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BY THE PEOPLE

Participatory democracy, civic engagement and citizenship education

Edited by
Won No, Ashley Brennan
and Daniel Schugurensky

Participatory Governance Initiative
Arizona State University

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Introduction

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Opening remarks

This collection brings together writings on three related areas of theory, research, and practice that do not interact as often as they could: participatory democracy, civic engagement, and citizenship education. We believe academics, practitioners, and policy-makers working in these fields can benefit from each other's contributions. That was the spirit of the Conference 'By the People: Participatory Democracy, Civic Engagement, and Citizenship Education', hosted by the Participatory Governance Initiative of Arizona State University (ASU) in December 2015 in Tempe, Arizona. The conference coincided with the 800th anniversary of the Magna Carta. It was the fourth of a series that started in 2003 at the University of Toronto, Canada, followed by another in Toronto in 2008, and the third in Argentina in collaboration with the Universidad Nacional de Rosario in 2010.

Approximately 200 participants from all over the world gathered at the conference at ASU. Among them were undergraduate and graduate students, scholars, researchers, elected and appointed officials, teachers and school administrators, community organizers and practitioners from a variety of governmental and non-governmental agencies. During three days, conference participants exchanged ideas, research findings, and practical insights. They also shared lessons learned from the successes and failures of different types of projects. The conference had 55 sessions, organized in 12 roundtables, 37 panels, 4 workshops, and 2 plenary sessions.

After the conference ended, we invited presenters to submit a paper based on their presentations. The result is this volume with 34 chapters organized alphabetically in three main parts: the first deals with participatory democracy, the second with civic engagement, and the third with citizenship education.

Part I: Participatory democracy

The first section of the collection opens with Chapter 1, in which Anderson, Brenneman, and Suwinyattichaiporn outline 13 general categories of skills and attitudes that ideal facilitators should have in processes of participatory democracy. In this chapter, they pay special attention to three of them: mindfulness, honoring participants' perspectives, and cultural sensitivity.

In Chapter 2, Bateman revisits Thomas Jefferson's vision of participation. In particular, he discusses Jefferson's idea that the ward system would revitalize the system of representative government by helping citizens pursue public happiness and become reinvigorated through their participation in community affairs.

In Chapter 3, Boc addresses the challenges faced by municipal governments (particularly in former communist countries) in implementing participatory governance initiatives, and describes some of the solutions to address them. As a Mayor of the second largest city of Romania, Cluj-Napoca, he

explains the efforts made by the city government to increase mutual trust and to improve communication and collaboration between citizens and public servants. He also describes some of the instruments that could help government decision-making processes become more transparent and inclusive.

In Chapter 4, Buda and Almasan look at the framework for European citizens' participation in decision-making processes at the level of the European Union (EU) by presenting the legal and administrative participatory instruments currently available for citizens. The authors emphasize that it is important to understand the framework within the context of the EU's current power structure.

In Chapter 5, Castle, Rafaat, Zeidan, and Foroughi share the lessons they learned through monitoring, evaluating, and reflecting on a 2-year civic education program in Egypt. The program focused on increasing leadership skills, capacities, knowledge, and resources so that citizen leaders and civil society organizations can build up more accountable and transparent governance structures.

In Chapter 6, Fredrick examines the influence of the Magna Carta on the pro-Native American stance adopted by the Argentine general Jose Francisco de San Martin during Argentina's Wars of Independence in the early 19th century and by other leaders of that time. In analyzing the impact of the Magna Carta in the colonial Latin American context, Fredrick pays particular attention to the rights of Amerindian populations at the time of the declining Spanish Empire.

In Chapter 7, Fuhrmann introduces the Meta-Matching-Method (MMM) which was generated to assist democracy developers in designing and facilitating complex participatory processes for a learning democracy. He addresses the reason why such a meta-theoretical approach on professionalizing participatory politics is needed both theoretically and practically. The chapter argues that there is a theoretical and practical need to professionalize the art of procedural governance, understood as the mastership of democratic, co-creative problem-solving.

In Chapter 8, Genette, Linde, and Olson introduce Civil Dialogue, a face-to-face interactive process intentionally designed for citizens and/or students (not a panel of experts) to share their views and ideas in reaction to a provocative statement. Civil Dialogue has been used in a variety of university and community settings, and address many issues from politics to religion to moral dilemmas. After describing the history of Civil Dialogue and explaining how it works, the authors share their reflections on its practice.

In Chapter 9, Johnson presents the results from a survey of local community organizations in communities that implemented and did not implement participatory budgeting in the US and the UK. The findings show the relationship between different indicators of "exposure" to participatory budgeting processes and organizations' self-reported changes in collaborative activity, and suggest that participatory budgeting alone may not be sufficient in creating high levels of collaboration. However, participatory budgeting could serve to amplify existing tendencies to build more collaborative dynamics in the community.

In Chapter 10, Jørgensen presents the power struggles of defining e-Democracy, focusing on citizens in Greenland. The paper explores e-Democratic discursive formations through interviews with citizens and through online practices. Jørgensen concluded that e-Democracy, as coproduced by Greenlandic citizens in informal petitions sites and the social media platform of Facebook, primarily creates a space for political oppositional forces in the spirit of partisan or contestatory democracy.

In Chapter 11, Kane and Parkin introduce The Design & Democracy Project, a research unit established within Massey University's College of Creative Arts in New Zealand to advance the role

that design can play in 21st century democracies. They share insights from the development and deployment of these online initiatives, and explore the design tools and techniques used to enhance civic engagement with technology.

In Chapter 12, Kaufmann argues that 21st century cities need to be both democratic (meaning they are representative and participatory) and global (so that they can address great problems that cross all borders). He stresses that cities should make decisions not only for their own citizens but also for people around the world, and should promote democracy at all times not just on election days. The paper also explores different ways of creating local infrastructures for enhancing active citizenship and participatory democracy.

In Chapter 13, No addresses three issues related to the mandated participatory budgeting in South Korea: government-led process, whom to involve, and the scope of the mandate. She also provides an overview of participatory budgeting in South Korea, including the history of its mandatory nature and its current status.

In Chapter 14, Olsen examines the democratic norms of ancient Athens by way of Plato and Aristotle's representations of the political practices of the Athenians, wherein the relationship between technical expertise and local knowledge in political deliberation was a positive goal. He argues that the position of ancient rhetoricians to the democratic assembly is analogous to the position of elite producers of political discourse by politicians and pundits in the contemporary United States in relation to the sphere of public opinion. He suggests that to reduce the disruptive effects of modern forms of political rhetoric, more attempts are needed to nurture a dynamic interaction between technical knowledge and local knowledge, and to craft participatory institutions.

In Chapter 15, Pape highlights the absence of feminist theory from existing analyses of participatory budgeting and considers the ways in which feminist theoretical perspectives can add complexity to better understand the relationship between participatory budgeting and social justice. By looking at the case of participatory budgeting in Chicago, she emphasizes the unequal social context and argues for a more critical approach to study the relationship between participatory reforms of democratic institutions and social justice.

In Chapter 16, Schugurensky discusses some of the tensions that are likely to appear in participatory budgeting initiatives, organized in four categories that correspond to different moments of participatory budgeting: policy, design, process, and implementation. In the second section of the paper, he provides examples of strategies that could be used to address those tensions. In the third section, he focuses on one particular tension relevant to the theory and practice of participatory democracy: the one between direct and deliberative democracy.

In Chapter 17, Wampler and Touchton examine the relationship between operating participatory budgeting and public health, particularly regarding infant mortality in Brazilian municipalities. The results of the analysis show that municipalities with participatory programs enjoy better healthcare outcomes than their counterparts without participatory governance programs. This was possible because of specific rules that reinforce connections between government officials and poor citizens in the participatory budgeting process.

Part II: Civic engagement

The second part of the book opens with Chapter 18. In this chapter, Ericson focuses on indigenous youth, who he considers the critical generation for biocultural survival and hence with an important role to play in helping their communities and cultures maintain integrity and thrive into the future.

He proposes an indigenous youth cooperative to help communities adapt to the consequences of climate change. Ericson envisions an egalitarian and participatory program of civic engagement, education, and youth employment with multiple benefits for youth, community, and the environment.

In Chapter 19, Gonsher shares the process, results, and recommendations from a citizen engagement initiative with students from Arizona State University (ASU). Gonsher argues that youth who are engaged in the voting process early in their political socialization are more inclined to vote on a regular basis, actively participate in electoral politics, and be involved in the public policy process in their communities through life. In this paper, Gonsher focuses on TurboVote, an engagement platform that provides students support throughout the voting process such as assistance in registering to vote online, sending regular election calendars, and communicating reminders for voting location and processes. He explains how ASU TurboVote contributed to voter engagement.

In Chapter 20, Kraeger explores the activist movement known as "Saving Sweet Briar", which was ignited after the announcement of closure of a small private liberal arts college in Virginia, United States. Based on this case study, Kraeger argues that the theory on the power of community organizing advanced by Saul Alinsky is still relevant today. In her analysis, she applies the collective impact framework, which shows how activists can move from revolution to institutional change and success.

In Chapter 21, Lukensmeyer, Goodrich, Leavitt, McCoy, Hill, Leighninger, and Wilding introduce a coalition of six leading deliberative democracy organizations called Creating Community Solutions (CCS). The coalition, organized in response to President Obama's call for a national dialogue on mental health; had two goals. The first was to bring tens of thousands of Americans into authentic dialogues to address mental health priorities in their communities. The second was to demonstrate that it is possible to link locally based citizen engagement work as part of a national discussion impacting policies and programs. In this paper, the authors outline the three strategies used by CCS to achieve those goals: a) lead city community conversations, b) distributed community conversations, and c) online engagement with youth. This paper also describes the impact and implications of these community efforts for mental health and deliberative democracy.

In Chapter 22, Park and Johnston explore how informal online groups influence the effectiveness of overall emergency responses by examining the case of the Boston Marathon bombing. The authors describe how informal online groups collated crisis-related information, communicated with various actors, and helped the general public efficiently self-organize the mobilization and allocation of relief resources. The authors also discussed some of the challenges of informal online groups in response to crisis.

In Chapter 23, Parkin and Kane present insights for effectively engaging Millennials that they gained during three design-led investigation projects. They highlight the potential of merging practices of inclusive governance with "design thinking" principles and ethnographic research methods. In addition, they illustrate why employing user-centered design methods for effective youth engagement is now becoming established as practice in many agencies in New Zealand—including government institutions, galleries, libraries, archives, and museums.

In Chapter 24, Poom analyzes citizen perception as well as individual and collective participation in the pursuit of self-protection during the Mexican government's battle against organized crime. He also explores the different forms of expenses incurred by citizens in order to maintain a certain level of security, with a focus on Mexico's northwestern states. The paper addresses two main questions:

a) what do the people in the northwestern Mexican region think about the topic of public insecurity?, and b) what are the main forms of participation as a means of self-defense in a context of high insecurity?

In Chapter 25, Spiegel proposes a method for analyzing and understanding how people construct what they say in public hearings. She suggests that the material presented in this paper could inform the practice of bureaucrats, moderators, and scholars of public involvement. She also notes that her contribution gives form and organization to the findings of scholars who have, in somewhat piecemeal fashion, picked out themes from participants' speeches in contexts of democratic deliberation.

To conclude this part of the volume, Chapter 26, by Zbuchea and Pînzaru, investigates the crowdfunding phenomenon in Romania, paying particular attention to how the existing crowdfunding platforms function in that country. The authors observe the maturity of the Romanian crowdfunding platforms in order to determine the way they are connected to civic engagement.

Part III: Citizenship education

The third and final part of this volume deals with citizenship education, which also includes citizenship learning in formal, non-formal, and informal settings. This part opens with Chapter 27, in which Brennan examines the main dynamics of youth participatory budgeting in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, and its impact on participants. She found that a majority of projects aspired to impact not only a specific youth group (e.g. youth artists and engineers) but also all city residents, and that organized groups dominated the youth PB process. Although some differences in learning and change were found by gender, ethnicity, and age, the most significant learning reported by participants related to developing and defending projects, coordinating and leading groups, understanding city government, knowing people from other groups, understanding community needs, and working in a team and cooperating with others. She also found that over 85% of participants felt empowered by their involvement in youth participatory budgeting.

In Chapter 28, Carr and Thésée present some of the findings of the international research project *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* (DPLTE). This project explores the connections between the perceptions, experiences, and perspectives of democracy of a variety of education actors (especially student teachers) and the potential for political literacy and transformative education. The project also seeks to explain how experience with democracy and education may influence the critical engagement of future educators once they become teachers. The different studies of the project, which included several countries and over 5,000 participants, highlight the constrained critical conceptualization of democracy and social justice on the part of teacher-education students. These findings were relatively consistent across samples, regardless of language, geography and other contextual factors. The authors call for more explicit and implicit connections to the experiences of students outside of the classroom in addition to the formal components of education.

In Chapter 29, Heggart examines *Justice Citizens*, a civics and citizenship program in Sydney, Australia. He claims that despite the widespread agreement on the importance of civics and citizenship education to the democratic health of a nation, few programs have taken into account the viewpoint of students. Heggart rejects the dominant discourse of a 'civics deficit' amongst young Australians and argues that youth are passionate about many civic issues but engage in different ways and for

different purposes than previous generations. The program *Justice Citizens* engages students in 'thick' education, foregrounding both the issues that students felt were important and developing students' agency to take action on these issues. By building links with community partners, the participants developed the traits of justice-oriented activists within their communities. Heggart concludes that this program has implications for the development of civics and citizenship education policy in Australia and internationally.

In Chapter 30, Mariano describes the educational project of the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers' Movement. The chapter outlines various aspects of this project, including bottom-up community development, democratic participation, gender equality, a public school network, and the production of healthy food without using chemicals. The Landless Movement has a large educational network that includes approximately 8,000 teachers and over 200,000 students in K-12, as well as partnerships with more than 60 universities and an adult literacy program that has provided services to approximately 50,000 students. Moreover, the movement has built an independent network of 50 local and regional educational centers for leadership development, and a national leadership center that brings together representatives of social movements from around the world. Mariano argues that the pedagogical approach and the educational work of the Landless Movement makes an important contribution to the construction of a more just and democratic society.

In Chapter 31, using the insights of situated learning theory and Cultural Historical Activity Theory framework (CHAT), Meléndez examines the learning dimension of Chicago's 49th Ward participatory budgeting process. In particular, he focuses on discussions that took place in Leadership Committee meetings where participants discussed the possibility of creating a Spanish Language Committee. He argues that this positioned the meetings as learning environments of democratic activity. By analyzing discourses in the context of power dynamics at play in participants' social interactions, Meléndez examines how learning occurs in practice from participants' own words and actions over time across multiple speech events in different settings.

In Chapter 32, Soto argues that the Port Huron Statement broke with classic political theorizing of idealizing end state utopias, states of nature, or decision procedures in favor of looking at current social problems, and the mechanisms of social change as participatory democracy, and change agents as university students. By examining how many universities follow a model of education for democracy through emphasizing broad course distributions and critical thinking, he recommends that universities educate for democracy by building "communities of controversy" with a multi-disciplinary social problems-based approach to democratic education.

In Chapter 33, Torney-Purta, Malak-Minkiewica, and Barber present the research process and selected findings from the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED), which the authors consider an example of cross-national collaboration and the melding of qualitative (case study) and quantitative (test and survey) methods. The first part of the paper deals with the research process and findings from the CIVED conducted in the late 1990s in nearly 30 countries with national representative samples of 14-year-olds. It. The second part of the paper describes the contexts of the eleven post-Communist countries participating in CIVED and findings about civic knowledge and engagement from those countries. The third section compares attitudinal responses from 16 countries that participated in another IEA study in 2009 (ICCS) with responses from the CIVED study. Overall, the authors recognize the potential for CIVED to make ongoing contributions by providing useful international benchmark data against which changes in civic attitudes and knowledge can be assessed.

In Chapter 34, Wiksten argues that documenting diversities of existing practices and policies is a promising approach for continued work in advancing educational practices in the complementary

fields of global citizenship education and education for sustainable development. She describes the outcomes of a collaborative effort among the Paulo Freire Institute at UCLA, the Instituto Paulo Freire of Brasil, and the North South Centre of the Council of Europe. Using a comparative political economy of education approach, she presents examples of practical approaches for advancing global citizenship education and education for sustainable development, and provides a review of generative themes, challenges, resources and policy recommendations identified in the project. Wiksten contends that documenting the diversity of existing practices and policies is a promising approach for continued work in advancing educational practices in global citizenship education and education for sustainable development.

Concluding comments

The conference 'By the People: Participatory Democracy, Civic Engagement, and Citizenship Education', hosted by the Participatory Governance Initiative of Arizona State University, represented an effort to bring together academics and practitioners working in three related fields that do not interact often enough. We believe that it is important to create more spaces to share and discuss theoretical insights, research findings, and reflections from practical interventions in the three fields to develop more synergies and interdisciplinary collaborations. We hope that this volume, which constitutes a sample of the approximately 200 presentations made at the conference, makes a modest contribution towards this effort.

PART I

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Chapter 1

Characteristics of intercultural group dialogue facilitators: Mindfulness, honoring participants' perspectives, and cultural sensitivity

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Abstract

Group dialogue facilitation is a proven process of idea generation, problem-solving, conflict resolution, and other related purposes that foster dialogue, collaboration, and democratic participation from a variety of stakeholders (Broome, 2003, 2008, 2009; Keltner, 1989; Schwarz, 2002). The success of group facilitation sessions is largely dependent upon the skills and characteristics of facilitators, whose job is to plan and facilitate an intentional process while avoiding personal contributions to the group's content and outcomes (Broome, 2003; Schwarz, 2002). This paper reports the ideas generated from a doctoral-level seminar at Arizona State University in Fall 2014. These ideas represent general categories and specific considerations of ideal facilitator skills and characteristics. Of 13 categories generated by the class, the authors present three: mindfulness, honoring participants' perspectives, and cultural sensitivity.

Introduction

During the Fall of 2014, our COM 691: Facilitating Intercultural Dialogue class engaged in a group facilitation session to explore facilitator characteristics. Group facilitation is a method of generating ideas, problem-solving, conflict resolution, and/or other related functions, and is led by a trained facilitator. Primary goals include fostering dialogue, collaboration, and democratic participation among relevant stakeholders (Arnett, 2001; Broome, 2003; Chilberg, 1989). As a group, we developed 13 categories[1] with specific facilitator characteristics and skills within each. In this paper, we focus on pertinent desirable characteristics within three of these categories: mindfulness,

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[1] The categories developed were: understanding human behavior, communication skills, facilitator's commitment to the process, impartiality, methods and techniques, observation skills, honoring participants' perspectives, mindfulness, cultural sensitivity, logistics, personal traits, emotion management, and background knowledge.

honoring participants' perspectives, and cultural sensitivity. While each category is distinct, consistent themes weave through all three. We will begin with the category of mindfulness.

Mindfulness

According to Goodall, Goodall, and Schiefelbein (2013), "a mindful approach to talk enables us to view communication consciously, as a mental and relational activity that is both purposeful and strategic" (p. 46). During the semester, mindfulness became one of our guiding ideals and facilitator characteristics, especially as it relates to fostering a productive dialogue between participants, which is a primary goal of facilitation. Ellinor (2005) states, "dialogue is a conscious act of man [and woman], representing the élan vital, the force, and the spirit that holds the entire universe together" (p. 256). Not only does this emphasize the importance of mindful and conscious communication to the facilitation process as a whole, but it also demonstrates how enacting mindful and conscious communication as a facilitator can ideally produce a positive result for intercultural dialogue.

Langer (1989) and Motley (1992) offer that mindful communication requires (1) analyzing communication situations, (2) actively thinking about communication choices, (3) adapting messages to engage one's audience, and (4) evaluating feedback to gauge success in accomplishing one's communicative purposes (Goodall et al., 2013). By properly assessing and integrating the above requirements, one also becomes more conscious in their communication. This consciousness displays an awareness of communication as a process, respects diversity, and requires balancing strategy, ethics, and outcomes (Goodall et al., 2013). Essentially, being a mindful and conscious communicator will benefit facilitators by ensuring they are practicing a level of awareness that considers the situation they are entering, the potential perspectives they are engaging, and the profundity of their roles and responsibilities.

The importance of understanding others and embedding empathy productively

One of the dominant characteristics within our mindfulness category is the importance of understanding others and embedding empathy productively. Broome (2009) defines dialogue as "a form of discourse that emphasizes listening and inquiry, with the aims of fostering mutual respect and understanding" (p. 1). Since understanding is fundamental to the dialogic process, it is imperative to recognize how understanding should manifest itself within the dialogic space facilitators create. Arnett (2001) states, "dialogic civility is a pragmatic attempt to lessen fear in the public arena by giving a diversity of ideas space within the public domain" (p. 328).

The diversity of ideas leads to the need for a facilitator who is willing and able to manage the diversity of opinions and ideas expressed during a facilitation while demonstrating understanding and empathy towards participants in order to boost engagement. Additionally, the dialogic space is meant to equip participants to feel more comfortable to return to their public spaces and arenas with an awareness of the diversity of ideas and perspectives that exist. Lastly, a facilitator's job is to "attempt" to create this space. Some elements of understanding others along with the empathy needed by facilitators align with the awareness that the facilitation process may not be productive and beneficial for all participants. Therefore, facilitators need to be empathetic and understand that the facilitation may not meet its immediate goal or intended consequences for all participants. In the end, "the communicative task for the 21st century is neither to establish commonality nor to maintain constant distance, but rather to provide a common space for meeting and learning from difference" (Arnett, 2001, p. 336).

Facilitators can contribute to this space of learning and meeting through embodying what Johannesen (1971) notes are the fundamental traits of the "emerging" concept of dialogue. These traits include: genuineness, accurate empathic understanding, unconditional positive regard, presentness, spirit of mutual equality, and supportive psychological climate (Johannesen, 1971, p. 376). These traits, again, illustrate the importance of understanding and empathy to the dialogic space facilitators aim to create. Understanding and empathy enmesh layers of mindful characteristics needed to be an aware, present, and effective facilitator.

Demonstrating an awareness of one's power and influence as a facilitator

Facilitators need to be keenly aware of how their power, expertise, and knowledge may influence the facilitation process or unintentionally affect the facilitation as a whole. When a facilitator inserts their power in a manner that detracts from fostering respect and mutual understanding, they need to assess their desire to make this decision and perhaps reevaluate. The true facilitator, according to Keltner (1989), is more than a regular member, "but not an aloof figurehead or arbiter of power" (p.23). The role and responsibility of a facilitator pushes one to balance their elevated position with the humbleness and ability to know that they are there not to serve as the knowledge giver or creator, nor as the distant chaperon to discussion. Rather, a facilitator should serve as a present co-creator of knowledge and discussion there to promote productive dialogue and enhance understanding and respect. This collaborative approach allows facilitators to execute their expertise in motivating productive dialogue while allowing the emergence of ideas and perspectives throughout the process that may be unexpected.

The facilitator needs to acknowledge when they are asserting their power and be mindful of why they are making this decision. Broome (2003) states, "it is less important to find the 'right' answers than it is to ask the most useful questions" (p. 11). Some questions that may be useful for facilitators to consider when debating on inserting their power are: Does this decision allow for voices to be heard that have not? Does this decision quell dominant voices from overpowering the dialogue or leading the dialogue in an unproductive direction? Does this decision ignite reflection, curiosity, and the exploration of new ideas? Does this decision allow for greater understanding of ideas and perspectives? All these questions, among others, help facilitators to be mindful and aware of the communicative choices they are making throughout the facilitation process. In the end, a facilitator's choice to use their power should not interfere with the goals of the dialogue, but rather promote dialogue and create an explorative space for the emergence of diverse ideas and perspectives.

Balancing one's humility and authority

This characteristic logically flows from being understanding of others and aware of one's power and influence. Balancing one's humility and authority creates an accessible space where participants know their perspectives will be heard while being aware that there is someone there to guide and direct the dialogue when needed. As Chilberg (1989) explains, "a facilitator [should] make all members have an opportunity to contribute to the discussion and that decisions regarding focus, procedure, and decision issues are made consensually. The facilitator must also protect members from aggressive behaviors" (p. 65). Having a facilitator who is humble and authoritative provides that opportunity for members to contribute as well as know they are protected from confrontational behaviors. Similarly, the emergent nature of the dialogic process may lead a facilitator to utilize their authority to redirect the process in a more productive manner. This means a facilitator needs to be humble enough to recognize when things are not working and authoritative enough to move the facilitation in a different direction. This humbleness coupled with authoritativeness is equally

important as facilitators encourage participants to generate ideas. In the next section, we will explore the category of honoring participants' perspectives.

Honoring participants' perspectives

Honoring participants' perspectives first requires facilitators to elicit ideas from participants in an intergroup dialogue. This category emerged by grouping several ideas together that were consistent in their concern for managing the facilitation process while prioritizing and preserving the meanings expressed by participants. The category is legitimized by several scholars, including Chilberg (1989), who asserts that participants are responsible for the content of the dialogue, while facilitators primarily contribute to the process. This category, in general, is also exemplified by Broome (2008), who outlines a process used in Cyprus that begins with "the generation and clarification of ideas by the group" (p. 185) in response to a question posed by facilitators. Participants then grouped ideas into subsets, which they analyzed to find connections and relationships between different facets of the problems they were facing. This helped participants develop more holistic and complete understanding of the problems they faced. Through a similar facilitated process, participants also created their own vision statement based on goals for the future. Participants then progressed to developing action-oriented ideas to implement in order to achieve these goals (Broome, 2008).

It is essential to note how the concepts developed by the above participants were part of a carefully-constructed and implemented process orchestrated by facilitators. In this significant way, a facilitator's process and ability to use the process well are essential for honoring participants' perspectives. Process can, as Broome (2008) displayed in Cyprus and we discovered through our similar process in class, generate meaningful, constructive, and illuminating perspectives spoken by participants. This makes honoring their perspectives much easier, because if a process successfully extracts problems, their causes and effects, and potential solutions from the people who experience them, facilitators will not have to voice their own opinions about this type of content. Specific aspects of the process we engaged this semester that preserved our perspectives as participants included writing and explaining our ideas in our own words and only changing these words in collaboration with other participants. Many specific traits and skills in our final product have the same or similar wording to how they were first spoken by participants. Our perspectives were preserved and honored, which gives us ownership of the ideas and compels responsibility to act upon them.

Avoid consolidating participants' perspectives

To achieve some of the core goals of facilitation, specificity, and holisticness must be allowed to play off each other and illuminate interrelationships between wide ranges of ideas (Broome, 2008, Keltner, 1989, Schwarz, 2002). This creates a challenge for facilitators regarding honoring participants' perspectives. Participants' ideas and opinions must be considered individually and in relation to others as well as grouped with ideas deemed to be similar. The constant and necessary combination, separation, and zooming in and out with participants' ideas can compromise their meaning. Participants can agree to consolidate their perspectives with each other, but facilitators should not do this for them. Broome (2008) warns against this even when it seems intuitive and natural. He writes, "even if a person has experienced the same events as another, the two will not necessarily construe them in the same way, and two people can have similar constructions of reality even if they have each been exposed to quite different stimuli" (p. 188). Consolidating perspectives, therefore, potentially compromises them.

Participants' perspectives are intricate and complex, and facilitators should not assume generalizability and consistency between perspectives unless it is specifically addressed. For example,

from experience in Cyprus, Broome (2008) notes, "although at a very basic level everyone shared a desire for peace and a motivation to come together across the dividing line to engage in dialogue, beneath the surface there were deeper divisions" (p. 189). At first glance, a facilitator may have perceived everyone to be on the same page; they all wanted peace and dialogue. What Broome found, however, was much more complicated and dependent upon individual experience. This highlights the importance of honoring each participant's perspectives to allow them to feel heard, validated in their experiences, and to promote ownership of what the facilitation is attempting to resolve and create.

Facilitators should not say, "we're going to combine these ideas because they're so similar." Instead, they should steer the process toward this type of simplification through a round of grouping and comparing ideas with discussion led by participants. Facilitators should frame this part of the process as a way to create a more manageable number of ideas moving forward but should emphasize that ideas should not be compromised just for the sake of reducing the total number. Facilitators should also avoid assuming similar perspectives with any level of generality even if they share similarities in their more specific elements.

Ability to facilitate discussion without dominating ideas of participants

Balancing management of the process with honoring perspectives can also be applied to other third-party conflict resolution practices, including facilitative mediation (Alberts, Heisterkamp, & McPhee, 2005; Donahue, 2006) and transformative mediation (Bush & Folger, 1994). This skill is also inherently tied to the category of mindfulness, as discussed above, in that facilitators must recognize their role to guide the topics of conversation and not determine and evaluate which content is most relevant for continued discussion (Langer, 1989; Motley, 1992). Keltner (1989) warns that if facilitators let the power that accompanies their position cloud their ability to assess when they are facilitating the process and when they are crossing the line into facilitating content, they are compromising their responsibility to the group and the facilitation as a whole. He writes that a facilitator's personal issues with power can cause "a serious mix-up between group issues and the facilitator's personal concerns. Any group has ample power issues of its own…. Adding to them…seriously interferes with the group's development and growth toward process independence" (Keltner, 1989, p. 26). The group's development and growth can be further hindered if there is a lack of cultural awareness that may include power differences amongst participants and even with regards to the role of the facilitator. In our last section, we will explore the category of cultural sensitivity.

Cultural sensitivity

If a facilitation session is context specific, knowledge of the topic will be important. If the session is comprised of high-ranked CEOs from various industries, knowing how to deal with egos will be essential. When facilitating an intercultural dialogue, cultural and contextual sensitivity is among the most important characteristics a facilitator should possess.

Sensitivity to intercultural nonverbal behaviors

According to Knapp and Hall (2009), nonverbal communication provides communicators with plenty of information regarding personality, emotions, and attitudes. Richmond and McCroskey (2004) found that people are more inclined to believe others' nonverbal communication over their verbal messages. Essential to our concerns, nonverbal behaviors are heavily influenced by culture. For instance, the "OK" hand gesture in American culture means "money" in Japanese culture and has negative connotations in many Latin cultures. Hand gestures showing a sign of hunger are only

understood in East Asian cultures, and hand gestures of apologies are different in different cultures (Matsumoto & Hwang, 2013). Because nonverbal communication can vary greatly across cultures (taking into account that culture is not merely different nations), it is important to be aware of it in intercultural facilitation groups.

With ties to our mindfulness category, while facilitating an intercultural dialogue facilitators need to be aware of their own nonverbal behaviors, which are often unintentional (Richmond & McCroskey, 2004). Regardless of intent, using nonverbal behavior seen as offensive or creating discomfort to the participants can harm the facilitation. Therefore, facilitators' awareness of their own nonverbal tendencies is essential. Facilitators also need to be sensitive to the nonverbal communication of the participants. Some participants may express the desire to participate nonverbally rather than verbally, possibly through making frequent eye contact with the facilitator. In this case, one could subtly suggest if that person wants to say something (e.g., "That is an interesting point, Megan. Katie, would you like to add something to that?"). In addition, participants might misunderstand one another's nonverbal expressions, which can lead to an outright conflict. In this case, it is essential that the facilitator explain the cultural differences in nonverbal behaviors and diffuse the conflict before it escalates.

Sensitivity to high and low context communication styles

Hall (1976) established a theory of high and low context culture. In low context cultures, people are generally more direct with their verbal and nonverbal communication. The message is generally communicated straightforwardly via verbal communication. On the other hand, people are less direct with their verbal communication in high context cultures. High context refers to how the other communicator has to actively read the context, which includes nonverbal behaviors, to understand the message (Hall, 1976). People from high context cultures dislike public disagreement because they are considered threatening, uncomfortable situations. On the contrary, people from low context cultures have a higher tendency to engage in a verbal disagreement with one another (Ting-Toomey, 1985). Furthermore, Croucher et al. (2012) found individuals from high context cultures often engage in conflict in a non-direct and non-confrontational way. This suggests that individuals from the two groups can have a hard time engaging in a dialogue because of the differences in their communication patterns.

If a facilitator works with people from various cultures, they should understand this concept and how it plays out in a facilitation session. Participants from high context cultures may express disagreements in forms of subtle nonverbal expressions, which may not be understood cross-culturally. Participants from low context cultures may verbally express their viewpoints, which may be interpreted as brash or rude. In this case, a facilitator who can read these nonverbals and understand the complexities of high and low context styles will be better equipped.

Sensitivity to power distance

Power Distance is one of Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variability (Hofstede, 2001). The dimension refers to people's acceptance and tolerance of unequally distributed power within society, which often derives from differing socioeconomic status. For example, Thai and Japanese cultures are considered to have high power distance (Hofstede, 1991). This greatly influences the facilitation process. Facilitators need to be aware of two factors: the role of power distance among the participants and how their own identities as facilitators play a role in the facilitation process.

When facilitating a dialogue among individuals from high power distance culture or between high and low power distance cultures, facilitators need to be aware of how it influences the amount and

quality of participation. Seniority is one of the sources of power in a high power distance culture (Hofstede, 1991). Thus, when there is a senior in a group, younger participants may hesitate to participate willingly and honestly to avoid contradicting the senior's opinion. Be it a workplace, school, or a family gathering, younger individuals are extremely hesitant to counter older people, especially in a public setting. Therefore, in a facilitation session, a senior's presence could affect the amount and quality of participation from younger individuals in the group. Seniority could also influence the facilitation process if the participants perceive facilitators as seniors, thus as holding more power and authority. In this case, participants may experience mild distress that prevents them from expressing their opinions willingly and honestly. Hence, it is important that facilitators clarify their role as one of managing the process, but having no authority over the content.

Conclusion

Exploring these three desirable categories of facilitator traits and skills in greater depth has revealed their interconnectedness. We intentionally chose these categories because we acknowledged their cohesiveness, but we did not realize the extent of their cohesion. Mindfulness, honoring participants' perspectives, and cultural sensitivity all require facilitators to be honest with themselves and to constantly evaluate their own role in the facilitation. In addition, power and perspective taking are inherent within each category as the facilitator works with a group to generate ideas. These are obviously major themes of facilitation, as they emerged at the core of all three of our chosen categories. As we further explore the remaining ten categories, we will continue to evaluate the consistencies within these three while also seeking new and additional ideas for facilitators to use in their roles of generating collaborative solutions through dialogue.

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Chapter 2
Thomas Jefferson's vision of participation

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Abstract

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, is also well known for being the author of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson was a great thinker with a wide variety of interests and viewpoints. His political philosophy concerning participation was very progressive. His ideas about participation are the subject of this paper.

After he left office, Jefferson circulated letters to various people proposing that the country should be divided into wards. Each ward would be small enough so that everyone in it could meet in one place to decide all local issues. These direct democracies would become the foundation of our system of representative democracy. Jefferson's idea was that the ward system would revitalize our system of representative government by re-invigorating the people.

Jefferson argued that people would become reinvigorated because they would be happier. The ward system would guarantee a space where people could pursue public happiness through their participation in their community. Public happiness was a well-known concept that refers to a citizen's right of access to the public realm. In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote that we have the right to the 'pursuit of happiness'. Since Jefferson did not specify whether happiness was public or private, it would be reasonable to conclude that he meant both a right to private welfare as well as public happiness.

Introduction

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, is also well known for being the author of the Declaration of Independence. He is well known for his conservative views concerning a limited federal government, however, Jefferson was a great thinker with a wide variety of interests and viewpoints. Parts of Jefferson's political philosophy are actually quite progressive. Jefferson's vision of political participation is the subject of this paper.

This paper is divided into four sections and a conclusion. The first section is about Jefferson's proposal for a ward system. After he left office, Jefferson proposed in letters to various people, that the country should be divided into wards. Each ward would be small enough so that everyone in it could meet in one place to decide all local issues such as schools, roads, police, and fire departments. These direct democracies would become the foundation of our representative democracy. Jefferson did not propose changing the existing county, state, and federal governments. Jefferson believed that ward republics would reinvigorate both the individuals who participated in them, as well as the government. The second section is about education. Jefferson always was a supporter of education and it fits nicely with his proposed ward system. Each ward would run their own school house where all the children would receive an education regardless of their ability to pay. Jefferson believed

that the people were the best guarantors our freedom and our government. But, he knew that the people needed to be well educated and well-informed to be able to handle the responsibility.

The third section is about the phrase 'pursuit of happiness' that Jefferson used in the Declaration of Independence. This phrase is interesting for two reasons. First, Jefferson altered the Lockean triad by substituting 'pursuit of happiness' in place of property. Jefferson was very familiar with Locke. He may not have been in favor of an inherent right to property because he was concerned that it might lead to unrestrained commercialism which would result in increased inequality and would conflict with his ideal of the good life. The second reason the phase 'pursuit of happiness' is interesting is that Jefferson did not specify if he meant private happiness or public happiness. And both definitions were well known in the time of Jefferson.

The fourth section is about the revolutionary spirit, which is when everyone takes an active interest in, and participates in, government. This was Jefferson's motivation for proposing the ward system. Jefferson's idea was that if people became actively involved in their local community, the positive experience would create a strong desire to participate in the higher levels of government as well. Jefferson was the only founding father who saw the need to create an institution which would create the space needed to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. The conclusion will summarize a few key points.

Ward system

After he left office, Thomas Jefferson promoted, in letters to various people, creating a ward system in the United States. Each ward would be small enough so every resident could meet in town hall type meetings to decide community issues. Each ward would be like a little republic which would maintain the roads, run the schools, be responsible for police protection, and take care of the poor. Jefferson wrote "I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom" (Jefferson, 2011, p. 1400). Jefferson felt that putting faith in the people was the best way to guarantee our freedoms. In Jefferson's vision, everyone would become an acting member of the government.

The ward-republics seem to be patterned both on the New England townships and on the American Indians' tribal councils (Matthews, 1986). Jefferson was an admirer of the American Indian and their way of life. And in a letter to Joseph Cabell, he acknowledged the power of the New England townships concerning their opposition to an embargo. Jefferson (2011) wrote, "I felt the foundations of the government shaken under my feet by the New England townships" (p. 1381). Jefferson knew, from prior experience with New England townships, that the proposed ward system would have great political power and he knew that the tribal councils worked well for the American Indian.

Jefferson admired the way that American Indian tribes were able to live in peace without coercive government, which is more than the civilized Europeans had achieved (Jefferson, 2011). The American Indians were able to accomplish this by living in confederations of small tribes. In part, it seems tribal society may have been a model for the ward system. Jefferson did not believe that coercive government was needed to force people to live together in peace. "Jefferson bases his theory on sociability, not on individuality" (Matthews, 1986, p. 64). Tradition, custom, friendship, and clans allowed American Indians to live in peace, in confederations of tribes. Everyone had a say in Indian tribes, many of which were ruled by consensus.

Ward-Republics are designed to give everyone a voice in government. This was an innovative and original idea for implementing representative democracy. Through the system of wards, the

government is assured of keeping in touch with the concerns and the needs of the people. The people who live in the community are best qualified to govern the community (Jefferson, 2011). In addition to providing the best possible local governance, the ward-republics would continuously be providing experience and training that people could use to interact with, or serve in, the county, state or federal government. This system would help train people to be good citizens by providing a space where they could debate and compromise.

Jefferson's ward-republic scheme is proof that he took the principle of majority rule seriously. He believed the best way to protect our rights is obtaining the greatest degree of popular participation (Jefferson, 2011). "Through daily action in the ward-republics, then, Jefferson thinks he has found a permanent check to tyranny" (Matthews, 1986, p. 87). Jefferson had complete faith in the people, as a whole, to follow their conscience and do the right thing. In the 1819 letter to Spencer Roane, Jefferson (2011) wrote: "Independence can be trusted nowhere but with the people in mass. They are inherently independent of all but moral law" (p. 1426). Because Jefferson had a very positive view of human nature, he believed local direct democracy would work.

The basis of Jefferson's faith in human nature was his belief in a version of the moral sense theory which is that most people naturally know right from wrong, a moral instinct. Jefferson believed that doing good things give us pleasure, due to this moral instinct. Jefferson believed that most, but not all, men possess this moral sense, or moral instinct. He believed that education and the force of law would be enough to encourage others to do good deeds (Jefferson, 2011). This is why Jefferson had complete faith in the people.

Jefferson connected the notion of direct democracy with the modern representative government.

> His species of republicanism must be identified with a pyramid, starting from wards, nestled directly in the midst of the people, to counties, states, and the central Federal Government. The democratic impulse, starting with its home-made lessons in the "pure republics" at the base. Travels up the various levels of the pyramid, its strength at each successive level depending upon the purity and force of the original impulse. (Koch, 1964, p. 164)

The mass of people at the base is the fuel and the fire that drives the system. It is a built-in mechanism that ensures the government will be responsive to the people.

While Jefferson believed that people would do the right thing and that a local direct democracy combined with representative democracy would be the best form of government, he knew that the key to making it work would be a well-informed and well-educated citizenry. Thus, a key to his ward-republic system was public education which was to be administered locally. This is the subject of the next section.

Education

Jefferson was always a believer in education. He thought local education, within reach of all children, was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of a strong democracy because education will help people make better decisions (Jefferson, 2011). Jefferson felt education was important enough that it should be provided for every child even if individuals could not afford it. The county governments could pay for any small deficits (Jefferson, 2011).

Jefferson believed that education would help to resolve most, if not all, social problems. Education would help mankind to reason through any issues that might arise. "His unflinching faith in the power and importance of education never abandoned Jefferson" (Matthews, 1986, p. 74). His

interest in education went beyond the theoretical to a hands-on involvement. "Jefferson's lifelong concern for education led him, after five years in retirement, to found the University of Virginia, design its curriculum, design its buildings, select its faculty and serve as its first rector" (Skidmore, 2004, p. 26). Jefferson believed that education not only was needed to help society function smoothly, he also believed that education would help the individual recipient of education live a happier and more fulfilling life (Jefferson, 2011).

Pursuit of happiness

In the original draft, Jefferson (2011) wrote in the Declaration of Independence "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness" (p. 19). Jefferson's phrase 'pursuit of happiness' is interesting for at least a couple of reasons. First of all, it replaces property in the Lockean triad of 'life, liberty, and property' with 'pursuit of happiness'. For Locke, property rights were one of the most fundamental of all rights. Some say that including the phrase 'pursuit of happiness' is due to influence of American Indian culture and politics (Skidmore, 1998). It is well known that Jefferson studied and respected the American Indian way of life where some types of property, such as land, could not be owned by individuals.

The acquisition of property may not have been of primary importance to Jefferson. "Property ownership per se was not considered by Jefferson to be an end in itself. Man was meant to be much more than either a mere consumer or an appropriator" (Matthews, 1986, p. 26). On the other hand, every man does have the right to pursue happiness which Jefferson found to be in conflict with a natural right to property concerning employment. In a letter to James Madison, in October 1785, Jefferson (2011) was writing about a trip to France and the different classes he encountered.

> I ask myself what could be the reason so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? (p. 841)

A little later in the same letter, Jefferson proposes a solution. He writes that "every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate, paying a moderate rent" (2011, p. 842). Jefferson felt that the right of a man to earn a living was more important than a right to own and control property.

The second reason why Jefferson's choice of 'pursuit of happiness' is interesting is that he did not specify if he meant the freedom of private happiness or freedom of public happiness.

> This freedom they called later, when they had come to taste it, 'public happiness', and it consisted in the citizen's right of access to the public realm, in his share in public power – to be 'a participator in the government of affairs' [(Jefferson, 2011, p. 1380)] in Jefferson's telling phase– as distinct from the generally recognized rights of subjects to be protected by the government in the pursuit of private happiness even against public power (Arendt, 2006, p. 118).

In order to be happy, people needed to live up to their potential of being fully engaged in their communities. This includes being actively involved with their neighbors in governing their own communities to be able to achieve public happiness. Since Jefferson did not specify whether happiness was private or public, it would be reasonable to conclude that he meant both a right to private welfare as well the public happiness of being a participator in community affairs.

If individuals do not exercise their right to public happiness and publically participate in government, they become powerless and must be protected from the potential misuse of public power.

> It [freedom] resides no longer in the public realm but in the private life of the citizens and so must be defended against the public and its power. Freedom and power have parted company, and the fateful equating of power with violence, of the political with government, and of government with a necessary evil has begun. (Arendt, 2006, p. 128)

By giving up our right to public happiness through participation a government is created, from which we may need protection. By default, government must take up the slack by relying on its monopoly on violence to enforce its actions. The political parties and politicians take the power which was not claimed by the people. Inaction of the people results in their loss of public happiness, loss of power, and the creation of a government from which we may need protection.

Government need not be a necessary evil which must be endured. Through public participation, the people reclaim their power and freedom from coercive government. By becoming active in governing their communities the people become the government. And most importantly public participation fills a need we have to be socially active.

> Through the mouth of Theseus, the legendary founder of Athens and hence her spokesman, what it was that enabled ordinary men, young and old, to bear life's burden; it was the polis, the space of men's free deeds and living words, which could, endow life with splendor. (Arendt, 2006, p. 173)

Jefferson saw the possibility of living without coercive government. He saw the American Indian tribes as an example of such a social arrangement. The Chiefs held power by earning the respect of their fellow tribe members and ruling by consensus. This was accomplished due to the small size of the tribes (Matthews, 1986). Many tribes formed confederations, such as the League of the Iroquois (Five Tribes), to keep the peace among the tribes.

> The American Indian, then gives Jefferson a model of man prior to and removed from the forces of emerging commercial society. Whereas political theorists from Hobbes to Madison had based their political systems on a market model of man and consequently saw the need for a strong coercive power to hold these possessive individualists at bay. Jefferson witnesses the possibilities of having domestic tranquility without the aid of government. (Matthews, 1986, p. 64)

The pursuit of happiness is the basis of Jefferson's ward system because it would guarantee a space where people could pursue public happiness through their participation in their community.

