, depending on each student's placement completion date)
5. Briefing Note #2 [30%, 3000 wds]: April 6 in Pol Sci Office
6. Service Log hours [10%] and Professionalism evaluation (from Partner upon you concluding your placement) [5%]
7. Bonus marks: 0.5% per each optional Coaching Class attended: Nov 18, Nov 25, Dec 2, Mar 16, Mar 23

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.

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:

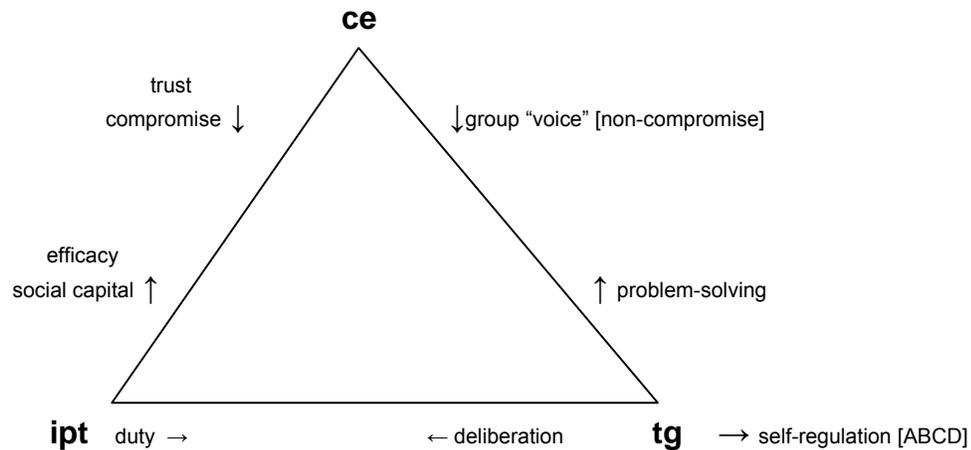
- no word count: -2 [you will eventually have to provide one, for wordage to be established; word count excludes biblio/fn's]
- no page #: -2
- no, or faulty, Chicago style -2
- no page# in footnote: -1
- inexact format: -2
- no double-spaced: -2
- insufficient bibliography [10 Course texts required 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

Do ensure you use exactly the headings proposed in writing assignments; you may subdivide under any of them.

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

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 '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 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, mutuels, 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).

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 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 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]