> The basic assumption of the ward system, whether Jefferson knew it or not, was that no one could be called happy without his share in public happiness, that no one could be called free without his experience in public freedom, and no one could be called either happy or free without participating, and having a share, in public power. (Arendt, 2006, p. 247)

The ward system was meant to provide the means for the people to fulfill their desires for happiness and freedom. At the same time, it would create a much stronger nation that was much more flexible and responsive to the people.

The revolutionary spirit

The ward system was a proposal which creates a space to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. "He [Jefferson] wants to institutionalize revolution in order to keep the Spirit of 1776 perpetually alive" (Matthews, 1986, p. 22). The ward system would ensure that everyone would retain an active interest, and participation, in government. The proposed system would also guarantee that the laws of government would reflect the changing circumstances of society. Jefferson realized that society is constantly changing and evolving. The nation would be in a state of perpetual transition which is another way of saying that the nation would be in a state of perpetual revolution. But, it would be a revolution based on reason, not violence. It would only keep the positive aspects of revolution.

By creating a public space where everyone can deliberate, the ward system would maintain the spirit of revolution. In a letter to James Madison, in January 1787, Jefferson wrote.

> I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. … It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of government. (2011, p. 882).

Revolution is a time when everything is reexamined. Old ideas can be swept aside to make room for new innovative solutions.

The fact that revolutions do not create institutions to perpetuate the revolutionary spirit is a paradox. The goal of revolution is to create a new permanent foundation for society. And the revolutionary spirit is by definition constantly changing and evolving. It is ironic that freedom is the price paid for the foundation (Arendt, 2006). Jefferson had proposed the ward system because he perceived "that the Revolution, while it had given freedom to the people, had failed to provide a space where this freedom could be exercised" (Arendt, 2006, p. 227). A truly successful revolution would seek to become permanent by creating space where the people could exercise their freedom. The founders, other than Jefferson, may have taken the revolutionary spirit for granted.

> It was precisely because of the enormous weight of the Constitution and of the experiences in founding a new body that the failure to incorporate the townships and the town-hall meetings, the original springs of all political activity in country, amounted to a death sentence for them. Paradoxical as it may sound, it was in fact under the impact of the Revolution that the revolutionary spirit in America began to wither away, and it was the Constitution itself, this greatest achievement of the American people, which eventually cheated them of their proudest possession. (Arendt, 2006, p. 231)

The Constitution failed to create a space for the most important thing, the participation of the people where people could ensure their freedom and happiness.

Conclusion

Jefferson's proposal for a ward system to serve as the foundation for our existing representative democracy is very interesting and innovative. The closer you examine it the more you appreciate it on several different levels. The individuals participating in the ward system would benefit personally, their communities would benefit, and the higher levels of government would benefit from a greater portion of the population having better skills of debating and compromising.

Jefferson's commitment to education has similar results. Each individual would benefit from more education and of course the community as a whole would benefit as well. Jefferson predicts that one benefit of increased education would be a more smoothly functioning government.

Other benefits of Jefferson ward scheme would be increased levels of both private and public happiness. The public happiness would result from increased participation. Also, a renewed sense of revolutionary spirit would be another consequence of ward system because everyone would be involved.

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Chapter 3

Empowering communities: Building participatory governance in a former communist country

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the challenges met and on the solutions found and instruments used in building participatory governance initiatives in Cluj-Napoca, the second largest city of Romania. Building participatory governance implies developing effective instruments for citizen engagement and deliberative practices, for deepening public participation and direct involvement in public decision-making processes. In order to build meaningful participatory processes, the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca acknowledged the need to: (a) increase the mutual trust between citizens and public servants (that is, improve historic legacy); (b) increase communication and collaboration between public servants and citizens; and (c) find & implement instruments for more transparent and inclusive decision-making processes. Among the participatory instruments tried, the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca has also implemented a participatory budgeting (PB) initiative, as it has become a worldwide tool employed in community (re)building and social development and it is also widespread in relatively diverse forms across the globe.

General context: The community

Cluj-Napoca is currently the second largest city of Romania in terms of population, with over 400,000 inhabitants in its metropolitan area (INS, 2011). The industry is continuously growing due to the highly skilled human resources, especially in the areas of IT/software development, (IT) services, manufacturing, and electronics. Hosting the largest Romanian university – Babeş-Bolyai – and other five important public universities and four private ones, Cluj-Napoca is the most important academic center of the country, besides the capital, Bucharest. Due to its multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious composition, the community of Cluj has always embraced diversity and has been highly tolerant and friendly with visitors, tourists and foreigners in general. A recently published study (Eurobarometer, 2015) shows Cluj-Napoca in the first place in Europe for tolerance and friendliness towards foreigners, with 91% of the community members agreeing that newcomers are good for their city.

Although the same study places Cluj-Napoca among the top European cities where citizens are satisfied to live in, there are still many quality of life issues to be addressed, especially in dormitory-like neighborhoods built under communist forced industrialization. One such case is the largest district of the city – Mănăştur – which is home for almost one-third of Cluj's residents, thus making it also the area of the city with the highest population density – over 4,000 inhabitants/km². The aging infrastructure (the district was built in the early 1970s) and the constantly increasing number of inhabitants were two of the many drivers that generated issues of life quality in the area. In dealing

with such issues, the usual approach used to be to send City Hall employees in the field to observe and report, on one hand, and, on the other hand, to ask for some expert opinion about the prioritization of the problems that needed to be addressed. Then, upon their reports and estimates, the city budget proposal would be built. This time, though, the City Hall decided to change this approach into an even more participatory one, and try new ways of interacting with and serving the community, while also fostering community empowerment and development.

Why participatory processes?

Too many times happens that decision-makers turn to listen to their constituents' voice only once every four years. That needs to change. In today's complex and interrelated world, the best decisions are made together – elected officials, public servants, citizens, businesses, and so on. The truly efficient decision-maker is the one who knows how to keep constant and open contact with his/her constituents, to listen to their needs, expectations, and proposals, and to actively involve them in public-decision making processes. As John Dewey (1927) put it once, "the cure for the ailments of democracy is more democracy" (p. 327).

In this context, the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca recognized that the citizens were entitled to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives and was willing to start looking into using more diverse participatory instruments to enhance the quality of local governance and, as a starting point, of the life of the inhabitants of Mănăştur district.

In order to build meaningful participatory processes, the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca acknowledged the need to: (a) increase the mutual trust between citizens and public servants (that is, improve historic legacy); (b) increase communication and collaboration between public servants and citizens; and (c) find & implement instruments for more transparent and inclusive decision-making processes (Almasan & Reinhardt, 2009).

Building participatory governance implies developing effective instruments for citizen engagement and deliberative practices, for deepening public participation and direct involvement in public decision-making processes. Among the participatory instruments tried, the City Hall of Cluj-Napoca has also implemented a participatory budgeting (PB) initiative, as it has become a worldwide tool employed in the community (re)building and development and it is also widespread in relatively diverse forms across the globe. The World Bank, one of the international institutions that promote and supports participatory initiatives for their perceived impact on social progress, has published numerous studies on participation or participatory budgeting (e.g. Mansuri & Rao, 2013; Shah, 2007).

Currently, there is a vast literature that presents many positive results, but also limitations and failures of different such processes carried out in various countries over the past 25 years. The perspectives offered by different visions prescribing desirable societal orders resulted in different approaches (including critical) of the process (Goldfrank, 2007), while the common points remain the direct involvement of citizens in decision-making processes and the choice of participatory processes as tools for community development, mainly for building strong and functional local communities.

Steps and instruments for building community engagement

Some of the first steps taken by the City Hall in 2004, when the policy of the institution changed, was to open up the City Hall to the citizens and bring the public administration closer to the public, as city hall offices were opened in every city district of the city.

The second step was to create spaces for meaningful *citizens – public servants* interaction and dialogue. At first, they took the shape of public meetings. This was followed by the design and creation of networking for community input to decision-making through building up teams of voluntaries among citizens to identify neighborhood issues, discuss and even propose solutions in order to help the city hall and city council address more efficiently everyday small and medium scale problems.

Then, with those initiatives successful and perceived as such, the City Hall took on developing e-governance and online public services. Cluj-Napoca City Hall is a pioneer in developing e-governance and online public services for citizens in Romania.

The next step was also the most difficult one so far: creating invited spaces for co-decision making. A good example of a successful early participatory co-decision making could be the setting of the best time frame for the "Days of Cluj-Napoca" – which include a series of public events and celebrations. Upon a succession of public debates organized by the City Hall and aimed to propose the best time frames for the annual celebration of the city, two main proposals resulted: one for the second half of May and the other for the first half of October. In this context, to choose which of the two proposals should be implemented, the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca organized an open voting process (both online and in-person) that took place during June 2-8, 2010 and invited the citizens of Cluj to decide themselves the best time frame for the celebration. The participation to the vote was not very high in numbers – over 4100 votes cast, from which 4046 valid – but taking into account that this was the first such initiative in Cluj, the organizers considered it a success. The votes were 59.4% in favor of the May period and, as a consequence, starting with 2011, this event has been organized yearly at the end of May, and has been growing ever since to be at the moment one of the most important local tourist attractions. Moreover, the municipality, with the support of local businesses and NGOs, managed to build on this success and the Days of Cluj event has now become the traditional start for a long series of public events, open-air shows, international music and film festivals that have put the city of Cluj on the European map of fun and entertainment during the summer and increased significantly the number of incoming tourists (over 100%) since its launch in 2011.

Another example is the *Mănăştur PB* - the first successfully implemented participatory budgeting in Romania and a highly transferable best practice model for Central and Eastern Europe, which, in 2015, also received international recognition from the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy.

The main goal of the Participatory Budgeting initiative in Cluj-Napoca has been to develop and strengthen participatory local governance by empowering local communities while increasing decisional transparency and making more sustainable public decisions. The participatory process was structured on three stages which involved neighborhood meetings/workshops, each with its specific level of participation. The first stage included public meetings held both on the North and South sides of the District. The meetings gathered around 200 persons each and they were held during March – June. The meetings were aimed to provide accurate, clear and complete information on the initiative and also allowed for an initial consultation. The public meetings were organized by the City Hall with the direct participation of top decision-makers in local government, including the mayor, who presented the Participatory Budgeting initiative and answered questions from the public for over 4 hours each time.

The second stage included another set of meetings in the North and South of the District (held during July – August). This time, in an open house framework, participants were invited to take a look at successful projects implemented in other cities of the world with similar problems, as well as

several posters presenting proposed projects for their district. Then, participants were distributed to 10-15 roundtables in groups of 6-8 and asked to discuss and prioritize problems and then propose solutions, either based on the ideas presented during the open house session or on brand new approaches that they developed on the spot.

Building on the previous phases, the third stage included a final meeting (in December) for discussing process results, final list of proposed projects, timelines for implementation, lessons learned, and future plans, it was just one meeting for the whole district and employed techniques similar to the ones used in the workshops in Stage 2. All participants received direct feedback (in person at the meetings, and by email and letters) from the City Hall, with the results of their efforts.

The Participatory Budgeting in Mănăştur District targeted approximately 100,000 people. Around 700 participants joined the process directly and approximately 12,000 participants joined indirectly through their own elected representatives in Homeowner Associations. It included 4 training sessions for facilitators with over 60 volunteer process facilitators trained. Last but not least, over 30 NGOs were involved in participatory processes in Cluj-Napoca.

Upon the results of the participatory process, 4.3 million Euros were allocated for: (a) 1 large scale project [over €500,000] (the transformation of a decaying building into the first community center in Mănăştur which is designed to offer cultural and leisure activities, but also training opportunities for community members); (b) 3 medium-large projects [between €50,000-500,000] (e.g. infrastructure repairs / improvement of high traffic, highly populated streets; improvements and repairs to the largest park in the district); (c) 57 small projects [under €50,000] (e.g. small parks/recreation areas and small outdoor sports areas improved, playgrounds repaired/improved, public lighting improved/repaired, street/traffic signs placement/replacement for increasing traffic safety, public green areas rejuvenated throughout the district etc.). The implementation of the projects lasted from a few weeks to two years. As a recognition of this innovative and pioneering initiative, in March 2015 the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy (IODP) awarded the Municipality of Cluj-Napoca a special mention for the "Participatory Budgeting in Mănăştur District".

This pilot participatory budgeting process was followed, in 2015, by the *Youth Participatory Budgeting (Youth PB) initiative*, a process not owned by the City Hall, but equally important for the local community, and thus endorsed and supported by the City Hall. The youth PB, or *Com'on Cluj-Napoca 2015*, included a portfolio of small projects proposed by young people (aged 14-34) and also voted by young people online. There were 248 initiative groups registered, with over 750 young people involved in the initiative groups. Additionally, 25 facilitators were trained and involved in the generation of projects. There were 18,782 voters who cast 48,609 votes (each person could vote up to 10 projects). Of the numerous registered initiatives, 451 were declared eligible for implementation.

At the same time, the municipality is also trying other innovative instruments for community engagement in policymaking. Besides PBs, Cluj-Napoca City Hall is also developing a Cultural Vouchers program for the Cluj-Napoca 2021 – European Capital of Culture, an initiative through which Cluj-Napoca residents decide which socio-cultural activities/objectives they want to see implemented.

Specific challenges and strategic choices

Romanian legislation [1] does not include any provisions regarding "participatory budgeting" or "public participation", therefore it would have been highly disputable for the City Hall and City

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[1] For a clearer understanding of the Romanian legislation provisions, please see law excerpts in Annex 1 to this article.

Council to pre-allocate a sum of money in the City budget for PB, risking to have the project legally shut down. Also, according to Romanian legislation, public money spending decisions are only the attribute of public administrators and decision makers, therefore citizens' voting on how to spend public money could have opened legal issues as well. Therefore, in order to avoid the different risks of shutting down the initiative for legal reasons, the process design had to creatively propose a different alternative for participatory and inclusive decision-making. Even though it consumed more time and resources, the consensus-building approach was chosen, making sure that all possible stakeholders were invited to the process.

Another obstacle was the lack of expertise on the know-how of participatory decision making. In order to overcome this challenge, the City Hall benefitted from the support of the World Bank, which organized a 3-day workshop in Cluj-Napoca with the participation of some of the most important experts in public participation and participatory budgeting worldwide. Moreover, the designer of the process was also an IAP2[2] trained expert in participatory processes, with a deep understanding of the Romanian post-communist context.

It was, then, imperative to recognize and address the fact that the long decades of communist administration (as well as some of the post-communist local history) left their imprints on today's relationship between citizens and public institutions. During communism, public authority was synonym with repression; so all public institutions were perceived as potential enemies by the citizens. At the same time, among the public servants, there was a certain level of distrust in citizens' ability to meaningfully contribute to public decisions or policymaking (as, for example, unable to understand the "big picture"), while, on the other side, citizens were questioning public servants' ability to efficiently and effectively address their needs. The City Hall of Cluj had been working on trying to turn the "us vs. them" approach into a "together" attitude and was counting on this new initiative to bring this process even further, by encouraging meaningful direct interactions between citizens and public servants and creating spaces for mutual learning, understanding, and appreciation.

Lessons learned and future developments

One of the most important results is that the employees of the City Hall involved in the organization and implementation of participatory processes are now much more open to collaborating with the wider public, recognizing the benefits of such experiences, as well as the need to also engage their colleagues in similar participatory processes. Similarly, the citizens involved in the process became more confident that they are heard, their views matter, and their input is valued in the policymaking process, while also acknowledging the importance of public servants' work, insights and expertise.

The implementation of the process revealed the need to develop and put in place a more elaborated monitoring and evaluation system, with both expert and stakeholders' input. A more flexible timeline and framework may be needed in regards to the specific needs of the districts involved in the process. Also, there is a real need to improve the communication strategy associated with the process in order to involve more people, especially from the socially challenged groups and from youth.

For 2016, the City Hall has already planned for training more facilitators and expand the process to the level of other districts. Also, a more targeted communication campaign will be developed for increasing awareness both about the process per-se and about the importance of residents' input –

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[2] International Association for Public Participation, USA.

all residents, for that matter, including the young and the challenged – for building safer, more inclusive and happier communities in Cluj.

Lastly, but just as important, we also aim to support and provide know-how to other City-Halls in Romania or in other former communist countries in order to implement their own participatory decision-making programs.

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Appendix

Romanian legal framework

Romanian legislation doesn't offer specific ways through which the participation of the citizens into the administrative decision-making process should be insured. It only gives the general principles to be followed in this process, in accordance with the European law. Following are excerpts of Romanian laws that are ensuring the general framework for participatory processes.

The Romanian Constitution at Art. 31(2) states that "the public authorities […] shall be bound to provide correct information to the citizens on public affairs and matters of personal interest"; while

Art.120 states that "the public administration in territorial-administrative units shall be based on the principles of decentralization, local autonomy and de-concentration of public services".

Law no.199/1997 ratifies the European Charter of the Local Self-Government-CETS 207: "the right of citizens to participate in the conduct of public affairs is one of the democratic principles that are shared by all member States of the Council of Europe". The legal provision comes in handy as this right can be most directly exercised at local level (Preamble of the Charter).

Law no. 215/2001 on local public administration supports only partially the participatory approach of public decision making by stating (a) that local governments should consult the citizens on major local problems; (b) the meetings of the City Council are public; (c) the mayor makes a draft of the local budget and the final annual account of the budget and submits them for approval to the City Council.

Law no. 544/2001 on free access to public information stipulated clearly that: (Art. 3.) " Public authorities and institutions shall grant, ex officio or by request, access to the public information, through the department of public relations or the designated person" and that (Art. 6. - (1)) "any individual has the right to request and obtain public information from the public authorities and institutions" within a reasonable amount of time (usually 30 days).

Created as an extra transparency-making instrument, Law no. 52/2003 provides the principles and the procedures needed to be respected by the public authorities in order to ensure the decisional transparency: (a) informing the citizens on the issues debated by central/local public authorities; (b) consulting the citizens and the legal associations in the process of elaborating the law; (c) active participation of the citizens in administrative decisions and in the process of drafting the legislation.

Law no.3/2000 on organizing the referendum gives the possibility to local authorities to consult the citizens on major issues regarding the administrative-territorial unit. Although there are no specific stipulations regarding "participative budgeting", the law does include some principles which allow this kind of process (also supported by the provisions of the Law no. 273/2006 on local public finance): (a) transparency and publicity; (b) mandatory public debate on local budget; (c) consulting the local public administrations in the process of allocating the state financial resources.

Emil Boc, Ph.D., was elected in June 2016, for the fourth time, Mayor of Cluj-Napoca - the second-largest city in Romania. During 2004-2012, he was the president of the Democratic Liberal Party (which is the successor to the Democratic Party since 2007). Mr. Boc served as Prime Minister of Romania from December 2008 to February 2012. Before entering public office, he was a practicing lawyer and teaching as a lecturer in political science and political philosophy at the College of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences at Babeş-Bolyai University, in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Currently, he is Associate Professor at the same university, where he teaches "Political Institutions. Romanian Political System" and also "Constitutional System and political institutions in Romania". Mr. Boc has authored numerous articles and books on various subjects of law and politics. For his distinguished contribution to science and education, in May 2012, Mr. Boc was awarded the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law from the Michigan State University, East Lansing, U.S.A.

Chapter 4

Legislation for participation: Developments in the European Union

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Abstract

This paper aims to present the legal and administrative participatory instruments currently available for the citizens of the European Union (EU) to influence the decision-making process at the European level, either by individual action or through initiatives of non-governmental organizations. Unlike the United States, EU does not have yet all the attributes of a federal union of states, but those of a conventional economic and political union of nation-states that delegate only a small amount of their powers to the supranational institutions of the Union. This is the general context in which the instruments and characteristics of citizen participation at the level of the European Union should be considered and understood. Therefore, the focus of this paper is not the framework for citizen participation at a national level in EU, but the framework for European citizens' participation in the decision-making processes at the level of the European Union.

General framework and European institutions explained

As stated by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863, "democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people". A real democracy entails more than free elections. It means government by and for the people, which becomes a partnership between citizens and their elected invested. The historical evolution of the European Union (EU) shows that its construction was a top-down one, initiated and build through international agreements by the national governments. It was not built *by the people* of Europe, but by the governments of some European countries. Unlike the United States, the EU construction was initiated and ran by top-level decision-makers who continuously sought to buy-in the support of the citizens of the member states. This could partly explain the many crises that the European Union went through since its birth as an international economic organization–The European Community of Coal and Steel. Born only six and a half decades ago as an economic supranational organization, EU is still in its youth, therefore a work in progress that needs to improve and build on its social, political, cultural, military components and continuously learn and advance in its democratic behavior. Still, unlike the United States, EU does not have yet the whole attributes of a federal union of states, but that of a conventional economic, political and legislative union of nation-states that delegates only a small amount of their powers to the supranational institutions. This is the general context in which the instruments and characteristics of citizen participation at the level of the European Union should be considered and understood. Therefore, the focus of this paper is not the framework for citizen participation at a

national level in EU, but the European citizens' participation in the decision-making processes at the level of the European Union, as stated in Article 11 of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) (European Union, 2012a).[1]

The European Parliament is the only EU body directly elected by the citizens of the Member States and it represents the interests of EU citizens. Moreover, the EU's institutional framework also includes the European Council (represented by the national and EU leaders), whose main role is to set the general priorities of the EU (European Commission, 2015a) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Institutional chart of the EU
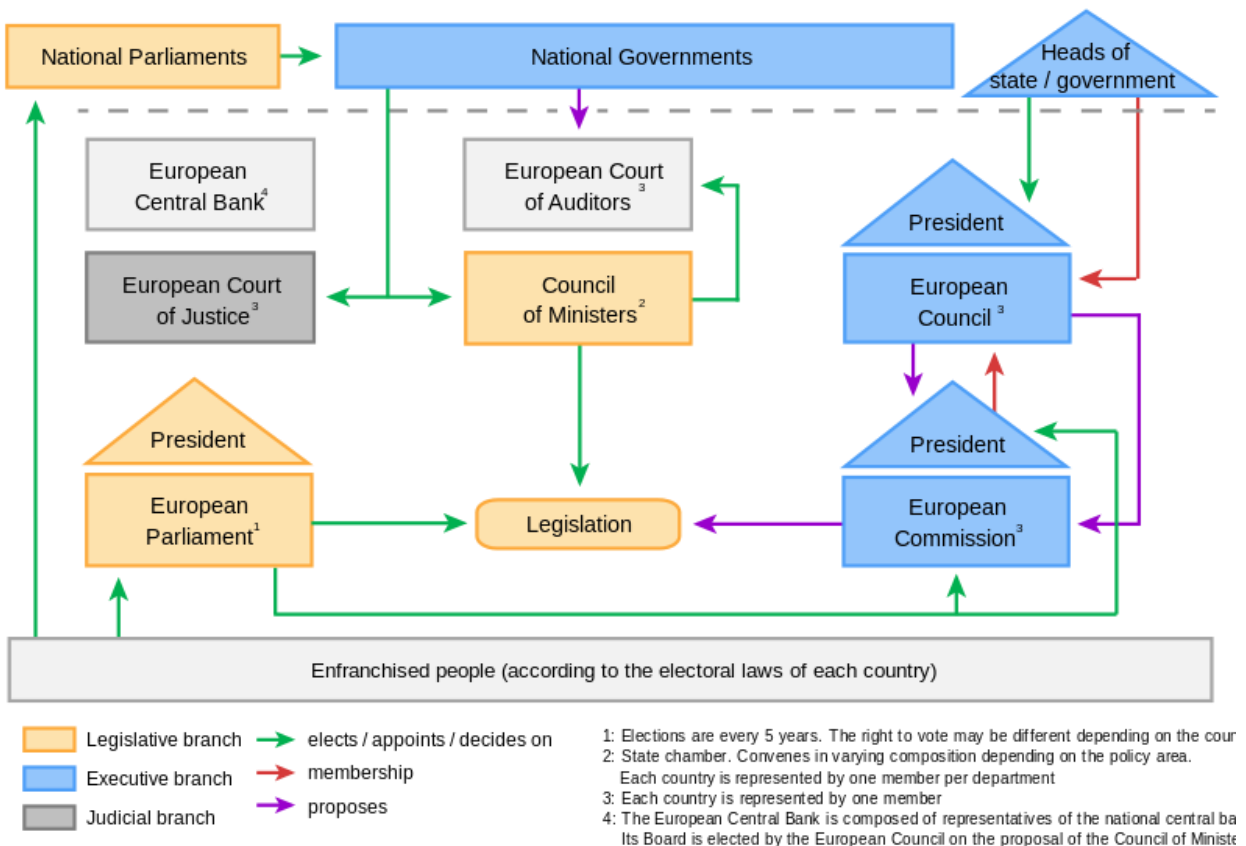
Source: Wikipedia (2015)

Another body is the European Commission whose members are appointed by the national governments and which is part of the executive branch that promotes the interests of the EU as a whole. Last but not least, the Council of the European Union is the institution where governments

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[1] According to Article 11 of TEU, (1) The institutions shall, by appropriate means, give citizens and representative associations the opportunity to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action. (2) The institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society. (3) The European Commission shall carry out broad consultations with parties concerned in order to ensure that the Union's actions are coherent and transparent".

of the member states work together to find solutions to common issues, but where they also defend their own country's national interests (European Commission, 2015a).

It is therefore essential that citizens could contribute to the exercise of the Union's legislative prerogatives and that they could be directly involved in initiating legislative proposals. Furthermore, one of the priorities of the European Union itself is also the strengthening of the democratic legitimacy of its institutions.

The legislative and decisional process in the European Union

Three main institutions are involved in the legislative process in the European Union: the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission.

According to Article 294 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which explains the ordinary legislative procedure for the adoption of an act, the Commission submits a proposal to the European Parliament and to the Council (see Figure 2 and Figure 3) (European Union, 2012b). As shown in the figures below, according to Article 294 of the TFEU, the European Parliament adopts its position at the first reading and communicates it to the Council. If the Council approves the Parliament's position, the text of the proposal is adopted in the form agreed upon by the European Parliament. If the Council does not approve the European Parliament's position, it states its position at first reading and communicates it to the European Parliament (Article 294 pt. 5) as shown in Figure 3. According to Article 294 pt. 6 of the TFEU, the Council informs the European Parliament on the reasons which led it to adopt its position at first reading. The Commission also has to inform the European Parliament fully of its position.

Figure 2. Decisional process in the EU
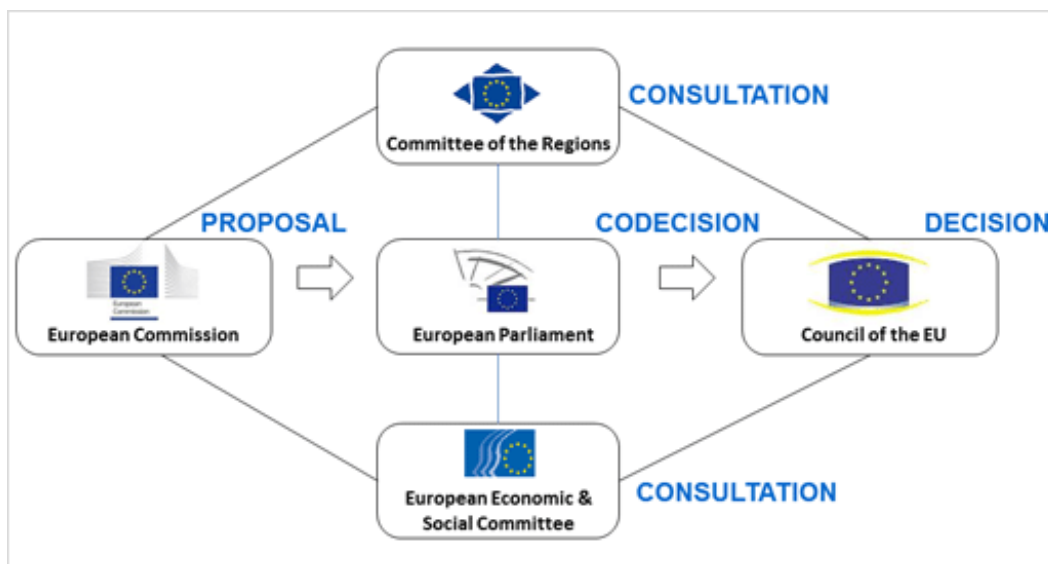
Source: European Union (2015a)

The second reading procedure involves the Council of EU's further negotiation with the Parliament (Figure 3). As provided in Article 294 of the TFEU,

"If, within three months of such communication, the European Parliament: (a) approves the Council's position at first reading or has not taken a decision, the act concerned shall be deemed to have been adopted in the wording which corresponds to the position of the Council; (b) rejects, by a majority of its component members, the Council's position at first reading, the proposed act shall be deemed not to have been adopted; (c) proposes, by a majority of its component members, amendments to the Council's position at first reading, the text thus amended shall be forwarded to the Council and to the Commission, which shall deliver an opinion on those amendments. If, within three months of receiving the European Parliament's amendments, the Council, acting by a qualified majority: (a) approves all those amendments, the act in question shall be deemed to have been adopted; (b) does not approve all the amendments, the President of the Council, in agreement with the President of the European Parliament, shall within six weeks convene a meeting of the Conciliation Committee. The Council shall act unanimously on the amendments on which the Commission has delivered a negative opinion."

Figure 3. The legislative process
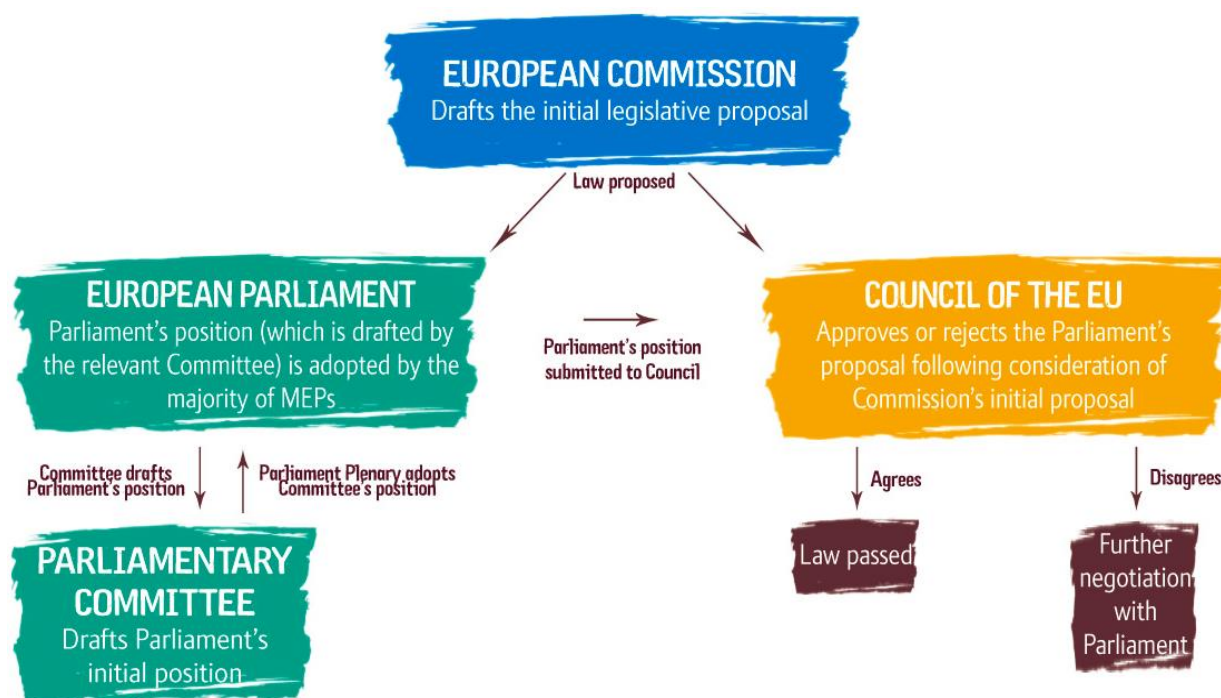
Source: Plan International (2015)

The conciliation and the third reading procedures are also provided by Article 294 of the TFEU.[2] As it states in Figure 2, two EU advisory bodies are involved in the EU's decisional process: the

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[2] According to pt. 10-14 of Article 294 of the TFEU, "10. The Conciliation Committee, which shall be composed of the members of the Council or their representatives and an equal number of members representing the European Parliament, shall have the task of reaching agreement on a joint text, by a qualified majority of the members of the

Committee of the Regions (COR) and the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC).[3] The Committee of the Regions (COR), composed of 350 members representing Member States' local and regional authorities,[4] provides regions and cities a formal say in the EU law-making ensuring that the position and needs of regional and local authorities are respected (European Union, 2015a). It is mandatory for the three main institutions involved in the EU's decisional process (Figure 2)–the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of the EU–to consult this advisory body when the legislative process concerns regional or local government (social policy, transport, employment, health, education). If the Committee of the Regions is not consulted, the case can be brought before the Court of Justice. It should be noted that this advisory body works by issuing points of view on its own initiatives or by preparing opinions on actions and initiatives of other EU institutions (European Union, 2015a).

The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) – consists of representatives of professional associations, of unions, and of NGOs – as it is stated in Article 300 pr. 2 of the TFEU, acts as "as a bridge between the EU's decision-making institutions and EU citizens" (European Union, 2015b). The mission of this advisory body is to promote *a participatory EU*, by making sure that certain economic and social requirements are met throughout the decisional process.

Citizen's voice in the European Union

As stated in Article 20 of the TFEU[5] and Article 9 of the TEU, European citizenship designates a <<citizen - European Union relationship>>, based on rights, duties and political participation. "It's about making so that citizens identify more with the EU and developing a public opinion, a political consciousness and a European identity" (Bux, 2015).

Council or their representatives and by a majority of the members representing the European Parliament within six weeks of its being convened, on the basis of the positions of the European Parliament and the Council at second reading. 11. The Commission shall take part in the Conciliation Committee's proceedings and shall take all necessary initiatives with a view to reconciling the positions of the European Parliament and the Council. 12. If, within six weeks of its being convened, the Conciliation Committee does not approve the joint text, the proposed act shall be deemed not to have been adopted. 13. If, within that period, the Conciliation Committee approves a joint text, the European Parliament, acting by a majority of the votes cast, and the Council, acting by a qualified majority, shall each have a period of six weeks from that approval in which to adopt the act in question in accordance with the joint text. If they fail to do so, the proposed act shall be deemed not to have been adopted. 14. The periods of three months and six weeks referred to in this Article shall be extended by a maximum of one month and two weeks respectively at the initiative of the European Parliament or the Council".

[3] According to Article 300 pt. 1 of the TFEU, "The European Parliament, the Council and the Commission shall be assisted by an Economic and Social Committee and a Committee of the Regions, exercising advisory functions".

[4] According to Article 300 pt. 3 of the TFEU, "The Committee of the Regions shall consist of representatives of regional and local bodies who either hold a regional or local authority electoral mandate or are politically accountable to an elected assembly".

[5] According to Article 20 of the TFEU, "1. Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship. 2. Citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties. They shall have, inter alia: (a) the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; (b) the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of that State; (c) the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State; (d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language. These rights shall be exercised in accordance with the conditions and limits defined by the Treaties and by the measures adopted thereunder".

The Report regarding EU Citizenship, entitled "Citizens of EU: your rights, your future" (European Commission, 2013) emphasizes that, in terms of citizen participation in EU policy, "stimulating full participation of European citizens' within the EU democracy at all levels represents the essence of EU citizenship itself". Furthermore, this report points out several elements that, in the view of the European Commission, define an informed public debate in a democratic process: mobilizing citizens; strengthening the dialogue with the civil society; stimulating the press freedom; and fostering pluralism.

European Citizens' Initiative

A very important tool of participatory democracy in the European Union is the Citizens' Initiative (see Figure 4), which is based on Article 11 (4) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), Article 24 (1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), Regulation (EU) no. 211/2011 and Article 197a of the Rules of procedure of the EU Parliament.

Figure 4. The procedure for submitting and analyzing ECI in EU
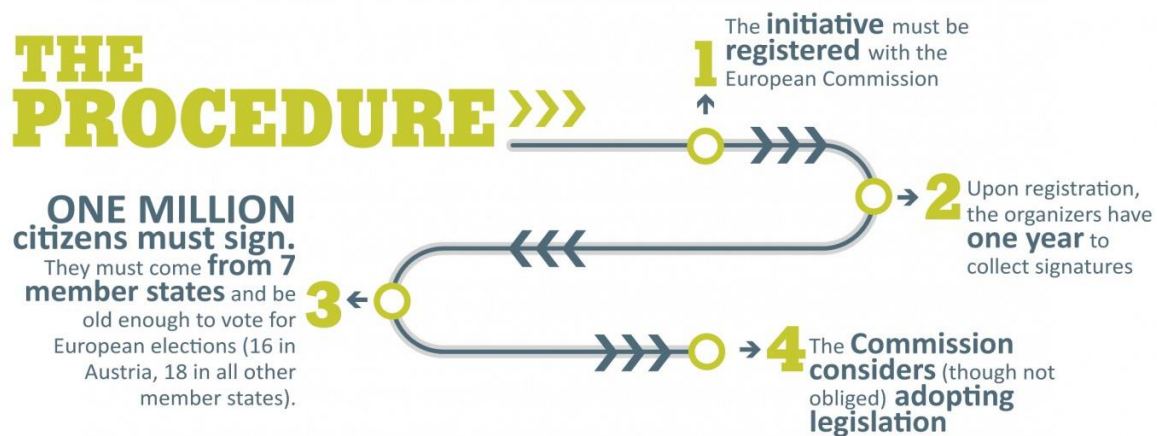
Source: debatingeurope.eu (2014)

Through this procedure, one million European citizens residing in at least a quarter of EU Member States (Figure 4) can invite the Commission to present a law proposal. European Citizens' Initiative grants a similar right to the EU citizens', such as the right of initiative of the European Parliament and the Council. Since the coming into force of the Parliament Regulation no. 211/2011, which establishes detailed procedures and conditions for the Citizens' Initiative (European Union, 2011), 24 initiatives were presented, of which two-thirds were successfully recorded and submitted to the Commission (Novak, 2015).

One of the first three successful initiatives so far was the one entitled Right2Water (as it is stated in Figure 5). It was the first initiative which collected more than a million signatures, more precisely 1,857,605 signatures. The signature collection was stopped on September 7, 2013. The public hearing of the initiative (after its submission to the Commission in December 2013) took place on February 17, 2014, at the European Parliament (European Parliament, 2014). The result of this initiative was the Communication adopted by the European Commission in March 2014, as a response to the Right2Water initiative (European Commission, 2014a) and the success of this

citizens' initiative is provided by the publication of the Roadmap for the evaluation of the Drinking Water Directive in July 2015 (European Commission, 2015b).

Another two successful initiatives were "One of Us" and "Stop Vivisection" – both of them being included in Communications of the European Commission – the Communication on the European Citizen's Initiative "One of us" (European Commission, 2014b) and the Communication on the European Citizens' Initiative "Stop Vivisection" (European Commission, 2015c).

Figure 5. Successfully submitted initiatives
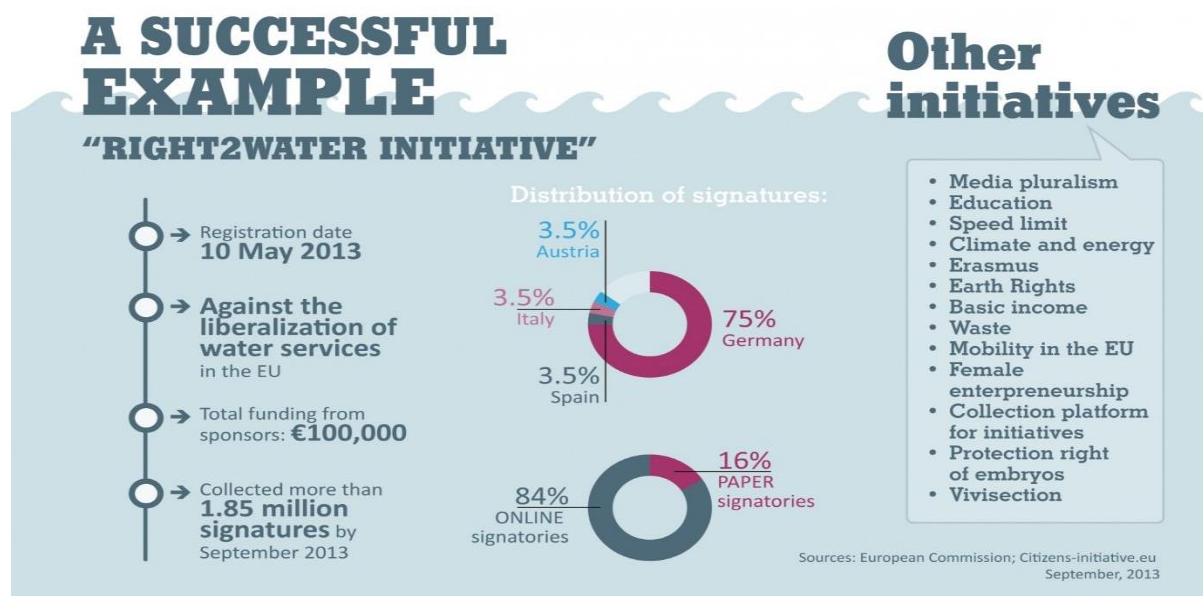
Source: debatingeurope.eu (2014)

Feedback and consultation tools

The European Commission's tool for consultation and feedback opportunities is represented by the "Single access point". The feedback can be also provided on 'Roadmaps' and 'Inception Impact Assessments' (European Commission, 2015d) at the beginning of the preparation process. Depending on the initiative, different types of consultations may be carried out – e.g. targeted or public consultations.

Public consultations (European Commission, 2015e) allow citizens to express their views on key aspects of impact assessments (European Commission, 2015f) for Commission proposals under preparation as well as on key elements of evaluations and 'fitness checks' of existing policies (European Commission, 2015g). Public consultations are open for a period of minimum 12 weeks by default.

A feedback can also be provided on the Commission proposals at the end of the preparation of a new legislative initiative, and after the adoption of the draft by the College. At a later stage, feedback can also be provided on the drafts of delegated acts and important implementing acts.

Very important is the "Lighten the load – Have your say" platform, which allows citizens to provide the Commission with their views on how to make EU laws (European Commission, 2015h).

Alternative ways of dialogue

Every EU citizen has the right to petition the European Parliament under Article 24 (2) TFEU, which refers to Article 227 of the same primary source of Community law (European Parliament, 2015). According to Article 227 of TFEU, any citizen and/or legal resident of the EU has the right to address a petition to the European Parliament on issues within the EU scope of activity and with the condition that the petitioner is directly affected by the problems he/she is petitioning about.

A distinction should be made between the European Citizens' Initiative and the right to petition the European Parliament, because the procedure is different in several essential aspects: petitions have to be addressed to the EU Parliament by either individuals or NGOs, while an ECI has to be addressed to the European Commission (the only European institution entitled to submit legislative proposals) only by NGOs and is bound to a much stricter set of rules to fit into this category. In this sense, the EU citizens' initiative is similar to the right of initiative of to the European Parliament (Article 225 TFEU) and the European Council (Article 241 TFEU) (Novak, 2015).

Citizens also have the right to submit a case to SOLVIT for cross-border problems in the EU. SOLVIT is a service provided by the national administration, which deals with cross-border problems related to the misapplication of Union law by national public administrations in the Internal Market (European Commission, 2015i). There is a SOLVIT center in every EU country, as well as in Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein.

Another right that EU citizens have is to complain about a measure or practice of an EU member state incompatible with EU law - citizens can contact the European Commission about any measure (law, regulation or administrative action), the absence of measure or practice by a Member State that they think is against Union law.

Moreover, European citizens have the right to petition the Ombudsman (Article 24 (3) TFEU) - elected by the Parliament to analyze the cases of maladministration of the Community's institutions and bodies.[6] If a citizen considers that the European Commission (or any other EU body) has not dealt with her/his request/proposal properly, she/he may contact the European Ombudsman (Articles 24 and 228 TFEU) (European Ombudsman, 2015).

Participation in the European Union: A work in progress

Through their efforts regarding participatory democracy practices, the EU's institutions are working on getting closer to the citizens/stakeholders in order to make E.U. a more responsive and engaging democracy for its citizens.

The interest for increased participation of citizens in the Community has reached an upward phase lately. The Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament published a report on

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[6] Under Article 228 TFEU, "a European Ombudsman, elected by the European Parliament, shall be empowered to receive complaints from any citizen of the Union or any natural or legal person residing or having its registered office in a Member State concerning instances of maladministration in the activities of the Union institutions, bodies, offices or agencies, with the exception of the Court of Justice of the European Union acting in its judicial role. He or she shall examine such complaints and report on them. In accordance with his duties, the Ombudsman shall conduct inquiries for which he finds grounds, either on his own initiative or on the basis of complaints submitted to him direct or through a Member of the European Parliament, except where the alleged facts are or have been the subject of legal proceedings. Where the Ombudsman establishes an instance of maladministration, he shall refer the matter to the institution, body, office or agency concerned, which shall have a period of three months in which to inform him of its views. The Ombudsman shall then forward a report to the European Parliament and the institution, body, office or agency concerned. The person lodging the complaint shall be informed of the outcome of such inquiries."

the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) on October 7, 2015. It argues, inter alia, the fact that the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) represents a new political right of citizens and it is a unique and innovative instrument in the field of participatory democracy in the European Union (Schöpflin & Basterrechea, 2014). However, it is considered that individuals or smaller and medium NGOs need more support in using this tool meaningfully and efficiently.

Beyond some inherent issues that need improvement, ECI is the first instrument of transnational participatory democracy. This instrument enables citizens to engage directly with the EU institutions and to participate more actively in the EU's policy and legislation, complementing the right to petition the European Parliament and the right to recourse to the European Ombudsman.

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Chapter 5

Footsteps and insights on the road to learning transparency and accountability in good governance in Egypt

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Transparency and Accountability in Good Governance in Egypt (TAG) Network

Abstract

In 2012 the Coady International Institute in Canada, with the support of Plan International, Ford Foundation, and the Active Egyptian Citizenship Engagement for Good Governance (ACE) network, embarked on a 2-year civic education program focusing on increased leadership skills and capacities, new knowledge, resources and links, so that citizen leaders and civil society organizations are able to contribute to more accountable and transparent governance within the changing context of Egypt. A cohort of 24 citizen leaders from diverse regions, different ages, educational levels, gender, and faiths, participated in the on-going and collaborative learning journeys on active citizen engagement, entry points for change, social accountability and policy formulation, and implemented learning initiatives in their personal lives, communities, and organizations. In addition, this cohort contributed more than 256 days of volunteer energy in resource teams, think tanks, extra-curricular workshops, and organizational and community planning meetings. In this paper, a small group of this team shares their learning journeys and the lessons learned through ongoing monitoring, evaluation, and reflection, in order to broadly understand civic education and leadership development for democracy, especially in transitional contexts.

Introduction

In the last 10 years, the Arab world has seen the beginning of a number of dramatic political and social transformations. The common thread connecting the popular uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Yemen and elsewhere is widespread resistance to authoritarian rule and citizens' desire to replace repressive state regimes with systems of democratic, transparent, and accountable governance (American University in Cairo, 2012, p. 8).

To the outside world, one of the most remarkable aspects of the 'Arab Spring' is the mass mobilization of citizens, particularly youth, who have been demanding a political voice in national contexts in which citizen engagement has been relatively low due to repressive state policies. In some cases, resistance movements have succeeded in overthrowing autocratic leaders, but a major question remains: what comes next? How is it possible to channel the momentum of a popular uprising into the building of a democracy in which citizens are truly engaged?

In 2012 the Coady International Institute in Canada, with the support of Plan International, Ford Foundation and the Active Egyptian Citizenship Engagement for Good Governance (ACE) network, initially embarked on a 2-year civic education program named: Transparency and

Accountability for Good Governance in Egypt (TAG)[1] focusing on increased leadership skills and capacities, new knowledge, resources, and links, so that citizen leaders and civil society organizations would be able to contribute to a more accountable and transparent governance within the changing context of Egypt. A cohort of 24 citizen leaders from diverse regions, different ages, educational levels, gender, and faiths, participated in the on-going and collaborative learning journeys on active citizen engagement, entry points for change, social accountability, and policy formulation. The team implemented learning initiatives in their personal lives, communities, and organizations. In addition, this cohort contributed more than 256 days of volunteer energy in resource teams, think tanks, extra-curricular workshops as well as organizational and community planning meetings. In this paper, a small group of this team shares their learning journeys and the lessons learned through ongoing monitoring, evaluation, and reflection, in order to broadly understand civic education and leadership development for democracy, especially in transitional contexts. We first present a brief review of the literature, defining the underpinning conceptual framework, then, we present an overview of our collective learning journey of civic learning and leadership and our lessons learned through the process.

Citizenship and civic education in Egypt

While the term 'citizenship' has many definitions, it is perhaps most simply understood as a type of membership that comes with certain rights and responsibilities (El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2009, p. 36; El Naggar, 2012, p. 85). A broad view of citizenship includes not only legal membership in a country, but also membership in various types of communities and the accompanying sense of inclusion (or exclusion) and quality of participation (Kabeer, 2005, pp. 21-22, cited by Oosterom, Tadros, Weber, & Wheeler, 2011, p. 10). Adding to the complexity of citizenship is the presence of "citizen identities", which Oosterom et al. (2011, p. 10) describe as:

> Categories of social identity (including age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, race, etc.) around which citizens can organise to demand rights, recognition, and justice. Citizen identities can also include the ways that citizens see the state—the kind of expectations that citizens have about how the state should interact with them (e.g. client/patron, beneficiary/service-provider, rights-holder/duty-bearer, etc.)

Citizenship, then, is a process that involves an ongoing renegotiation of relationships in the public sphere, and this could not be truer in contexts of democratic transition. Indeed, it seems that the meaning of citizenship is being redefined in parts of North Africa and the Middle East through the articulation of long-standing grievances and demands for change at the state level. This rare historical moment presents an opportunity for democratic education through the discourse of citizenship. El-Nagar and Krugly-Smolska (2009) describe citizenship education as a means of developing "good democratic citizens" through "providing learning opportunities for gaining the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences requisite to effective, responsible citizenship" (pp. 41-42). Education for citizenship is necessary and possible not only in formal school structures but also in various organizational and community spaces (Williamson, 2011) and across the lifespan.

In recent decades in Egypt, the formal education system has shifted from a focus on instilling socialist principles to a "more open approach" (El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2009, p. 46). The emphasis of primary and secondary curricula has been on galvanizing a sense of Egyptian identity based on a valuing of the country's old cultural heritage while also "integrating democratic values" (Ministry of Education, 2003, cited in El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2009, p. 47). Despite this shift in

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[1] later extended for 2015-2016

orientation, El-Nagar and Krugly-Smolska (2009) argue that the Egyptian school system has yet to implement a form of citizenship education that is effective in socializing youth to be active democratic participants. They argue that since the inception of economic liberalization in the 1970s, the state has lacked a genuine commitment to political liberalization and instead has adopted a shallow version of liberal democracy in which the values of participatory democracy and citizenship are not built into institutions such as schools (El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2009). Resultantly formal education is characterized by antidemocratic principles such as discipline and obedience and students are not provided with the modeling of participatory practices necessary for the development of democratic culture (El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2009).

There are further obstacles to developing effective democratic education in Egypt, particularly among youth who constitute a major learning demographic. According to Innovations in Civic Participation (2011), youth under 30 – who constitute over half of Egypt's population – have been stifled in their efforts to actively participate in society by a repressive policy environment. Moreover, globalization has contributed to a "culture of individualism" which discourages collective action in communities across the globe (Williamson, 2011, p. 2).

Overcoming these barriers involves a combination of political will on the part of government and creativity on the part of civil society. It remains to be seen whether the new regime in Egypt (and new administrations in other transition countries) will be committed to implementing a form of effective democratic education in primary and secondary school curricula. Outside the formal school system, however, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have a role to play in identifying and expanding spaces in which citizenship education is possible. These spaces may take the form of social change campaigns that engage participants in 'learning by doing'. For instance, CSOs seeking to promote democratic governance may find it useful to approach the issue indirectly through working with citizens on issues such as livelihoods and HIV/AIDS, while at other times it is necessary to identify democratic governance explicitly as the desired outcome rather than merely a byproduct of participation (Oosterom et al., 2011). It can sometimes be effective to work with groups that are organized around various citizen identities while bearing in mind that identity-based communities can be exclusive (Oosterom et al., 2011).

CSOs have an important role to play in the fostering of democratic practices at the state and community levels in emerging democracies. In Egypt, the main focus of this paper, organizations that have already been working to promote governance and citizen advocacy have faced a new set of challenges and opportunities. While the ousting of longtime ruler Hosni Mubarak was a major victory for Egyptians seeking change, elements of the old regime remain influential and the revolution faces a situation that some have described as a relapse. This setback may be explained partly by looking at the relative weakness of civil society in Egypt; CSOs are under-resourced and participation is low, CSOs are subject to numerous legal and political restrictions, and due to the disabling policy environment, CSOs' impact is limited (Morsi, 2012). To keep things moving in the direction of democracy and to ensure the sustained participation of citizens, work must be done at various levels to provide civic education and open up spaces for citizens to influence the political process.

The relationship between civic education and democratic governance, Rietbergen-McCracken (2012) explains, is as follows. Civic education helps create "demand for good governance" (p. 1), that is, it raises people's expectations of public officials and institutions with regard to transparency and accountability. In transition societies, this relationship is of utmost importance because the development of democratic institutions and processes requires an informed and engaged populace

that will not tolerate corruption. Rietbergen-McCracken (2012) further explains that while the most common form of civic education occurs in schools, there are a number of other learning spaces and opportunities that can be fostered by CSOs including "voter education, awareness-raising programs, … [and] leadership training" (p. 2). Civic education can also be deployed to help build democratic practices in the public sector (Rietbergen-McCracken, 2012, p. 2). Organizations providing civic education have numerous tools at their disposal including "seminars, workshops, focus group discussions, drama, simulations, role plays, radio and television programs, information technologies (e.g. blogs, internet forums) and other informal teaching and information-sharing methods" (Rietbergen-McCracken, 2012, pp. 2-5). Benefits of civic education include "increased participation in political processes and greater political knowledge" (Rietbergen-McCracken, 2012, p. 5). Challenges include co-optation or domination by elites, addressing low literacy levels and other barriers experienced by members of oppressed groups such as disengagement and fear of speaking out, and the risk of reinforcing social inequalities among participants because they do not enter the learning experience on a level playing field in terms of education, confidence, gender etc. Finally, Rietbergen-McCracken (2012) outlines several lessons or best practices emerging from civic education, including "frequent sessions", "participatory methods", "special efforts to reach the less powerful", "linking with opportunities for political participation", "linking to participants' concerns", "focus on hot topics", and "model democracy" (pp. 6-7).

According to Oosterom et al. (2011), the work of promoting democratic governance in transition contexts calls for a multifaceted, flexible and sensitive approach. Using a power analysis to map out the distribution of political, economic and social influence and the relationships connecting actors, they argue, it is possible to identify multiple "entry points" for accessing the space to engage citizens in building their political capacity. These entry points could include formal (elected government) and informal (social movements) political channels, progressive elements within repressive regimes, armed opposition groups, civil society organizations, the private sector (whose interests might run counter to the goals of democratic governance, the authors warn) and "non-traditional actors" such as bloggers and artists (Oosterom et al., 2011, p. 28). The act of negotiating these spaces of power is inherently political, which requires self-awareness on the part of the organization as well as pragmatism and the ability to respond to rapidly shifting political landscapes.

Guided by the framework offered by Oosterom et al. (2011) and Rietbergen-McCracken (2012), the TAG team began a collaborative learning journey to make sense of and enhance civic learning and democratic leadership education in the Egyptian context. In the following sections, we, a small number of facilitators and members of this network provide a description of the journey and some lessons learned drawn along the way.

Gathering the initiating partners

In 2012, Coady International Institute was invited by Plan International Egypt to visit the country and meet with them and other groups to explore opportunities to work together. These conversations centered on the educational aspirations of those participated; they were active members of civil society during such critical transition time in Egypt. From this confluence of connections came the proposal for developing educational programs focusing on developing community-based leadership for social accountability in Egypt.

From the assessment and conversations, it was clear that there were challenges for outside groups. It became important to scan the local context and engage those who were already working on issues related to civic education, citizenship, transparency, and accountability, acknowledge their work and build on the ideas, people, resources, and connections already available. It was also clear that it

would be better to work with a range of groups, or an alliance of groups, that cut across various divides of religion, urban/rural settings and established NGOs/new associations. One such network has been established through the Active Citizenship Engagement (ACE) network; this group works with a broad steering committee of established NGOs including representatives of the Al-Ahram Centre for Strategic Studies and others. In addition, Coady has an extensive network of 120 past graduates in Egypt, who work in a number of civil society, community, and religious organizations. Many of these graduates have been keen to play a larger capacity-building role in Egypt and would value working with Coady and its partners as facilitators, coordinators and participants to strengthen their learning and skills.

Since 2012, Coady International Institute and its alumni, the ACE network, and other local partners have embarked on a collaborative learning journey aimed to:

a) Strengthen the skills and leadership of existing and emerging civil society organizations to contribute to more transparent, accountable and effective governance;
b) Equip local individuals and organizations to deliver capacity building on governance-related issues requiring new skills in the new context, including citizen-led accountability; strategies for citizen voice and participation; entry points and strategies for policy influence and civic education;
c) Develop, translate and disseminate education and training resources that can be widely used by organizations in Egypt and other parts of Northern Africa and the Middle East related to citizenship and accountable governance;
d) Promote South-South links between civil society groups in Egypt and those in other emerging or established democracies – such as India and Brazil – where civil society has played a key role in building citizenship engagement, accountability and new forms of democratic innovation.
e) Capture learning from the process through ongoing monitoring, evaluation, and reflection, in order to more broadly understand leadership development for democracy, especially in transitional contexts.

Learning activities, achievements, and lessons learned

The coordination team announced the launch in August 2012 and the learning journey in form of a curriculum was mapped through series of consultations meetings with a variety of stakeholders. In order to achieve the objectives stated above, these four learning activities and milestones were proposed and carried out:

1. Building aware and active citizens
2. Finding entry points for change
3. Knowing social accountability tools and mechanisms and how to use them
4. Contributing to policy formulation and outcomes

Throughout the first two years and in delivering these 4 workshops and learning activities, the team learned and acted upon the following lessons.

In planning civic leadership training in Egypt as she was experiencing change and democratic transition, the team communicated through known networks using existing connections. The team planned and coordinated with bilingual facilitators in the country, in Arabic and English, so that delivering the learning activities happened in Arabic through local facilitators rather than through translation. This not only increased accessibility for local organizations to participate but also further built capacity for civic educators and facilitators who participated in building leadership during the process. In addition, this has helped participants internalize and interpret new concepts for their

own society by creating shared meaning with others. In doing so, we realized that integrating some members experienced in participatory adult learning approaches helps build trust early on in the process of the collaborative learning journey.

Prior to each learning activity, we organized Training of Trainers (TOT) in English and conducted a collaborative review of the design and the content of what would be shared and discussed during each activity. The TOT was an effective means of participatory design and delivery and placed facilitators in the participants' seats, thus resulting in better session design and use of tools. Each TOT was designed around the draft agenda for the upcoming workshop and a variety of resource materials, tools and literature. This was a rigorous and profound learning experience as we developed and practiced new learning activities and adapted old ones. All this would happen after a capacity assessment of the cohort was conducted and a solid understanding and agreement on the objectives of the activity had been reached. TOT also helped form a resource team who also documented the learning activities and the emerging community events.

Bringing in key resource professionals from abroad and doing analyses of their experiences provided an opportunity for the participants to study and analyze their own context and challenges in light of and compared with other similar stories. In doing so, the Egyptian participants have had an opportunity to present their own experiences first and after then we introduced experiences from others. During this time, the foreign practitioners first joined the group of learners as listeners and observers. A bilingual member of the group provided shoulder-to-shoulder translation of the Arabic proceedings. After having an opportunity to observe and listen to the group, the guests shared their stories in plenary and then were joined by small groups of participants for further exploration of what actually happened in each country. During this time, participants asked questions and shared their ideas on select approaches and tools that resonated with them.

The residential live-in experience with facilitators, guests, and peers encouraged determination and commitment for learning, inquisitiveness, and opened spaces for collaboration and mutual learning. Peer learning was also enhanced by the residential workshops; for example, participants were able to collectively implement the social accountability tools during field visits to local NGOs in the area. Teams stayed together late at night to further design the approaches, build a shared understanding and divide roles for next day's field visit. They also stayed for long hours following the visits for extensive reflection on their collective performance as a team.

We started with sessions that build an aware citizen followed by looking at entry points for change, then layering in social accountability tools and approaches followed by a session on policy formulation. We learned that it is best to sequence the learning journey in a naturally progressive way to maximize attention to important information to be used in building collective mastery in a subject.

The resource teams conducted reflection sessions at different times in between workshops. Among those were three Mastaba sessions, facilitated during October 2013 in order to spread positive energy at a very turbulent time in Egypt following the June 30th Revolution. Mastaba is an Egyptian name for the seating place in front of houses in rural communities where people meet to informally discuss issues. The Mastaba aimed at providing a platform for the TAG network to appreciate dialogue, embrace values of diversity and differences and identify moments of coexistence. The Mastaba further allowed participants from diverse groups to express their thoughts and reflect on current issues. One of the major learning of these sessions was the recognition of 'inner peace' as a means to achieve a state of reconciliation and serenity. Methodologies adopted included 'CLARA',

'Feelings-Needs in Conflict Situations (we called it "GA7SH" in Arabic)' and 'Responses to Violence' exercise.

Lastly, the team agreed to develop Learning Accompaniment/Initiatives (LA). LA involved accompanying and coaching groups and individuals in developing their learning initiatives. The accompaniment took place through phone conversations, coaching, and individual and collective exercises on individual's Awareness-Ability-Action (AAA). Examples of personal learning initiatives crafted inside the TAG process that helped learners build their own leadership capacity in TAG included: social accountability approaches in Youth and Development Association, and "Our Rights Our Power", a modified training manual for youth centers. We learned the significance of making space in the workshops for learners to come together with others to craft initiatives especially related to their situation, and which takes into account their level of leadership capacity and responsibility and the aspirations of their community or organization. The implementation of LA helped build relationships and cooperation in leading the process of introducing social accountability; this, in turn, increased the likelihood of ownership of the outcomes by the participants.

Conclusion

This concludes our sharing of what happened during the TAG learning journey in Egypt 2012-2014. In conclusion, we would like to specify the prominent concepts and tools vis-à-vis citizenship learning that resonated more with our team than others. This influenced how these concepts were adopted, adapted, shared and applied personally and in strengthening citizens' voice in communities and organizations.

- Social accountability concepts and tools: In transition settings like Egypt, use of social accountability tools starts slowly, but can add value to citizens, organizations, and networks. The citizen shares responsibility with the service providers to make sure the public policy is satisfactory. Together they can improve service and learn during the process.
- Power analysis, tools, and mapping: It is important to learn how to analyze power dynamics (via tools like powercube) and how it affects and influences possibilities for change at the community and organizational levels.
- Adult education design model: The Adult Learning Cycle was strongly practiced and easily transferred to participants' work, especially when delivering training for other organizations and groups in Egypt. Reflection and 'group work for change' stood out as a basis for 'emancipatory learning'. Other tools and approaches used include 'community dialogue', deep reflection using Experience-Reflection-Generalization-Application (ERGA), 'learning journal', 'Margolis wheel', and popular theatre. Popular theatre is now seen by TAG participants as a very powerful tool to inspire communities and influence change. Several TAG learners in their work and learning initiatives used it. In one project at the community level, 20 street theatres, popular storytelling, and puppet theatres were implemented to disseminate concepts of tolerance and acceptance.
- Working with diversity and acceptance of others as community leaders: As the TAG journey moved along, participants prepared to transfer of what they were learning into their organizations and communities where suitable. One of the spaces opening up in post-revolutionary Egypt was related to the role of youth and women in the society. Where previously traditions and customs had silenced them, they had experienced an important role during the transition. Therefore, leadership among youth and women as key players within the society was seen as an opportunity TAG participants supported. For instance, fifteen

initiatives for capacity development for women leadership were implemented. At the organizational level, workshops were organized on youth and community development along with a two-day mass education campaign was held for 1000 youth on good governance.

This short paper has included our footsteps from the beginning to this present resting place on the journey. The detailed journal of our learning journey, workshops and events can be found at www.tagegypt.wordpress.com. We have been continuing the journey until the end of 2016.

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Chapter 6

The Magna Carta, San Martin, and Argentine independence: The juridical legacy of Iberian medieval precedent in the Americas

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Abstract

This paper deals with the influence of the Magna Carta on the thinking and pro-Native American stance adopted by the Argentine general Jose Francisco de San Martin during Argentina's Wars of Independence in the early 19th century, and, by inference, on other parts of the Southern Cone. It looks at the Magna Carta as precedent in a Latin American context, specifically in terms of safeguarding the rights of Amerindian populations within the context of the declining Spanish Empire.

The influence of the Magna Carta on the newly independent republics of Latin America in the 19th century should not come as a surprise to anyone. Both Simon Bolivar and José Francisco de San Martín, liberators of the Greater Colombia and the Andean regions, respectively, were admirers of the British, seen as a preferable alternative to a decrepit, and no longer intimidating, imperial Spain. San Martin, by far the more "Spanish" of the two, and the only one of Latin America's founding fathers who was actually raised and educated in Spain and Spain's military academies, was, paradoxically, the one who would establish British intellectual influence most widely among the circles of Latin America's pro-independence intelligentsia, a claim that is supported by Terragno (2012) on the impact of British strategy, such as unrealized Maitland Plan, on the young general's military strategizing.[1]

San Martin was himself an exception to the rule of elitist creoles who led, or at least later monopolized, most of the 19th-century uprisings in the Americas. He was pro-Amerindian, valuing the Native cultures equally along with his own creole Spanish heritage. As Martinez Sarasola reminds us (1992), San Martin had insisted, against much opposition from his military and political supporters, to include the Argentine Declaration of Independence in three languages simultaneously: Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara. And he had insisted that the nascent form of Argentina's republic approach then-contemporary English model of parliamentary democracy. That model sprang from an evolution of tort and common law that had begun with the Magna Carta and had reached, in the early 19th century, the status of a parliamentary democracy which, while imperfect, boasted a higher degree of popular representation than any found in Spain or its American colonies. Daniel O'Connel, one of Ireland's early emancipators, was able to expound upon his cause in the British parliament,

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[1] San Martin was born in Argentina, in Yapeyu, in 1778, and taken back to Spain at the age of five; returning to Argentina at age 34, upon having renounced his Spanish citizenship and dedicating himself to the cause of the liberation of the major nations of the Southern Cone: today's Argentina, Peru, Chile.

something that would not have been conceivable in the absolutist court of Philip VII of Spain. England then, while itself an imperialist nation, was more of a model for San Martin in terms of democracy than anything that Spain or France might offer. Spain was, after all, the old colonial master, and France. Despite its Revolution, had slid into the Reign of Terror and then embarked upon its own imperial forays under Napoleon. Although San Martin would eventually live the last 26 years of his life in exile from Argentina in France, in Boulougne Sur Mer, he continued to see in the evolving English parliamentary system more of an alternative for Argentina, than was France.

That parliamentary system had its roots in the signing of the Magna Carta by England's one and only King John, John Lackland as he would be called. The United States did not appear to be a reasonable model for Latin America to San Martin, for two outstanding reasons: its revolution had sanctioned, and indeed institutionalized, slavery in its Southern states, and United States patriots had shown a hostile attitude towards the Native American population. For San Martin, the dignity of the native population was paramount. He had himself evolved on this position, referring to his Mapuche allies at their first meetings in Mendoza as "savages" (although he was committed to their liberation) but later reversing his opinion and even outlawing the use of the word "indio" in Peru; he decreed that the Native peoples should be referred to by the names of the nations as they themselves defined them, and rejected the term "indio" for its derisive and overtly colonial connotations.

In 1811, shortly before San Martin left Spain to never return, he spent four months in England. Historians generally agree that his reason for doing so, after distinguished service in Spain's military fighting the Napoleonic invasion, was to strengthen his ties with Masonic lodges that, along with their Spanish counterparts, opposed absolutism on the Iberian Peninsula and strove for the emancipation of Spain's American colonies. San Martin was a founding member of the Lodge of Lautaro, which was named in honor of the Mapuche warrior who killed the conqueror Pedro de Valdivia in 1553, and led the Araucanian resistance to the Conquest in Chile for more than a decade. The Magna Carta was a fundamental component in the evolution of British Masonic thought, and San Martin was aware of the correspondences between the situation of America's Southern Cone in the early 19th century, and the situations that had produced the phenomenon of the Magna Carta in 1215. Many of the motives that urged England's medieval barons to entreat-and then later coerce-King John into signing that document had to do with excessive and unfair taxation. It is worth noting that in 1781, one of the determining variables in the uprising of the mestizo Gabriel Condorcanqui (Tupac Amaru II) against the Colonial authorities in Peru, had to do with a markedly uneven system of taxation.

One of Condorcanqui's first military decrees was the suppression of customs taxes and the suppression of the *Mita*, the system of forced labor adopted by the Spanish from earlier Inca and even earlier Wari imperial practices in the Andes. (The Wari empire is generally regarded, as archaeologist Lumbereras notes, (2015) as the antecedent to the Inca one; it is the first political entity in the Andes that unifies, coercively and violently, that region's highly distinct people under a rubric of army vigilance and interlinking roads, a system greatly expanded upon by the Incas in the late 14th century). The *Mita* obliged the Native peoples to walk more than two hundred leagues to reach their post in the mines, a fate from which many never recovered and/or returned. Those who survived were taxed so heavily that the *Mita* amounted, essentially, to a system of unofficial slavery. Condorcanqui, due to his mixed Spanish-Inca ancestry, was not subject to these structures (he was in fact, like San Martin himself, part of the socio-economic elite), but much of Condorcanqui's impetus had to do with genuine sympathy for the plight of the Native American peoples in the Andes.

Similarly, while the Magna Carta was indeed the brain-child of the English barons, it was destined more to improve the lot of the freemen: those non-serf agriculturalists who were decidedly below the barons in rank. The barons, who viewed themselves as the guardians of England's integrity and more significantly, of its treasury, were alarmed by the horrid state of financial affairs that beset the Crown at the start of the 13th century. Despite John's well-earned notoriety for arbitrary cruelty and general abuse of his subjects, his oft-times glorified brother, Richard the Lion Heart, can hardly be viewed as any better. Richard, like the later Charles V of Imperial Spain, spent far more time away from his throne than he did actually sitting on it. Richard's active participation in the Crusades, and his seeming vocation for the soldier's life rather than that of the statesman, had drained his country's coffers and brought it little glory. It was Richard's nemesis Salah-a-Din, the Mameluke emperor of Egypt, who secured Jerusalem under Muslim control. Richard's exploits may have been sung throughout Europe by his minstrel Blondel, but they had resulted in little else either than economic ruin for his country.

The Magna Carta had attenuated the swollen debt system choking England in the 13th century. Jews, forced by Church limitations into the role of moneylenders, since ecclesiastical law prevented them from owning land, no longer had to pay 10% of their credit to the Crown, where, the Barons rightly feared, it would be squandered. Likewise, small agriculturalists, who themselves owed debts to certain members of the Jewish community, had their debts attenuated by the Magna Carta. Following a period of extreme anti-Jewish persecution of Jews in medieval England, the Magna Carta can be viewed as a precedent for establishing better economic relations between distinct religious groups in the Middle Ages. (Sadly, its influence was not always upheld by British rulers: in 1290, Edward the First expelled the Jews from England). By the time San Martin returned to Argentina, the place he had left as a young child, in 1812, there were officially no Jews in the country. Jewish presence was prohibited throughout Spain and its dominions, including of course the Americas, from the 1492 implementation of the Inquisition, onwards. But the Americas had become a focal point of tiny, though intellectually prominent, crypto-Jewish refugees, and the Inquisition, which by the late 18th century had hunted out most of the Jewish, or supposedly Jewish, individuals in the Spanish colonies, still operated as an arm of repression of thought and imposition of religious and social uniformity.

San Martin, inspired by the Magna Carta, extended the message of religious tolerance in the then insurrectionary Argentina: through his influence, Argentina's Constituent Assembly abolished the Inquisition in 1813. San Martin's commitment to ridding the continent of Inquisitorial censorship was made more evident on the battlefield, when the General ordered the abolition of the Inquisition-almost entirely under the purview of the Dominican order, with Franciscans taking an active role as proxy Inquisitors wherever the Inquisition was not officially established. From 1820 onwards, as a direct result of San Martin and Simon Bolivar's policy during the Wars of Independence from Spain, the Inquisition ceased to function in the Americas. As with the stipulations regarding Christian/Jewish relations in the Magna Carta, these changes had to be effected by those effecting the changes: in the first case the English Barons; in the second, the liberal ideologues of early 19th century Latin America.

The Magna Carta contained a clause, extraordinary in its time of patriarchal Church-backed social controls, enabling widows in England of all classes to remarry quickly and even more significantly, receive all of their dowries back upon their husband's death. This decree of the Barons allowed a limited form small commerce to develop in late medieval England, as women who possessed minimal capital were allowed to exercise their rights with it should their husband die. Compared to other societies in which the woman's dowry became the property of her family once she married,

such an ordinance was ground-breaking in terms of the economic window that it afforded women of the guild and merchant classes. San Martin believed in the equality of women before the law, something that set him apart-and above-the rest of Latin America's Creole patriots. It was actually San Martin who had authorized one of the first military honors ever granted to a woman, that of "Caballeresa del Sol" (literally: horsewoman of the sun, one of whose recipients was, ironically, Bolivar's sometime lover and ally, Manuela Saenz). Viewing a woman as an equal on the battlefield hardly endeared San Martin to his more chauvinistic colleagues, but again, his views on female suffrage, and on the importance of educating women, often came more from the Masonic sphere he had chosen rather than from the highly paternalistic social structure from which he came.

On the subject of forest usage and the maintenance of the wild lands for the sustainable hunting of the Mapuche Indians, San Martin's allies and those who enabled him to make his famous "crossing of the Andes" in 1819, it was again the Magna Carta that inspired a legal precedent for Argentina. The Magna Carta stipulated the need for stewardship of England's even then rapidly vanishing greenwood-Sherwood Forest being one outstanding example. That stewardship was, as the Magna Cata notes, the sine qua non condition "without which the forest cannot be preserved." Both England in the 13th century and Argentina in the 19th were largely agrarian societies, and both societies today still have important segments of the population whose produce feeds and clothes their respective nations. Bernardo (1963) reminds us that San Martin had proposed autonomous control for Argentina's Mapuche dominated zones. The postulate of indigenous autonomy, and the Magna Carta, which emphasized the need for forest preservation over 800 years ago, show as much of an awareness of the natural environment as they do of their respective political configurations.

It was Chapter XXXIX of the Magna Carta, which speaks of "iudicum parium suorum" (trial by your peers, literally the forerunner of our concept of trial by jury) and respect for "lex terrae" (the law of the land) which had the most profound impact on San Martin. Along with the condemnations of imperial abuse of the aboriginal populations, emitted by Spanish critics such as Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria in the 16th century, when Conquest was at its height, these fundamental concepts from the Magna Carta were seen by San Martin and all others of the Lodge of Lautaro as being intrinsic to Argentina's future stability as a free republic. Trial by one's peers was one of the basic rights which Inquisitorial or royal prerogative could easily abrogate, and it had been abrogated constantly by church and state for more than three hundred years when the rebellions for Independence exploded. While it is true that the Pre-Colombian authorities (Incas and Aztecs had disseminated the notion of arbitrary military conquest long before the Conquistadors appeared) it is also true that Spanish critics of Spain's Conquest (a category to which we can rightly ascribe to the Argentine patriot San Martin) were conversant with legal precedents such as the Magna Carta and its later Spanish incarnation, the "Lex Terrae" (1348) of Zaragoza. Zaragoza's version had translated into the Aragonese dialect, word for word, the thirty-ninth article of the Magna Carta; "… we will not kill nor torture nor exile, nor give order to do so, nor take prisoner or prisoners, one or many, against the laws, privileges, liberties, modes, and customs of Aragon…"

This segment regarding modes and customs must be given special attention here, in terms of what its significance would be regarding the Native peoples of the "New World". "Laws and customs," in Spanish, the famous "usos y costumbres" of the Amerindian nations, constituted the point from which Spanish defenders of Indian rights derived their arguments, beginning with Antonio de Montesinos in the first decades of the Conquest to Jose Francisco de San Martin, at the Conquest's end. Respect for the "laws and customs" of the Native peoples characterized Las Casas' refutation of Sepulveda's pro-imperial arguments at the court of Felipe II in the mid-16th century-respect for the "laws and customs" of the semi-autonomous communities of medieval Iberia had avoided the

absolutism of the so-called "Renaissance." For San Martin, for Jose Gervasio Artigas (liberator of Uruguay and Paraguay), and for Francisco Paolo de Santander (Bolivar's rival in Colombia), safeguarding the "laws and customs" of the Native peoples was paramount. Had this article, taken from the Magna Carta, translated in Zaragoza in the mid-14th century, and enshrined in the Declarations of independence of the Latin American countries, been allowed to take root on American soil, the history of the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere might have been slightly less tragic than it turned out to be.

As it was, following the period of the first pro-Amerindian leaders, (San Martin, Artigas, Santander) Latin American history sadly mimicked its North American counterpart, and Argentina's later bloody "desert campaign, eradicating and despoiling the peoples of Patagonia, looked all too much like the ethnocide perpetrated on the Native cultures of the American West. This does not in any way invalidate the Magna Carta's significance as a document and bill of rights; if anything, it heightens the need for continued study of its application in the context of the Western Hemisphere.

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Chapter 7

Procedural governance for a learning democracy: Outline of a procedural-meta-theory for the professionalization of democracy developers

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Abstract

The more participatory procedures we have, the more there is a need to know when to use which tool for which case/goal. For that, we developed a *Verfahrenstheorie* (i.e. a theory for matching cases with procedures), which is rooted in a comprehensive Procedurology (*Prozedurologie*, a philosophy for procedural co-creativity—*prozedurales Gestalten*). Out of this meta-theory, we generated the *Meta-Matching-Method* to professionalize the art of procedural governance (i.e. the mastership of democratic, co-creative problem-solving). This article explains why there is a theoretical and practical need for such a meta-theoretical approach on professionalizing participatory politics. The goal of such a procedural governance approach is to empower democracy developers (*Demokratieentwickler*) to design and facilitate complex participatory processes for a learning democracy (*Lernende Denmokratie*), which is needed so much to overcome the current crises of democracies worldwide.

In need of a theory of participatory tools

During the ASU Conference in December 2015, an assortment of excellent examples, tools, and methods on how to improve participation were presented. Procedural innovations form all over the world in politics and community-work and also in business, education and daily life are emerging every day. Procedural Governance addresses questions of how to grasp this participatory potential intellectually, and how to handle these political techniques most efficiently and effectively. As the number of participatory tools and methods continues to increase, the need a dedicated "tool-politics" for participatory and democratic innovations and methods (in German: *Demokratiepolitik*) becomes a crucial policy-field. It's like in an innovative manufacturing company; the better you want your productivity, innovation, quality and reputation to be, the more you need to work on your methods, processes, and competencies together with your employees and stakeholders (as in a learning organization). In our times, individuals, organizations, cities, communities, states, and nations must continuously reflect and learn how to collaborate better. Procedural Governance - as the politics of such a Learning Democracy - centers on the procedural, i.e. self-referential learning on the very procedures through which a body of governance first forms and then tries to dominate the regulatory processes.

This need for more procedural governance understanding becomes even more relevant because we are currently in the midst of a boom of participation methods that connect (i.e. people's opinions with the legislative process). While new tools are invented each day, such tools have not yet reached

the established groups of political and economic power, and the world of science more broadly. Although it is a trend in demanding more participation, there is still a significant lack of good and sustainable implementation in practice. There is neither a theoretically founded self-understanding on when and how to include citizens in legislative processes or administrative decisions nor is there a further-going practical rooted research and education movement in the political or administrative sciences. In sum, the professionalization of civic participation is lacking sophisticated training, established quality-norms, and a unified expert-community.

More recently, there seems to be a race regarding whom can best carve out and finalize criteria for quality participatory procedures and processes.

- What should be the basis for those qualitative and professionalizing initiatives? Out of which scientific discourses will it be derived?
- Which theoretical foundation can help not only to talk about public-participation-methods (*Taxonomie*) in a differentiating way but also to find the ideal tool for every situation (*Praxeologie*)?

The article at hand offers first approaches to these questions. This article aims to demonstrate the need for more participatory methods from a political science point of view, while also sketching a practical Meta-Matching-Method developed out of a new political theory of procedures (*Verfahrenstheorie*) whose core segments are Taxonomy and Praxeology.

Trends toward more participation within political science approaches

Ever since the 1970s, established, modern politics seem to be in a continuous crisis: politics no longer work as accustomed. The rapidly increasing complexity of problems and dynamics in change, like digitalization, contribute to the failure of the established political toolsets. The gap between the demands of the people and the possibilities of politics in a welfare state to satisfy those is widening.

Due to the ever-increasing industrialization, the risks for the environment increase. Additionally, as a result of increasing individualization, the expectations and general sensitivity towards its actions also rise. However, the abilities of the existing structures of politics and administration to handle those complex problems remain underdeveloped.

This political crisis appears on three levels:

- **Crisis of ruling** (*Steuerungskrise*)**:** National, government-driven politics reaches its limit in times of globalization, pluralization, and digitalization.
- **Crisis of sustainability** (*Nachhaltigkeitskrise*)**:** Policies do not fulfill the expectations of inter-generational equity and sustainable development.
- **Crisis of self-determination** (*Selbstbestimmungskrise*)**:** Politics as universal self-determination of all the people is not yet sufficiently realized.

Behind these three levels lie three social-scientific discourse areas and three expectations on politics:

Functional failure: Government debate

The maintenance of the status quo and existing system is central to this understanding of politics. This perception of governance is thus one of making and applying collectively binding decisions. However, the conventional methods that were used for decades no longer work sufficiently.

Therefore, one began looking for methods of multi-stakeholder-cooperation and of cross-sectoral-collaboration to regain effective governance. This is not done out of conviction, but rather out of

necessity, and for structural and functional reasons. The opening for more participation and inclusion is thus still done with mistrust in the political capabilities of ordinary people.

Normative failure: Sustainability debate

This reformative discourse extends beyond the technical and instrumental view of politics as governing because it is characterized by a normative, substantial demand for equity: How do we ensure justice and the *good* for next-generations? Politics do not only have to govern for the "here and now", but have to remain sustainable in an ecological, social, and economic sense. Participation is seen as an important premise so that political decisions can become consistent with the next generations. The inclusion of the affected people is a claim particularly in large-infrastructure and wide-ranging decision- and planning-processes.

Emphatic failure: Civic society debate

Why does participation - functional as well as normative - need to justify itself? What if participation - in terms of individual self-determination - becomes an ethical end in itself and a fundamental right for everyone? In this case, the claim for more participation would be self-evident regardless of its effectiveness and sustainable responsibility. The conception of humans as a *Zoon Politikon* - which sees good life granted through politics - demands participation as a condition for good life. An emphatic and categorical argument underlies this classic western understanding of humanity and politics. Therefore, participative methods are good in itself and legitimation is only gained through democratic procedures.

To sum it up, these three very different discourses agree on the point that effective, sustainable and legitimized politics can hardly succeed through centralistic, top-down, bureaucratic procedures. Rather, they demand a decentralized, participative, subsidiary style of politics where non-governmental, self-organized players become central. Today, politicians and decision-makers need participatory procedures to handle the complex problems and crises they are facing, and legitimize their actions. Those different logics of expectation towards politics can be assigned to three ideal lines of argument:

Table 1. Lines of argument of the political science explanation

	Functional	**Normative**	**Emphatic**
Normative degree of argumentation	Functional, pragmatic: Participation is not seen as necessary as long as governing functions	Substantial, normative: certain expectations for values must be fulfilled	Categorical: emancipatory conception of man: self-determination as civil-right
The right to…	Stability and predictability, law and order	Sustainability (social and inter-generational) and social justice	Self-realization and public appreciation
Image of state / Government	Negative: Government ought to repel chaos and threats	Positive: government ought to meet and implement values	Emphatic: state ought to give and secure room for self-realization
Logic of participation	Nolens-volens: because they ought to use it	Limited motivation: because it works better like that	Absolute motivation: because it is a self-standing value
Legitimation through:	Effectiveness (efficiency is secondary)	Intergenerational Justice	Political Freedom

Booming development-fields of participatory procedures

There are both theoretical and practical reasons behind the need for a political theory of participative procedures precisely because there are so many methods and different schools of origin and application. The question of how to classify and how to make them accessible arises.

Since the ecological and anti-nuclear movement in the 1970s and 1980s, the repertoire of participation-methods rapidly increased. Since then, individual and collective self-determination demands have affected all subject areas and all social and marginal groups. No method is too bizarre or too innovative not to be tried out in the political field.

To this point, these forms of civil co-determination and bright procedural thinking did not reach the structures and heads of the actual political-administrative system—the inner circle of power. There, participatory methods are mostly used out of necessity and carried out half-heartedly rather than consistently, and have thus been an exception rather than the rule. The participatory practice has not yet developed to a "weather-proofed" level.

How can we make procedural governance a daily and professional, stable and sustainable practice? We should not simply *dare* more democracy, as claimed by German chancellor Willy Brandt in 1969. After nearly 50 years, we should simply also just *do* more democracy.

A boom of procedures without a science of procedures

The more procedures there are, the more questions arise on how to differ and classify this multitude of methods, or on which procedure should be used in which case.

Where do they come from? They do not fall from the clouds. Particularly, the new participative methods derive from a certain context, a history of ideas; these are the milieus and trends from which the procedural innovations arose, and still do, and branch out.

In considering the "birth years" of these procedures, it is remarkable that most are not older than 25 years; it is a very new phenomenon. If one further investigates since when they are used extensively, the novelty of those procedures becomes even clearer. There was an increasing boom in the professionalized areas of mediation, moderation and consulting since the 1990s. However, those milieus rarely share their experiences and ideas with each other. Although it might have been reasonable to begin developing and establishing specific and professionalized niches, the time and need to approach common meta-topics now exists.

In the whole society and across systems beyond these specialized areas, a variety of colorful methods and approaches recently emerged and are being used. Although there are a lot of milieus of origin, there are four dominating areas:

- **Business – organizational and personal development**
  Main field of application: companies and administrative bodies
- **Politics – civil participation and community building**
  Main field of application: municipalities and NGOs
- **Education – pedagogics of adults and large groups**
  Main field of application: adult education and group dynamics
- **Informatics – agile software development and project management**
  Main Field are collaborative projects in software and product development

A large number of cooperative procedures are further developed and used in social and integration work, church and community development, youth participation, corporate development and in family and group therapy.

The driving force for this boom of procedures is not insignificantly normative, as can be seen in the milieus of their origin, which often act out of a deep emancipatory and humanitarian intention. Including each one not as a mean to an end, but as a purpose in itself (Kant) pervades those milieus and it is seen as a matter, of course, to never take decisions or create a process over the heads of the people affected.

However, the decision-makers in politics, economics, and society as well as scientists and teachers in academic contexts to a large extent still are unaware of those social-technical developments and inventions. There is no common logic, order or theory yet known to organize and categorize the countless methods, tools, and approaches that emerged from these distinct contexts.

Towards a theory of procedures and procedurology

One the one side countless methods have already emerged from a variety of societal milieus, on the other side the need, wish, and openness to pursue political aims in a more participatory manner, has also increased significantly. The reflexive policy area of procedural governance is thou increasingly gaining relevance. For that, a systematic participation-tool-theory (*Verfahrenstheorie*) is needed. The theory must address how to speak properly and differentiate the methods and tools of governance by helping to order and select the proper ones (*Taxonomie*). Additionally, the theory provides practical guidance regarding the design and usage of particular tools for specific cases (*Praxeologie*). This leads to a new academic discipline of action-oriented research in teaching the competences and conditions needed to connect the abundance of innovative participatory procedures and governance designs with the ever-increasing demands of professional facilitation in participatory processes.

A fundamental philosophy of procedures—a *Prozedurologie*— exists behind this more pragmatical approach of a *Verfahrenstheorie*. This grand-theory based on a procedural *conditio humana* (*prozedurale Anthropologie*) opens insightful possibilities for returning to central questions of the humanities and social sciences, such as procedural ethics, aesthetics, and dialectics. For example, it leads to a proceduralization of classical dialectics by going beyond the three-step thinking of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis towards a fourth step of transforming from "thinking" into "acting" through a procedural *Prothesis*. This widening of the current abstract science of knowledge to a political science of wisdom (*prothetische Wissenschaft*) focuses on the academic duty not only to understand what could be done (synthesis) but also in developing practical crutches (like a prosthesis for a handicapped) for actually implementing what has been realized in the synthesis. When it comes to doing what one wants and should do, we are individually like "crippled". Stated differently, we cannot bridge the gap between understanding and wanting the good with consistently achieving it alone. We thus need procedural innovations to act as crutches in guiding us on how to co-create what is realized, needed, and wanted over time and space. This pragmatic self-understanding of science leads into a radical *Procedural Turn* of social and cultural sciences.

How can this procedural view be turned practical again—especially for those who must design, facilitate and host participatory processes in political and organizational life? For that, a specific micro-theory was derived from the *general theory of procedures* (*Verfahrenstheorie* & *Prozedurologie*) to match specific cases with best-suited process-designs. The so-called *Meta-Matching-Method (MMM)* was developed by the author in a research project on "Procedural Approaches to Conflict Resolution" at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Research at the University of Bielefeld in 2002 and

2003. It is grounded in solid analytical and synthetical work, and elaborated research and practice of procedures. It has since been presented several times at conferences and workshops and was implemented in practice in many cases.

Meta-Matching-Method (MMM)

Every facilitator or change agent in organizational development and political processes is familiar with the challenge regarding the arguing and convincing which design to select. Do the owners of the project and the relevant actors support the method? How can we establish shared assumptions among the participants about the case and the chosen method?

As cases differ, the most suitable methods for each project also differ. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the case *and* the method in each new assignment. Imagine MMM as a tool that not only helps to profile the demands of the case *and* the capacity of the methods but also produces support for the chosen method and a shared understanding among participants.

The Meta-Matching-Method was developed for the use in organizational development and change-management as well as community organizing, participatory planning, and multi-stakeholder governance-processes. Based on these approaches of systemic interaction and intervention, the holistic approach of MMM encloses the past, the present and the future of a project.

The basics of MMM

MMM is a deliberative and systematic approach to profile the case *and* the method, which should be adapted specifically for the case. In consequence, it is an efficient and effective tool for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the case in combination with an overview of the methods' capacities. At the end of the profiling process, the facilitator is able to decide whether or not to use which method in a certain case and how to adjust it. Therefore, MMM is a helpful tool for every facilitator to choose among and adjust the chosen methods for co-active problem-solving processes.

The profiling process is deliberative; MMM integrates the owners and other key actors of the project in the designing stage of the process—a stage normally undertaken by the facilitator himself. They do not experience the service of the facilitator as a top-down decision, but rather feel as though they are taken seriously and are involved. As the owners, other key-actors and the facilitator complement one another, MMM guarantees an extremely deep understanding of the matter and establishes shared assumptions about the case and the problem.

The method to adapt becomes transparent: After profiling the case, all the participants also profile the chosen method. As such, they gain a common understanding not only of the problem to solve but also of the procedure that was decided for use. The common profiling process fosters the support of the method and eases the job of the facilitator. MMM produces support and understanding of the method among owners and actors.

In many designing and evaluation processes with MMM, this meta-tool has proven to save a lot of resources for all sides involved. With regard to professional moderation, it is a question of hours to profile both the case and the methods, and to match them. More importantly in order to save resources is the fact that it guarantees an analysis of all-important factors interacting with a case, which is a prerequisite for lasting, sustainable results. Additionally, MMM is a tool used to ensure the adaptation of the best method for a certain case, which consequently produces the most dramatic results.

Since 2003 MMM has been used in many different change, transformation, and development processes for public and political institutions (like communities, parties, parliaments), NGOs, profit

and non-profit businesses, universities and research-projects and even churches and dioceses. The interaction of facilitator, owners, and actors during the profiling process is the best way to respect cultural diversity, as MMM makes it explicit and offers room to establish shared assumptions among the participants.

The phases of MMM

In the application process of MMM every stage has clear objectives combined with differentiated procedures. Here, only a rough outline of the four steps:

1. Mapping
2. Profiling
3. Matching
4. Re-Designing

1. **Mapping**: To get started smoothly in this stage the participants draw a "mindmap" of the case. The goal is to look behind the phenomena and appearance and finding out what's the real problem underlying the case and what are the (real) agenda and relations of the actors. It is a first approach to the topic following the rule of "quick and dirty". Stated differently, aspects of the case are expressed, but are not further deepened or systematized. We must consider that the actors may have different backgrounds, competing assumptions and may not know each other. If the different issues of the project are already discussed deeply at this stage, the actors will distance themselves from each other with nearly no chance to bring them back together at a later stage. On the contrary, the mapping-process brings them together and establishes a first, but still weak collective awareness and solidarity.

2. **Profiling**: After this more narrative approach, the participants now translate their insights and priorities into a more systematic and gradual profile of complexity of the case. With the following categories all relevant complexity-dimensions of a process can be measured:

- Familiarity with the topic
- Willingness of the actors
- Openness to methods
- Time pressure
- Resource availability
- Degree of bindingness of the result

Following the mapping-process, the participants go further into detail at this stage. Their view of the real challenges intensifies during the profiling as they deliberatively analyze and systematize it.

3. **Matching**: Now the requirement-profile of the case is compared with the performance profile of the current, given or usual process-designs. If this doesn't match, the specific requirement-criteria out of the profiling will guide to find or design the most suitable one. The participants discuss together whether or not the method is suitable for the case, and compare the considered methods with each other. Together, they decide the best method to use in the case.

4. **Re-Designing**: After the discussion about the best-fitting method, the chosen procedure is re-designed to adapt to the individual and contextual conditions of the implementation. A chosen method will rarely fit perfectly. Mostly, it is necessary to discuss and decide on adjustments of the method before and while it begins. Now the participants of MMM are much more likely not only to engage properly but also to help to improve the process in the process (as a learning process) because they understand much better the case and the chosen method.

This is only a brief sketch of a much more sophisticated and well-tested meta-procedure for professional process-designing and facilitation. But for what is all this procedural theory based approach good?

Procedural governance as basis of a learning democracy

All politics but especially democracies need to be understood as a learning process. Why? Because now is the time; - when catastrophes and crises make the consequences of human actions and the complexity of relationships clear to us; - when our democracies are under huge pressure both internally and externally; - when people are increasingly separated from political institutions politicians and parties: people don't trust anymore politics to get it done properly. That is why now is the time to put the self-understanding of being a Learning Democracy on the political agenda, to make it part of our awareness and our programs and to make it a leading theme in the media and in conversations. Fatalism, mistrust, and fear, lead to extremism and a turning away from democracy and freedom; all of this is gaining ground and we have to counter it with reasoned confidence: the certainty that we can do much, much better! We can do much, much better! We can do better because we will be able to adjust our social coexistence to new requirements and expectations through professional implemented procedural governance.

The vision: Politics which learn faster than the problems emerge. But this will can only happen, if collective learning becomes a self-evident practice: To improve constantly our politics, i.e. our coproduction of common good, every person and institution should participate with their respective strengths and concerns. This is possible, but only if we start a comprehensive innovation initiative of our political-democratic system. The tools and knowledge lies in the above described approach. And we have hints how this can work: Democracy as a learning process can learn from successful learning organizations; hidden champions in our economies and civil-societies all around the world: Here, employees, managers, suppliers, and customers constantly think together about better ways to get better results. This shared learning is been facilitated by experts in the field of development of organizations, personnel and production. If we are able to develop innovative companies, trough good procedures and smart leadership, which at the same time are appreciated as best places to work through– why not politics too? Why do we not develop our democracy, our common-good-coproduction, in the same obvious way?

For this to happen we need procedural governance experts: Democracy Developers! They will need a public mandate and legal framework. They will not only focus on improving the cooperation between parliaments and citizens, but also in and between public administrations and parties, businesses and unions, NGOs and media, education, religion and culture. To build up such a comprehensive learning infrastructure and culture in our democracies we will need thousands of well-trained and coached Democracy Developers.

For this we are setting up a first Academy for a Learning Democracy (*Akademie Lernende Demokratie*) which will be itself a learning academy testing new format of practice-learning. In Democracy-Development-Labs (*Demokratieentwicklungslabor*) f.e. we will develop and test prototypes of political innovations and at the same time train the change-agents, facilitators and process organizers on how to implement these tools. This School for Democracy Developers will transcend party affiliations and will be committed to a free and democratic constitution.

With a Learning Democracy coming into life, we stand at the beginning of a miracle of co-productivity: if we manage to connect the potential of billions of people and millions of organizations in our countries and world-wide we can make our democracies fit and resilient for the

21st century: We can do much, much better – we can do it together! For that we need this meta-procedural-theory for a responsible Procedural Governance.

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Chapter 8

Fostering democracy through Civil Dialogue

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Abstract

Civil Dialogue® features spontaneous, face-to-face interaction among students/citizens (not a panel of experts) in an atmosphere that promotes respect and equanimity. Audience members consider a provocative statement, and volunteer participants are called upon to embody their positions in a semi-circle of five chairs on stage—Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Neutral/Undecided, Disagree Somewhat, and Disagree Strongly. It is not a contest; the goal is to reacquaint the public with the notion that citizens can have differing viewpoints and disagree without demonizing the opposition. The five participants are invited to provide opening statements, followed by a guided, but spontaneous, discussion of their viewpoints, after which audience members are solicited for their questions and input, participants share closing statements, and the round of dialogue is then summarized.

Civil Dialogue is grounded in rhetorical and performance theory

The notion of civility has long been considered by scholars in various disciplines. Anderson (2011) provided a historical look at race and civility. Alexander (2006) wrote a sociological viewpoint of civility, while Hall (2013) provided various political philosophies and the relative impact of those philosophies on civility. Our approach differs in that our notion of Civil Dialogue (CD) is based on the discipline of communication.

Inspired by Augusto Boal's (1995) interactive Theatre of the Oppressed, Forum Theatre, and Legislative Theatre, Walter Ong's (2000) notion that "thought is nested in speech," and Denzin's (2003) call for nurturing "critical democratic imagination", CD is grounded in both rhetorical and performance theory. The driving force behind the development of CD in 2004 was the desire to create a forum in which citizens could examine the persuasive impact of political speeches. The need for such a forum was evident and urgent. The United States had invaded Iraq, political candidates were deeply divided about the wisdom of that military action, and ordinary citizens were unable to conduct even-tempered conversations about it. Indeed, Yankelovich (2004) observed in *The Christian Science Monitor* that "seemingly irreconcilable differences" had "split the nation down the middle", with friendly dinner parties devolving to "clenched teeth" when the conversation turned to politics. As David Brooks (2010) of the New York Times would later observe, people were living in "information cocoons in which they only talk to members of their own party and read blogs of their own sect".

The influence of rhetorical theory is evident in Crowley (1992), who issued a call to action:

> To the extent that ordinary citizens are unable to articulate or criticize the discursive conditions that cause and maintain unfair and destructive practices, we academic

> rhetoricians must bear some responsibility for their silence. Our retreat into
> philosophical idealism and our concern with technique have reduced us to bickering
> among ourselves when what we ought to be doing, rather, is showing people how
> rhetoric is practiced, how language is deployed as a means of coercion, and how they
> can resist that coercion (p. 464).

Crowley stopped short, however, of laying out a specific *plan* for showing people how rhetoric is practiced. CD is an effort to fill that gap, informed by the work of performance practitioners such as Augusto Boal (1995). Carlson (1999) explains that, for Boal, "art merged with daily activity" as "a means of exploring social situations and of developing leadership and coping skills in the participant/audience" (p. 120). Jackson (2004) explains that Boal developed The Legislative Theatre as "a way of using theatre within a political system to produce a truer form of democracy" (p. xviii). One of Boal's (1995) most important concepts is the notion of balance, or protecting the forum itself from being overrun by one polarized view. This tenet is foundational for CD, exemplified by the full range of possible viewpoints—from Agree Strongly to Disagree Strongly —being represented in each round of CD regardless of whether the equal distribution of time to each viewpoint is reflective of the spectrum of viewpoints in the audience. Ackson (2004) reminds us that Boal's Forum Theatre

> Was never about a simplification into right and wrong, never in absolute terms of
> black and white–one person's black might be another person's white, or grey, or red,
> or blue or yellow, or whatever…Forum never seeks to impose any kind of doctrine
> of political correctness, nor to make things easy; easier to understand, maybe (p. xix).

Boal's effort to achieve balance is similar to the problem-solving model articulated by Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch (1974). As a metaphor for the manner in which people attempt to solve conflict in interpersonal communication, they imagine two sailors "hanging out of either side of a sail boat in order to steady it," noting that the more one of the sailors leans overboard, the more the other "has to hang out to compensate for the instability created by the other's attempt to stabilize the boat, while the boat itself would be quite steady if not for their acrobatic efforts at steadying it" (p. 36). Steadying the boat of dialogue in CD is the job of the facilitator. If the dialogue is dominated by one extreme position or another, the event could disintegrate into a partisan screed and alienate not only the opposition but also the undecided. The facilitator of a CD event keeps the boat steady by inviting counterweight to extreme views.

Civil Dialogue is designed to encourage speech

In order for the public to participate in dialogue in an articulate manner, Ong (2000) reminds us that verbalizing is necessary because "thought is nested in speech" (p. 138). "In all human cultures", Ong (2000) explains, "the spoken word appears as the closest sensory equivalent of fully developed interior thought" (p. 138). Further, Ong argues that true communication requires the "public presence" of one person with another. When we contact one another via electronic means, Ong posits, we are not communicating in the purest sense because electronic mediums create an "artificial oral-aural public presence" (p. 15).

Portelli (1994) argues that orality is "the primary phenomenon of human life" but has been displaced by the act of writing. In his view, however, writing doesn't have to replace or abolish orality: "The advantage of our literate (and electronic) cultures over exclusively oral ones does not lie in the fact that we possess better tools of communication but that we possess more of them, alongside one another" (p. 5). The human voice, Portelli argues, is "materially accessible to all", while an

individual's use of other technologies can be restricted. "With the advent of writing, we no longer relate to others in terms of concrete, direct, mutual understanding but increasingly depend on mediated, written reconstructions" (p. 6).

Chanan argues that the advent of radio and television made things even worse, transforming the masses from active oral creatures to passive listeners and degrading what we understand as political deliberation into "*virtual* deliberation" (emphasis added, 1995, p. 120). Hague and Loader (1999) agree, observing that our dependence on media has discouraged critical thinking, as "citizens watch and listen to the elite thinking aloud on behalf of the public" (p. 196).

If Ong (2000) is correct, that clarity of thought is linked to speaking words, and if Hague and Loader are correct, that we are no longer thinking aloud for ourselves, then we need to find ways to reverse the trend and restore a balance between speaking and listening. Especially in the midst of elections, we would be wise to heed Burke's reminder that political rhetoric can be powerfully coercive, citing Hitler's ability to swing "a great people into his wake" (1940, p. 2). (We do not portend that American politicians share Hitler's sinister nature, only that a mastery of coercion is fundamental to success in politics). We answer Crowley's call to action by taking time to reflect upon this rhetoric in the manner that Ong (2000) suggests gets us closest to clarity of thought: by speaking our minds.

Reflections on the practice of Civil Dialogue

From 2004 to the present, we have facilitated hundreds of CD events. In this chapter we offer the following observations based on that extensive experience. The basic process devised in 2004 has proved to be an effective tool for fostering civility and understanding. There have been a few refinements, particularly regarding the role of the facilitator. Inspired by Boal's joker, the facilitator was initially a central figure in the dialogue, asking questions of the speakers and prompting those who haven't been as vocal as others. The approach to facilitation is now more hands-off, leaving it to the five speakers—within reason—to set the dynamics of the dialogue themselves. Another element that was tried and abandoned early on was the notion of "lifelines," borrowed from a popular television show. Audience members who agreed with a certain speaker could hand a supportive note to a runner who would deliver it to the speaker during the dialogue. We discovered that speakers could not listen to others when reading notes. The audience still receives an opportunity to express opinions and ask questions at the point in the process when the facilitator opens the dialogue to the entire room. Other than these refinements, the process of CD closely resembles the original concept.

However, while the *process* has remained largely intact, the *content* of dialogues has undergone a sea change. In the early years, dialogues could become bogged down in disputes over facts: "Climate change is real" versus "There is no evidence of climate change." We added the role of fact-checker as a volunteer with a laptop and Internet connection. However, it proved difficult to quickly find indisputable, verifiable facts online. For example, in one dialogue about illegal immigration, the question of economic impact came up. The fact checker found two diametrically opposed sets of facts from equally reputable think tanks—one set of facts that showed how deporting undocumented workers would *hurt* the economy and one that showed how mass deportation would *improve* the economy. Ariely (2009) provided helpful insight when he observed that what we think of as truth can be distorted by the degree to which we trust—or do not trust—the source:

> {We} set up an experiment…we wanted to determine the degree to which people would doubt obviously truthful statements when these statements were associated with a brand. We started out by asking people whether they thought that completely

unambiguous statements such as "the sun is yellow" and "a camel is bigger than a dog" were true or false, and 100 percent of the participants agreed they were true. We then asked another group of people to evaluate the same statements, with the added information that they were made by either Proctor & Gamble, the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party. Would giving these statements a corporate or political origin color our participants' impressions, and would they be more likely to suspect the truthfulness of these statements? The sad answer was yes (p. 259).

Ariely's insight prompted a pivot in our approach: we now ask participants to speak from their values – not what they *know* about the topic at hand but how they *feel* about it. That this is the right approach for an exploratory, not deliberative, process such as CD is borne out by two case studies.

During a dialogue about guns on campus, a woman said that carrying a gun made her feel safer. The facilitator asked a theoretical question, to demonstrate how our opinions are shaped by values, rather than facts: "If I could show you facts that demonstrate, indisputably, that you are safer *without* a gun, would it change your mind?" "No," she said. This participant was announcing to the group that she was speaking from her values, and that anyone who wanted to understand her position would have to accept her as coming from this point of view. In another instance, a gentleman said that "God is more important than the Constitution." His point of view was not up for debate, but it was an essential piece of information for others hoping to engage in a constructive dialogue with him.

Engaging politics

We have hosted a series of Civil Dialogues around political issues and elections. One successful application took place in conjunction with Presidential and Vice-Presidential debates prior to the 2012 Presidential election. Typically, we would tune in to the live broadcast of the debate followed immediately—before any network host could respond or experts consulted—by the CD. A brief introduction of the format was provided, and then a statement reflective of the debate, such as "Candidate X won tonight's debate," was presented. People could spout their political philosophy, indicate their favorites, or recall statements from the debate, all in an effort to gain mutual understanding of how citizens might come to different conclusions based on the performances of the candidates.

Brief surveys were conducted prior to the debate and at the conclusion of the dialogue to determine if the debate and/or the CD had altered peoples' viewpoints about their relative support of the candidates. While most debate watchers already ardently supported one candidate or the other—with little room for political change—there was near unanimity about the positive role of CD in the political process. People admitted to enjoying learning why supporters of candidates were adamant and the overall level of understanding regarding the democratic process was enhanced. The debate watch series will continue in fall 2016, and we will introduce new technological capabilities to CD by using mobile phones to have people vote prior to the debates and again after the CD. This will provide the facilitator with a greater idea of who the audience is and which chairs may need coaxing to fill. Additionally, it will be easier to determine respective change levels of support among varying candidates following a debate and CD.

Engaging religion

One of our first large public Civil Dialogues took place at a community church whose congregation was deeply divided on the issue of immigration. Various members of the church had wide ranging opinions on the value and cost of allowing immigration, largely from Mexico, into the border state of Arizona. Panelists ranged from a law enforcement officer to an immigration attorney who

occupied the Disagree Strongly and Agree Strongly chairs. Each spoke passionately about their personal experiences with immigration. For those in the audience who were only tangentially impacted by the issue, the panelists' insights were valuable in formulating opinions. While the goal was not to achieve consensus, but rather merely to help church members understand differences and where those differences sprang from, the dialogue helped increase the understanding of all in attendance as to the multifaceted issues of immigration.

We have regularly conducted Civil Dialogues with Methodists on contemporary issues such as the sanctuary movement, inclusion of gay clergy, and community policing. It is helpful for all in attendance to see the wide-ranging opinions that often exist within the church membership. Another venue has been an urban Lutheran church that provides heat respite and community support for a large homeless population. The minister of this church has become a certified facilitator and has conducted Civil Dialogues that explore topics pertinent to the homeless population such as jobs, housing, safety and community.

Perhaps one of the most interesting religious dialogues was at the Mennonite national convention, held under protest in Phoenix due to Arizona's restrictive immigration policies. In the dialogues conducted, church leaders, delegates (both clergy and lay), in addition to high school and college students who were attending a simultaneous youth conference participated. Dealing with provocative doctrinal issues, leaders were often stunned by the comments and participation of the student members. Likewise, the student members discovered a newfound sense of importance as their ideas were listened to with the same intent and interest as church leaders. Many remarked that nowhere before had they witnessed such an egalitarian stance where all ideas were given thoughtful consideration and merit.

Engaging organizations

We have conducted CD workshops with the Free Masons of California whose national call for civility has inspired them to learn innovative ways of practicing civil communication. One of the primary goals for using CD in this organization was as a problem-solving tool for Masonic chapters facing challenging policy decisions. Learning to integrate specific Masonic vernacular into the dialogue structure allowed this organization to help members understand how civility is embedded in their core principles.

Likewise, CD has been used in concert with meetings of League of Women Voters groups who have wanted to engage public dialogues about state and local legislation. We have been asked to complete CD and civil communication programs by three civic organizations in a local community that struggles with deep ideological divisions.

Engaging public spaces

We have taken CD into an art museum as a tool for processing art installations. The first was on the topic of prison incarceration and the goal was to allow those who experienced the installation to process the way the material made them think and feel. Additionally, a recent installation was completed featuring video work of Middle Eastern artists during a time of particular upheaval. Participants had the opportunity to view these works of art, and then attend two dialogues that focused on issues of the multifaceted problems in the Middle East. Participants in the dialogue ranged from faculty members, natives of the Middle Eastern countries in question, and students and community members interested in Middle Eastern politics.

We have spent two years doing Civil Dialogues in local libraries to bring people into this familiar public space to talk about issues that affect their lives. In collaboration with local libraries, our team

chooses topics that reflect the interests of their communities. In a community known largely for its elderly population, we discussed issues regarding aging. In an urban area adjacent to a large park known as a homeless destination, the issue of homelessness was discussed.

Engaging classrooms

Critical pedagogy has a long history of calling for dialogue and asking educators to address complex notions of critical consciousness, social transformation, and agency (Boal 1995; Friere, 2000; Giroux 2004). Much of our work with CD has been focused on classroom contexts with a desire to provide critical pedagogical practices in a variety of classroom contexts. CD has been used extensively in public speaking classes in order to provide students the opportunity to gain confidence through conversational speaking, learn the skill of impromptu speaking, and address speech apprehension in a format for speaking that is more communal than a format comprised of individual speeches. Students are typically involved in choosing the topic areas for the dialogue, ranging from campus issues including a tobacco-free campus or a student fee for athletic team support, to national issues of women's rights, euthanasia, or texting while driving. CD in argumentation courses allows students to demonstrate their argumentation skills, ability to make and support a cogent argument, and opportunities to find weaknesses in the positions of others. Casting CD as a discussion rather than a debate removes the element of winning and losing, persuading or failing to persuade. Sometimes offering two opportunities for CD—with one near the beginning of the semester and one at the end—can help mark students' progress as successful producers and consumers of argument.

We have been invited to bring CD to theatre and performance classes and workshops as a tool for processing creative texts that are geared toward social activism and change. Additionally, we have used CD in intercultural communication classes as a tool for discussing the role of culture and the challenges of assimilation and/or accommodation. For several years, we have been invited to introductory and advanced political science classes where dialogues have occurred on various political philosophies, including capitalism vs. Marxism, as well as on political issues of the day. With a typically politically interested and informed audience, their discussion often becomes rich with a variety of commentary that adds new levels of sophistication to the CD process.

In short, the potential of the application of CD in the classroom is limitless. Recently, we have travelled to area high schools to bring CD to secondary school age students. We are interested in the ways that this format can address issues relevant to that population (i.e. school bullying, stereotyping, school safety, etc.).

The digital dilemma

From the beginning, observers have encouraged us to bring CD into the digital realm: filming events so they can be posted online, or live-streaming video so an online audience can contribute comments and questions via Twitter. We resist doing so because we believe it would change the nature of the in-person dynamic and would make the setting more intimidating for participants who are not comfortable being videotaped.

One possibility has emerged that warrants consideration; we are investigating the possibility of Civil Online Forums (working title) as online discussions (such as Facebook groups) on hot topics, moderated by Certified Civil Dialogue Facilitators. Moderated online discussions may present an opportunity for us to introduce the principals of civility without trying to squeeze a square peg—a live, intimate process—into the round hole of the digital realm.

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Chapter 9
Participatory budgeting and collaboration

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Abstract

Participants and observers often expect participatory budgeting (PB) to lead to improvements in democratic quality and a culture of engagement in the community. One common hope is that PB will lead to more collaborative practices in civil society and government. This paper presents results from a new survey of local community organizations in communities both implementing and not implementing PB in the US and UK. The data provide new insights into the unique organizational characteristics of communities implementing PB and how implementing PB is associated with changes in collaborative activity. In this paper, I provide a summary of the survey design, data collection, and initial findings. I present descriptive summaries of the profiles of organizations comparing across PB and non-PB communities, organizations aware and unaware of PB, and participating versus non-participating organizations. I also provide basic summary statistics regarding the extent of organizational awareness and participation in their local PB processes. To investigate the relationship between PB and any changes in collaboration, I present several regression models that summarize the relationship between different indicators of "exposure" to PB processes and organizations' self-reported changes in collaborative activity. To preview the findings, these data do not provide robust evidence that PB alone can create high levels of collaboration, but they do provide support for the expectation that PB may serve to amplify existing tendencies to build more collaborative public communities.

Introduction

Participatory budgeting (PB)—a process in which a government sets aside a portion of a public budget for the community to allocate—has gained prominence since it was pioneered in Brazil over 25 years ago with over 1,500 other cities worldwide opting to place some budgetary decision making directly in the hands of citizens or residents. Participants and observers often expect PB to lead to improvements in democratic quality and a stronger culture of engagement in the community. One common hope is that PB will lead to an increase in collaborative activity in the community—either organizations will work together with others or more governments will work more collaboratively with groups and members of the public. Identifying such a diffuse impact in real-world data is challenging. Evaluations are often limited to the self-reports of self-selected participants and look only at the experiences of organizations actively participating in PB.

This project collects new data to gain insights into the unique organizational characteristics of communities implementing PB, and to examine how implementing PB is associated with changes in community collaboration. From July to October 2015, I conducted a survey of over 400 organizations in five cities in the US and UK, matching communities that implemented PB with similar communities that did not, which allows me to compare organizational characteristics

controlling for many other community characteristics. Using this new data, I investigate the variation among organizations across three different levels:

1. Does the organizational profile of communities introducing PB differ from those that do not introduce PB?

2. Do organizations in PB communities report increasing levels of collaboration (with other groups and government)?

3. Do organizations that participate differ from organizations that are aware of PB, but do not participate?

This empirical paper provides a summary of the data collection and overall findings. Following an overview of the survey design and data collection, I present descriptive summaries of the profiles of organizations along three different comparisons: 1) PB vs. non-PB communities; 2) organizations aware and unaware of PB within PB communities; and 3) among aware, those that chose to participate or not. I also provide basic summary statistics about the extent of organizational awareness and participation in their local PB processes. Next, I present several regression models that summarize the relationship between different indicators of "exposure" to PB processes and changes in organizations' collaborative relationships. I conclude by briefly considering the substantive meaning of these results and their intersection with observations from qualitative work in these cases. To preview the findings, the data presented here provides support for the expectation that PB may serve to amplify existing tendencies to build more collaborative public communities.

Data and method

Research areas and research design

The research reported in this chapter is based in four cities in the US and UK that implemented a form of participatory budgeting in recent years: the California city of Vallejo, New York City, the community of Leith in Edinburgh, and the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (LBTH)[1]. I match the four geographies where PB has been implemented with similar non-PB communities in the same city or region.

In Vallejo, PB was implemented citywide. In New York, London, and Edinburgh, PB processes have been implemented at district or borough levels. Operating at the appropriate geographic level, PB districts in New York, Leith, and Tower Hamlets were matched with the most similar districts, wards, and boroughs (respectively), using key measures of population demographics, electoral participation, and organizational density to identify comparable survey populations.[2] The final matched sample areas included 24 NYC council districts, 4 Edinburgh wards, and 3 London boroughs. In Vallejo, PB was implemented city-wide, in the distinctive context of a city exiting bankruptcy. The city of Stockton—the county seat of nearby San Joaquin County—makes the best regional match with Vallejo. It shares many qualitative characteristics with Vallejo, and indeed, was the common response to questions during fieldwork of "Which other city in the area would you consider to be most similar to Vallejo, a 'sister city' of sorts?" Most significantly, Stockton also recently exited bankruptcy.

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[1] PB here is defined by five key characteristics: direct control over funds, locally focused projects, public proposal and discussion of ideas and a public vote that determines final spending.

[2] NYC districts were, in fact, matched across three types of district: early adopters who implemented PB in either the first or second year were the initial "PB districts", who were then matched with late adopters and non-pb implementing districts (as of the 4th year of PBNYC).

For each of the defined sample areas, a sampling frame of nonprofit and community organizations was developed. Organizations were identified from national databases of nonprofit or charitable organizations—excluding private non-operating foundations and the equivalent as well as local resource directories and other online resources.[3] After constructing the sampling frame, I drew a random sample, stratified by city and district boundaries. Each sampled organization was then searched online, to identify a current email address and contact person (e.g., executive director, president, or other named individual) if available. Organizations that could be definitively identified as no longer in operation were excluded and replaced with a new random organization. Organizations for which a website with email and/or contact person simply could not be found were still included in the sample, as an objective of the methodology was to include the smaller, less professional, or less technically adept groups who may still be important to life in local communities.

I sent surveys to a final sample of 1,979 organizations, including 300 organizations in Vallejo and Stockton each, 600 organizations in New York City, 400 in London, and 379 in Edinburgh.[4] Surveys were delivered by mail to all organizations, with additional contacts made by email to organizations for which I had obtained valid email addresses. Email contact included advance notice of survey arriving in the mail, and a follow-up email offering the option to complete the survey online. Organizations for which I had only a postal address only received a cover letter and survey with a return envelope. If I had not received a survey from US organizations within 6 weeks of initial contact, they received an additional round of follow up letters or emails.

Response rates

Four hundred seventeen surveys were returned, for an effective response rate of 22%. This rate is within the normal range for organizational surveys (Baruch & Holtom, 2008; Hager et al., 2003) and higher than initially expected given the types of organizations contacted. Table 1 summarizes final response rates across the different study areas and types of contact.

Table 1. Survey response rates across study areas and survey method

Study Area	N	Overall Rate	Postal Only	Email & Postal	Named Contact	Contact & Email
NYC PB	71	0.19	0.06	0.29	0.27	0.3
Edinburgh no PB	70	0.38	0.13	0.43	0.45	0.48
Edinburgh PB	65	0.34	0.19	0.38	0.36	0.36
Vallejo	59	0.22	0.05	0.3	0.27	0.3
Stockton	51	0.19	0.07	0.25	0.26	0.27
London PB	41	0.2	0	0.22	0.24	0.24
NYC no PB	32	0.18	0.06	0.26	0.22	0.29
London no PB	28	0.14	0.1	0.15	0.15	0.16
Total	**417**	**0.22**	**0.07**	**0.28**	**0.27**	**0.29**

[3] To minimize bias in the results, I did not use lists of organizations that participated in PB processes, such as steering committee members in Vallejo, or applicants to the Leith decides! process in Edinburgh when constructing the sampling frame.

[4] Edinburgh surveys were actually sent out to the entire population of organizations in the PB and non-PB wards, as the small ward size meant the total population was just under the target sample of 200 PB and 200 non-PB.

Descriptive statistics

Comparing PB and non-PB areas

Figure 1 illustrates the characteristics that vary most substantially between organizations that implemented PB and organizations that did not implement PB.[5] Overall, the biggest differences between organizations in PB and non-PB areas were the proportion of organizations receiving funding from local government (basically none of whom received funding from their respective PB process), whether multiple people involved in the organization were also involved in formal politics through participation in electoral campaigns, and the proportion of organizations reporting that their numbers of active volunteers had been increasing over the past two years. A slightly higher percentage of organizations (significant at 90% confidence) reported collaborating with either government officials or other organizations and/or groups in PB communities. It is worthy to note that while no other questions vary significantly and systematically across aggregated PB/non-PB groups, larger differences may exist between smaller subsets or pairs of cases.

Figure 1. Comparing organizations in PB and non-PB areas
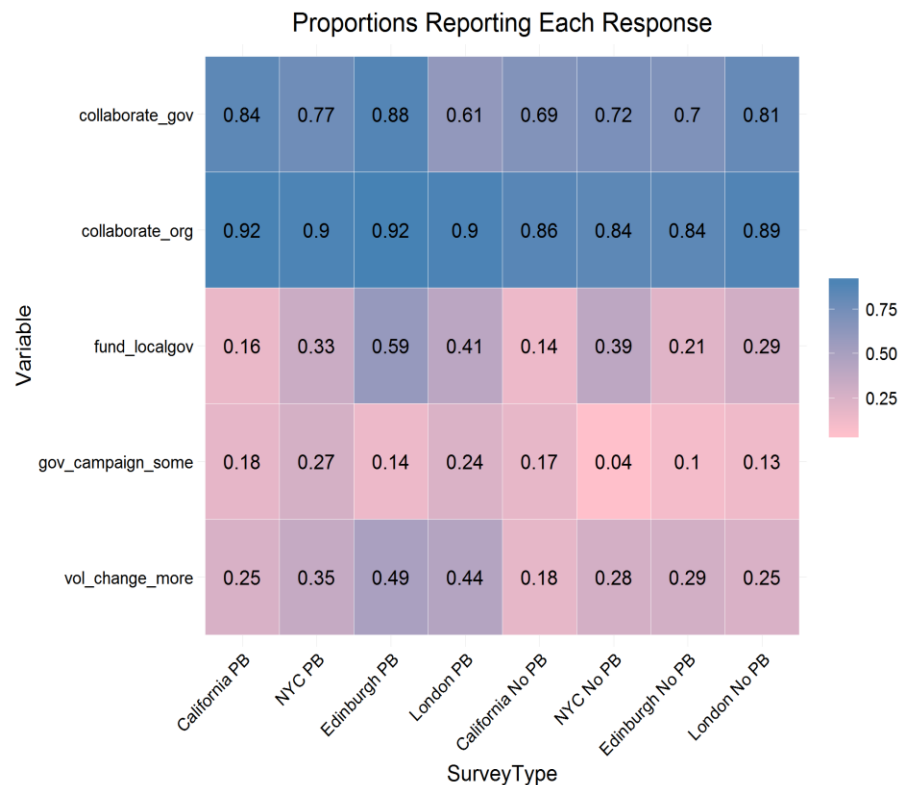
Perhaps unsurprisingly, these numbers point to a common tendency toward closer links between government and civil society in areas that opted to implement PB, compared to otherwise similar areas. The higher rates of government funding are independent of organizations receiving any additional funds from PB. The comparatively more common rates of political campaign activity

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[5] All differences are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level unless otherwise noted.

overlapping with organization members are independent of organizations' awareness or involvement in PB. It's possible that these dynamics result from PB activities in the community, but a more plausible story—consistent with the data—suggests that implementation of PB may be part of broader habits of government support and electoral activism. For example, while Vallejo does not have a notably strong tradition of government support for civil society in absolute terms, the context for government support appears to be more robust in Vallejo than it is in Stockton.

Comparing aware and unaware organizations (in PB districts)

Along with questions regarding collaborative relationships, the survey questionnaire for organizations based in communities that implemented PB asked whether they were aware of the PB process happening, and if they were, whether or not they had been involved in any way—either by direct participation or by encouraging members to get involved. Table 2 provides basic summary statistics for both awareness and participation in the PB process in each of the four study areas. Additional information on types of participation can be found in the next section.

Table 2. PB awareness and participation rates

Study Area	N	% Aware	% Participating
Vallejo	59	78%	46%
NYCPB	71	59%	34%
LBTH	41	56%	20%
Leith	65	46%	25%

Using these data, it is possible to compare organizations that had heard of PB with those who had not, providing some insight into which organizations are—and are not—reached by PB outreach and communication. Table 2 summarizes key, significant differences between organizations that are aware and unaware of PB within PB areas. Key differences are generally unsurprising: organizations that reported being aware of PB happening in their community were more likely to collaborate—both with other organizations and with the government. They were also more likely to describe their activities as including advocacy (including advocating to government actors), information distribution, or to have members involved in electoral campaigning. Reflecting the local focus and community-based outreach of most PB processes, aware organizations were also significantly more likely to describe their primary geographic focus as at the neighborhood level. Interestingly, hyper-local organizations that describe their scope as 'block' level (or their immediate streets) were not any more likely to know about PB, suggesting that outreach to the smallest scale of the organization may be less effective.

Comparing participants and non-participants (among aware organizations)

Finally, it is worth noting that there is a striking difference between organizations that engaged in any support or participation in the PB process and those that were aware of PB but were not involved (see appendix for detail on types of participation reported across cases). We can see that among US cases, participating organizations were more likely to describe themselves as advocates, and that in all cases participating organizations were more likely to indicate informing the public as a main activity. Additionally, in New York and Edinburgh, participating organizations were more

likely to operate at a neighborhood level, and in all cases, participating organizations were more likely to indicate neighborhood improvements or community organizing as a primary objective. Interestingly, we see in all cases that participating organizations are also substantially more likely to have been involved in registering voters for formal elections. Participatory budgeting activities are unlikely, in and of themselves, to drive voter registration efforts, and it is likely that these responses—along with the higher rates of identification as community organizers—indicate that the organizations that choose to become involved in PB already value political mobilization.

From these data alone, it is not possible to determine the extent to which organizations' own ideas about wider forms of citizen participation are impacted by their contact with PB processes. It is likely that some organizations choose to promote—or be involved in—PB because they already see value in political engagement. Still, most organizations do not describe themselves as community organizers, or report being involved in voter registration. PB provides an institutional setting where groups without a tradition of political organizing enter public and potentially collaborative spaces with community organizing groups. This has the potential to lay the groundwork for future mobilization.

Figure 2. Comparing aware and unaware organizations
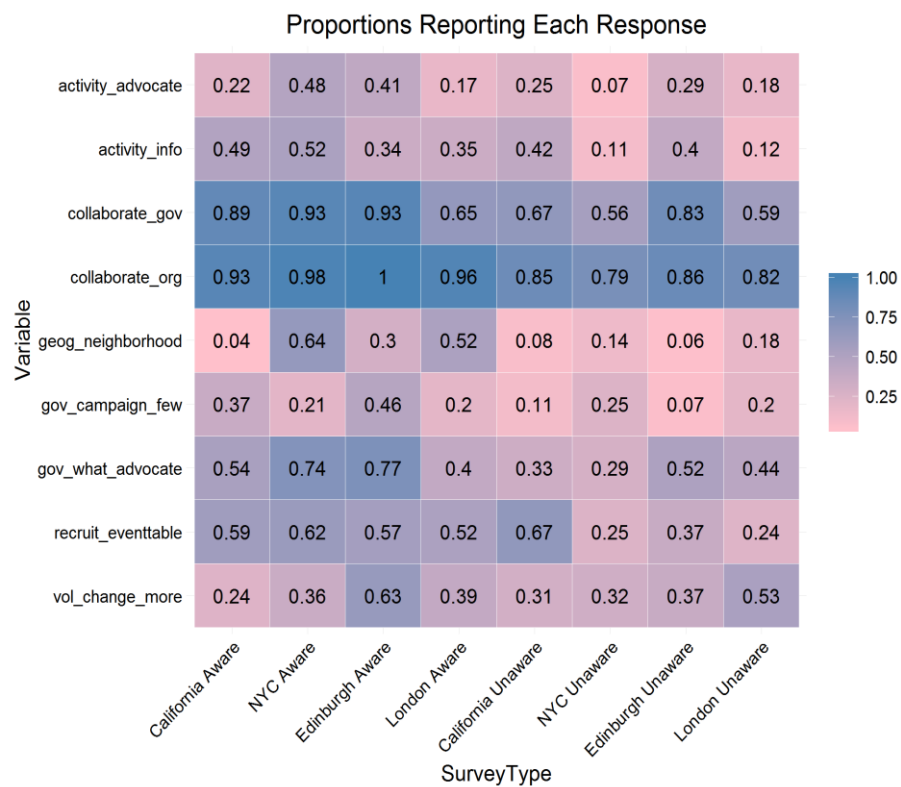
Figure 3. Comparing participants and non-participants
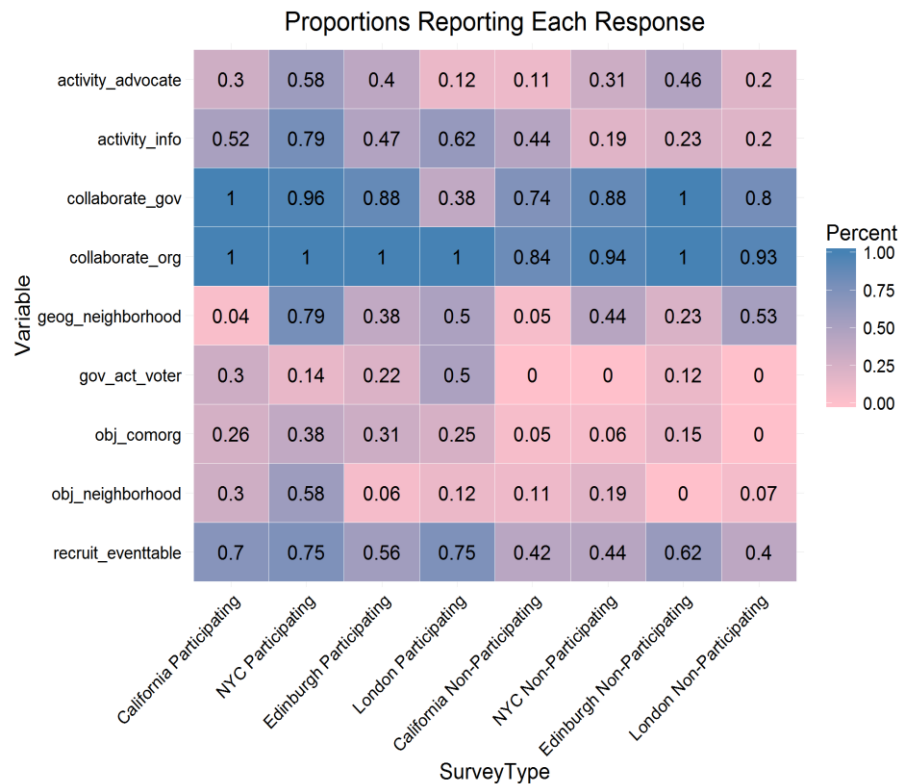
Results for PB and collaboration

Community collaboration

Figure 4 presents the results of three regression models of organizations' self-reported change in collaboration with community groups, responding to the question of whether they collaborate with other groups in the community more, less, or about as frequently as they did two years earlier. The regression models explore the effect of three different levels of 'exposure' to PB for organizations in each of the study cities including analyses of (1) the impact of simply being located in a PB district, (2) the impact of being aware of a PB process being implemented in the district, and (3) actually engaging at any level with a PB process in the community.[6] These plots summarize the expected effect of adopting PB on the change in organizations' frequency of community collaboration. Here, positive numbers represent an increase in the probability that the organization would report each level of change in collaboration. Confidence bands for 90% confidence intervals are included; relatively wide confidence bands that include zero indicate a high level of variability in the sample and a high level of uncertainty about whether the in-sample trend would be evident in the whole population of organizations in these cities. As a result, we cannot confidently make claims about a relationship between PB and organizations outside the sample.

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[6]The models presented here and in the next section are ordered probit models regressing level of collaboration change on PB interacted with region fixed effects, fit using the polr() function in R. Parsimonious models presented here for consistency across models; relatively small sample sizes limit the scope of covariates appropriate for each level of treatment, but the substantive results are robust to a range of specifications including correlated covariates, the original 5-category variable coding, and logistic regression using a binary indicator of positive change.

Figure 4. Community collaboration effects

Effect of PB indicators on community collaboration
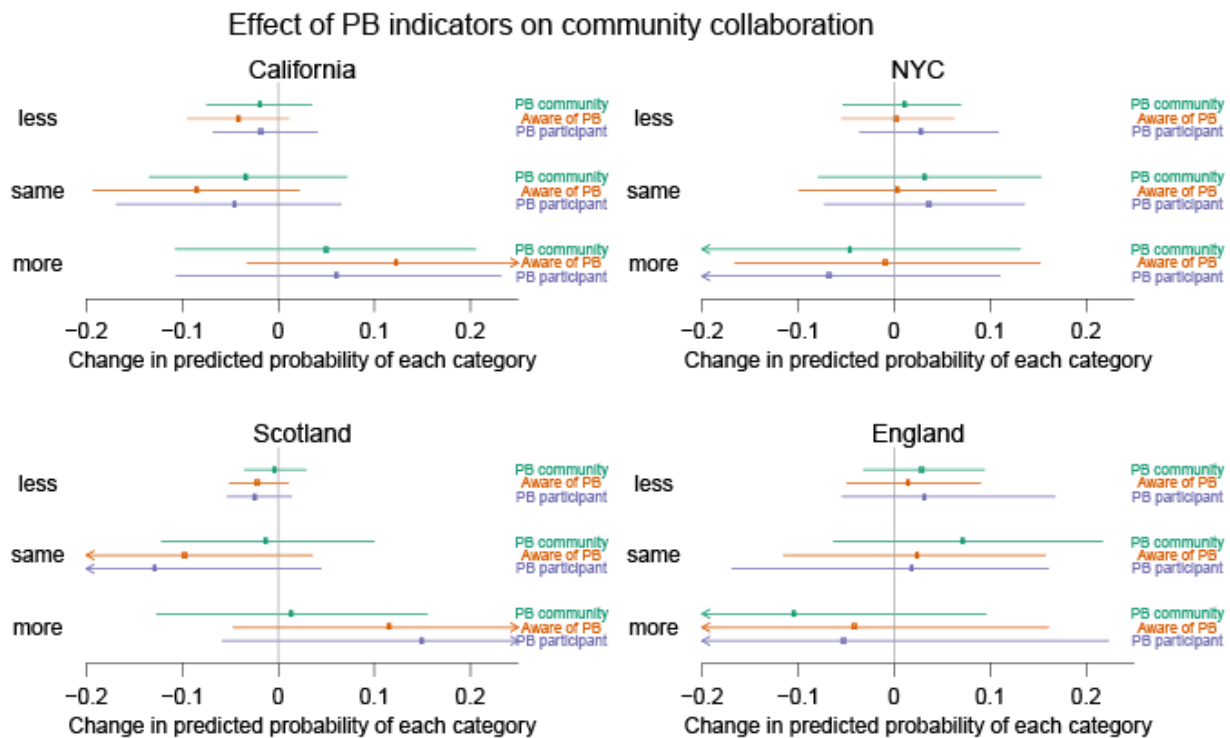
However, in looking within the sample, we can see a slight tendency toward more frequent collaboration among organizations reporting awareness and/or participation in PB in Vallejo and Leith. Organizations in New York and Tower Hamlets do not appear to demonstrate much of a change from PB. In New York, the most likely impact from PB was in fact that participants were slightly less likely to report increased collaboration than nonparticipants. In London, simply being located in the PB may have slightly decreased the likelihood of increased collaboration. Leith and Vallejo potentially enabled greater levels of new collaboration while NYC and Tower Hamlets did not.

This trend was repeated when organizations were asked to specifically identify new collaboration; organizations reported new collaboration only in Vallejo and Leith. In Vallejo, seven of 27 participating organizations (26%) reported such collaboration, and in Leith, seven of 16 participating organizations (12.5%) reported new collaboration as a direct result of their involvement in PB.

Collaboration with government

In repeating the regression analysis for the collaboration with government, Figure 5 illustrates the relationship of PB with a self-reported change in the frequency of organizations' collaboration with government bodies over the past two years. The same measures of organizations' experience with PB used in the first analysis were used here. These included the impact of simply being located in a PB district, the impact of being aware of a PB process being implemented in the district, and actually engaging at any level with a PB process in the community. In contrast to community collaboration, there is a clearer association of PB with government collaboration. While confidence bands remain wide, all measures of PB are associated with increasing levels of collaboration with government in all

cases but London—with both presence and awareness of PB being statistically significant at the 90% confidence level.

Figure 5. Government collaboration effects
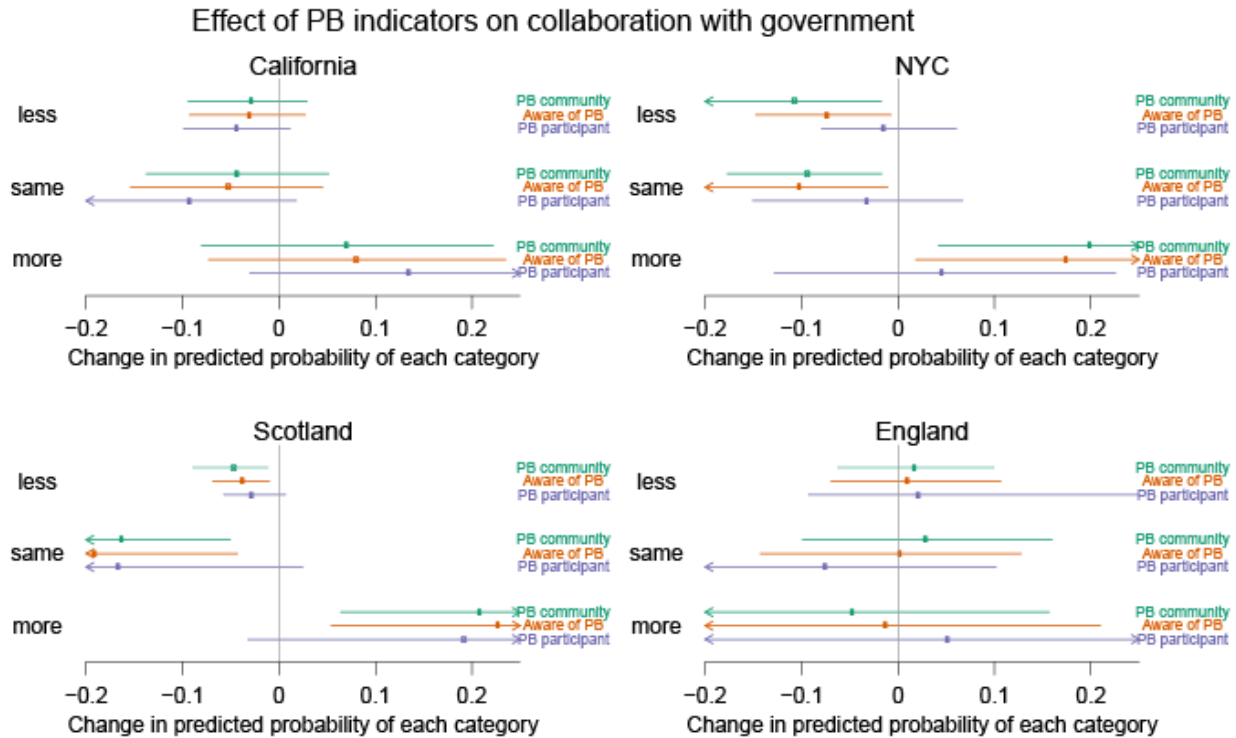
Substantively, these figures suggest that however you define exposure to PB (e.g., being in PB community, being aware of PB, or being an active participant), in California, New York, and Edinburgh, PB is associated with an increased likelihood of reporting an increasing trend in collaboration with government. Although this effect is strongest in Edinburgh and New York, the relationship with participation in New York (rather than awareness or presence) is much lower. London—as with community collaboration—shows no real effect. Overall, PB does not seem to have any relationship with collaboration in Tower Hamlets. This pattern is unsurprising given the poor implementation and minimal public buy-in to the Ward Forum process in London.

Conclusions and further questions

The implementation of PB and organizations' exposure to the process are associated with higher rates of collaboration—both among organizations and between organizations and local government. Not only do more organizations report collaboration where PB has been implemented (a pattern which likely predates the implementation of PB), but also organizations within the PB universe are slightly more likely to report an increasing trend in collaboration. From these data alone, we cannot decisively declare that PB causes increased interaction between organizations and government. However, it certainly seems to be part of a trend in more interactive governance. Without full experimental control (i.e. random assignment) or real measures of collaboration before and after PB, it is not possible to make strong causal claims from these findings. Nevertheless, as part of a wider

research project regarding the role of participatory budgeting institutions in local communities, these findings complement qualitative reports from participants in the field (in the three cases that show positive findings here) that PB encourages greater opportunities and readiness to work collaboratively within the community. The validity of these moderated quantitative findings is reinforced by the alignment of trends observed in representative samples of organizations with dynamics reported during my own qualitative fieldwork in each of these sites.

While these findings align with stories narrated to me during my fieldwork, they also raise further questions about the broader potential for transformative impacts from PB. In these data, we can see that PB implementation appears to go hand in hand with a number of other indicators of a healthy grassroots civil society—such as upward trends in volunteer availability, robust connections between government and civil society (including links with formal electoral politics), and—arguably a good thing—a government supportive of civil society organizations. It does not appear that these trends result from participatory budgeting. Instead, it appears that the local governments willing to take a risk on PB are already those with a greater appreciation for the value of supporting strong local communities and civic engagement. Similarly, in looking at organizations that are opting to become involved with PB, it is clear that some types of organizations are more likely to engage with PB processes, with organizations that have a self-described advocacy, or organizing orientation more likely to be involved. Observations such as these bring us to the final key questions of whether PB can be used as a strategy to transform communities with the fewest civic resources and least supportive governments, or if it is better understood as a policy device to amplify existing 'good practices'. Ultimately, the question remains of whether or not PB can build a culture community organizing and civic collaboration from scratch.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

Describing participation

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of types of participation among participating organizations. While New York and Vallejo have similar distributions, New York organizations report higher levels of

proposals of projects, while Vallejo organizations were more likely to support or campaign for specific projects. High rates of project proposals in Leith reflect an organization-centered process design. Tower Hamlets sees generally lower levels of participation—with encouraging people to attend forums to vote as the most common mode.

Figure 6. **Distribution of modes of participation among participating organizations**
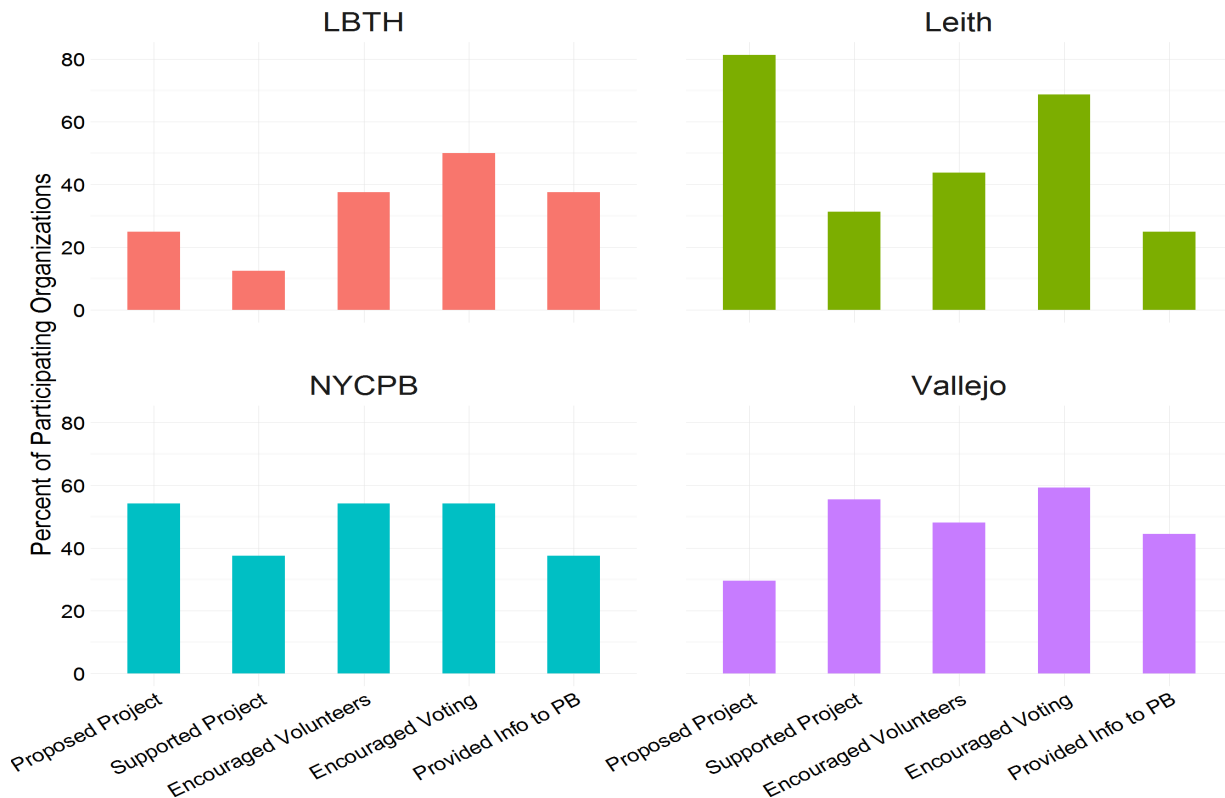
Interestingly, in NYC and Vallejo (where funds are not generally allocated directly to organizations), 13% and 19% of participating organizations, respectively, report receiving funding or support for their activities as a result of PB. A full 50% of organizations in Leith report receiving funding, as the Leith process funds projects via organizations.

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Chapter 10
E-Democracy by the people (and nonhumans)

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Abstract

With the rise and spread of the Internet, new avenues and possibilities of political action have been envisioned under the header of e-Democracy. Simultaneously, old democratic questions have been reopened: who is to participate, how, when and on what matters? These questions are not settled as of today, but are continuously negotiated by different actors. Focusing on citizens in Greenland, this paper presents an empirically informed study of the power struggles of defining e-Democracy. Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe's theory on hegemony and Actor-Network Theory, the paper argues that these struggles can be explored by tracing how e-Democratic discourses are shaped and reshaped through human and technological actors' interaction. The paper traces e-Democratic discursive formations through interviews with citizens and through online practices. It concludes that e-Democracy, as coproduced by Greenlandic citizens, informal petitions sites, and the social media platform of Facebook, primarily creates a space for political oppositional forces in the spirit of partisan or contestatory democracy.

Introduction

What happens when a hegemonic discourse of liberal representative democracy is challenged by intruding Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)? How are such challenges possible at all and how do citizens handle the discursive disturbances? In order to provide suitable answers, the paper unites the notions of discursive struggles (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) with Actor-Network Theory's (ANT) (Latour, 1993) flat ontology and distributed action. From this perspective, humans and technologies are both framed as contributors to discursive power struggles. The paper employs this concept in an account of how Greenlandic citizens in collaboration with nonhuman actors coproduce an e-Democratic discourse that runs counter to an institutionalized discourse of liberal representative democracy.

First, the Greenlandic case is presented briefly. Next, the concepts of e-Democracy, discursive struggle, flat ontology, and distributed action are clarified. The following section presents the methodology, which is derived from the conceptual work. The findings are presented in the ensuing section. The paper closes with a short comparative conclusion.

The case of Greenland

Greenland presents itself as an interesting case of e-Democracy. It is the world's largest island (Statistics Greenland, 2015), the 12th largest country in the world, but checks in at a mere 206th place with regard to population size (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). The Inland Ice covers 81% of the landmass and leaves only the coastline inhabitable. No two towns are connected by roads (Statistics Greenland, 2015) and though most towns are connected by flight routes, tickets are expensive and

flights are often cancelled or delayed due to harsh weather conditions. If ever there was a country which could benefit from the internet's time and space eliminating capacities, this is it. Internet access, however, is expensive and instable – especially in the northern and eastern regions where internet comes by satellite. Despite of this, the nationwide private internet penetration is approximately 72% and the take-up of social media 73% (HS Analyse, 2013). Facebook is especially popular.

Greenland is a former Danish colony. In 1979 it converted to home rule and had its first democratically elected legislative authority (Janussen, 2003). Today, it has the status of an autonomous Self Rule within the Kingdom of Denmark. It is a liberal representative democracy and election for Parliament is held every fourth year (Bureau for Inatsisartut, 2015). Sessions in Parliament are public, but citizens cannot initiate or decide on amendments or recalls (Bureau for Inatsisartut, 2013). With one Member of Parliament (MP) per 1,800 inhabitants, citizens are statistically speaking well-represented. Notwithstanding statistics, political misrepresentation and apathy are surfacing in the popular press (Duus, 2015; Eising, 2015).

e-Democracy

Democracy is understood as citizen self-government. A citizen is defined as someone with the right to partake in self-governance. Only political aspects of citizenship are included in this definition. While social and emotional aspects of citizenship certainly are of great importance (Couldry, 2006; Marshall, 1992), they are disregarded in this study. The definition, furthermore, only includes people who have a civic right to partake and not a professional obligation to do so. Members of legislative and administrative bodies are therefore excluded.

The prefix 'e' in 'e-Democracy' is a stand-in for any type of digital ICT that is used to sustain or facilitate political self-governance. Historically, self-governance has had many faces (Held, 1996). However, with the coming of ICTs, the range has exploded. e-Democracy repeats traditional forms of self-governance like political participation (Borge, Colombo, & Welp, 2009; Garrett, & Jensen, 2011), nonparticipation (Ainsworth, Hardy, & Harley, 2005), demonstration (Garrett, 2006), mobilization (Nam, 2012; Vissers & Stolle, 2013), group assemblage, and discourse formation (Dahlberg, 2007). In addition, it has spawned new concepts like the peer progressive citizen, the actualizing citizen, produsage-based politics, commons-based peer production, and DIY citizenship (Heikka, 2015). e-Democracy, then, covers a wide range of ICT sustained self-governing practices.

Discursive struggle

Hegemony and democracy are interwoven (Laclau, 2001). Therefore, the notion of hegemony is a promising starting point for a conceptualization of ICT and power in relation to democracy. The premise of hegemony is that there is no fixed and sutured social order. Neither society, nor social agents have any essential meaning. Rather, meaning and identity are relational (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 98-99). Social elements – social classes, political agents, subjects, social praxis, institutions – are discursive moments[1] that continuously are imbued with meaning through articulatory practices. The term 'discourse' designates the structured and partially fixed totalities of differentiated elements that result from such articulatory practices. Hegemony denotes the articulatory struggles resulting in discursive changes. Democracy is the political structure that creates the most suitable conditions for

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[1] Elements and moments are different insofar as the latter are discursively fixed (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

articulation (Laclau, 2001). These struggles are of great importance as they condition the possibilities for future democratic meaning and action.

Articulation establishes relations among elements so that their identities are modified as a result hereof (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 105). The identities and meanings of for example 'citizen', 'parliamentarian', 'dialogue', and 'petitioning', result solely from their relations to each other in a specific discourse. Likewise, ICTs can acquire a democratic meaning by establishing relations with these elements. When this happens, the meanings of all the elements are changed; a new democratic discourse is produced and the elements become moments hereof. The articulatory practices depend partly on the strategies of the current positions within the representative democratic discourse. Mahrer & Krimmer (2005) for example illustrate that parliamentarians do not welcome any significant changes in the established democratic order.

Discourses are challenged in at least three interrelated ways. One, if a discursive moment rearticulates itself. If, for example, citizens currently defined as voters try to redefine themselves as political deliberators. Two, if a foreign element is introduced into the established discourse. In our case, ICTs are introduced to the established representative democratic discourse. Three, if two radically different discourses collide. If, for example, a business discourse, of which ICT is a significant moment as of today, intrudes the democratic ditto. Within e-Democratic discourses corporate and business terms such as commodity and consumption (Bellamy, 2000), shareholder (Coleman & Gøtze 2001), and crowdsourcing (Aitamurto, Landemore, Lee, & Goel, 2014) have become common coin.

Flat ontology and distributed action

While Laclau and Mouffe (2001, p. 108) affirm the material character of discourses, they do not explain how materials (in our case, ICTs) can partake in discursive power struggles. In order to provide such an account, we need to conceptualize the interaction between human beings and technologies in a way that does not compromise the general idea of hegemony. For this, I suggest we turn to ANT. ANT urges us to strip our analysis of any ontological assumptions (Latour, 1993) and describe anything that *actually* contributes to courses of action – including those that challenge and stabilize discourses – as an actor (Latour, 2005, p. 71). What is important is not what the actors *are,* but what they *do.* In order to disclose action contributions and contributors, Latour (2005) suggests that we follow the path of the action under study and document the mediators and their doings. That is, we are to trace the associations between the actors engaged in the course of action. If, for example, I am to retrieve some journal article, I turn on my computer, log on to my library account, search for and hopefully find the article in some online database, which the library has access to, and download it to my hard disc. Obviously, I do a lot of acting in this example. And I certainly am a prominent actor. But the computer, the power supply, the Internet, the library, the library's search engine, and the database also contribute. To notice just how much, you can imagine and compare the same action – that of retrieving a journal article – without computers, power supplies, libraries and so forth. These actors do not merely work as intermediaries facilitating my action. Just like me, they add to, translate, and modify the chain of action (Latour, 2005).

Production and analysis

When we talk, write, act, design, or build, we produce and reproduce discourses (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 107). Discourses, then, are produced and reproduced also through interviews and through online political activities, which make up the two types of data for this study. Political activities on Facebook and Skrivunder.net (a third party petition site) have been traced. These sites are included

in the analysis because citizens associate themselves with these particular websites. Nine interviews with citizens lasting approximately one and a half hour have been conducted from November 2014 to April 2015. Two interviewees were running for Parliament at the time of the interview. None of them were elected and their views are in line with the other citizens', therefore their distinct position is regarded as of minor significance. In addition, a Facebook group entitled 'Greenlandic e-Democracy' was set up as a debate forum in which members could discuss e-Democracy. The group attracted 30 members of which 14 actively contributed to the discussions. From October 2014 to May 2015 ten posts, 28 comments, and two votes were produced. Most members made only one or two comments, one person contributed with 10 comments. The author functioned as a group administrator and facilitated the discussion by posing questions through 7 posts and 7 comments in total. The reason for the low activity level might be that, as a member of the group stated: "Most of us are probably better at doing e-Democracy than discussing it" (Facebook comment, May 11th 2015). Another explanation might be that Facebook does not support longer deliberations very well. Finally, the low activity might be explained by the interviewer's inability to keep the discussants engaged.

On- and offline interview data is coproduced by both interviewer and interviewees. This calls for an interview strategy that makes explicit the relation between the actors and an analysis that is attentive to the coproduction processes. The strategy was to create comfortable spaces wherein participants could construct e-Democracy freely. Interviews were open ended and moved wherever the interviewees or group members wanted to – within the limits set by the interviewer. Furthermore, the interviewer followed the interviewees' discourses and encouraged them to elaborate upon them. Despite such strategic manoeuvres, the interviewer and author remain significant actors in the e-Democratic discursive productions (Latour, 2005, p. 103), which needs to be taking into consideration in the analysis.

The analysis method derives from the theoretical framework and is coined associative discourse analysis. The goal is to shed light on citizens' and their nonhuman associates' e-Democratic discourse. First, a content analysis was carried out to disclose the definition of e-Democracy. Next, the associations between the discursive elements were traced in order to disclose which actors contributes to the process and how. Finally, the discourse's power effects were examined.

Findings

Three aspects characterize the coproduced e-Democracy: (i) creating public awareness of local issues through online debate fora; (ii) making local issues public through online petitioning; (iii) making MPs accountable by mobilizing the populace and protesting.

Creating awareness of issues

"Involvement is done only by active participation, dialogue, and communication between all stakeholders" (Facebook post, member of Greenlandic e-Democracy, October 31st 2014).

Dialogue plays a significant role in the e-Democratic discourse. Not only are citizens concerned with the dialogue between them, MPs, and the public administration. They are equally, if not more, concerned with the dialogue among themselves (interview, citizen, November 27th 2014 and March 3rd 2015). The Facebook group 'Political Debate Room'[2] was founded in order to create better conditions for political dialogue primarily among citizens and only secondarily between the citizenry

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[2] https://www.facebook.com/groups/129100667273522/

and MPs (interview, founder of Political Debate Room, April 24th 2015). As of October 1st 2015, the group attracts 5,244 members, which is 1/10 of the population. Two-thirds of MPs and all but one minister are members. On average, approximately 879 posts are generated per month, each of which is commented 11 times on average[3]. By Greenlandic standards, Political Debate Room is massive. However, Facebook restructures and modifies the intended dialogue into something else; something that we can describe as creating public awareness of local or individual issues. Facebook translates dialogues in at least three ways. First, interaction is limited to posting, commenting, sharing, and liking. The question is if dialogue is in need of a wider arsenal of possible acts. Second, as a many-to-many communication form, the possible outreach is greatly magnified to the effect of obscuring who the interlocutors actually are. The ensuing form of dialogue was by citizens themselves compared to the Hyde Park Speakers' Corner, the difference being that everybody speaks at the same time online (interview, citizen, February 27th 2015). Thirdly, Facebook's structure does not favor lengthy conversations. All posts and comments are structured according to a timeline. When 29 posts and 319 comments are created every day, posts soon disappear. They are quite literally pushed down and out of your screen and public attention. Identical posts often reappear several times and therefore, potentially at least, regain public attention. Reappearance, however, necessarily comes at the expense of other posts. The intended dialogue, therefore, becomes a struggle for public attention. It is translated by the very medium into the act of making the public aware of locally pertinent issues.

Making local issues public

"The number of petitions has exploded […] There are incredibly many petitions for this and that issue" (interview, Founder of 'Demonstration against the Government', January 19th 2015).

At times, issues move between different platforms. For example, requests for a renewed adoption law[4], appeals to preserve a zero-tolerance towards extraction of uranium[5], and calls for reelection[6] travel between Facebook and skrivunder.net[7]. Skrivunder.net is a third-party website where users can create petitions. Some of the most popular petitions have made their way to the Parliament through citizen initiated happenings. Still, the petitions are not tied up to legislative procedures and do not directly inform political decisions. They offer a way for citizens to provide additional voice to specific issues, thereby making them public issues. It is easier to collect signatures and therefore make issues public online than offline. Most popular petitions have generated close to 1,500 signatures or 2.7 % of the population. The ease of online petitioning, however, also reduces their weight or value. Petitioners ask themselves if people really mean what they sign (interview, spokesperson for uraninfo.org, February 26th 2015) and if they will show up if more work is required (interview, citizen, February 27th 2015).

Mobilizing and protesting

"In the last two to three years, there have been as many demonstrations as there have been previously in the whole history of Greenland" (interview, citizen, February 26th 2015).

The final aspect of citizens' e-Democratic constitution is to mobilize the populace and arrange concrete political happenings or demonstrations. The Facebook group 'Demonstration against the

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[3] Statistics generated via http://sociograph.io/
[4] http://www.skrivunder.net/signatures/forny_den_gronlandske_adoptionslov
[5] http://www.skrivunder.net/bevarnultolerancen
[6] http://www.skrivunder.net/nutaamik_qinerseqqinnissamik_piumasaqaatkrav_om_nyt_valg
[7] http://www.skrivunder.net/

Government'[8] serves as an exemplary case. The group was initially founded on January 9th 2014 and the call was clear: "I want to show my discontent against the current Government. […] I have no experience with demonstrations or how to organize them. Therefore, I have created this group in hope of meeting people of the same opinion who will help me" (Facebook post, founder of Demonstration against the Government, January 9th 2014). The group attracted 928 members who showed support, shared events and updates, collected signatures, arranged events, or participated in the actual demonstrations. Agreement in the overall purpose was presupposed and it was explicitly stated that it was not a debate forum and that critical posts and attempts to start discussions would be deleted (Demonstration against the Government, About section). Posts and comments were supportive and often of a practical character asking, for example, for inputs to speeches, help to make banners, or encouraging members to share events and petitions. Facebook supports and speeds up these types of actions. This is illustrated clearly by the second demonstration arranged by the group. Following the disclosure of the Premier's personal spending of public funds one of the key actors asked: "Is it about time that we make a new petition? And a demonstration? […] People on fb want a new election!" (Facebook post, member of Demonstration against the Government, September 27th 2014). Three days later, at the opening day of the Parliament's fall session, 500-600 protesters demonstrated against the Premier. Their demand for a new election was backed by more than 1,000 online signatures. Next day, the Government resigned and called for an early election (Duus, 2014). The demonstration did not bring about the Government's downfall on its own. It was a manifestation of a broader dissatisfaction with the Government accumulated over time. Still, Facebook played an enormous part by facilitating the mobilization and the accumulation of the popular dissatisfaction.

Power effects

e-Democracy, as coproduced by Greenlanders, Facebook and Skrivunder.net, primarily creates a space for political oppositional forces. Instead of fixing the political representational crisis, this discourse shortcuts the representational process. Through words and deeds, citizens and their associated technologies reconfigure democracy; create a structure that contains a wider arsenal of possibilities to set the political agenda and to make MPs and ministers responsible than is the case in the current institutionalized representative democracy.

Arguably, the current institutionalized representative democratic discourse allows for these types of action. Highlighting issues, creating and signing petitions, mobilizing the populace and protesting are neither illegitimate, nor undemocratic. The representative democratic discourse, however, does not promote these types of actions. They are allowed and tolerated, but not encouraged. The coproduced e-Democratic discourse accounted for in this paper creates better conditions for these types of action without discarding the entire representational discourse. e-Democracy is not envisioned as a street parliament (interview, citizen, February 26th 2015), nor as a direct democracy (interview, citizen, November 27th 2014). Nor are MPs, their authority as decision makers, their responsibility for decisions, or the processes by which they are elected altered. What is changed is the population's capacity to control the political agenda and the possibility to make MPs accountable. The question is, if this discourse constitutes a significant challenge to the hegemonic representational ditto, or if the two can coexist. MPs and civil servants construct an e-Democratic discourse according to which MPs have the political and visionary authority and the public administration has rational authority. Within this discourse, people are not to set the agenda, nor are they to recall MPs. Rather, they are encouraged to assist MPs in representing the populace and assist

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[8] The group is no longer publicly available

civil servants in making rational and implementable acts through online consultations (Jørgensen, 2016). Coexistence, therefore, insofar as it is possible at all, implies tension between the conflicting discourses.

It is too early to decide on the outcome of these struggles. However, in comparison to other liberal representative democracies, the Greenlandic citizens seem to have had a greater impact on the status quo. A possible explanation for this is that the Greenlandic liberal representative democratic discourse is young and not well established. Another explanation is the population size. In a country of 56,000 inhabitants, 1,000 signatures or protesters might feel like a lot to those who are the target of such initiatives. And crowds of a thousand are not too difficult to mobilize online.

Conclusions

This paper has investigated how citizens in Greenland, together with nonhuman actors, coproduce e-Democratic discourses. While ICTs certainly support citizens' visions of self-government, they also translate these visions. The spread of the internet and the popularity of Facebook make it easier to create public awareness of local issues, but not necessarily to engage in dialogue. Sites like skrivunder.net, coupled with peoples' online social networks, make it easier to make local issues public, by creating petitions and collecting signatures at the cost of worth. The structure of Facebook makes it possible to arrange massive demonstrations within no time.

The paper's findings echo a range of prior research. The struggle for attention observed at the online debate fora provide evidence to Dahlberg's (2005) and Hargittai's (2004) argument that control over the means of exposure is becoming increasingly important, as the means of production are becoming more common. Facebook's positive impact on the conditions of possibilities for mobilizing the populace and arrange protests around flash and single-issue campaigns resounds the works of Breindl (2010), Nam (2012), and Ward, Gibson, and Lusoli (2003). Finally, the study shows that the people employ ICTs in order to create favorable conditions in which they can develop political counter-discourses (Dahlberg, 2007), from which they can contest rather than partake in political decisions (Van den Hoven, 2005).

Adding to these conclusions, the paper provides an associative discursive explanation as to why e-Democracy is constituted by the people as it is. They do so in order to challenge the democratic status quo, to bypass misrepresentation and represent themselves as those who can set the political agenda, mobilize and protest against single issues, and make MPs accountable for political decisions. This e-Democratic discourse is not founded by free floating minds or individuals. They are not pure ideas. The discourse is coproduced by the very tools that sustain practice.

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Chapter 11

The Design & Democracy Project: Facilitating 21st century citizenship in Aotearoa-New Zealand

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Abstract

The Design+Democracy Project is a research unit established within Massey University's College of Creative Arts (New Zealand) to advance the role that design has to play in 21st century citizenship. This paper synthesizes two key projects: The first is *On the Fence*, an educational tool that helps first-time voters engage directly with issues by matching their personal values with political candidates and parties. The second is *Ask Away*, a forum that enables youth to help set the political agenda, providing an unintimidating, one-click way of participating in political conversations. This chapter shares insights gained from the development and deployment of these online initiatives, and explores the design tools and techniques used to harness technology to enhance civic engagement.

Introduction

The Design+Democracy Project is a research unit established within Massey University's College of Creative Arts (New Zealand) to advance the role that design, and what has been termed 'design thinking', has to play in 21st century citizenship. The unit works in collaboration with students, industry, Government, and the social sector to re-engage citizens and progress a participatory democracy. This paper outlines two of the three key projects, both indicative of the Design+Democracy Project's work and intent. These initiatives are:

1. On the Fence –an award-winning tool that builds political confidence to transform disengaged users into informed, active voters through gamification, which helps first-time voters engage directly with issues by matching their personal values with political candidates and parties.

2. Ask Away – a forum that enables less represented groups within the constituency to influence the political discourse and agenda, which provides an unintimidating, 'one-click' way of participating in elector-initiated political conversations directly with candidates.

The paper shares insights into the development and deployment of these two platforms, which have facilitated and enhanced participation and engagement in New Zealand's political processes. Each tool made use of new technologies. Technology is leveraged as a conduit that has made it easier than ever for electors to access information, connect, build networks and communicate. However, design is the primary process or methodology and design's application to direct democracy innovation is the intended focus of the research. This paper explains the design tools and techniques used to harness this technology to enhance civic engagement. It emphasises how approaching civic innovation through design is surprisingly powerful.

Figure 1: Design+Democracy Project's online tools to facilitate participation in social issues

Project overview

The question we have been asking within the Design+Democracy Project is: How might design facilitate young people's engagement with existing political processes? More specifically, how can design processes help them become informed, confident participants in the democratic process of choosing their government representatives? The two web tools, that emerged in response to these questions were designed with young people for young people. They proved to be outstandingly successful. The design-led solutions informed, engaged, and ultimately enabled many thousands of young people to participate in setting the agenda for political debate within the election campaign.

Voter participation has been in long-term decline in the 'Developed West', particularly among young people. New Zealand (population ~4 million) is no exception. The official statistics tell us that 42% of 18-24 year olds didn't vote in the 2011 election. However, the Virgin Voter Collective (to which the Design + Democracy Project contributed) revealed figures that illustrate this number may be under-representing the problem. Some statistical interpretations (factoring enrolment and other forces) suggest that closer to 60% of 18 – 24 year olds didn't vote in the 2011 election. This illustrates a huge decline in young voter turnout. The long-term trend from 1996 to 2011 shows that every year four percent fewer young people have voted (Vowles, 2014). If that trend continued, only approximately one third of young people would have voted in the last election.

Consensus has been largely achieved that for anything effective to be done to arrest or reverse this trend, a broad strategy involving politicians, the media, academics, teachers, opinion leaders and ultimately, society in general will be required. New Zealand's Electoral Commission has always externally encouraged and internally engaged its own research around what affects voter participation. The Commission provides advice, reports and public education on electoral matters, and electoral enrolment services for both parliamentary and local elections. Of particular interest to design, it also has an interest in what strategies, mechanisms or programmes might be effective in maintaining or increasing engagement and turnout.

Massey University was well placed to help generate work in concert with the Electoral Commission's aims. Its independence from the Commission's formal mandate also allowed explorations and innovation at the edges of what have been traditional and permissible norms in communication. This led to an expanded scope with voter facilitation the primary objective. This is a key strategic and philosophic shift. It engages with facilitation as opposed to working towards passive adjectives such as informing and encouraging, which has traditionally been seen as the realm of many electoral

officers. This shift immediately opened-up scope and potential. The School of Design began to refine, develop and implement two concept-proven voter facilitation web tools with those aims in mind. Both were aimed at youth voter engagement: On the Fence and Ask Away.

Young people (18-24) are amongst the least engaged; with participation rates consistently around 30% below electors aged over 50 (Office of the Auditor General, 2013). Many of them have rejected voting – a system that in New Zealand was designed largely with 17th and 18th century British ideas about citizenship – an act which is unsurprisingly and increasingly out of sync with the reality of their lives. Many have only ever engaged informally with New Zealand's political structures, expressing their political will, for example, through online social action or conscious consumption. This is a trend observable in many developed democracies.

Design's role in 21st century civics

Throughout its relatively short codified history, design has been seen as a process applied to physical objects. Brand marks, cars, posters, consumer products, clothing and homes are readily imagined when the term design is discussed. But design (as an activity and process), and 'The Designer' (as a practitioner) have extended their purview and impact well beyond the printing presses and drafting tables of their past. Design-led successes, especially in adding value and efficiencies to goods and services, have nurtured a willingness to continually extend where, how and by whom design is employed. If the 20th century was engineered, this century will be designed. Design roles grew, expanded, and evolved.

The designer, who once almost exclusively responded to a pre-determined brief as a service provider, has moved up through the organisational hierarchy to address strategic issues through design. With that ascension achieved designers were asked to determine the entire user experience, or even the very nature and structure of the organisation that provides their experience. Strategic thinking became a design exercise, the 'non-designer' armed with a design thinking toolbox (as championed by Stanford University d.School et al).

Design's tasks have hence become more-and-more complex, sophisticated and the stakes higher with each step up the hierarchy. Each stage of design's evolution yielded lessons, and ultimately earned trust for a process at odds with ever-increasing specialisation that has occurred since the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution. From generating a visual or physical product, to designing services or experiences, to designing organisations in their entirety, and now even exploring how to design meaningful and useful connections within networks of systems. This evolution is documented in landmark work by observers such as Simon (1969), Buchanan (1992) and Pine & Gilmore (1999), and today you can find reference to user centred design in much of the mainstream media.

The Design+Democracy Project picks up on this trajectory at an exciting point, applying design and design-thinking to facilitating 21st century civics to address what Buchanan might call the 'wicked problems' facing democracy today. Two early examples exploring this potential are On the Fence and Ask Away.

On the Fence

The first project was ultimately the primary contributor to a seven percent increase in youth voter turnout (Horizon Research, 2014). On the Fence, was initially the product of a core undergraduate .300-level 'work-integrated learning' course within Massey University's Bachelor of Design (Honours) degree, Design and Business (co-developed by Brown, Kane 2011-2014). In 2011

a team of five students– Lee, Nicholls, Roxas, Stowers, & Wright –from a range of design majors, elected to work in response to a provocation and brief seeded by a 'client', R. White, a civil servant and MBA candidate with a strong interest in service design. After extensive travel through the developing world where democratic rights are fought and died for, the question was asked by Ms White: 'why are young Kiwis not voting, and what can be done about it through design?' The result was an outstanding youth-determined and generated success.

The first version achieved 30,000 users completing the gamified process in the six days it operated before the 2011 General Election, with no budget whatsoever. It was built to guide the large number of inexperienced voters that feel peer pressured when voting, either going along with what their friends and family think or making no decision at all. While the technology (the Web and digital devices) and format (forced choice questionnaires) had already existed for a long time, the surprising outcome suggests design, and its iterative, intuitive processes were key.

In the initial iteration, participants fed a sheep with two hay bales representing contrasting key policy platforms. This informed a 'blind' output to find out which political parties policy platform and ethos was most compatible with their personal values. A significant innovation over existing questionnaires was that the sheep could 'eat' as much or little of a political statement as reflected the user's values, thus introducing an organic nuance and demonstrating the contradictions and complexities of, for example, allocating scarce resources.

Although there is little hard data about how many new voters this initial iteration created, the project spread positive massages about political engagement organically into the online communities that included the majority of New Zealand's non-voters. Qualitative insights suggested that these youth-led, super-narrowcast messages were received as authentic, and broke through the barriers that many put up to Government and political party broadcast messaging. This reach was achieved by an innovative solution to the problem of dissemination. The outcome of the user's interaction with the tool was manifested in an avatar of a sheep, now off the fence, themed in a bespoke outfit representative of the user's ethos and values. A vast majority of users were keen to 'share their sheep', which included a link to On the Fence.

In 2012 the project was further developed at Honours level by two members of the original team (Nicholls and Stowers). One of those graduates (Stowers) continued to develop the project as it became integrated into the nascent Design + Democracy Project for refinement and implementation. The 'post-graduate' version of On the Fence v.2 developed by the Design+Democracy Project remains at its core the fun, accessible political-values questionnaire presented as an online game that defined the original. It still aims to help undecided voters get off the fence and make more informed electoral choices. The visual language and mechanics have, however, been evolved to accommodate a wider range of users and needs, and to ensure it is a responsive platform, adaptable to all mobile devices.

The evolved On the Fence 2014, still asks users to indicate how much they agree with the two statements that relate to policy issues of the day. A best match is then calculated to narrow down the options to present the parties most compatible with their views, but the visual language has been 'matured' and less emphasis placed on the avatar feature. This was driven by user feedback and the purview creep experienced as other 'non-youth' audiences responded favourably to the tool, with simple aesthetic adjustments preventing barriers to use.

The matches are generated via a refined back end database and algorithm that compiles data from an independent panel of specialists including political scientists, journalists and bloggers. The back end, developed with Wellington agency and Design + Democracy partner Springload, is now 'live', so

shifts in policy positions (or actions) can be accommodated; for a US election it might therefore track and illustrate a shift to a Left or Right pole to secure a nomination, then a centric shift to secure an election win. The potential for this is exciting, with the ability to even filter and track how each contributing expert, groups of experts (for example media commentators vs. academics) or the politician or party themselves view the shifting political landscapes. This will be the focus of a future initiative by the Project.

Research for the 2011 elections suggests that On the Fence had the desired result for the disengaged groups it targeted it had the desired result, and was received with earnestness, whereas committed voters engaged to 'test the test' and see if it yielded the 'correct' result. For the subsequent election (2014), the site for On the Fence v.2 was rebuilt based on user feedback. A major technical goal was moving the initial Flash-based version to a responsive web-tool suitable for any screen and a range of browsers.

In the six weeks before Election Day, the site surpassed all goals by attracting over 170,000 unique visitors who spent on average 8:13 minutes on the site, achieving a 92% completion rate. This was accomplished solely through peer-to peer shareability, without any traditional marketing investment. Again, it was iterative user-centred processes and not technology that produced that success, and while surprising, it was achieved by design and not by accident.

Once On the Fence had introduced a potential voter to the political landscape and suggested their position within it, they were then given the opportunity to research more, to see exactly how the algorithm produced their result, to share that result and to click-through to Ask Away, a second tool that would allow them to engage with the candidates and their parties.

Ask Away

Dovetailing with On the Fence, Ask Away provided an answer to the question: To what extent could a purpose-built online platform increase direct political engagement among New Zealand youth? The project was the focus of a Master of Design candidate (Howie) with the support of collaborators from Design + Democracy and the coding community. It enabled, for the first time in an online space, New Zealand youth to contribute directly to setting the political agenda.

Voting for questions provided an unintimidating, one-click way of participating in the political conversation, and also showed the commitment of candidates if they contributed answers. For those ready to participate more assertively, Ask Away enabled informed and/or engaged young voters to ask questions of their own as well as to vote or endorse the questions of others. It gave them the ability to compare different parties' answers, be part of the conversation, and most importantly start setting the agenda. Also notable was the manner in which it was built. Ask Away was built open source, with the help of the coding community.

Ask Away gave young people the opportunity to talk about issues they cared about and gave parties the opportunity to engage. For the first time it offered young people a positive and welcoming environment in which to have a positive political experience and ultimately help shape the conversation. The problem for young people was not that there was not enough information; the problem was there was too much information. The results were again outstanding – over the course of the election campaign 22,000 New Zealanders came to the site and asked over 1000 questions of nine different parties. This is particularly impressive considering the depth of the questions covered (from abortion to mass transit). In a US context that would equate to around 1.8 million young people engaged.

Providing significant insight, the conversations were predominantly policy led, rather than party, politician or personality led. Impact was also demonstrable, with the traditional media picking up on topics discussed, and the politicians' responses, as stories. In this way topics not on the political radar became included; nobody thought questions such as the future of religious education in state schools would become an election issue, and nor would it have been without Ask Away. Bloggers commented on this as it happened, with one (Beveridge, August 2014) writing: '…what is interesting is that TVNZ have picked up on this question, and done a story about it. Now religious education…generally not a huge issue in New Zealand. One of the downsides of social media is that MPs, and parties, can end up answering the same question over and over again. But Ask Away helps overcome this issue. I also think, particularly with a question like this, that it is one of those issues that many people don't think about until they see the question there.'

What became apparent over the course of the election was that politicians ignored this platform for engagement with young people at their peril. It was enthusiastically embraced, in the end, by the full spectrum of political parties. By design, being the 'missing response' was too negative a message for politicians to tolerate.

Key learnings

On the Fence and Ask Away contributed demonstrably to changing the cycle of mutual neglect between political parties and young people. This contribution, among other initiatives, has succeeded in reversing voter turnout rates in New Zealand. More than 10,000 young people aged 18-34 were influenced to vote in last year's General Election by the efforts the Design + Democracy Project. An unsolicited and independent Horizon Research survey (January 2015) of voting behaviour in September 2014's election showed that On The Fence was the most effective initiative focused on increasing youth voter turnout. The survey showed that 33,500 eligible voters aged 18-34 were aware of the Virgin Voter Collective campaign (to which Design + Democracy Project contributed) with 31.7 per cent of them influenced to vote by On The Fence. In total, around a seven percent increase in youth voter turnout in 2014 is attributable to the work of the Design + Democracy Project.

The transparent and open nature of the two projects ensured that they provided a helpful service for any potential user – it was 'open democracy' improving a space for public good through design. As visitors engaged, they drove further engagement through carefully considered social media activation. More importantly for the research it was a design-led project which explored the role design can play in civics. By designing a compelling offering and building in a means of social dissemination, On the Fence and Ask Away were able to achieve significant public and media attention. This amplified the message and inserted a youth-led, authentic and positive narrative around voting into traditional media. Feedback from users, candidates and stakeholder all remarked on the significance and quality of the two tools.

Also, designing for one audience can lead to gains for many. By facilitating those who are disengaged or disaffected, improvements can be made for all electors. While our initial focus was on youth, designing for their needs also saw an engagement of new New Zealanders with English as a second language, those with special needs and even those who simply favour visual learning modes. User feedback included regular comments from outside the initial target audience like: 'This was SO helpful for my disabled daughter. She has no idea about politics and has a learning difficulty which makes it hard to explain something so complicated…thank you so much for making it easy for

disabled people to have a voice'.[1] All of this suggests that engaging design tools and techniques in order to harness technology and enhance civic engagement is potent. Approaching civic innovation through design is indeed surprisingly powerful.

With the learning from these three tools and the Democratic back end developed to manage the input from experts and politicians, Design + Democracy is now ready to take this research to a new and much more complex level: enabling direct democracy for young people in New Zealand local body elections.

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[1] For legal (Privacy Act, 1993), ethical reasons in-tool comments such as this one were gathered anonymously due to the target age range including a large number of legal minors. Feedback received September 2014.

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Chapter 12

A public service of the people, by the people, for the people: Creating an infrastructure for active citizenship and participatory democracy

Bruno Kaufmann

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Abstract

How can we make our democracies more democratic? By connecting towns and cities. Today's biggest challenges–from climate to inequality to democratic governance–require actions on a global scale, human beings are often instructed on the need to be global citizens. But very few of us spend our days traveling across the globe or even around our own countries. We make our lives in specific neighborhoods within municipalities. So being a global citizen starts with democratic participation in our home communities and cities.

This raises the fundamental question: what do we need to do in our cities to make sure they are both democratic – meaning they are representative and participatory–and global (so that they can address great problems that cross all borders)? And answering that question poses other questions. How do cities make decisions for their own citizens–and for people around the world? What do cities, states and local governments need to host effective democratic decision-making at all times–and not just on election days? And how can cities connect with each other to enhance democracy and the reach of their best work? This article looks into different ways of creating local infrastructures for active citizenship and participatory democracy.

Participation – an universal right

Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. It is one of the most well-known speeches in history–with a truly timeless one liner: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from earth."

US President Abraham Lincoln's statement was delivered at the climax of the American Civil War on November 19, 1863. A conflict that left almost one million people dead, ended slavery and ensured the territorial integrity of the United States of America. Ever since those bloody days, Lincoln's commitment to democratic principles, procedures and practices has offered a bottom-line for modern governance at all political levels across the world.

Eighty-three years later, after an even much worse series of atrocities and wars, the General Assembly of the newly established United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its article 21.1 reads: "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives." While Lincoln at Gettysburg expressed his vision for America in the world, in Paris on December 10, 1948 the world was called upon to disseminate, display, and read the declaration in educational institutions, regardless of the political status of countries or territories.

Yet, history is not linear. Human behavior and interaction are often far from just or rational. The lessons that should be learned from violent conflicts–that they damage everybody and everything– can get lost. And so humankind repeats mistakes, and fails to do the hard work of balancing different interests, of creating sustainable forms of governance, and dealing with complex societies.

As a consequence, high-flying hopes are dashed. We do not have a global legal system or common economic rules. The growth of free, democratic nation-states has been disappointing–creating an almost "declinist" mood among scholars of modern democracy like Larry Diamond or Francis Fukuyama. This uncertainty about democracy is now shared by many political leaders, governments and political parties around the world, and so we see more use of fears and threats to limit civic rights, legal checks and public access to government at both the national and the transnational levels.

Hence many civic revolutions have happened in recent decades: from the people power revolution in the Philippines to the end of Apartheid in South Africa, the student movement in Chile all the way to the impressive candle light rallies in Korea. Together they have shown the world, that active citizenship is possible and wanted. The question is how to transform the fundamental ideas expressed already by President Lincoln–and followed by billions of citizens across the world – into a robust and stable system of open and participatory government.

Going local globally

While democracy is under hard pressure at both international and national levels, there is another– more hopeful side of it: the local one. With urban settlements becoming the preferred place of living, acting and producing across the globe, cities and regions are now quickly evolving into our centers of democracy, the true beacons of people power. In his thought-provoking book „If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities" (Yale University Press, 2013) the late political theorist Benjamin R. Barber (1939-2017) shows how local leaders have successfully approached global challenges, including climate change, pandemics, education, social welfare and migration.

"Many mayors in major cities get things done," argues Barber, who proposes a "World Parliament of Mayors," to improve global governance.

Barber was certainly right in catching the localist momentum on the global stage. Whatever policy you address globally, there is a bold local feature of it -- from waste collection to public infrastructure, from multiculturalism and economic innovations. Barber's only mistake is to overreach in putting so much focus on the top guys, the mayors.

Strong and powerful mayors can be important representatives of their cities, but that is not ideal. At subnational levels—states and provinces and localities—the key ingredients for success are non-partisan, inclusive, responsive and collective leaderships. In other words: the success of local communities in shaping the world is highly dependent on the state of democracy in these cities and subnational regions.

The tale of two mega-cities

Take a comparative example of two cities: Beijing, the capital of China, and Seoul, the biggest urban center of South Korea. They are neighbors. They face similar weather challenges. And they also host more than 10 million people each. But while the Chinese Capital is run under a one-party regime with little to no citizens' participation, Seoul has seen all the major political forces in power over the last 25 years – and it has developed as a result into a very democratic place, where the preferences of citizens are not just counted on election day, but are heard every day.

Under the governance of current Mayor Park Won-soon, the citizens of Seoul have taken center stage, literally. While the main public meeting spot of Beijing, the Tiananmen place, is heavily guarded and every political expression is strictly prohibited, in Seoul the newly opened City Hall–a high-rise building symbolizing green energy and administrative transparency–has been renamed Citizen Hall. Here all citizens and visitors are offered free spaces, political encouragement and administrative support to make their voices heard. The city's employees help them navigate the path to pro-active, collective action.

And visitors can literally see the results of the differences in governance. While partly picturesque Beijing suffers under harmful smog, with a series of red alerts during winter, Seoul has turned into a much better place for pedestrians and cyclists. Elevated, congested freeways that once filled the inner city have been turned into spaces for living and public gathering.

Other major cities on the world-ranking list of most livable urban centers include Melbourne (Australia), Honolulu (Hawaii), Donostia/San Sebastian (Spain), Vienna (Austria) and Bern (Switzerland). And it may not be an accident that all of them apply participatory policies as a key ingredient of local government.

Amaia Agirreolea Gomez is the head of the Donostia/San Sebastian Public Office for Citizens Participation: "We are a kind of rescue team for democracy here", says Agirreolea Gomez, who heads a team of nine people engaged in informing, navigating and supporting local citizens in public action. The office resides in the former military detention center of the Franco regime in San Sebastian: "Here people were tortured because of political action, now they are supported in exactly doing this," she says.

Donostia/San Sebastian (it's one city—with two names, one in Basque and in Spanish) is one of three provincial capitals in the Spanish part of the Basque Country. After being heavily suppressed during the Franco regime (1936-1975), a separatist terrorist group (ETA) fought against democratic cooperation until 2012, killing more than 800 people. Against this backdrop, the participatory policies applied by a series of local governments in Donostia/San Sebastian have offered an encouraging way forward. That progress was celebrated in 2016 as Donostia/San Sebastian hosted the 2016 Global Forum on Modern Direct Democracy [2016globalforum.com].

Democracy is not just elections

There is a crucial distinction here between elections and the democracy of truly participatory policies. While thousands of cities and regions across the world are understood as basically democratic because they have elected officials, in many of these places most people are still neither welcome nor invited to participate on a daily basis.

Why? There are both principled justifications and practical justifications for limiting people's ability to choose. The main reason is the idea that representative democracy means only representative government; the argument is that elected officials need space to make decisions on their own. And so governments use unbalanced procedural arrangement that lets representatives set the agenda, while offering citizens little to no rights to set issues on the public agenda or be involved in decision-making.

Of course, many local leaders today understand the benefits of civic dialogue and active citizenship in-between elections days. In these cases, the practical reasons for limitations come in: it is difficult to involve citizens until you have developed and invested in an infrastructure for participation to make it sustainable and forward-looking. Without such an infrastructure for participation, you run

the big risk of merely getting angry crowds out to oppose you when you make tough local decisions.

The good news are the growing number of cities and regions now acknowledge the need for comprehensive strategies and policies to strengthen active participation by their citizens. As a result, these places are offering powerful examples of reimagining local government by strengthening democracy. In both Honolulu (Hawaii) and Bern (Switzerland) participatory centres have been in service for many years: Hawaii's "Public Access Room" (PAR) at the State Capitol combines educational efforts with efficient support. "You've got lots of power, let us help you put it into action," director Virginia Beck tells Hawaiians at PAR. There, active citizens can use free and fully equipped workspace and have the opportunity to visit nearby offices of legislators and the governor.

In the centre of the Swiss Capital of Bern, a former prison has been transformed into a so-called "Politforum Käfigturm", an open space with a comprehensive support infrastructure. "Everybody is welcome here, we offer free meeting space on a first come first serve basis," says "Käfigturm"-co-director Michael Fritsche, who hosts more than 400 events a year in a tower originally built in the 16th century as part of the city wall.

Global centres for innovation

It is such a historic development. Cities that were once protected by walls are now transforming themselves into global centers for innovation, via integrated urban spaces and participatory citizens halls. While of course every city is different, it makes a lot of sense to follow Benjamin Barber's s recommendation to create networks of mayors, cities and regions involved in innovative local governments.

Of course, there is nothing really new about partnerships, collaborations, and networks of municipalities and regions. In many countries there are municipal, city and regional associations that in some cases enjoy sovereign rights. In addition, many local and regional entities have so- called "twinning" or "sister city"-arrangements with towns, cities and regions in other countries. There are also functional organs of cooperation between municipalities and regions based around particular areas of joint concern (such as health), common functions (associations of mayors), or districts/regions within a circumscribed geographical area (e.g. municipalities bordering on the Baltic).

The next wave of cooperation is on mainstreaming participatory and direct democracy as natural features of a modern representative democracy. For this purpose it would make truly sense to not just connect interested activists and experts around the world, but also governments and institutions engaged and interested in safeguarding the achievements of modern democracy for future generations. Such a network of democracy "mainstreamers" as we could call them, should deal with rights, infrastructure and exchange:

- *Rights*: participatory rights can include the right to be involved in e-petitions, citizens' proposals, citizens' initiatives, participatory budgets, citizens' assemblies, citizen-initiated referendums etc. Depending on the particular jurisdiction, these rights can either be legally certified by a higher political level, or introduced by the local or regional levels themselves. If the higher state level does not provide for such participatory opportunities and if the local or regional level does not have the necessary formal procedural powers, informal consultative forms of participation are also possible.
- *Infrastructure:* pursuing a politically broad-based strategy of reinforcing active citizenship and participatory democracy at the local and/or regional levels and creating an appropriate infrastructure in the form of political committees, administrative posts, and support for

- public participation. The particular participatory infrastructure and measures to facilitate participation may vary widely from case to case, depending on the specific legal, political, economic, geographical and historical circumstance.

- Exchange: participating partners in a network of democracy "mainstreamers" should be interested in a continuous and lively exchange with other similar-minded partners and be prepared - at appropriate times - to take on coordinating functions within the network and/or invite partner cities/regions to conferences, seminars and workshops. On the other hand, a network-membership will be beneficial to partner cities and regions as it strengthens their international profile, competence and ability to deal with practical challenges (for example building up e-participation platforms and tools).

In sum, the envisaged world network of democracy mainstreamers should and could become a critical contributor to making Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address a little less of a vision and more of a reality: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people."

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He also serves as president of the Initiative and Referendum Institute Europe, as fellow at ASU's Center for Social Cohesion, and as co-president, with Joe Mathews, of the Global Forum on Modern Direct Democracy – which brings together academics, journalists, activists and other experts on initiative, referendums, and new forms of deliberative and participatory democracy. The next Global Forum takes place in Rome in September 2018 (2018globalforum.com). He is also the Director of International Cooperation at the Swiss Democracy Foundation (swissdemocracyx.foundation) and board member of "Democracy International". Bruno served between 2010 and 2017 as elected member of the executive branch of government in Falun/Sweden, where he coordinated electoral and democratic affairs at the municipal level. He was member of the nation Swedish Commission for democratic reform and is an advisor on participatory issues for governmental and non-governmental organizations across the globe including the United Nations, the World Bank, the European Union, the Korea Democracy Foundation and the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. Bruno lives in Arboga/Sweden with his wife and has two adult daughters. Contact: bruno.kaufmann@swissdemocracy.foundation.

Chapter 13

Mandated participatory budgeting in South Korea: Issues and challenges

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Abstract

In this paper I address three issues related to the mandated participatory budgeting (PB) in South Korea. Participatory budgeting, which involves the public in government budget decision-making processes, was mandated by the national law in 2011 but to the best of my knowledge, there is still very little discussion focusing on the mandated nature of participatory budgeting. First, I start with summarizing the history of PB in South Korea, particularly related to how it was mandated, and then I present three issues that currently concern those who are interested in PB in South Korea: government-led process, whom to involve, and the scope of the mandate.

Introduction

Since it was first adopted in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, participatory budgeting (PB) has spread to over 1,500 cities around the world. The way each jurisdiction implements PB varies with different social, political, and cultural contexts (Choi, 2004; Goldfrank, 2007). In a few countries such as the Dominican Republic, Peru, and South Korea, PB is mandated by law for all municipalities (Dias, 2014). In South Korea, participatory budgeting was mandated by the revision of the national law on local finance in 2011.

Understanding how PB became mandated is important because it provides not only the historical and political context of the different cases, but also the basis for exploring the effects of process design. In Peru, national decentralization reform in 2002 was a trigger to establish several participatory institutions. In this country, PB was mandated by the Participatory Budget Law in 2003 and its revision in 2009 (McNulty, 2012a, 2012b). The reform was part of the efforts that aimed to clean up corruption in politics after the authoritarian Fujimori regime (McNulty, 2012a, 2014). It is important to note that the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) was the main actor in this reform, which reflected the citizens' demands for change to address the lack of transparency in funding decision-making processes (McNulty, 2012a, 2014). In the Dominican Republic, PB became mandatory for all municipalities in the nation in 2007 with the adoption of two National Laws, which were later transformed in a constitutional amendment in 2010 (García, 2014). One noticeable aspect of this case is that the methodological guide that was prepared for PB practice was transcribed into the law, in contrasts to the more common case of laws being made while not considering the real players (García, 2014).

Scholars have studied some strengths and weaknesses in the mandated cases of PB. McNulty (2014) states that the success of PB in Peru was possible because it was mandated, but also because it remained flexible: her interviews with officials reveal that the laws on the books helped engage new

actors in local decision-making processes. McNulty (2014), using the Peruvian case, states that although the law requires government officials to hold meetings, it is not guaranteed that those meetings would be truly participatory. PB advocates in Peru ask for stronger sanctions that would prevent officials from manipulating the PB process. Similarly, in the Dominican Republic, two laws and the Constitution have set forth the process (García, 2014). García (2014) points out that even though the process is mandated for all municipalities in the Dominican Republic, the implementation of PB process still depends on the political will of the heads of local government. In addition, when the financial capability of the municipality is low and thus cannot respond to the needs of the citizens, participatory processes such as PB disappointed citizens when seeing that their participation had no results (García, 2014).

It is still not clear, however, whether the success and challenges suggested in the literature regarding the other cases of PB were solely because PB was mandated or because of the nature of PB itself. In this regard, this paper provides a thorough review of how PB was mandated in South Korea and to identify challenges in South Korean PB in the context of legally mandated PB.

History of PB in South Korea

PB in South Korea is rooted in decentralization reform and an emerging civil society. In 1995, South Korea changed the way of electing local government leaders from indirect to direct election, and any citizens over 18 years old became eligible to vote for the leaders of the district, city, town, and/or state. People started to realize not only that they have the right to vote, but also that there are many other ways they could participate in government decision-making processes. Each local government became autonomous and could focus more on local issues than before, when the central government ruled the whole country. Many local civil society organizations (CSOs) emerged at this time (Ahn, 2013).

The very first mode of public participation in the government budgeting process that the CSOs actively engaged was monitoring. This was not direct participation, but the CSOs held many different budget-monitoring workshops nationwide, starting in 2000. Those CSOs interested in civic participation in the government budgeting process formed the "budget monitoring network" and advocated adopting PB. Based on the CSOs' activities, in the June 2002 general election, the Democratic-Labor Party (a left-wing party) first adopted PB as one of their main pledges. Before forming their pledges regarding PB, the South Korean Democratic-Labor party had communicated with the Brazilian Labor party (Lee, 2014). Although the party won only 0.1% of the seats, it was the first time in the country that the possibility of implementing PB was officially discussed. After getting elected in December 2002, President Moo-hyun Roh named his cabinet "participatory government." One of his main presidential agenda items was government innovation and decentralization. Moreover, in July 2003, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS) suggested local governments increase public participation in their budget formulation process by conducting online surveys and holding public hearings and meetings (Kwak, 2005).

Within this social context, the first PB case started in 2003 in the City of Gwangju, the sixth-largest city by population in the country (about 135 million in 2000). Bukgu, a district in the City of Gwangju, first started by installing a participatory budgeting committee, then establishing its own PB ordinance in the next following year for the first time (Lee, 2014). Adopting PB was one of the district mayor's pledges (Kim & Schachter, 2013); he was from the same party as the President.

After then, following the strong will of President Roh Moo-hyun, the Local Finance Act was revised to encourage active involvement of residents in the local budget preparation process in 2005. At that

time, the Local Finance Act opened the possibility of including people in the budgeting process. Article 39 (Residents' Participation in Budget Compilation Process of Local Governments) states that "the heads of local governments may set and implement procedures for residents to participate in the process of compiling their budgets under the conditions prescribed by the Presidential Decree" (KLRI, n.d.a). Meanwhile, Article 46 (Procedures for Residents to Participate in the process of Compiling Budgets of Local Governments) of the Enforcement Decree of the Local Finance Act listed the ways that residents can participate in the budget preparation process as 1) public hearings or informal gatherings for discussion of major projects; 2) written or Internet question surveys on major projects; 3) the public offering of projects; 4) other means to appropriately solicit the opinions of residents, as prescribed by Municipal Ordinance (Korea Legislation Research Institute, 2013). Also, specific aspects of operation such as the scope of the budget, the procedures, and the means of PB should be prescribed by the Municipal Ordinance of each local government.

Following this revision of the law, 91 of 244 local governments (41.8%) in South Korea had established PB ordinances during the five-year period 2005-2010 (Song, 2013). In October 2010, the MOPAS suggested three exemplary models as guidelines to facilitate local governments' PB adoption and implementation: (1) optional installation of a PB general committee, (2) required installation of a PB general committee, and (3) required installation of a PB general committee and thematic subcommittee (see Table 1).

Table 1. Three exemplary models of participatory budgeting ordinance outline

	Example 1	Example 2	Example 3
General Provisions	Article 1 (Purpose)	Article 1 (Purpose)	Article 1 (Purpose)
	Article 2 (Definitions of Terms)	Article 2 (Definitions of Terms)	Article 2 (Definitions of Terms)
	Article 3 (Duty of Obedience)	Article 3 (Duty of Obedience)	Article 3 (Duty of Obedience)
	Article 4 (Duties of the Head)	Article 4 (Duties of the Head)	Article 4 (Duties of the Head)
	Article 5 (Rights of People)	Article 5 (Rights of People)	Article 5 (Rights of People)
Operation Plan	Article 6 (Establishment of Operation Plan and Announcement)	Article 6 (Establishment of Operation Plan and Announcement)	Article 6 (Establishment of Operation Plan and Announcement)
	Article 7 (Procedures of Collecting Ideas, etc.)	Article 7 (Procedures of Collecting Ideas, etc.)	Article 7 (Procedures of Collecting Ideas, etc.)
	Article 8 (Submitting Ideas)	Article 8 (Submitting Ideas)	Article 8 (Submitting Ideas)
	Article 9 (Releasing Results)	Article 9 (Releasing Results)	Article 9 (Releasing Results)
Committee	Article 10 (Operation of Committee, etc.)	Article 10 (PB Committee)	Article 10 (Constitution of Committee)

		Article 11 (Roles of Committee)	Article 11 (Appointment of Committee Members)
		Article 12 (Constitution of Committee)	Article 12 (Duties of Chair and Secretary)
		Article 13 (Operation of Committee)	Article 13 (Roles)
		Article 14 (Operation of Research Group, etc.)	Article 14 (Principles of Operation)
			Article 15 (Thematic Subcommittee)
			Article 16 (Meetings and Vote)
			Article 17 (Principles of Opening Meeting Minutes to the Public)
			Article 18 (Dissolution)
			Article 19 (Listing to Opinions)
			Article 20 (Cooperation with Other Related Organizations)
			Article 21 (Public Relations)
			Article 22 (Committee Members Education)
Support			Article 23 (Supports on Financial and Managerial Resources)
Others	Article 11 (Enforcement Rule)	Article 15 (Enforcement Rule)	Article 24 (Enforcement Rule)
Addendum	Addendum	Addendum	Addendum

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS) (2010)

During this time, the national congress had been preparing another revision of the Local Finance Act that made PB compulsory for all local government units in the country. After this revision in 2011, public involvement was mandated in two ways: 1) heads of local governments were required to establish procedures that allowed resident participation in local public budgeting processes, and 2) heads of local governments were required to enclose written statements that included residents' opinions of the budget proposal and submit them to the local council. Although all local governments were required to guarantee public participation in the budgeting process, they still had

a certain degree of discretion in deciding how and to what extent they would involve people, from consulting to allowing them to make decisions.

After the second revision of the Local Finance Act, as of August 2014, 241 of 243 local governments (99.1%), including the city government of Seoul and its 25 district governments, established their own PB ordinances (Seoul PB, 2014). It took about 14 months for all 25 districts in Seoul to first adopt PB in any way by establishing ordinances, regardless of whether they had implemented PB in practice from the last day of December 2010 to February 2012. Even though there is no penalty for noncompliance, almost all local governments in South Korea had complied with the PB requirement. This could be attributed to many different reasons, but some of the possible explanations are: (1) the central government incentivized local governments by including "whether the local government established its own PB ordinance" to the local finance analysis index, which is used as a basis of financial support for local governments (Park & Choi, 2009), (2) an administrative culture of traditional authority remains in South Korea that expects local governments to comply with requirements from higher government levels without any question (Jeong & Kim, 2012; Seong, 1999), and (3) changes in the election system making heads of local governments directly elected by citizens have formed political motivations for heads of local governments to became more accountable to citizens by involving them more in decision-making processes (Ahn & Bretschneider, 2011).

Issues and Challenges in PB in South Korea

Although involving the public in the budgeting process is legalized and mandated for all local government units in South Korea, there are many issues and challenges. In the next part of this paper, I present three issues that currently concern those who are interested in PB in South Korea.

Government-led process

One interesting characteristic of the PB process in South Korea is that the facilitation of the bottom-up process has been initiated through a top-down approach. This is because budget formation authority is given to the administration, and budget ratification is in charge of the council. It is "opening up" one part of the budgeting formulation process that has been considered the sole purview of the government. Therefore, deciding the scope of participation (inclusiveness) and implementing the winning projects are the responsibility of the local governments themselves.

First, it is the electoral leader's will (e.g., Mayors) to decide whether to fully implement PB, which allows the public to make "decisions" or to involve the public in a limited way, consulting through public meetings or surveys. As a result, although most local governments established their PB ordinances (99.1%), there are only a few local governments that fully implement PB. Seoul city's PB could be adopted and implemented because of Mayor Won-Soon Park's strong will to enhance public participation as a new mode of governance for the city, embracing not only ordinary citizens but also city councils and civil society organizations (Park, 2015). When the adoption of a government process relies too much on one leader's will, the continuity and stability of that process can be easily questioned when there is a change in leadership. In summer 2017, Seoul PB had its sixth cycle, and it is the last year of the current Mayor's second term. In other words, we cannot be sure whether Seoul PB will continue its seventh cycle if people elect a different Mayor in next year's national election. This is mainly due to the generic language of the Local Finance Law, which allows any type of participation. Since the national law cannot regulate the specific type of participation, it can result in various types of implementation, including disguised compliance.

Second, PB processes are completely designed and managed by the government. When designing the process, it seems that some government officials have hesitated to fully "give up" their control of budget decision-making. In the city of Busan, for example, one-third of the PB committee was initially constituted of city officials (Kim, 2016). One of the reasons for this is that there were no public meetings or hearings at the stage of forming or establishing a PB ordinance (Kim, 2016). In addition, PB committee meetings are sometimes managed in a way that is more convenient for government officials than for the residents. PB committee meetings are usually held in government offices (e.g., city office, district office), and government officials are in charge of preparing the meetings. Since government officials have to be present all the time, they tend not to set meetings on holidays. In Seoul, PB committee meetings were held on weekday evenings, which made the meetings intensive and lessened the availability of some committee members who have families and children.

Whom to involve?

In a literal translation, the PB in South Korea is called "Resident Participatory Budgeting System". Taking this into account, it is important to clarify who are considered residents in the system. According to the Local Autonomy Act, persons who "have domicile within the jurisdiction of a local government" shall be residents of such local governments (KLRI, n.d.b). However, the Seoul PB ordinance defines residents more broadly. It defines a "resident" as someone who 1) has an address in the city of Seoul, 2) works in an institution located in the city of Seoul, 3) is a representative or employee of a business that has its head office or branches in the city of Seoul, and/or 4) are currently enrolled in elementary/middle/high schools or universities in the city of Seoul. Moreover, there is an additional condition as to who is allowed to participate: the definition of a resident excludes public officials who work in the city government of Seoul or any other local government or government-funded organizations.

This broad scope of resident defined by the city of Seoul is understandable, since anyone who lives and/or works in the city can be considered beneficiaries of the city's administrative activities. However, it may also cause some conflicts of interest. Seoul, where approximately 10 million people reside, has been the capital of the nation for a long time in Korean history. Due to the rapid growth of the area since the 1970s, all the nation's social, economic, and cultural opportunities are mainly concentrated in this area. People started to move out to suburban areas and still commute to work in Seoul because of the skyrocketing housing and rent prices. In 2015, about 1.28 million people commuted from Gyeonggi-do (the province surrounding the city of Seoul) to Seoul (Statistics Korea, 2015). Since many people work in one city but live in a different one, some might be involved in PB processes in two or more cities.

In addition, there are no specific clauses in the law to make sure the process includes those who have been traditionally neglected. One of the common criticisms regarding the participatory process in the government is that it often ends up including those who are well educated and earn high incomes, thus already having some degree of influence and power because those groups can be comparatively easy to engage. However, if the government aims to increase inclusiveness in their decision-making processes, they could consider guaranteeing the participation of people from traditionally neglected groups such as the youth, the disabled, and multicultural families. Seoul PB has tried different ways of including youth and multicultural families, but there is still a lack of available participation avenues for those groups. For example, they once included teenagers in the PB committee meetings and expected them to join the meetings in the late evenings. However, it was difficult for some young students not only to participate meaningfully but also to stay until the end of each meeting. Mothers of multicultural families participated as committee members, but they

encountered some language barriers because the meetings used very formal Korean without providing any translations, which sometimes might be not easy for them to understand.

The scope of the mandate

We also need to consider the scope of mandate–what kinds of activities are exactly mandated throughout the local budgeting process. First of all, strictly speaking, some might not admit that "participatory budgeting" is mandated in South Korea. This is possible because of the various definitions of PB. A broad definition of PB describes it as "a mechanism (or process) through which the population decides on or contributes to decisions made on, the destination of all or part of the available public resources" (UN-Habitat, 2007, p. 20). Under this broad definition, PB could include any participation such as "lobbying, general town hall meetings, special public hearings or referendums on specific budget items" (Goldfrank, 2007, p. 92). Meanwhile, a narrow definition understands participatory budgeting as "a process that is open to any citizen who wants to participate, combines direct and representative democracy, involves deliberation (not merely consultation), redistributes resources toward the poor, and is self-regulating" (Goldfrank, 2007, p. 92). In this regard, what is mandated by the South Korean national law could be considered as PB only under the broader definition, because it is still acceptable to simply consult with citizens without giving them any decision-making authority.

Second, although involving the public to some degree is mandatory, the rest of the participatory budgeting process has not been mandated. On the one hand, implementing the winning projects is not required in the law, and the decisions are not legally binding (Kim, 2015). Indeed, legally speaking, there is no penalty for not implementing the winning projects. In other words, the projects have no formal way of being realized if the council does not pass it, or if the local government leader does not implement at the end. There has been no such problem so far in the case of Seoul, but not implementing the projects due to budget limitation has been an issue in other countries (see García, 2014). If a project cannot be realized after all these participatory processes, it will negatively affect the participants' trust in the process and their motivation to participate in the future. On the other hand, the law does not regulate anything relative to the quality of participation. Seoul adopted a mobile vote to increase participation in the final stages of PB, but as a result, more people merely voted without deliberation, compared to the previous cycles. Before the mobile vote was installed, all voters had to come to the city hall, and there was some deliberation occurring between residents before the final vote.

Conclusion

Although PB in South Korea has spread widely following the mandate in 2011, awareness of PB is still low among citizens. One reason could be that there are still many local government units not fully implementing PB in the narrow definition: residents making decisions after deliberation. By 2014, 99% of local government units had established their own PB ordinances. The implementation of PB, however, varies to a great extent from consulting to allowing decision-making due to the way the law regulates participation; involving the public and reflecting their opinions in budgeting decision-making processes can be done through either holding public meetings or letting residents deliberate and make decisions.

In this article, I summarized the history of PB and also introduced three issues/challenges with regard to the mandate of PB in South Korea. First, it is important to consider whether the current government-led process could be more open. In order to make the process more participatory the government needs to consider whether they could hand over the authority of managing the process

to the PB general committee. The government could be involved in the process as one of the participating institutions, together with other civil society organizations. Second, the matter of involvement needs to be considered. Although the current national law defines residents as persons who have a domicile in the area, PB sometimes more broadly defines residents to include those who work within the area. Currently, the consideration of traditionally neglected groups such as youth and minorities is not included in the mandate. Third, the mandate only requires each local government unit to include the public in the budgeting process. In other words, the decisions made through PB are not legally binding.

It has been about fifteen years since the first PB experiment in South Korea, and six years after the mandate. It is time to reflect on and consider the achievements and failures of the mandate. In 2017, South Korea elected another President, Moon Jae-In, who values citizen participation and claims willingness to listen to citizens. Despite the language barrier, communicating with other countries that have mandated PB and sharing experiences would be an asset to all PB communities around the world.

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Chapter 14

Technical expertise, local knowledge, and political rhetoric: Democratic practice from ancient Athens to modernity

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Abstract

In this essay, I examine the democratic norms of ancient Athens by way of Plato and Aristotle's representations of the political practices of the Athenians, wherein the dynamic relationship between technical expertise and local knowledge in political deliberation was a positive goal. With Aristotle, I examine the importance of local knowledge and the inclusion of many perspectives in the deliberation of policy. With Plato, I examine the relation between technical expertise and political practice and explore the dominating posture of the art of rhetoric vis-à-vis this relation. I argue that the position of ancient rhetoricians to the democratic assembly is analogous to the position of elite producers of political discourse by politicians and pundits in the contemporary United States in relation to the sphere of public opinion. I conclude by suggesting that in order to reduce the disruptive effects of modern forms of political rhetoric we should attempt to nurture a dynamic interaction between technical knowledge and local knowledge by crafting participatory institutions of public policy formation.

Introduction: Democracy past and present

The concept of democracy—meaning the power of the *demos* (the people, the poor)— originates with the political practices of the ancient Athenian polis (city-state), where Plato and Aristotle critically documented the virtues and shortcomings of democratic politics. At the most basic level democracy meant that the wealthy elite was not permitted to control the functioning of government unimpeded; that the poor citizens of the city were also allowed a share of power. But beyond this fact, the ideal of democracy in ancient Athens implied a certain relationship between technical expertise and civic virtue in which these two modes of knowing the world were brought into a dynamic interaction in the formulation of policy. However, as Plato lamented throughout his dialogues, this dynamic interaction was sometimes undermined by the expertise of rhetoric, wherein skillful rhetoricians were able to speak authoritatively both about issues pertaining to civic virtue and about technical matters traditionally reserved to experts in the various professional disciplines. In such situations, in lieu of a genuine interaction between the technical expertise of the few qualified experts and the civic virtue and local knowledge possessed by all citizens of the polis, the direction of policy came under the control of the single-minded will to power of the most skillful rhetorician, who was able to persuade the democratic assembly to approve their policy preferences, which could run counter to the best interests of the community as a whole.

In our contemporary political situation of mass-democracy—in which politicians win elections by crafting misleading videos and transmitting them to millions of viewers, in which politicians present themselves as both embodiments of civic virtue and experts on issues as diverse as climate science, mass-transportation engineering, economic policy, foreign policy, agricultural policy, constitutional law, etc.—it appears that some of the structural problems of democracy examined by our ancient forebears are still at play today. Like the ancient rhetoricians who manipulated the democratic assembly to their own advantage, today's politicians and pundits are able to bypass the dynamic relationship between local knowledge and expert knowledge and speak persuasively about all topics, propping up their discourse with their particular brand of political-economic ideology. In order to provide conceptual tools with which to better examine our contemporary political situation, I will explore the ideal of democracy as represented by Plato and Aristotle, and then examine the ways in which the art of rhetoric served to undermine this ideal. It is my contention that insofar as we value the principle of democracy we must work towards the democratic ideal as enacted by the ancient Athenians and work against the tendency of the art of rhetoric to undermine this ideal.[1]

Aristotle: Athenian democracy and citizen deliberation

In his examination of the reforms of Solon Aristotle identifies the single most important innovation that led to the historical development of democracy as the jury-court. In order to place a check on the power of the wealthy, Solon introduced the right of appeal to the jury-court. While the wealthy maintained control over the major magistracies of the polis, any decision by a magistrate could be appealed to the jury-court, which was composed of both wealthy and impoverished citizens who were selected by lot for each session (*Constitution of Athens*, 9.1-2). Because there were many more poor citizens than wealthy citizens, and jury selection was determined by lot, this institution was dominated by the poor (the *demos*), allotting them a significant share of governmental power where they had previously been excluded altogether.

Solon also implemented a variety of other laws, pertaining to weights and measures, to the spending of public funds, to the waging of war, etc. But in all cases, the laws that he implemented were not "drafted simply or clearly… inevitably [leading] to disputes; hence the courts [had] to decide everything public and private." While many believed that Solon kept his laws vague in order to ensure that they would require interpretation by the democratic juries more often, Aristotle speculates that the "obscurity [of Solon's laws] arises rather from the impossibility of including the best solution for every instance in a general provision" (*Constitution of Athens*, 9.2). This notion of the impossibility of implementing a general law uniformly in all particular political situations to which it must be applied is one of the principal insights of both Plato and Aristotle in their examination of politics.[2] While the law may set out general guidelines based on universal principles, it is impossible for the law to anticipate, in advance, the circumstances and conditions which must be navigated in each particular case. In democratic Athens, the multitude was therefore required to "fill up the gaps which the law is obliged to leave" (*Politics*, 1286a37).

For good governance, then, deliberation pertaining to the particularity of each case is necessary, even when good laws have already been established in accordance with principles of equality and

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[1] While both Plato and Aristotle offered accounts that were critical of democracy and can be interpreted as being advocates of alternative forms of government, they nonetheless provide helpful insights into the historical reality of the democracy of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., having spent their lives observing and analyzing the practices of the Athenians.

[2] For the same insight in Plato see, for instance: *The Statesman*, 294b-c. For other instances of the same point in Aristotle, see: *The Politics* 1269a10-12, 1282b2-6.

justice. But good deliberation requires that as many perspectives as possible should be included; that as many individuals as possible should be permitted to participate. Whereas a technical question can be settled by a single expert in a particular field, in the realm of political decision-making Aristotle argues that one person is insufficient, no matter how skilled or experienced they may be. While a single individual may possess exceptional political experience and wisdom, they fall short in their deliberative capacity when compared with the multitude of less experienced individuals. Thus Aristotle defends the practice of fourth-century Athenian democracy in permitting all citizens—including the uneducated and unwise—to participate in the democratic assembly.

> According to our present practice [in fourth-century Athens] assemblies meet, sit in judgment, deliberate, and decide, and their judgments all relate to individual cases. Now any member of the assembly, taken separately, is certainly inferior to the wise man. But the state is made up of many individuals. And as a feast to which all the guests contribute is better than a banquet furnished by a single man, so too a multitude is a better judge of many things than any individual (*Politics*, 1286a26-31).[3]

Whereas Solon had established the power of the poor to participate in the democratic jury-courts, which placed a check on the power of the wealthy magistrates, by Aristotle's time many more democratic reforms had already occurred, and the dominant political body was the democratic assembly, in which all major policy decisions were decided and all citizens could participate. By including all individuals—and their unique experiences and perspectives—in the deliberation of policy, many aspects of a situation were able to come to light that otherwise would have remained hidden from the perspective of the single wise ruler. This emphasis on the wisdom of multitudes highlights the importance of local knowledge in political deliberation. Any given political situation has many aspects and contributory factors that cannot be perceived by a single person. By including as many perspectives as possible, the particular local factors that cannot be seen from a central perspective are able to enter into the discursive space wherein the decision will be made, thus contributing to the most robust possible decision.

Phronesis is the name Aristotle gives to the mental capacity exercised in the foundational legislative acts of figures such as Solon and in the political acts of everyday governance in the democratic assembly. Often translated as "prudence" or "practical wisdom," *phronesis* is the capacity to deliberate well about matters pertaining to moral and political action and is concerned with things good and bad for human beings (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140b4-8). Aristotle declares: "For we assert [deliberating well] to be the work of the prudent person… And prudence [*phronesis*] is not concerned with the universals alone but must also be acquainted with the particulars: it is bound up with action [*praxis*], and action concerns the particulars" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1141b10-17). *Phronesis*, then, must concern itself both with the universal (e.g., with the general laws laid down in advance by lawmakers such as Solon) and with the particular (e.g., with the particular situation within which the law must be interpreted and applied), yielding a particular political action that is in accord both with the general principle that guides the deliberation and with the concrete particularity that is confronted. While *phronesis* does not itself imply the necessity of including a multitude in the deliberations, and in fact can be engaged in by an isolated individual—who steps back, weighs the unique aspects of a situation, deliberates about the best course of action, and only then acts—its focus on the importance of the particularity of a situation suggests that the inclusion of many perspectives will yield a better deliberative process. This is due to the fact that when more perspectives are included

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[3] The same point is repeated at various points in *The Politics*, for instance: 1279b1-3, 1281b1-9, 1283a40-1283b1.

more aspects of the particular situation will be brought to light and can be considered by those who are engaging in *phronesis*.

Important for understanding Aristotle's analysis, *phronesis* is necessarily bound up with ethical considerations of justice, moderation, and civic virtue more broadly understood (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1143b22-1145a10). By explicitly linking *phronesis* to civic virtue, Aristotle discredits all political activity and all political regimes that employ either force or rhetorical skill to persuade the population to accept policies that run counter to the common good of the community as a whole. He thus refers to a political regime as a "true form" of government insofar as the laws and the processes of political deliberation are aimed towards justice, civic virtue and the common good. He refers to those regimes in which powerful politicians rule with regard to their own private interest as "defective and perverted forms" of government (*Politics*, 1279a15-32)[4]. Good governance, then, is defined by the ability to deliberate well about the most just course of action in the particular, concrete situation within which political action must always unfold. Such deliberation is enriched by the inclusion of more perspectives and the unique local knowledge that each additional perspective provides.

Aristotle explicitly contrasts the deliberative capacity of *phronesis* to the technical expertise of *techne* (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140a1-1140b30). *Techne* is often translated as "art," "craft," "skill," or "profession" and is the root of our words "technique," "technical," "technology," and "technician." As David Roochnik indicates in his study of the word, *techne* indicates "a thorough, masterful knowledge of a specific field that typically issues in a useful result, can be taught to others, and can be recognized, certified, and rewarded" (Roochnik, 1996, p. 1). *Techne* is expert knowledge; professional or technical expertise. It provides the foresight that enables us to anticipate new situations in a competent way and thereby reliably achieve a consistent result in each particular case. Whereas the *techne* of the singular expert enables them to competently know how to, for instance, build a house, a bridge, or a ship, and to do so in exactly the same way in each particular case, *techne* is inappropriate when dealing with political action, which requires *phronesis*. While the domain of technical production enables the expert to know *in advance* how to produce their product, in the domain of political action the actor cannot know in advance which action is just, but must first examine the particularity of the situation, engage in ethical deliberation, and only then act according to principles of law and justice. Further, while the technical expert is often sufficient by themself when making technical decisions, in the realm of political action, one person in isolation is less capable of adequately selecting the best policy due to the fact that they do not have access to the local knowledge that each additional perspective offers to the deliberative process. Democratic politics thus include as many voices as possible in the deliberation of particular situations and does not permit technical expertise to guide deliberations. To the contrary, deliberation is guided by the ethical principles enshrined in the founding documents of the state and encoded in its general laws, both of which are interpreted and applied to particular cases. In Plato's *Protagoras* and *Gorgias* this democratic ideal and the threat that rhetoric poses to it are spelled out with greater precision.

Plato: Techne vs virtue

In Plato's *Protagoras*, in response to Protagoras' claim that he can teach men to be successful in the political sphere, Socrates insists that the art of politics cannot be taught like the specialized expertise of a profession. Socrates' position suggests that the political art is not a traditional *techne* that would

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[4] Aristotle understood democracy as a perversion of what he referred to with the general term "politeia," which is often translated as "constitution"(as in *The Constitution of Athens*) and was composed of a mixture of democratic, aristocratic, and oligarchic elements. Nonetheless, he praises the deliberative elements of the Athenian democracy.

permit its practitioner to know the best course of action in advance and without input from other citizens[5]. Recalling the definition of *techne* from Roochnik above, one of the principal attributes of *techne* is that it can be routinely transferred from a master to a pupil. For instance, the *technai* (plural of *techne*) of carpentry, shipbuilding, and farming can all be taught by an expert to a novice. Once the novice learns the *techne* they become an expert: they are able to consistently achieve the same result in all particular instances, they know in advance what must be done to achieve that result in any particular case, and they can be consulted by those who are not experts when questions pertaining to this specific area of expertise arise. Socrates insists that the political art cannot be transferred from a master to a pupil in such a manner. He further claims that no Athenians believe that the political art can be taught, pointing to their political practices to offer support for his argument.

He indicates that when the democratic assembly has gathered to carry out some technical task they consult with the experts relevant to that task. For instance, "whenever the city must carry out some matter pertaining to construction, the builders are sent for, and whenever concerning the building of ships, the shipwrights, and so on" (*Protagoras*, 319b, Bartlett translation).[6] When technical knowledge is required to shed light on the technical aspects of a proposed policy, the experts in the relevant field will be the only people permitted to speak while non-experts will be excluded from this aspect of the deliberation.

> This is how they proceed in matters which they consider technical. But when it is a matter of deliberating on city management, anyone can stand up and advise them, carpenter, blacksmith, shoemaker, merchant, ship-captain, rich man, poor man, well-born, low-born—it doesn't matter—and nobody blasts him for presuming to give counsel without any prior training under a teacher. The reason for this is clear: they do not think that this can be taught (*Protagoras*, 319d-e).

When it comes to deliberation pertaining to questions of public policy, everybody is permitted to speak, regardless of what profession they practice or what specialized form of expertise they may possess. Neither profession nor class is seen as a condition for the eligibility of a citizen to address the assembly when deliberation pertains to general management of the polis. Socrates suggests that this is due to the nature of the art of politics, which—unlike the specialized expertise of professionals—cannot be taught to a novice by an expert, and seems to be always already present in all human beings.[7]

However, while Socrates does suggest that there is an important difference between the expert knowledge of the professional and the deliberative practice of the political art, the boundary between technical decisions and political decisions is not clearly drawn. Though the experts are asked to address the assembly when the city must carry out some technical task, it is not clear to what extent expert knowledge should determine the decision that is made. Should the experts be called upon merely to help carry out the policy, or are they required for the formulation of the policy

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[5] Roochnik (1996) offers a rigorous defense of this interpretation of the Platonic corpus.

[6] Unless otherwise noted (as in this case), all quotations of Plato are taken from the Cooper & Hutchinson (eds.) volume of Plato's *Complete Works* (1997).

[7] Although Plato is often seen as a resolute opponent of democracy, it is generally acknowledged that certain passages in the *Protagoras* and the *Gorgias* offer an accurate portrayal of the Athenian democracy. For instance, Cornelius Castoradis (1997) argues that "when we are reflecting on Greek politics, our sources cannot be the philosophers of the fourth century and, in any case, certainly not Plato, who was imbued with an ineradicable hatred of the democracy and of the *demos*"(p. 88). He immediately qualifies this remark, indicating that "the reality of the [Athenian] democracy" is occasionally represented accurately in Plato, citing as an example the speech of Protagoras (*Protagoras*, 320d-328d), which affirms the Socratic account of the democratic practices that I have elaborated above, and which "admirably expresses the *topoi*, the commonplace wisdom of fifth-century democratic thinking and beliefs" (Castoriadis, 1997, p. 88).

as well? If experts are required for the formulation of policy, and they stand to gain financially from one outcome and to lose financially from another, does the integrity of their expertise potentially come under dispute? Even if no such conflict of interest exists, could an over-reliance on technical expertise—which excludes local knowledge and is thereby limited to a narrow scope of understanding—potentially undermines the rigor of the policy itself? Speaking more generally, in a society that understands itself as democratic, to what extent should experts make decisions, and to what extent should they be subject to the public deliberation of non-experts? The question is left open, but it seems clear that there should be some kind of dynamic interaction between the expert knowledge of specialists and the local knowledge of all citizens, with the latter guiding the former in some capacity.

With this discussion of the dynamic relationship between democratic politics and technical expertise hanging in the air, Socrates substitutes the term "political art" (*politike techne*) with "virtue" (*arête*) and demands that Protagoras explain how virtue is teachable (*Protagoras*, 320b9). This substitution shows us that Plato links the political art to virtue and ethical considerations as does Aristotle with his notion of *phronesis*; the insistence that the political art cannot be taught suggests that, like Aristotle, Plato believes that it is not a traditional *techne*.[8] While Protagoras agrees with Socrates that there is a great gulf separating *techne* and virtue before Socrates introduced the notion of virtue to the conversation Protagoras had described a very different conception of the political art; one that is detached from considerations of civic virtue altogether. Protagoras claims to teach his students:

> good counsel concerning one's own affairs—how he might best manage his own household—and, concerning the affairs of the city, how he might be the most powerful in carrying out and speaking about the city's affairs (*Protagoras*, 318e-319a, Bartlett translation).

Protagoras thus teaches men how to (1) enhance the wealth of their estate, and (2) enhance their power in the political arena by way of the *techne* of rhetoric, or persuasive public speaking, an extremely important skill in the domain of the Athenian democracy, where—against the ideal of democratic deliberation and the inclusion of many perspectives and their local knowledge—the most persuasive speaker could often win the day. This dynamic constitutes the brunt of Plato's critique of democracy. Whereas Plato and Aristotle link political practice to considerations of justice and the common good, Protagoras offers to teach his pupils how to speak persuasively in order to gain political power regardless of concerns for justice, injustice, and the common good.

As seen in the discussion of Aristotle above, the notion of *phronesis* precludes the possibility of knowing in advance how to justly handle novel political situations. However, teachers of the *techne* of rhetoric claim that it enables its practitioners to know in advance how to dominate any political discussion, thereby garnering more political support for their position, whether it is just or unjust. This view of rhetoric as a genuine *techne* that enables its practitioner to know in advance how to handle novel situations is emphasized in Plato's *Gorgias*, where Gorgias (and his student, Polus) claim to possess the ability to answer any question about any subject matter with competence (*Gorgias*,

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[8] While Plato actually uses the phrase *politike techne*, it is clear that he makes an important distinction between the political art and the rest of the *technai*. In addition to Socrates' line of questioning in both the *Gorgias* and the *Protagoras* which suggests as much, Socrates proposes in the *Statesman* (284e) that the political art requires an imprecise mode of "measure" in contradistinction to the conventional *technai*. Unlike Aristotle, Plato did not use his terms with categorical precision, but strove to write in a way that Athenians spoke. Thus some terminological inconsistencies arise in his texts, demanding attention to the context within which such terms arise. For a detailed discussion of the use of the word *techne* in Plato and the Greek tradition more broadly, as well as its relation to the concepts of morality and virtue, see David Roochnik's *Of Art and Wisdom* (1996).

447c, 448a, 458d, 462a). Thus Gorgias claims to be able to competently answer questions which pertain to the particularities of novel political situations that he has not yet examined, and questions which pertain to technical domains in which he is not yet trained.

Gorgias' definition of rhetoric expands on the second part of Protagoras' "political art" discussed above. Gorgias responds to Socrates, who demands an explanation of the usefulness of rhetoric:

> I'm referring to the ability to persuade by speeches judges in a law court, councilors in a council meeting, and assemblymen in an assembly or in any other political gathering that might take place (*Gorgias,* 452e).

Gorgias claims that the purpose of rhetoric is to win political disputes in public decision-making processes by producing conviction in the audience regarding "those matters that are just and unjust" (*Gorgias,* 454b). This "conviction" or "belief" that is produced in the audience is achieved by merely persuasive means. Socrates and Gorgias both contrast such conviction to the "knowledge" that can be transferred by practitioners of all other *technai* to their students by way of teaching (*Gorgias*, 453d-454e). Because Gorgias calls rhetoric a *techne*, but admits that the rhetorician is unable to teach knowledge of justice (which he claims is the subject matter of rhetoric) Socrates insists that the conversation has not uncovered what rhetoric is. Because each *techne* is able to teach others about its subject matter, and thereby transfer knowledge of that subject matter, Socrates and Gorgias will not have described what rhetoric is until they find its subject matter; that subject matter must be something that can be grasped through knowledge, and therefore known in advance of the concrete situation. Justice, however, which Gorgias claims as the subject matter of rhetoric, seems to be incapable of being taught as would the subject matter of carpentry or shipbuilding; it seems that there is no knowledge of justice that would enable a person to handle each particular situation uniformly. Rather, in order to know what is just in each particular case, it seems that deliberation via *phronesis* is required.

In the search for the subject matter of rhetoric, Socrates begins to list other subject matter which rhetoric could not adequately teach. In so doing, he returns to the discursive norms of the Athenian democracy that he mentioned in his discussion with Protagoras. The rhetoricians would not be asked to advise the city "at a meeting that concerns the building of walls or the equipping of harbors or dockyards, but the master builders will be the ones"(*Gorgias*, 455b-c). However, Gorgias points out that it was not the advice of the builders that led to the great construction projects of the Peloponnesian War. Rather, the leading politicians of the day—who were rhetoricians, but lacked knowledge of the relevant *technai* —provided the arguments that led to those projects being approved in the assembly and subsequently chose the experts that would carry out those decisions. Socrates admits this historical fact. In response to this concession, Gorgias further elaborates on the power of rhetoric, declaring that the rhetorician is able to speak more persuasively about any subject (that he does not know) than the expert who has technical knowledge of that subject (*Gorgias*, 456a-456d). It appears then, that rhetoric does not have a specific subject matter like other technai, but instead is the art of winning arguments in the public sphere and involves the ability to speak persuasively about many subjects, even if one does not know about them. Much like our contemporary politicians — who purport to competently answer questions about economics, constitutional law, agricultural policy, foreign policy, etc., etc. even if they have not studied such domains—Gorgias trained his students to appear competent even when they were not, and to be capable of discussing particular cases which they have not yet examined. Hence Gorgias' offer— which initiates and animates the dialogue—to answer any question about any subject matter.

This exchange reveals the structure of the basic political problem that Socrates examines throughout the Platonic corpus. On the one hand, civic virtue appears to be quite distinct from *techne*. While each *techne* is a specialized body of knowledge possessed by relatively few practitioners and is called upon in the democratic assembly when a technical matter is under consideration, civic virtue seems to be present to some degree in all citizens. This capacity for virtue should guide the deliberative process of city management in the assembly. However, the *techne* of rhetoric appears to trump both the expertise of the other *technai* and the civic virtue that the citizens share in common. In the context of the democratic assembly, the skilled rhetorician is able to speak more persuasively about all technical matters and about all matters pertaining to civic virtue. The dynamic interaction between *techne* and virtue is thereby forfeited to a single-minded will to power on the part of the most persuasive rhetorician. Instead of embodying two distinct spheres (*techne* and virtue) that interact in the deliberative process of the democratic assembly, both of these domains are encompassed by the will of the most skillful rhetoricians who are able to deliver eloquent speeches about both justice and all things technical. Themistocles, Pericles, and Alcibiades, for instance, were skillful rhetoricians able to speak convincingly about the technical questions pertaining to the city walls, the harbor, and the size of the naval fleet, and about the relevance of these technical questions to broader political issues. By following the advice of these rhetoricians, the Athenians were able to maintain an unjust empire, subjecting other Greek cities to brutal conditions, including genocide in at least one case (Thucydides, 2013, 6.116), ultimately leading to the decisive defeat of the Athenians. The brutality and senseless warfare that resulted from the imperial ambitions of powerful rhetoricians left Plato's Socrates to question what had gone wrong. He believed that the "political art" taught by Protagoras and Gorgias and practiced by the powerful rhetoricians of the assembly was a positive harm to the common life of human beings. He spent his life questioning the nature of those practices and searching for alternatives that might bring humankind closer to virtue.

Conclusion: Contemporary rhetoric, local knowledge, and participatory institutions

In the contemporary political situation of the United States, the universe of political discourse seems to be limited between two distinct poles: (1) the centralized authority of the state is viewed as the primary mechanism by which justice is achieved; (2) the capitalist market is viewed as the primary mechanism by which justice is achieved. In the view of the former, the importance of the centralized authority of the state is emphasized in the regulation of corporate activity. While the unregulated market tends to increase inequality and produce negative externalities that escape the logic of the profit motive, increasing the authority of the state over the workings of the market is viewed as the best way to achieve just outcomes. From the second point of view, the proper role of the state is merely to facilitate the capitalist market; it should minimally interfere with private actors, whether corporate or otherwise. Tax rates should be lowered, government regulators should be given minimal authority to interfere with the initiative of private enterprise, and functions of the state such as social security insurance and medical care should potentially be privatized and left to the competitive forces of the marketplace.

Both of these points of view marshal expert knowledge in the buttressing of their positions, and demonstrate the veracity of their own position as well as the falsity of the opposite position through appeal to such expert knowledge. The professional economists play the leading role in the production of this expertise, while the rhetoricians—the politicians and pundits in the media—link this expert knowledge to concerns of justice, demonize dissenting perspectives, and package this whole nexus of discourse into a series of slogans and catchphrases that can be easily memorized and repeated without serious examination of either the expertise that was used or the particularities of

each unique situation to which these reified slogans are uniformly applied. Completely excluded from this whole process of political discourse is any concern for the local knowledge that Plato and Aristotle documented in the discursive norms of the Athenian assembly.

While there are great resources devoted to strengthening each pole of this universe of political discourse, there are also views that express doubts as to the validity of this dichotomy, instead focusing on the role of local knowledge in the emergence of new institutions that are sensitive to the unique particularities of each situation and devolve authority to local actors in schemes that can be called neither state-centric nor market-centric. For instance, in *Governing the Commons* (1990), Elinor Ostrom examines various ways that the so-called "tragedy of the commons" has been solved by the introduction of innovative participatory institutions in the management of common resources such as fisheries, forests, grazing meadows, and groundwater basins. These participatory governance structures have developed without investing authority in a centralized state authority, nor in recourse to an unregulated capitalist market, both of which rely upon the knowledge of policy experts in crafting institutions and regulatory schemas that are generally applied more or less uniformly to all situations. Rather, these participatory institutions focus on the importance of granting autonomy to local actors, demonstrating the key role of local knowledge in managing common pools of natural resources in a sustainable way.[9] Recent innovations in budgetary policy at the municipal and state level in the form of Participatory Budgeting also point towards institutional frameworks that adequately cut through the coupling of skillful rhetoric and technical expertise by way of the participatory action and local knowledge of ordinary citizens.[10]

Keeping the meaning of democracy in mind as we work towards the formulation of public policy, we should nurture the dynamic interaction between local knowledge and technical knowledge through the construction of participatory institutions that include as many perspectives in deliberations as possible; in this endeavor we should be wary of the threat of skillful orators in the public sphere who seek to polarize political discourse and dominate the institutions of state and economy in their pursuit of power.. Insofar as our institutions of political and economic authority include local perspectives in decision-making processes and resist the temptation to reify technical knowledge and apply it uniformly across time and place, our policies will be more sensitive to the particularities of each unique situation and less subject to the power of elite political actors. The construction of local participatory institutions is one of the more hopeful paths forward in these times of uncertainty.

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[9] See James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State* (1998) and Timothy Mitchel's *Rule of Experts* (2002) for similar studies in the problems of centralized bureaucratic structures (whether state or corporate) in the management of natural resources and the deployment of infrastructure projects.

[10] See Rebecca Abers *Inventing Local Democracy* (2000) and Brian Wampler's *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil* (2007) for useful case studies examining the innovations of Participatory Budgeting.

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Chapter 15

A Feminist perspective on participatory budgeting, inclusion, and social justice

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Abstract

Participatory budgeting has the potential to deepen the democratic character of the state and advance social justice goals. In this paper, I highlight the absence of feminist theory from existing analyses of participatory budgeting and consider the ways in which feminist theoretical perspectives can add complexity to our understanding of the relationship between participatory budgeting and social justice. I present an empirical analysis of participatory budgeting in Chicago and draw on feminist critiques of citizenship and the public sphere to demonstrate how, at least in its current form, the process has primarily included and served the interests of the "usual suspects." I emphasize the unequal social context in which participatory budgeting is taking place and argue that we need to think more critically about the relationship between participatory reforms of democratic institutions and social justice.

Introduction

The United States (US) has witnessed a relatively dramatic expansion of participatory budgeting in recent years, from a pilot process in Chicago's 49th ward in 2009 to over 50 processes in a dozen cities in 2015. Since 1989, when it radically transformed the practice of democracy in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre, participatory budgeting has been understood as a means of deepening the democratic character of the state and advancing social justice goals (Baiocchi, 2005; Fung and Wright, 2003). This paper seeks to broaden the theoretical traditions that scholars have brought to bear on participatory budgeting to date and, in so doing, challenge some of our assumptions about *how* it can contribute to social justice.

Specifically, I present an empirical analysis of participatory budgeting in Chicago (PB Chicago) informed by feminist political theories of citizenship and the public sphere. My findings suggest that participatory budgeting in Chicago has the potential to make a modest but important contribution to advancing social justice goals. It does, however, fall short of its goal to be an inclusive and empowering process. I argue that such shortcomings may be remediable at least in part by integrating feminist critiques of citizenship and the public sphere into our analysis. Doing so can add complexity to our understanding of the relationship between forms of democracy and social justice.

Whereas much scholarship on participatory budgeting to date has problematized "the state" as an entity mostly distinct from "the citizenry" and compromised by the shortcomings of representative democracy, feminist scholarship turns our attention to the unequal relations among citizens. This paper seeks to go some way towards bridging the gap between the study of participatory budgeting and the rich tradition of critical feminist scholarship on citizenship and the public sphere. It also

seeks to contribute to the small but growing body of empirical research on 'actually existing' cases of participatory budgeting outside of the Latin American context. Before proceeding, it is important to note that there are many factors that shape the implementation and outcomes of participatory budgeting in the US. Even within the city of Chicago, each participating ward's process is shaped by a variety of factors. I aim to extract just some of the lessons that can be learned from the Chicago experience.

PB Chicago: A brief overview

Participatory budgeting is commonly understood as a binding public process that decides how a particular pot of public money should be allocated. PB Chicago's model of participatory budgeting closely resembles that of other municipal processes in the US context. The process begins with idea collection forums, where residents can learn about participatory budgeting and suggest project ideas. Residents then volunteer to act as "community representatives," who meet on a regular basis over a period of four months to review the suggested project ideas and develop formal project proposals. Ward residents vote on a ballot of projects and the most popular projects are funded. In Chicago, the process has been open to all residents aged 16 and over, and sometimes younger, regardless of their eligibility to vote in standard elections.

The first case of participatory budgeting in the US took place in Chicago's 49th ward in 2009. In 2012, it spread to a further three wards under the title 'PB Chicago' and has continued to grow since. All participating aldermen to date have used the process to allocate $1 million of their discretionary capital works budget, known in the city as 'menu money.' A steering committee oversees PB Chicago, which includes ward staff, lead administrative partners, residents participating in the process, and civil society groups that are "focused on good government, research, policy, organizing, and community education" (Great Cities Institute, 2013: 9). In 2014, when I conducted the data collection for this study, the PB Chicago steering committee had defined the three overarching goals for the process as 'inclusion,' 'equity,' and 'community building.' In this paper, I consider these goals from the perspective of two questions: who is participating in PB Chicago, and whose priorities are most aligned with the process?

Data and methods

The paper presents primarily qualitative interview data and some survey data drawn from a larger study of PB Chicago. Survey data was analyzed from the 2012-2013 cycle of the process, while interviews were conducted with participants from both early and more recent cycles. A total of sixteen semi-structured interviews were conducted both in person and over the telephone: eight with ward residents who participated as community representatives, and eight with 'administrators:' ward staff, ward interns, and employees of the lead organizations responsible for coordinating PB Chicago. To preserve anonymity, each respondent was given a pseudonym and described only as a participant or administrator.

The primary focus of my data collection and analysis was the community representative phase of PB Chicago. While the outreach and evaluation efforts of the organizations administering PB Chicago have often focused on idea collection and voting, scholars of participatory budgeting typically consider the community representative phase to be the most interesting and important, since this is where deliberation over the 'common good' could potentially take place and where participants have the greatest opportunity to develop skills and knowledge (Fung and Wright, 2003). It is also, therefore, a phase that should be subjected to a range of critical theoretical and analytical perspectives, including those from feminist scholarship.

Findings

Who participates? Critical notions of citizenship

Survey data revealed that voters in PB Chicago in 2012-2013 were very clearly demographically different to the broader ward population. In the four participating wards they were more often university educated or homeowners, and less often Hispanic or from low-income households when compared with the ward populations. In three wards, voters were more often white and aged 55 and over, and less often black or African American. While community representatives *demographically* resembled the 'usual suspects' only somewhat more often than voters, they were much more often already civically and politically engaged.

Limited outreach resources were concentrated on the idea collection and voting phases, which may have contributed to the over-representation of civically and politically active residents among community representatives. However, prominent in the accounts of interviewees was the issue of a time commitment as a major constraint on participation. As acknowledged by one administrator:

> I think people have this idea that if you build it, they will come. And I don't think that's true, because you think about how busy everyday people are, just dealing with going to work, taking care of their kids, trying to be involved in their kid's lives, or even if they don't have kids … most people don't even work a standard 40 hour week anymore, most people work many more hours than that. (AK)

Retention of community representatives was a problem in all wards. As one administrator stated, "I'm not sure what else we could have done in terms of access, I just think folks grew weary" (LR). The same issue was reported in a ward new to PB Chicago in 2013-2014:

> It ends up being a lot for people…. I mean people have different work schedules, and some people can't meet at night, and then if you move the meeting around … some people can't go anymore. … Those little logistical things are really tough to figure out but are really important if you're trying to do equity and inclusion and community building. (CT, administrator)

Some community representatives reported finding the time commitment surprising and burdensome. Others acknowledged that while the time commitment could be a problem for others, it hadn't been a barrier for themselves. For example:

> I have a lot of time. I'm retired. I just work in the winters, and so I've got plenty of time to go to these Tuesday meetings. (JS)

Parenthood was not necessarily a barrier to participation. One mother with two young children had been a community representative for several years:

> I mean my husband has pretty good hours and my family lives here in Chicago, so if I ever need help to go to the meetings they're there to watch the kids for me. (SW)

One interviewee believed that the neighbourhood assemblies and vote should be considered the accessible phases of the process, since "it takes having a particular kind of time to do that" (CM, community representative). However, PB Chicago has been promoted as open to all residents. The composition of the community representative committees, though dominated by "individuals who have the luxury of free time" (RH, administrator), has rarely come under scrutiny.

Feminist scholarship offers a critical perspective on the exclusionary tendencies of mainstream constructions of civic engagement, political participation, and active citizenship. Scholars such as

Carole Pateman (1988), Linda Zerilli (2006) and Nira Yuval-Davis (1997) argue that the exclusive character of citizenship refers not only to who is afforded full status as a citizen, but also to the ways in which practices of citizenship rest on the dominant group's understanding of what it means to participate in the public sphere. Participatory budgeting is being promoted countries like the US at the same time that the concept of "active citizenship" has become prominent in popular notions of civic engagement (Marinetto, 2003). However, status as a fully active citizen is typically only accessible to a small percentage of a population and is thus as much a marker of privilege as an indicator of commitment to the common good.

Notions of citizenship also interact with the construction of 'community' (Marshall, 1950). While 'community building' has been central to the goals of participatory budgeting processes in the US, there has been a little critical examination of how 'community' is constructed or of who is either marginal or central to that construction. As Yuval-Davis (1997) argues, the notion of 'community' is neither natural nor neutral. Formal institutions of government, civil society, and a variety of other actors contest and shape the terms upon which a community is defined and maintained. Returning to the case of PB Chicago, whose version of citizenship forms the 'universal' benchmark, and for whom is that benchmark unattainable? Are notions of "community" being used critically or in ways that render some residents invisible? In emphasizing such questions, a feminist analysis can help us to assess whether – and in what ways – participatory budgeting inadvertently maintains the position of dominant groups.

Whose priorities? Multiple publics, diverse interests

The accounts of interviewees suggest that the capital works focus of the budget under consideration was not sufficient to attract the interest of all residents in the ward. In short, the capital works budget did not correspond with the issues that some residents were most concerned about. But whereas Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) argue that the size and focus of the budget under consideration indicate the degree to which the participatory budgeting forum is empowered vis-à-vis the state, I argue that this relationship is more complex. The budget under question in Chicago *was* important to some residents and sufficient to inspire their participation, because residents in the wards of Chicago have diverse interests and needs. It is therefore important to ask *whose* interests the budget reflects, and to then question whether a single participatory budgeting process can or should aim to engage all residents equally.

Some community representatives were attracted to the process specifically because it was concerned with the allocation of capital works dollars. The same people would not necessarily have participated had there a different budget under consideration:

> [Participatory budgeting is for] addressing the physical needs of the ward. I don't know that it's going to expand into anything else. I wouldn't be interested, frankly. But that's where I am. I'd be able to give you half a dozen people who'd love to be able to do more things through PB to help the homeless and the guys who are living under the railroad tracks … and I have no interest in that. (JS, community representative)

Thus the appeal and relevance of participatory budgeting come down to the particular needs and interests of different residents. In Porto Alegre, investment in capital infrastructure was an important issue for many of the city's most politically marginalized and civically disengaged residents. In the US context, however, do capital budgets more often align with the interests and priorities of the privileged?

When surveyed about what they thought was the biggest problem facing their neighborhood, the most popular response among community representatives in 2012-2013 was 'unemployment' (indicated by 37% of respondents). The problem of 'crime', which can be addressed to a limited extent through capital works investment, was the second most popular response (34%). 'Parks' was the second least popular response, chosen by a little over 11% of respondents. While this suggests the possibility of a misalignment between the PB process and *the most important issues facing each ward*, it does not mean that the process is misaligned with the personal priorities of certain participants.

There was evidence that some residents came to the initial idea collection forums hoping that PB Chicago would address more than capital works concerns:

> The African American folks had all kinds of agendas, in terms of dealing with crime, dealing with youth programming to prevent crime, and all kinds of potential programs that they would have loved to have seen, those kinds of things, whereas the folks in Hyde Park had more beautification type projects, had some more appropriate things, quote unquote, appropriate ideas … that were more suited to PB. (LR, administrator)

Some community representatives expressed frustration at the limited scope of participatory budgeting:

> [Participatory budgeting] also feels kind of futile, because a lot of the really big decisions are totally out of our hands. … I can't do anything about [schools] through PB. Like a lot of the stuff I think what is really important to people is not necessarily capital improvements, you just sort of expect the streets to be paved anyway, and they will be even without PB. So while in theory I love the idea … I was disappointed in a way, because it was just kind of like a veneer over the real problems that the city has. (BT)

Thus while capital works may be a priority for certain residents, they are not necessarily viewed as contributing to social justice outcomes.

Participatory budgeting in the US can be described as taking place within a "stratified society" where social groups are located unequally relative to processes of domination and subordination (Fraser 1997: 80). Such a structure has implications for the ways in which we conceive of and frame the public sphere. One feminist approach is to emphasise the public sphere as comprised of multiple publics, rather than a single public, whereby the public sphere becomes the arena within which different publics engage in contest and negotiation (Fraser, 1997). In effect, the public sphere can be considered instead a "sphere of publics" (Haas, 2004: 178). In Fraser's view, recognition of multiple publics is critical to a healthy democracy.

As with constructions of citizenship and the common good, the liberal model of the singular bourgeois public sphere is characterized by an un-reflexive privileging of certain voices over others (Fraser, 1992). Blind to its own exclusionary tendencies, the ideology of the bourgeois public sphere renders invisible the political domination of the ruling stratum behind claims of reason, fairness, impartiality, and consent. The concept of a 'sphere of publics' allows us to reframe our questions about the relationship between participatory budgeting and empowerment. *Which* public, and *whose* priorities are interests, are represented by a given participatory budgeting process? Do we think participatory budgeting represents a universal forum that can appeal to – and include – everyone equally? While leaders of PB Chicago may have genuinely good intentions of bringing the "entire community'" together, such a goal may be unrealistic. A focus on including *particular* residents, and

addressing their *particular* needs and priorities, may enable processes like PB Chicago to better realize their stated goals.

Discussion and conclusion: Rethinking PB from a feminist perspective

PB Chicago aims to be an open and transparent process in which *any* resident of the ward can participate. At the same time, it emphasizes 'inclusion' and encourages the participation of *particular* residents: specifically, who do not resemble the 'usual suspects.' However, in 2012-2013 PB Chicago *did* attract the usual suspects, in part because of structural barriers to participation, but also because of the particular needs and priorities that the process was able to address. My goal in this paper was to demonstrate a small number of ways that feminist critical theory can help us to analyze – and improve – the contribution of participatory budgeting to social justice goals in the US context.

Just as feminist theorists have found constructions of citizenship and the 'active citizen' to be inherently exclusive, so too is the role of 'community representative' (see Pateman, 1988; Yuval-Davis, 1997). While often idealized by mainstream scholars and advocates as the transformative 'heart' of participatory budgeting, the community representative phase also represents a privileged form of participation that is unattainable to many residents. Those who can lay claim to 'representing' the 'community' are those residents who are both willing and able to commit time and energy to the participatory budgeting process. They often have a schedule that is flexible, predictable, and sufficiently free of other responsibilities. This "luxury of free time" (RH, administrator) is not distributed equally across ward residents.

Furthermore, there was evidence in the accounts of interviewees that the capital works focus of PB Chicago only corresponded with the priorities of certain residents. Capital works were more often a priority for those residents who resembled the 'usual suspects' and who were arguably less affected by "the real problems" (BT, community representative) facing the city. Thus although PB Chicago aims to include the entire community, and generate decisions that reflect the entire community's needs (PB Chicago, 2012), such goals obscure the extent to which only particular interests can be addressed through the participatory budgeting process.

This paper presents only a small handful of relevant insights from the work of feminist political theorists. For example, the larger project from which this paper is drawn also explores the communicative or "deliberative" dimension of participatory budgeting from a feminist perspective, inspired particularly by the work of Iris Marion Young (1987, 2000). Nonetheless, this paper demonstrates how integrating the insights of feminist scholarship can help us to understand *why* rendering democratic institutions more participatory does not necessarily lead to social justice. My analysis of PB Chicago suggests that advocates of participatory budgeting must do more to create spaces for meaningful and empowered participation that are realistically accessible to less privileged residents. Furthermore, we must prioritize opening up the decision-making process around the pots of public money that most affect the lives of residents disempowered relative to the 'usual suspects.'

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Chapter 16

Conflicts and tensions in the practice of participatory democracy: The case of participatory budgeting

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Abstract

Since its beginnings in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, PB has been implemented in thousands of cities and towns around the world. Its positive impact on public engagement, open government, local empowerment, quality of life and civic learning has been recognized with multiple national and international awards. However, as any other social practice involving diverse actors and institutional constraints, PB often faces a variety of challenges. This paper, which consists of personal reflections based on several years of observing PB processes and talking with hundreds of participants, is organized into three sections. The first presents a short discussion on some of the tensions that are likely to appear in participatory budgeting initiatives, organized in four categories: policy-related tensions, design-related tensions, process-related tensions, and implementation-related tensions. The second section provides some examples of strategies to address those tensions. The third section examines one tension in particular that is relevant to the theory and practice of participatory democracy: the tension between direct democracy and deliberative democracy.

Introduction

Participatory budgeting (PB) is a democratic process in which community members decide how to spend a portion of a public budget. It represents one of the few cases of participatory democracy innovations that has undergone a high level of institutionalization and international growth. Since its humble beginnings in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, PB has been implemented in approximately 3,000 local governments around the world, from small towns to cities like Sao Paulo, Paris, New York, Madrid, Mexico City, Saint Petersburg, Seoul, Chicago, Seville, Buenos Aires, Rosario and Berlin. It has also been adopted in other settings like schools, universities, public housing agencies and nongovernmental organizations. Participatory budgeting can make contributions (often modest, in some cases significant) to the deepening and widening of democracy. Moreover, its positive impact on public engagement, open government, local empowerment, quality of life and civic learning has been recognized with multiple national and international awards.

At the same time, PB is not a magic bullet that can solve all the problems of democracy, not even all the problems of participatory democracy. As any social practice with a diversity of actors that operate in particular political and legal contexts, PB often faces challenges that need to be addressed creatively and effectively. Many of these challenges are the result of conflicts and reoccurring tensions that appear throughout the process. Indeed, in the practice of PB, it is possible to identify a variety of tensions, which I organized in four categories: policy-related tensions, design-related tensions, process-related tensions, and implementation-related tensions.

The first set of tensions tend to appear early, as soon as a decision is made to implement PB and some policies need to be put in place to guide it. The second set of tensions, which are often contingent upon policy decisions made in the previous moment, appear during the design process. The third set of tensions appears during the PB process itself, when different social actors engage in dynamics of deliberation and decision-making. The fourth set of tensions can be observed at the moment of implementing the decisions made by the participants of the PB process. The way these tensions play out in the real world of PB varies from context to context. The same can be said about the way these tensions are resolved. In some cases, their resolution consists of making a choice based on an analysis of the pros and cons of each option (trade-off approach). In other cases, a dialectic approach can help find a solution that transcends the two alternatives. This paper, which consists of personal reflections based on several years of observing PB processes and talking with hundreds of participants, presents a short discussion on some of the tensions that are likely to appear in participatory budgeting initiatives.

Conflicts and tensions in participatory budgeting

Policy

This first set of tensions emerges early, when the government leaders that have made a commitment to implement PB need to choose between different policy options. One of these choices is between mandated or voluntary PB. For instance, in the case of national governments, should PB be mandated for every municipality, as it is the case in some countries like South Korea, Peru, Dominican Republic (and to a large extent Colombia), or should it be a voluntary initiative by local districts with an interest in such a process? This tension could also be expressed at lower levels of government. For instance, at the state level, should PB be made mandatory for all municipalities or should be left to the will of each municipality? Likewise, a municipality can mandate PB to all its districts or leave it to the discretion of each local authority. The same could be said about a school district: Should it mandate that all schools in the district implement PB, or should the decision be left only to those schools that are interested in doing it?

A second tension that policy-makers confront early on relates to budget allocations: should PB deal exclusively with new infrastructure, or should it include services, programs and operational costs of new infrastructure as well? Deciding the amount of funds to be allocated to the participatory exercise can also be a point of tension. On the one hand, it can be argued that the level of funding is somehow irrelevant because the most important contribution of PB is its capacity to bring the community together to deliberate and make decisions through a democratic process. On the other hand, it can be argued that for the process to be legitimate and not just a tokenistic exercise, the allocated funds should be substantial enough to merit the time and energy that people are asked to devote to the process, and to ensure that its outcome makes a difference in their quality of life of the community.[1] Another tension to be resolved at the policy level is the one between consultation and citizen control. In other words, are decisions made in PB binding, or are they recommendations to be considered by the appropriate agencies? On the one hand, it can be argued that PB is primarily about citizen empowerment, and hence decisions should be binding. From this perspective, a consultative PB process is an oxymoron. The counterargument is that for reasons of accountability only public officials should approve public budgets, and that public agencies have the duty to ensure that the proposed projects are financially, legally and technically viable before approving them.

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[1] The argument is that in PB the 'B' should be considered as important as the 'P', and that a Pb process (with a capital P and a noncapital b) is as detrimental to participatory democracy as a pB process in which the budget is significant but citizen participation is thin.

Design

The designers of the PB process, be they public officials, community members, nonprofit staff, or a combination of them, also confront a variety of tensions. One is whether to have only one general PB process that involves the entire community, or have targeted processes for specific groups as well. For instance, should the youth be part of a general PB process, or should it have its own 'youth PB' process that considers its particular interests and its culture of participation, as it has been done in Argentina, Romania, Portugal, Brazil, United States and other places? Another design choice has to do with the format: should the PB process be exclusively face-to-face, should it be online only, or should combine both modes of participation?

The designers of the process also need to make decisions about the selection and composition of the budget delegate committee. Should the budget delegates be appointed, elected, or randomly selected? Should there be specific quotas for budget delegates (by gender, age, etc.) or not? The design stage also needs to put in place strategies to deal with the tensions between self-interest and the common good, parochialism, and broad-mindedness, and competition and collaboration. Another issue to be considered in the design phase is the tension between the logistical and financial pressures for a short process and the aspiration to implement a high-quality process that genuinely engages the community. For participants, the counterpart of this situation is the tension between time commitment and meeting fatigue. The design team must also develop mechanisms to build communication bridges between community knowledge and professional knowledge. A related choice to be made during the design phase is whether to have facilitators for the process or let the group self-organize and self-moderate its meetings.

Given that PB is about the distribution of real resources, another important issue is the equality-equity tension. Although design team members would probably agree that resources should be distributed fairly, they may disagree in the operationalization of the concept of fairness: should available funds be allocated evenly among districts and neighborhoods, or should provide more resources to areas with higher needs? Those who emphasize equality argue that all communities need improvement, that decisions should be based on the merits and impacts of each project, and that is not the role of PB to redistribute resources because that is the function of a progressive taxation system and other redistributive policies. Equity advocates argue that cities are unequal places that historically have privileged public investments in affluent areas and underinvested in poor neighborhoods, and therefore PB should revert those priorities by allocating more resources to communities with greater needs.

While most of these decisions made at the design stage have an impact on the process, I would like to highlight another issue in PB that is particularly relevant to the theory and practice of participatory democracy: the tension between dialogue and decision-making, which reflects a larger tension in the field between deliberative and direct democracy. In terms of design, a basic question arises: should every resident be allowed to vote, or only those who actively participate in the deliberative process (e.g. budget delegates)? We will return to this question in the third part of the paper.

Process

Once the PB process begins, conflicts arise from interactions between different actors. Some of these conflicts, like the ones between participants and facilitators, or between the government and nonprofit organizations, are often due to misunderstandings and are relatively easy to solve. More complicated are the tensions between government and residents, and among participants themselves. These conflicts are more likely to arise when the rules of the game were not clearly developed at the

policy and design stages, or were not communicated effectively to all participants. Some conflicts among participants can also be observed when two groups of organized residents negotiate 'internal' agreements (e.g. reciprocal voting for their respective projects) without the knowledge of other groups. For some, these arrangements should be accepted as part and parcel of political life, and may have some legitimacy when the two groups in question represent marginalized communities with higher needs. For others, these surreptitious deals are a mockery of democracy and undermine the integrity of the participatory process.

Although some of those tensions are palpable, perhaps the most visible tension during the PB process is the one between government officials and residents. This can be even more noticeable in contexts characterized by a long history of mutual distrust. In these contexts, especially in places with frequent conflicts, minimal dialogue between government and residents, and unmet community needs, it is possible to observe a tension between 'protest' and 'proposal'. Although residents are invited to a public space to propose ideas and projects, the shortage of opportunities to meet with public officials and the abundance of frustrations lead them to use this opening to vent and express their complaints about government performance, especially grievances about unfulfilled promises, failed projects, inefficiency or excessive bureaucracy. Sometimes, the more facilitators try to silence these complaints in order to move to redirect the process and start brainstorming proposals, the more residents are likely to be riled up. Another issue related to the relationship between government and residents that may appear during the PB process, particularly in social contexts characterized by high levels of clientelism and pork barrel politics, is the tension between the autonomy of local community organizations and the cooptation of their leaders.

Implementation

The final set of tensions emerges during the implementation phase, when decisions made during the PB process must be translated into concrete projects. Prominent among them is the tension between the approved projects and the actual projects, because it is not uncommon that some projects already agreed upon are later canceled for unexpected circumstances due to technical, legal, financial, political or bureaucratic reasons. Furthermore, even if the project has the green light to go ahead, sometimes there is a gap between the original schedule and the real one. Relatedly, sometimes there is a mismatch between the original budget and the real cost of the project, which creates its own set of conflicts because if the additional funds are not obtained the project may be interrupted. Moreover, even if the project is built according to the original timeline and budget, sometimes the new infrastructure cannot be used when it breaks because additional resources to fix it are not readily available.[2] If these issues are not communicated on a timely basis to residents and properly resolved, they may exacerbate the tensions between residents and public officials discussed in the previous section.

Another interesting issue that may appear during the implementation phase is the tension between projects and policies. For instance, if one or more projects deal with a widespread problem unbeknownst to the authorities (such as the bad condition of school bathrooms or the low quality of drinking water in schools) should the appropriate government agency (e.g. city council, school district) pass a policy to address all these individual situations at once, or should they be solved one by one through the implementation of PB projects? These are not hypothetical examples but real cases faced by a city council and a school district, which had to make a decision before the next PB cycle. A related tension that may arise during the implementation phase has to do with jurisdictional

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[2] An example of this was a splash pad area built with participatory budgeting funds in a public housing unit. Additionally, sometime the facilities cannot be used as anticipated because operational costs were not properly estimated.

responsibility (e.g. between a state and a municipal government, or between a municipal government and a school district). It is not uncommon that PB participants propose projects that are beyond the responsibility of the jurisdiction that coordinated the process or that fall in a gray area. Again, this requires creativity and collaboration among policy-makers.

Addressing tensions: Four examples

Some of the tensions described in the previous section express actual conflicts and disagreements between two or more social actors involved in participatory budgeting, and may be addressed through proper conflict resolution strategies. Other tensions refer to two principles or forces that act in opposition to each other. In these cases, the most frequent approach to resolve the tension is to conceptualize it as a need to opt for one of two mutually exclusive entities. This choice may be the result of a technical analysis, a democratic deliberation, an imposition of powerful actors, or a combination of two or more factors. In other cases, the approach is to find a compromise between the opposites, a middle way that combines the best elements of each one, or even results in a distinct third option that transcends the opposites and produces a synthesis. I now address some strategies taken to address a few of these tensions.[3]

Mandated or voluntary PB?

On the one hand, mandating participatory budgeting can contribute to expanding the number of processes and engaged people in a given jurisdiction, but the potential problems with top-down impositions are well known. A rapid widespread expansion can be detrimental to the quality of the processes. Secondly, public officials may lack the motivation to implement good processes and could go through the motions, playing simulation games that amount to pseudo-participation and manipulation of data. On the other hand, leaving it open to the free will of each individual municipality, district or school is likely to result in inaction, as bureaucracies tend to be risk-averse and participatory budgeting is unknown territory.

Instead of choosing between mandating PB for all districts or leaving it up to the discretion of each one, governments can provide a system of incentives such as additional funds, matching funds or support structures to encourage them to undertake the PB process. In this scenario, each district would have the liberty to evaluate the trade-offs of the costs and benefits of implementing PB in the context of the potential incentives for participating and their own mission statement and policy commitments (e.g. open government plans). Poland, for instance, introduced the Solecki Funds in 2009 to provide additional monies to local authorities to do participatory budgeting. As a result of that law, Poland became one of the European countries with the higher number of PB initiatives.

General PB or youth PB?

Should youth be part of a general (city) PB process, or should it have its own budget and process? On the one hand, when youth engage in general PB processes, it is not uncommon that they experience feelings of inadequacy and frustration. This may be due to a combination of different reasons. They may not feel comfortable at meetings where they are a minority, and may feel marginalized when older participants dominate those meetings. They may feel intimidated because of their relatively lower experience in public forums, particularly in the area of public speaking. They

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[3] For example, in Wickenburg, Arizona, the winning project (improvements to a sports facility) was located in a school, beyond the jurisdiction of the municipal government. To ensure the feasibility of the project, City Hall and the school agreed that the city would cover the infrastructural costs if the school took care of operational costs and the facility was open to the community after school hours. In Phoenix, AZ, however, students proposed a shaded bus stop, but the project was not approved because it was outside the school premises.

may perceive that older participants do not acknowledge their contributions or value their opinions. They may feel bored with the format and duration of the meetings. On the other hand, it can be argued that youth are part of the community and hence should engage in the general PB process like any other community member. Moreover, if a separate process with a specific budget is designed for youth, sooner or later other groups may also demand a similar opportunity to have a special process, and eventually, the PB experience would be fragmented in too many pieces.

Instead of choosing between including the youth in the general PB process (which could negatively affect their perceived political efficacy) or creating a separate process for them (which could lead to the balkanization of PB), a third option that contemplates both arguments consists of developing capacity building strategies and programs with youth in schools, youth community centers, and other settings. This approach, which is used in some districts, enables youth to engage in the general PB process with more presence, more confidence, more deliberative skills and more youth-relevant projects. School participatory budgeting - which in some places is transitioning from individual school experiments to school district projects - is a particularly auspicious initiative for building this capacity because educational institutions have a mandate to develop civic knowledge, skills, and attitudes among youth.

Protest or proposal?

As noted in the previous section, in some contexts with long histories of authoritarianism and corruption, high levels of community needs and low levels of deliberative practices, participants tend to use the forum of PB to protest about historical wrongs, unmet demands and low levels of government responsiveness and accountability. In these cases, the process resembles less like an ideal PB and more like a traditional confrontational town hall meeting. Sometimes PB organizers request participants to start making proposals from the moment they show up, but this may be unsuccessful, as many participants have a long list of grievances and may distrust both the government and the integrity of the process. In these situations, PB facilitators would quickly feel the tension between people's need to protest and their own eagerness to move the process towards the proposal phase. A solution to this tension –used, for instance, in some African municipalities- is to redesign the process, allowing participants time at the beginning to vent and express their frustrations, and then slowly but steadily transitioning into the proposal building phase while building community trust.

Offline or online PB?

In the last decade, a new tension has emerged between offline and online PB processes. Some municipalities, particularly small ones, have made a purposeful decision to implement the PB process exclusively in a face-to-face format to promote a sense of community among residents and nurture 'proximity democracy'. Other districts, particularly large cities, made the decision to conduct the PB process exclusively online in order to lower the costs and barriers of participation, especially for those who are underrepresented in face-to-face meetings. A third possibility, which overcomes this dichotomy and maximizes opportunities for participation, is to implement a hybrid model, conducting offline and online processes simultaneously, both for proposal development and for voting. However, when this is done, it is not uncommon that the two processes occur in separate 'channels' that have little or no transmission belts between them (concurrent hybridity). A possible way to address the disconnect between offline and online PB is to transcend the concurrent hybridity model with an integrated hybridity that connects the two channels in an intentional manner. This would allow online deliberations to feed face-to-face deliberations throughout the process, and vice-versa, creating a more effective, creative and inclusive ideation process.

A significant tension: direct democracy or deliberative democracy?

Because of its relevance, the tension between deliberative and direct democracy in the practice of participatory budgeting deserves a lengthier discussion. This tension reflects a larger tension in the field of participatory democracy. In theory, participatory democracy should include two distinct features. The first is some degree of deliberation, which allows participants to engage in careful and informed discussions and to weigh the pros and cons of the issue under consideration before making a decision. The second feature is that decisions are made directly by the citizens themselves instead of through elected or appointed representatives. In the practice of participatory democracy, however, it is possible to find a wide spectrum in which deliberation and direct decision-making are present in different proportions. At one end of the spectrum are deliberative processes in which participants have the opportunity to discuss issues at length but do not make decisions. At the other end are direct democracy processes (e.g. ballot initiatives, referenda) in which participants are allowed to vote on important issues even if they don't have enough information. In the first case, the expectation is that the deliberation will nurture a more informed, respectful and critical citizenry who will be able to make good decisions on the issue under consideration and in the future. In the second case, the expectation is that citizens will find the relevant facts and arguments on their own and will be able to cast an informed vote.

A key question for debate behind this tension is whether the main pathway to improve participatory democracy is increasing civil dialogue or increasing political voice. In other words, is the main task to nurture a deliberative culture in society, or is it to put more power in the hands of ordinary citizens? The answer depends on the diagnosis of the main problem in participatory democracy processes. Deliberative democrats may argue that it is the high level of political polarization and the low level of informed, respectful and civil dialogue among people with different viewpoints. Direct democrats may claim that it is the low level of political efficacy of marginalized populations. If a healthy participatory democracy requires informed, critical and engaged citizens, on the one hand, and a more equal distribution of political capital among them, it is clear that both problems are equally important. Hence, it can be argued that in the practice of participatory budgeting it is necessary to combine the best elements of deliberative and direct democracy in the most effective way. This is easier said than done. In the real world of participatory budgeting, it is possible to find processes that emphasize deliberative democracy and others that pay more attention to direct democracy. In some places, only those who participate in deliberations (usually known as budget delegates) are allowed to vote. In other places, all residents over a certain age are allowed to vote, without any requirements of a prior engagement in deliberation or information about the proposals on the ballot.

This poses a challenge for participatory budgeting, because each model has strengths and weaknesses. The strength of the first model is that it maximizes the likelihood of a well-informed decision and at the same time cultivates deliberative capacities and political efficacy among participants. Its weakness is that the process is restricted to a very small number of individuals. An additional weakness is that the participants tend to be the 'usual suspects' (white, highly educated, wealthier, older) who already have political efficacy. This challenge could be solved with random sampling that reflects the demographics of the community, but this does not address the fact that the majority of the community members are excluded from the process. A regular rotation of participants in each budget cycle could increase the number of participants over time, but it would take hundreds of years to include the majority of residents. The main strength of the second model is that it encompasses both deliberation (budget delegates) and decision-making (voting by community members). The budget delegates discuss and refine proposals, but the final decision is in

the hands of the voters. The weakness of the model is that voters are not necessarily familiarized with the arguments raised in favor and against the different projects during the deliberation process, and hence it is exposed to the same criticisms that are often made to direct democracy. Indeed, in some participatory budgeting processes it was possible to identify a wide gap in knowledge about the projects between budget delegates and average voters, and in some cases, residents who joined at the last moment just to vote didn't know what PB was. Another weakness is that only a few participants would build civic and political skills through the process.

Given this situation, one of the tasks for the next generation of participatory budgeting is to better connect deliberation with decision-making. This could be done in two possible ways, which are not mutually exclusive. One is to adapt the Oregon's Citizen Initiative Review model to the particular context of participatory budgeting. Thus, once their deliberation is over, budget delegates could provide balanced information to voters about the pros and cons of all projects on the ballot. The other strategy is to promote facilitated discussions about the different projects through meetings, assemblies, fairs and online platforms before and during voting day. This is particularly relevant to school participatory budgeting initiatives, because they have an emphasis on development and civic learning but in many cases, the majority of students only become involved at the time of voting.

Summary and conclusions

Participatory budgeting is an interesting initiative because it addresses, in different proportions, the three themes of this book: participatory democracy, civic engagement, and citizenship education. First, it constitutes an interesting example of participatory democracy because it has been institutionalized and because it has been adopted by thousands of municipal governments around the world. This is particularly unusual for a model developed in the global south, as the usual flow of innovations in the world system is North-South. Second, it is an interesting example of civic engagement because it constitutes one of the few entry points that ordinary citizens have at the local level to participate in decisions that affect their lives beyond voting every four years. Moreover, it is one of the few participatory democracy initiatives that manage to engage a significant proportion of low-income groups and other groups usually underrepresented in local governance. Third, it provides multiple learning opportunities about municipal government, public budgets, local issues and democratic processes. The latter is particularly important, because there are few other spaces to learn democracy by doing. Due to these possibilities for experiential learning PB has been called a 'school of democracy' in which participants acquire a variety of civic and political knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and practices.

Of course, not all PB processes are alike. The more PB grows and morphs in different parts of the world, the more variation it is possible to observe in its design and implementation. In some contexts, PB makes clear contributions to citizen empowerment and good governance. In others, it may be considered a simulation game that results in tokenism and disempowerment. In any case, in both contexts, PB is not a smooth process. At it involves several constituencies, deals with the allocation of limited resources, and is constricted by institutional regulations, is usually conflict-ridden. These conflicts could be organized sequentially in four moments of the PB cycle: policy, design, process, and project implementation. It was precisely the aim of this paper to present and discuss some of those conflicts, examine the tensions that underline them, and propose possible ways to address a few of them. In terms of the contribution of PB to the theory and practice of participatory democracy, probably the key tension to be addressed in the near future is the one between deliberative democracy and direct democracy. PB has a dual mandate to make participation deep and wide, promoting both dialogue and empowerment. Moreover, because it is a solution-

oriented democratic innovation, it should pay attention to both the quality of the process and the impact of the outcomes. These series of balancing acts require a good deal of creativity and experimentation, collaborations between deliberative and direct democrats, and evaluation and research efforts.

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Chapter 17
Public engagement for public health: Participatory budgeting and infant mortality in Brazilian municipalities

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between operating participatory budgeting and public health, particularly regarding infant mortality in Brazilian municipalities. The results of the analysis show that municipalities with participatory programs enjoy better healthcare outcomes than their counterparts without participatory governance programs. This was possible because of the existence of specific rules that reinforce the connections between government officials and poor citizens in the participatory budgeting process.

Introduction

Brazilian citizens have witnessed dramatic improvements in their standard of living and access to basic public goods since the return to democracy in the mid-1980s. Reductions in poverty and improvements in public health are hallmarks of this era: public health indicators such as infant mortality have improved from 51/1,000 births in 1990 to 12 in 2013.[1] Scholars attribute such improvements to economic growth (Barros et al. 2010; Macinko & Lima Costa 2012; McGuire 2010; Victora et al., 2011), government efforts to engage the poor through the Family Health Program (Macinko et al., 2006) and conditional cash transfers (Rasella et al., 2013). These government-led programs are important for improving Brazilian healthcare outcomes, but we argue that they only account for part of the story. Our findings demonstrate that the adoption of a municipal-level participatory institution also explains the reduction in infant mortality. Participatory institutions provide new incentives and opportunities for public officials and citizens to work together to solve vital public health problems. We demonstrate the connection between Participatory Budgeting, one of several innovative, participatory institutions now operating in Brazil, and declining infant mortality at the municipal level.

Previous research highlights the importance of professionally run, technically sophisticated social programs for reducing infant mortality (Macinko et al., 2006; Macinko et al., 2007; Macinko 2015; Rasella et al., 2013). These are "supply-side institutions"– government officials determine which goods and services they should "supply" to citizens in order to address pressing social problems. In

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[1] World Bank: *World Development Indicators* 2015.

2011 *The Lancet* published a six-part series on improvements in public health in Brazil; two of the six articles focused on reductions in infant mortality. These articles focus on three government-led programs as being accountable for the reduction in infant mortality: The creation of the the Universal Health System (SUS) (Barreto et al., 2014; Paim, 2011; Victora et al., 2011), the adoption of Family Health Programs (PSF) (Dourado et al., 2011; Macinko et al., 2006; Macinko et al., 2007) and the implementation of the Family Grant Program (PBF) (Gilligan & Fruttero 2011; Rasella et al., 2013).

We complement this line of research by examining the role that "demand-side" institutions play in improving public health outcomes. "Demand-side" institutions allow for the ongoing engagement of citizens in multiple stages of the policy and budget cycle (Fox, 2015; Khagram et al., 2012; Mansuri & Rao, 2012; Touchton et al., 2017; Wampler, 2007, 2015). The direct incorporation of citizens through participatory budgeting generates three new forms of political engagement: (i) Citizens deliberate over and vote for specific social services and projects; (ii) information is exchanged among public officials and community leaders; and (iii) citizens monitor project implementation. Our most important contribution in this article is to demonstrate how the presence of one democratic institution affects health care outcomes. Contrary to the health-care related findings of Michael Ross in his provocatively titled article, "Is Democracy Good for the Poor," our results provide strong and compelling evidence that the direct incorporation of citizens in new democratic institutions has a profoundly positive impact on the lives of poor citizens, especially with regard to healthcare for women and their children (Ross, 2006).

Our second contribution is to extend the time-horizon of analysis of healthcare outcomes to 19 years, from 10 years (Mackino et al., 2006) or 5 years (Rasella et al., 2013). Our third contribution is to include a broad range of covariates that might also influence public health outcomes, including several dimensions of the local political, economic and geographic context in which government programs operate. Finally, we refine the analysis to identify four specific rule types within PB programs that are most strongly associated with a reduction in infant mortality.

Participatory budgeting

Brazilian governments have adopted an extensive participatory architecture over the past twenty-five years (Avritzer, 2009; Pires, 2011; Wampler, 2015). At the municipal level, the widely disseminated Participatory Budgeting (PB) program directly incorporates citizens into democratic, deliberative decision-making processes where citizens decide how to allocate public funds (Abers, 2002; Wampler, 2007). The funding amounts can represent up to 100% of all new capital spending projects and generally fall between 3 and 15% of the total municipal budget—not enough to radically change how cities spend limited resources but enough to generate meaningful change at the local level. Between 1990 and 2008, over 120 of Brazil's largest 250 cities adopted Participatory Budgeting and over half of Brazil's population lived in a municipality with PB at some point between 1990 and 2008.

Elected officials often support ongoing and direct citizen participation because it provides them the necessary legitimacy to alter spending patterns, develop new programs, mobilize citizens, expand their base of support or open murky policymaking processes to greater public scrutiny (Wampler, 2007). Civil society organizations and citizens are eager to be involved because the new institutions give them unprecedented access to policymaking venues, public budgets, and government officials and thus allow them to better advocate for particular policies (Avritzer, 2002, 2009; Baiocchi, Heller, & Silva 2011; Wampler, 2015). International development organizations often support direct public

participation in the hopes that these programs will improve efficiencies, reduce corruption, and empower citizens (Fox, 2015; Mansuri & Rao, 2012).

PB programs are popular among politicians, citizens, and international organizations, but a crucial question remains: Do these programs have a positive effect on social well-being? We conducted an ecological study to assess whether the municipal-level use of PB had an impact on Brazilian healthcare outcomes- a proxy for well-being. There was wide variation in the number of Brazilian municipalities that chose to adopt PB as well as for the number of years that they featured this adoption. Brazilian municipalities' experienced dramatic improvements in infant mortality during this era, while others witnessed more modest gains. We constructed a database that allows us to evaluate whether the use of PB contributes to improvements in infant mortality by first tracking the number of cities that adopted PB during each mayoral period from 1990 to 2008 (Spada, Wampler, Touchton, & Coelho, 2013; Wampler & Avritzer, 2005). We then collected a wide body of data on economics, health and education indicators, government spending, and elections, which lets us compare healthcare outcomes in municipalities that adopted PB with those in municipalities that did not- all while controlling for the, per capita municipal budget, the presence of a Workers' Party mayor and the municipality's geographic region.

We use propensity score matching as an identification strategy for causal inference. This strategy allows us to approximate a randomized experiment with treatment and control groups using observational data. Matching pre-processes our data to align original treatment groups with control groups that feature similar distributions of covariates (Stuart, 2010). This pre-processing generates matched pairs of observations, which allows us to isolate and evaluate the treatment effect on outcomes under investigation. This is because these more direct statistical controls increase the likelihood that the difference between treatment and control is one of the only differences present among observations that might systematically influence outcomes (Ho, Imai, King & Stuart, 2007). Thus, we can test hypotheses surrounding the use of PB as well as a variety of differences in PB program design on municipal healthcare outcomes- all in municipalities that are otherwise very similar to one another. For example, matching lets us test whether municipalities that adopt PB (the first treatment) exhibit systematically different infant mortality rates than municipalities that lack PB (the control) but are as similar as possible with regard to per capita income, the mayor's party, the length of time PB has been in place, and their geographic region. This strategy helps to address the possibility that municipalities that adopt PB may be predisposed to spend more on healthcare and sanitation and promote better service provision than cities that eschew PB. Any results connecting improvements in healthcare outcomes to PB might only reflect a particular municipality's desire to provide public goods and help the poor in general, rather than the influence of PB. Our matching strategy greatly ameliorates this concern prior to estimation, which we undertake using time-series cross-sectional regression with random effects and clustered standard errors in models 1-4 (Table 1).

We focus on infant mortality because it is a social policy area that is more susceptible to short-term change than other health care indicators such as life expectancy or hospital access (Aquino, De Oliviera, & Bareto, 2009).[2]

Table 2 lists the principal findings of our study. These results demonstrate that the adoption of PB has a positive and measurable impact on social indicators such as infant mortality. The marked improvements over time suggest the positive improvements in infant mortality were the result institutionalization of a new way of crafting, adopting, and implementing public policies. "Demand-

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[2] We found no significant effects of the presence of PB on longevity or hospital access.

side" institutions that mandate ongoing public participation improve the quality and expand the range of services being offered.

Table 1. Participatory budgeting and infant mortality 1989-2008

Variable	Model 1 Coef. (SE)	Model 2 Coef. (SE)	Model 3 Coef. (SE)	Model 4 Coef. (SE)
Participatory Budgeting	-0.915** (0.308)			
Early PB Adopters		-2.149** (0.151)		
Middle PB Adopters			-1.368** (0.175)	
Late Adopters				-0.527** (0.126)
Per Capita Municipal Budget (Logged)	-3.184** (0.235)	-4.610** (0.593)	-4.092** (0.312)	-4.313** (0.459)
Population (Logged)	-0.041 (0.171)	0.043 (0.043)	-0.037 (0.035)	-0.088 (-0.062)
Party of the Mayor	-1.569 (0.371)	-2.308 (0.189)	-1.294 (0.263)	-1.235** (0.047)
Infant Mortality (Lagged)	0.249** (0.012)	0.300** (0.074)	0.221** (0.047)	0.235** (0.032)
Northeast Brazil	1.253** (0.302)	1.972** (0.399)	1.049 (0.564)	1.805 (1.431)
Southeast Brazil	0.016 (0.013)	0.023 (0.018)	0.008 (0.006)	0.017 (0.013)
Central Brazil	0.435 (0.380)	0.521 (0.365)	0.394 (0.278)	0.457 (0.412)
Amazonian Brazil	1.908** (0.318)	1.277** (0.304)	1.022 (0.529)	1.310** (0.337)
Constant	36.091** (2.640)	37.832** (4.319)	36.180** (3.186)	37.035** (3.157)
N	1,196	1,196	1,196	1,196
F	56.67*	58.32*	56.59*	56.01*
Root MSE	4.962	4.641	5.007	4.954
Adjusted R^2	0.281	0.283	0.272	0.273

Note. Clustered Standard Errors were used above.
*indicates significance at better than 0.05 (two-tailed test).
** indicates significance at better than 0.01 (two-tailed test).

Table 2. Effects of PB

	Health & Sanitation spending	Infant mortality	# of Civil Society Organizations
Presence of PB	5% increase	15% decrease	10% increase
10 years of PB	25% increase	33% decrease	19% increase
PB + Workers' Party Mayor	41% increase	31% decrease	21% increase

However, research on PB also demonstrates considerable variation among the quality and impact of PB programs (Baiocchi et al., 2011; Goldfrank, 2011, Wampler, 2007). The aforementioned results were based on two facets of how we measured PB: (a) a dichotomous variable of whether a municipality adopted PB or not during a given mayoral term (e.g., 1997-2001) and (b) a longitudinal variable that tracked this over five mayoral terms (1989-1992; 1993-1996; 1997-2001; 2002-2005; 2006-2009). Until now, we had no way to systematically measure internal variation among PB programs that might help to identify differences between PB programs. We address the question of whether PB program design further explains variation in healthcare outcomes in the second half of this article by narrowing the research terrain to municipalities that already use PB.

94 cases of PB

We administrated a survey in 2012 to PB administrators in the 94 municipalities that we identified as using PB in our original dataset (which included municipalities with at least 100,000 resident). The 94 represent 90% of municipalities with PB in 2012. The 94 responses to this survey gave us additional information about the number of participants, internal rules, resources allocated for negotiation and supporting activities in these programs (e.g., providing transportation to meetings). We then linked this "Internal PB" database to our database of Brazil's 250 largest municipalities to assess which rules or activities might help reduce infant mortality among these already highly performing cities.[3]

We also use propensity score matching to preprocess the data and isolate a series of PB design treatments that are present in some municipalities, but absent in others. We can then test whether municipalities using these different treatments, e.g., giving municipal legislators veto power over PB votes, produce different infant mortality rates than municipalities that lack such veto power (the control). Like with the use of PB above, these treatment effects occur between municipalities that are as similar as possible on other dimensions such as per capita income, the mayor's party, the length of time PB has been in place and their geographic region. We then use OLS regression with clustered standard errors to estimate the relationship between PB design and infant mortality.

Our results identify four PB rules that are associated with lower municipal levels of infant mortality. First, municipalities exhibit lower levels of infant mortality when PB participants vote to fund more "social services" projects than new capital outlays (e.g., "brick and mortar") projects. There are three

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[3] We assume the rules for each municipality's PB program remained constant throughout the local electoral cycle when we administered our survey (2009-2012). We are wary of extending this assumption farther back in time because of the likelihood previous mayoral administrations or municipal legislatures used different rules to govern participatory budgeting.

Table 3. Spending choices in PB, PB design, and infant mortality 2008-2012

Variable	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)	Coef. (SE)
Social Spending Choices	-0.20** (0.03)			
Quality of Life Index		-0.24** (0.02)		
City Council Veto			-0.18* (0.08)	
Workshops for Delegates				-0.21** (0.03)
Per Capita Municipal Income (Logged)	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Mayor's Party	-0.14** (0.03)	-0.11** (0.01)	-0.15** (0.03)	-0.12* (0.05)
PB Time	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.05* (0.01)
PB Percent of Budget	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Constant	3.28** (0.11)	3.07** (0.09)	3.41** (0.17)	3.39** (0.18)
N	94	94	94	94
Observations	349	345	341	353
F	28.84	26.53	28.1	31.44
Prob >F	0	0	0	0
R^2	0.39	0.41	0.38	0.52

Note. Standard Errors are Clustered on the Municipality *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

central reasons why this emphasis on social services produces the stronger effects: (a) Citizens select specific social projects that they expect will have a more immediate impact; (b) citizens signal their policy preferences to government officials, who use that information as they design social programs beyond PB; (c) programs develop ongoing ties among government officials and community leaders, which decreases the informational asymmetries that so commonly plague state-society relations as well as forming strong connections.

Second, municipalities have lower levels of infant mortality when they use a "Quality of Life Index" to distribute funding within PB. These indexes ensure that neighborhoods with lower public infrastructure and lower per capita wealth receive a greater per capita level funding through the PB program. The presence of a "Quality of Life Index" explicitly addresses the idea that poor communities, where infant mortality is likely to be highest, will face the greatest organizational hurdles to securing resources and public goods in a representative democracy (Ross 2006; Wampler 2015). The reason these indexes are associated with lower infant mortality is two-fold: (a) Poorer citizens have a direct, clear incentive to participate, which then enables these citizens to send signals to government officials; (b) governments commit to investing additional resources in the neediest areas, which broadens the breadth of social service coverage. Therefore, democratic institutions can

work well for poorer communities if the rules are crafted to ensure that these communities are able to have access to policy-making venues.

Table 4. Infant mortality

	Infant mortality
Social service spending	10% decrease
Quality of Life Index	13% decrease
Legislative Veto	9% decrease
Informational Workshop	14% decrease

Third, and perhaps most surprising, municipalities where the municipal legislature has veto power over PB funding decisions also exhibit lower levels of infant mortality. This was an unexpected finding because we had believed that an expanded role for legislators in PB programs might contribute to their attempt to insert clientelistic relations into the policy negotiation process. Based on our findings, we now believe that the veto power is associated with lower levels of infant mortality because municipal legislators are less threatened by this new form of citizen participation if the legislators have the opportunity to veto ill-conceived policy proposals. We also believe that this rule affects the voting strategies of PB citizen-participants. When participants understand that their policy decisions may be rejected, they may choose to vote for a wider array of public goods rather than particularistic goods that mainly affect a small number of people.

Finally, we found that municipalities that hold informational workshops for elected "PB Delegates" have lower levels of infant mortality. Informational workshops often provide community leaders with basic technical and policy-making skills. Our results suggest that it is more important for governments to provide these workshops for elected "PB Delegates" rather than for ordinary citizens. Thus, the largest impact on healthcare outcomes stems from practical, technical-oriented education for the community leaders empowered to represent their neighborhoods in PB votes.

Conclusion

Our results demonstrate that the widespread emphasis on the direct, public participation of citizens in new democratic institutions appears to be justified: We find that municipalities with participatory programs enjoy better healthcare outcomes than similar municipalities without participatory governance programs. We also find that there are specific rules that reinforce the connections between government officials and poor citizens, which contributes to additional improvements in infant mortality among municipalities that use PB. The implication is that designing PB programs that (a) encourage the selection of social policies, (b) provide explicit incentives for poorer citizens to be involved, and (c) educate/empower community leaders through informational workshops will then generate the greatest impact on healthcare performance.

Over the past twenty years, "participatory institutions" have spread around the world (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012; Sintomer et al., 2012). Political reformers and international organizations (e.g., World Bank, USAID, UN-Habitat) promote venues for public participation in the hopes that they will generate more accountable governments, strengthen social networks, improve public services and inform voters (Fox, 2015; Goldfrank, 2011). In sum, the evidence indicates that the efforts of

political parties, social movements, and international organizations to improve public health by promoting direct citizen participation in policymaking venues are justifiable. When public health officials across the world are seeking to adopt new participatory programs, they would do well to ensure that there are specific incentives to encourage the participation of individuals and groups from traditionally marginalized, politically weak communities. The evidence also suggests that participatory programs are a vital part of building better institutions that change how governments allocate their limited resources as they seek to improve social well-being.

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PART II

CIVIC
ENGAGEMENT

Chapter 18

International indigenous youth cooperative: A youth education-employment initiative

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Abstract

Indigenous people, who are closely connected to the lands, waters and wildlife, through millennia of adaptation and inventive association, have essential knowledge to share with those who have become distanced from the habitats they came from. The survivance of autochthonous cultures through intergenerational conduct of cultural practice and spirituality is profoundly affected by fundamental physical factors of resilience related to food, water, and energy security, and the intergenerational participation of youth. Indigenous youth, who are the critical generation for biocultural survivance, have an immense role to play in helping their communities and cultures maintain their integrity and thrive into the future. In this article I envision a novel way that the work of indigenous youth can be expedited: through the creation of a self-sustaining youth-owned and operated enterprise – indigenous youth cooperative, that provides needed services to help communities adapt to and mitigate the increasingly variable, unpredictable, and dangerous effects and impacts of global heating and climate disruption. It is an egalitarian and participatory program of civic engagement, education, and youth employment with multiple benefits for youth, community, and environment.

Introduction

Indigenous peoples face continued encroachment and settlement in the environmental spaces in which they are biologically and culturally embedded. Climate disruption, along with socio-economic pressures, threaten relationships that constitute the biocultural diversity and richness that colors the beautiful tapestry of nature. (Maffi, 2005, 2007). As inheritors of the consequences of these challenges, indigenous youth are the essential agents in helping their cultures adapt and mitigate the effects of climate disruption, ensuring that the myriad biocultural relationships such as physical, spiritual, linguistic relationships, which their people maintain with the lands and waters remain healthy for future generations. Adapting and enhancing traditional knowledge systems with modern tools, technologies and techniques to develop food, water, and energy security will help assure the continued transmission of cultural heritage from current elders to future generations. Accelerating and converging socio-economic and environmental trends mark the nexus of the next decades as hyper-critical for the transformation of roles across generations. Indigenous youth are vital to the successful development of indigenous cultural survivance. This article presents an approach to empowering indigenous youth to catalyze and manifest changes that will help actualize successful intergenerational transmission of their unique cultures.

As an instructor of indigenous, high-school aged youth for 31 years, focusing on local community-based curriculum development, my experience has been that many indigenous youth today wish to participate more wholly in the strengthening, preservation, and continuance of their cultures. If given the love, support and opportunities to actively do so, they would dedicate their energies to restoring, revitalizing and strengthening their indigenous relationships with the natural, non-human world. This process contrasts with relationships that are externally imposed through mainstream economic marketing and manipulation, involving synthetic materials, disrespect, and degradation of the natural environment. Threats to cultural integrity, in magnitudes perhaps never before experienced, are multiplying rapidly as social, political, and economic forces combine to encircle the planet in a shroud of conformity. The diversity of cultural, place-based wisdom that supports and promotes the healthy maintenance of respectful relationships with natural environments is critical to a healthy future for all humanity, and must involve the youth who will inherit the conditions that challenge the continuance of culture, the fluent practice of native language, and the perpetuation of customs and respectful relationships that are integral to culture.

International indigenous youth cooperative

The International Indigenous Youth Cooperative project is developing as a youth-owned and operated business enterprise, which will provide needed environmental and community sustainability services to indigenous populations in response to corporate, state, and settler encroachment. It anticipates and responds to further impacts, stresses and threats to community, culture, and environment by the increasingly unpredictable and severe manifestations of global heating-induced climate changes and their manifestations in disruptions of cyclical lands and waters life patterns.

The IIYC will engage the youth in the indigenous community who have not had positive experiences on which to base their interests in state imposed education systems, the youth who do not have a clear idea of a future path, and the culturally motivated youth who wish to stay close to home to continue to learn and practice their culture. Youth participants will receive education and training in a variety of disciplines and associated technologies that will increase their skill base and self-esteem, allow them to discover and develop their interests and talents, and give them the experience of being valued and productive community members. Their experiences will increase their prospects for further education and career development, while they prosper through gainful employment to deliver needed services to help shape and build a lasting and positive future for the community they are a part of, strengthening communal continuity and resilience.

The IIYC does not exist separately from, or in competition with, established community institutions. Rather, the aim is that it exists complementarily and be socially embedded. There is no drain on local coffers, as it does not rely on precious community economic resources. It enriches community by promoting and implementing solutions that save resources, keeping them in the community. Its function within community and environment is to heal and fortify. The worker-owners will develop productive relationships with others who are within and without community, personnel of government agencies and private landholders who are stakeholders within the ancestral domains, helping to build consensus for actions that are respectful of relationships with the natural world and responsible to future generations.

The organizational model for Indigenous Youth Cooperative is the Workers Self-Directed Enterprise (WSDE) (Wolff, 2012). As a youth owned and operated, workers self-directed enterprise, IIYC responds to all of the 10 key messages from the 2012 International Year of Cooperatives: 1) cooperative enterprises build a better world; 2) are member owned, member serving and member driven; 3) empower people; 4) improve livelihoods and strengthen the economy; 5) enable

sustainable development; 6) promote rural development; 7) balance both social and economic demands; 8) promote democratic principles; 9) are a pathway out of poverty; 10) are a sustainable business model for youth (USDESA-DSPD, 2012). In addition, IIYC expands on these to include environmental and cultural benefits to create a quadruple bottom line - financial, social, environmental and cultural. The worker cooperative enterprise model is more naturally aligned with indigenous community dynamics, philosophies and knowledge systems than individualistic and competitive capitalist business models (Gonzales & Phillips, 2014; Sengupta, Vieta, & McMurtry, 2015). The work of the IIYC and participation by community youth would yield multiple benefits to community, and include: creating a viable mechanism to address the severe problem of youth unemployment; model an emerging business model that is self-directed by employees; promote intergenerational family and community-strengthening communications and relations; build environmentally progressive consensus between indigenous populations and other watershed and habitat stakeholders; help generate a practical valuing of indigenous world views and life-ways; and help preserve the species diversity and natural attributes of the landscapes in which Indigenous populations continue to live. This is a form of social pedagogy that is emancipatory, progressive, and youth-empowering. (Schugurensky & Silver, 2013)

Key components for the comprehensive success of IIYC are water security (Water), food security (Earth), energy security (Fire), and community-supportive and dynamic communications (Air). The following Table outlines some of the potential tasks for IIYC owner-employees, organized as a Comprehensive Community Climate Change Profile, Prospectus and Praxis, as they help their communities meet the adaptation and mitigation challenges posed by rapidly evolving social, environmental, economic, and governance conditions.

Table 1. Comprehensive Community Climate Change Profile, Prospectus and Praxis (C4P3)

Community-Supportive Priority	International Indigenous Youth Cooperative Activities	Research / Data Implications	Impacts
Water Water Security	assess baseline home and community water use	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[KG] [CB]
	reduce water waste, improve efficiency		[EI] [KG] [CB]
	identify, assess, project, and ameliorate contamination	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	plan and implement sustainable solutions and economical alternative scenarios	GIS	[KG]
	assess habitats, assay biodiversity	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	assess, plan, manage watershed natural attributes and human impacts	Ql. Qnt.	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	prioritize problems; implement stakeholder-unifying,		[EI] [KG]

	economically viable solution measures		[CB]
	monitor water rights, law, policy, and legislative action		[KG] [CB]
Earth Food Security	research and document agricultural practices, technologies, economics	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
	evaluate and model current and potential agricultural production, practices and problems	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
	inventory arable lands, irrigation	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[KG] [CB]
	assess, mitigate and control erosion	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	conserve, condition and build soil; research and experiment with soil technologies	Ql. Qnt.	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	research and implement energy and water-efficient, season-extending greenhouse technologies	Ql. Qnt.	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	provide physical, technical and clerical assistance for farmers	GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	catalogue, protect, preserve, track, distribute community and culturally significant seeds	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[KG] [CB]
Fire Energy Security	audit, with community participation, household, neighborhood, and community energy use	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
	analyze, model, extrapolate and project energy costs / benefits	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
	implement and adjust energy conservation and efficiency technologies	Ql. Qnt.	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	evaluate alternative energy resources and apply appropriate technologies	Ql. Qnt.	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	promote cultural, institutional, and personal conservation practices		[EI] [CB]
Air Communicatio-ns	assess and improve air quality (e.g. wood burning stoves in homes / asthma epidemiology)	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	carry out 'radio' / streaming community communications teaching and learning projects		[CB]
	promote intergenerational and community integrative culture transmission, interviews, IKS promotion, language		[KG] [CB]

	facilitate comprehensive household / neighborhood modeling for water and energy 'footprint' reduction	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
	raise awareness of, promote participation with, disseminate results of Indigenous Youth Cooperative projects		[CB]
	produce educational and community supportive Public Service messages		[CB]
	cover current events, political events, venues and special appearances		[CB]
	provide website development and communications technology support services, and other data services	Ql. Qnt.	[KG] [CB]
Health	conduct community composite modeling of health risks and issues	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[KG] [CB]
	develop community toxic chemical inventory	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	develop a database and clearinghouse for healthy chemical alternatives	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[EI] [KG] [CB]
	conduct health problem and solution research	Ql. Qnt. GIS	[KG]
	identify economical, efficient, intergenerational, and culturally sensitive health-building measures	Ql. Qnt.	[KG]
	supplement health education and awareness services		[KG] [CB]
	elucidate relationship between healthy environment and individual and community health		
	assist health providers		[CB]

Note: 1. The table presents examples of community-supportive activities for development by International Indigenous Youth Cooperative personnel, their research and data implications, and their potential impacts.
2. Ql. – Qualitative research; Qnt. – Quantitative research; GIS – Geographical Information System data management.
3. [EI] – on the ground Environmental Impacts; [KG] – Knowledge Generation; [CB] – direct and indirect Community Benefits.

IIYC and the United Nations sustainable development goals

Ending poverty, improving health, increasing employment and education availability, ensuring water, food, and energy security, conservation and sustainable use of natural resources. These are all important themes of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.[1] The IIYC and its potential activities intersects many of the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals, and their associated targets. An example that speaks to civic engagement and participatory decision-making is this target of Goal 16 *Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels*.[2]

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[1] http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/
[2] http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice/

The organizational structure of the IIYC, as a youth-owned and operated enterprise, and its use of culturally sensitive and respectful research (Wilson, 2008; Walter and Andersen, 2013) and implementation practices, as well as its inclusive engagement of Indigenous community members across generations in participatory decision-making, amplify these goals with respect to their applicability to indigenous peoples and the environments they inhabit. The IIYC creates a way to engage indigenous communities in the long-term protection, preservation, and promotion of biological systems and cultural diversity that is implicit in the aims of the Sustainable Development Goals and Targets.

Discussion: Multiple benefits

Indigenous youth benefit from being appreciated for their contributions to the survivance of their communities and cultures. Young indigenous people often leave their communities because they lack opportunities for employment. Along with the other stressors that fractionate indigenous communities, the absence of viable employment options leads many to seek a future outside of their ancestral domains among foreign cultures with different knowledge systems. This further removes them from the daily intergenerational activities that are the currency of culture. Those that are drawn to remain with their families and communities need ways to productively engage while providing livelihoods that are sustaining to their families, elders and children.

If youth are supported to ensure healthy food, through sustainable agriculture and animal management, then they will choose to remain, keeping traditional knowledge alive while taking advantage of other beneficial technologies that advantage production. If supported to ensure clean water availability they will be connected to essential life giving aspects of culture and knowledge derived over many generations. If allowed to contribute to community energy sustainability through the implementation of sustainable energy production technologies, which neither compromise the natural environment, nor impoverish the economic resources of the community, then they contribute to the overall strength and resilience of the community in unprecedented times when peoples worldwide are increasingly called upon to do the same. If they have the resources to develop networks of communication to support cultural practices, as well as interventions that strengthen sovereignty and cultural and economic self-determination, then they establish and legitimize their role in cultural survivance in a changing and challenging world.

By helping to maintain the health and well-being of their community members, their language, cultural traditions, customs, and relationships with natural elements through active mitigation of threats and adaptation to changing environmental and social conditions in ways that are consistent with cultural integrity, youth will have a sense that they are valued by their community for their contributions and will feel justified and emboldened to assume roles of leadership in confronting external forces that threaten their unique way of life. They will understand that they are the critical generation for the survivance of their unique culture in unprecedented and dangerous times, and that there is power in self-determination that overcomes the victimization and exploitation of state imposed policies that rely on a population that is uninformed, fractionated, dispersed, and incoherent. Generational continuity of language, cultural customs, and traditions is the strongest deterrent to absorption within the mainstream social and economic paradigms that are based on materialism and mass consumption.

When youth are actively engaged in learning from their elders, adapting their ancestral teachings about the essential elements of survival to new challenges in unprecedented times, and creating the framework of resilience which future generations can build upon to carry on and represent their language and culture into the future, and when they are actively caring for and maintaining the

integrity of their lands and waters, the combined qualities and characteristics of health and strength in the people and the natural world are physically and spiritually positioned to resist and challenge those forces that would take their natural resources. Survivance of indigenous peoples, and the cultures and languages they maintain, depends upon the active involvement and engagement of their youth. The IIYC seeks to create a sustainable mechanism by which indigenous youth can concentrate their energies on the survivance of their unique cultures. It requires learning about and adapting the most beneficial aspects of modern social and technological trends with the wise care and stewardship of nature.

Through active involvement of young people in cultural survivance, adult elders psychically and spiritually benefit from knowing that their culture will have a stronger possibility of being faithfully carried forward to future generations. The community's children benefit from having positive cultural role models, teachers and leaders in their near-peers. Young people themselves benefit from having a stronger sense of purpose and accomplishment, and from the sense of satisfaction that comes from learning and preserving ancestral cultural practices and knowledge. The community benefits from gaining a stronger sense of identity which can exert itself forcefully in the face of external challenges. Lands and waters, and their non-human inhabitants benefit from revitalized, fortified, and nurtured relationships with their human protectors. The world benefits from the maintenance of cultural diversity, which strengthens the survivance potential of all its inhabitants. Future generations benefit from the demonstration that strength and resilience is unity, and unity is diversity.

Conclusion

The beneficial and productive employment of youth in the service of community may not have been necessary when youth grew up side by side with adults, learning skills, language, and practicing culture. Today, external forces fracture culture, currents of continuity become fragile, language suffers, webs of relationships weaken, and affecting all of the inhabitants of the air, lands, and waters.

When youth are given the opportunity and support to wholeheartedly accept responsibility there is very little they cannot accomplish, but they cannot fulfill it without the help of elders. When young people grow up seeing their older brothers, sisters, aunties, uncles, cousins, friends productively engaged in healing, protecting, preserving, preparing their communities, lands and waters - activities connecting the youngest with the eldest that are "good, true, right, and beautiful (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009, p. 4)", they will want to help. When a community generates its own energy, grows its own food, caring for lands, waters, relatives, it is healthier, more resilient, better able to weather challenges coming from different directions. The young people in a community such as this are better prepared for leadership and perpetuating language, culture and knowledge.

The context of climate change calls upon all to act, regardless of the degree of colonization, to preserve the lands and waters for future generations. Acting proactively to adapt to, and mitigate the effects of, climate change is an act, a position of power, claiming the authority to respectfully and responsibly respond to the reactions of Mother Nature to damaging, harmful human practices. By praxis sensitive to the holistic and respectful considerations of Indigenous Knowledge Systems towards nonhumans in the environment, and informed by leading edge progress in the use of emerging technologies, young people can reverse the loss of caring that is the result of generational exposure to Euro-American social and economic currents, begin to heal the generational gap in the continuity of culture from elders to future generations, and strengthen the "explicit cultural support for a symmetrical relation between humans and other animals (Bang, Medin, & Atran, 2007, p.

13869)". This seizing of initiative and claiming of the locus of power and action has the potential to redefine relationships between Indigenous peoples and the states of governance they are within.

Sometimes there is a feeling of powerlessness that comes with becoming informed of the degree to which conditions have worsened. This has been called "well-informed futility syndrome" (Steingraber, 2013, p. xvi), and the implication is that since things are so bad, there is nothing that can be done. It is inherent in the praxis of the IIYC that young people will challenge and refute this syndrome with their own well-informed action consciousness. When actions are good, true, right, beautiful, and culturally integrated, self-esteem of involved youth has a positive and infectious effect on community self-esteem.

Youth that live in community and work for the betterment of community, heal community. There can be little doubt that a majority of the world's unemployed youth would eagerly seize the opportunity to work close to a peaceful home, because of familial and social relationships, and the place-based learning context that learning and practicing language and culture requires. Youth can revitalize community, in concert with all other generations, involving collective expressions of warm hearted creativity. The participatory organizational wildfire of acting young people cleaning, protecting, preserving, and generating the elements of survivance, with the time, love and support to continue - Water, Earth, Fire and Air - combine with youthful foresight perspective and energetic action to grow solutions based in the envisioned prospect of a healthy future for all.

Natural systems thrive when diversity is rich. With youth, the importance of diversity is more evident. Individual gifts, talents, and qualities of genius, guided by spirituality, are the currency of cultural survivance. A community that values and encourages the plurality of youth raises youth who feel connected to the transmittance of culture. Songs, dances, and ceremonies that reify and respect cycles of time and elements, expressing reverence for the support and integral association of other species, verify the multiplicity of a unified reality and the concerted effort of mutual and collaborative "ecological survivance" (Ericson, 2017, p. 196).

Youth engagement intersects multiple arenas of action. Spiritual leadership desires community health and for youth to be whole-heartedly engaged in community survivance. In between ceremonies, songs and dances, active engagement with surrounding nature through observation and attention, focused on protection and healing, strengthens the heart with which dances and songs are performed and sung, language is practiced, culture is nurtured, and youth are richly engaged.

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Chapter 19

Turbovote 2014: A student voter engagement story

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Abstract

This project reports the process, results, and recommendations for a citizen engagement initiative among Arizona State University students. In 2014, the university partnered with TurboVote (TV), a national technology company that engages students in the voting process. The engagement platform provides a vehicle for registering to vote online, sending regular election calendars to participants, providing early voting and absentee voting ballots, and communicating reminders regarding voting location and process for members of the electorate between the ages of 18 and 29 who are enrolled at colleges and universities in the United States. The university-wide initiative was supported by volunteer students, assigned classroom students, and student organizations that were responsible for the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the project. This collaborative project included classroom activities, campus events, administration and faculty involvement, social media, and other forms of communication and outreach to achieve the project objectives. The value of this initiative is both strategic and long-term for electoral politics in America. Young citizens, specifically college and university students who are engaged in the voting process early in their political socialization, are more inclined to vote on a regular basis, actively participate in electoral politics, and be involved in the public policy process in their communities and nationally as they continue through life. This report concludes that ASU TurboVote contributed to voter engagement for the next generation. ASU placed 9th in total student registration on the list of over 200 higher education institutions that participated during the 2014 election process.

Introduction

At the end of the spring 2014 semester, I was asked by our College dean to be the project manager for introducing TurboVote to Arizona State University. At the time,

- Nobody at ASU knew about TurboVote and there was no project organization.
- Students were studying for their finals and were making plans to leave campus for the summer.
- We had missed an opportunity to include informational materials in all new and in-coming student packets.
- There was virtually no budget.
- We were not going to see our students again until the end of August, a short time before the national and state-wide elections.

Despite all of these initial challenges, this is the story of a successful student engagement project.

What is Turbovote (TV)

TV is an online tech start-up. The program 1) provides a vehicle for registering to vote online, 2) sends regular election calendars to students, 3) provides early voting and absentee voting ballots, and 4) communicates reminders regarding voting location and process.

In general, TurboVote engages the student in the entire voting process from registration to ballot. There is no cost for a student to join and it takes about two minutes to register. The company was founded in 2010 by a couple of young Harvard graduates who wanted to change the world. Within a few years, this innovative voting tool was being used on over 200 college and university campuses across the country.

The importance of student voting

For all segments of the electorate, voter registration, interest, commitment, and participation could and should be stronger. Young people, both college students and others who are pursuing jobs and careers between the ages of 18 and 29, make up a significant part of the electorate but are the least committed to the voting process. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, young people consistently vote at lower rates than all of the other age groups in the country. The record for youth voter registration and actual voting is even lower in the minority populations.

TurboVote has proven to be an effective means to introduce young citizens to the voting process and to keep them engaged in the democratic process as they continue their personal and professional lives.

Studies have shown that there are issues that affect voting in general and among young people specifically. Young people are more likely to vote if the following occur:

- If the individual is registered to vote.

- If the individual is contacted by or receives communications from candidates, parties, and others in the election process.

- If the individual is aware of how to vote, when to vote, and where to vote.

- If there are proactive, ambitious education and promotion programs that contact individuals and encourage them to vote.

- If voting is an integral part of the individual's home orientation.

The kickoff

In mid-summer an introductory brainstorming session was scheduled, and a handful of students who were around during the summer became part of an informal student group to advise ASU on the development and introduction of the project. Forty great ideas were generated in the subject areas of communications, university administration, events and activities, student organizations, faculty and classes. When the fall semester began, a back-to-school organizational meeting generated additional ideas, commitments, materials, and volunteers for the project.

TurboVote in the classroom

Because the ASU College of Public Programs took the initiative to introduce the project

to the entire university, my classes, Public Service and Policy in the 21st Century and Introduction to

Urban America were designated as the university's initial classroom vehicles for developing an implementation plan and for achieving the project's objectives.

Students in these classes were provided several opportunities to support the program objectives and received credit for their efforts:

In-Class Brainstorming Session. Students were requested to provide implementation ideas as part of an in-class group brainstorming session. About 80 students identified 140 ideas; approximately 100 were unique and not duplicative of the summer suggestions.

Student Personal Commitment. Students were requested to provide "one idea that you would like to do or activity in which you would like to participate." Students who participated in an activity received up to 25 bonus points depending on the time, impact, measurement, effort, etc. of the activity.

Student Registration/National Registration Day. Students were required to participate in National Voter Registration Day by registering a minimum of ten ASU students on their own time, at any time of the day, at their own convenience. Students were encouraged to solicit registrations in their other classes, in their organization meetings, and other venues where students congregated.

This was an extremely productive activity. Because students were not restricted to traditional sign-up activities, they had the freedom to "go where the voters are." Students were encouraged to incorporate the exercise into their daily and weekly schedules by talking to their fellow students in their own environments.

Outreach to Other Classes. In addition to the two designated courses, ASUTurboVote was successfully introduced to several other classes throughout the university. Students in my classes, as part of their personal commitment, received permission from faculty in various schools and colleges to provide a brief introduction of the project to classmates and to register students if time was available.

Student activities, organizations and networks

Students who were involved in the core activities (planning, brainstorming, implementation, etc.) were a limited resource for the project. In a university of approximately 90,000 students, it is virtually impossible for a handful of dedicated students to "do it all." As with all students, the core group of individuals also all had classes, jobs, families, and other commitments.

Students in my courses also used their organizations and networks as part of their personal commitment activities. They made presentations to their clubs, fraternities and sororities, sports teams, dance groups, etc. They also participated in several community engagement activities including Civic Action Night, information tables, social media platforms, and door-to-door outreach.

To further the collaborative spirit, ASUTurboVote, Common Sense Action, the Andrew Goodman Foundation and Undergraduate Student Government on Tempe campus agreed to combine resources to work together on voter registration and voter education activities.

University administration, faculty, and staff support

ASUTurboVote was fortunate to have the support of Jonathan Koppell, Dean of College of Public Service and Community Solutions. Through the Dean's Office, the project received guidance, encouragement, and support from several executive staff members. These individuals strengthened the project with their personal commitment, the administration's credibility, and the availability of

facilities and other resources.

Because the project started later in the election cycle with virtually no warm-up time and limited resources, the objective to involve the university president, college deans, and other administrative leaders was not achieved. This was unfortunate as the visible support and involvement of university leadership would have been valuable and impactful. There is no doubt that university leadership would have been willing, dedicated, and active participants if it were not for the greater objective to focus on registering students this year.

Social media

Prior to the Arizona voter registration deadline, messages were created and posted on Facebook, Twitter, and email. The messages reminded students of the registration deadline, encouraged students to register if they had not already done so, and promoted the ASUTurboVote vehicle as a means to register. These messages were forwarded through these social media communications to classmates, friends, and all people within their "circle of life."

In addition, a sliding banner was created and displayed on the MyASU Blackboard portal before the Arizona voter registration deadline to attract students' attention and automatically connect students to ASUTurboVote for registration.

Challenges identified and resolved

In addition to the initial challenges mentioned earlier, there were several other challenges that emerged during the project.

A student registration "blip" initially diminished the number of ASUTurboVote registrants. After several students were registered through classroom outreach programs, it was noticed that the ASUTurboVote registration numbers were considerably less than the number of identified registrants. It was brought to our attention that it was essential for all registration to be processed through "ASUTurboVote" rather than the general "TurboVote" site. This distinction resulted in several ASU students being registered in a different credit category that did not recognize ASU as the partner. TurboVote headquarters in Brooklyn manually identified registrants in Arizona and reprocessed.

We also rectified an online password "blip" that misidentified ASU's location, identity, and institution name. The TurboVote organization initially assigned ASU a password identifying the university with the University of Arizona in Tucson, Arizona. Concern was expressed about the inaccuracy of this identification, the potential miss assignment of registrants, and the lack of understanding about the independence and location of both institutions. Several communications were required to clarify the confusion between the universities in the cities of Phoenix and Tucson and to explain to our New Yorker colleagues the names and locations of the two universities. It was necessary to note to the TurboVote staff (based in Brooklyn, New York) that Phoenix and Tucson are like Brooklyn and Albany for them to comprehend the extent of the error. After the situation was resolved, a new password was approved.

Arizona has two voting registration forms: 1) the general Arizona Voter Registration form for all elections (federal, state, and local), and 2) the federal voting registration form, which allows the registrant to only vote for federal offices, not state or local. We needed to ensure that the federal voter form was not being used as that would have disenfranchised ASU voters for everything but federal positions.

Although the syllabi and course material for Public Service and Policy in the 21st Century and Introduction to Urban America very clearly stated the project purpose and student responsibilities, the student course evaluation included some negative comments about the inclusion of the TurboVote project as part of the curriculum and classroom activities. Some of the concerns expressed were: 1) participation in activities outside classroom hours, 2) unfair time commitment requirements, 3) social discomfort approaching other students for registration activities, 4) project unrelated to course topic, and 5) impact on final grade. Although about 90% of the students actively participated in the exercises and received either full—or nearly full—credit for meeting the objectives, attention must be given to the minority of students who expressed negative aspects of the project in the classroom. Suggestions for improvement were included in the Classroom Ideas for 2015 in the full report to the Dean.

In September, it came to our attention that a second TurboVote partnership had been established at ASU with Common Sense Action (CSA). CSA is a national organization that seeks to advance generational fairness, invests in millennial mobility, and seeks to repair politics. Although no conflict occurred, both organizations had a university-wide presence and were approaching the same students, at the same time, in the same locations, and competing for the same customers. The situation was quickly and easily resolved by an informal agreement to combine registration results to produce one registration number for ASU.

Conclusions

The fall 2014 TurboVote effort at Arizona State University was successful. We signed up 683 students. ASU placed 9th on the list of over 200 higher education institutions that participated. We outranked many notable institutions, such as Harvard, Purdue, Washington University in St. Louis, Georgetown University, and New York University.

While the number of registered ASUTurboVote students is commendable, ASU's school- wide participation rate was not as high as many of the other project partners. ASU has one of the largest student bodies of any participating TurboVote college or university. As expected, colleges and universities that ranked highest in this category have a significantly smaller student population. Additionally, institutions that commenced their TurboVote activities during the spring 2014 semester in anticipation for the 2014 elections fared better than ASU and others that did not begin until the summer months or later.

The success of the 2014 ASUTurboVote project was directly attributed to two factors:

The first was a group of responsible, enthusiastic, and dedicated undergraduate students. Although I provided general oversight and guidance, the students did all of the work. They brainstormed, planned, supervised, and conducted all of the activities. In most cases, this was done with minimal supervision.

The second was a strategy to incorporate the project in classroom curricula. This was effective because it offered a large resource of students who provided enthusiasm, commitment, energy, time, and ideas for the development and implementation of activities and communications. These student resources successfully connected to university administrators, other faculty and classrooms, and student organizations.

What does all this mean for citizen engagement? As one who has spent 40 years in the public sector as a practitioner, I have learned that there is a definite recipe for success in citizen engagement projects. People try to re-invent the wheel with new studies, theories, and applications, but the same

methodologies that my colleagues and I have used since the 1970s in state and local government still apply today. And, more importantly, they still work.

The Final Report submitted to the Dean of Public Service and Community Solutions of Arizona State University includes over 80 ideas and recommendations to increase the effectiveness of the program in the 2016 election cycle. Because of the extensiveness of the report, it is being used by TurboVote national for all of its university partners. ASU was honored to be a participant, but even more pleased to have promoted civic learning and voting as a life-long practice for our students.

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Chapter 20

Organization, representation, and collective action: Notes on participatory democracy from Saving Sweet Briar college

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Abstract

This paper looks at the announced closure of a small private liberal arts college in Virginia, Sweet Briar College and the ensuing activist movement, "Saving Sweet Briar". The findings reiterate that Alinsky's (1971) theory on the power of community organizing is still relevant for today, offering wisdom for other communities seeking achieving success in spite of the offs. Inclusive participation and stakeholder engagement allows for good decision-making in order to realize common agendas and shared outcomes. The collective impact framework (Kania & Kramer, 2011) shows how activists can move from revolution to institutional change and success.

Introduction

Alinsky in a presentation to the Association of Community Councils of Chicago in 1957 recounts a story that he was asked by a New York educator if he had "ever deliberately created a conflict situation for purposes of civic participation or community organization?" He replied that he had (p. 2). He was speaking about citizen apathy assuming a disorganized society versus citizen participation (p. 2). Citizens have decided to live under a certain set of "arrangements, accepted modus operandi and a way of life" (p. 2). Alinsky (1957) reminded the Association that there is no such thing as a "disconnected community". The word community suggests a paradox when the word disconnected is used. In fact, "[t]he word community itself implies an organized, communal life; people living in an organized fashion" (p. 2). By recognizing conflict around a shared issue, citizens discard the clothing of apathy and take on the vestments of participation.

Alinsky's apathy to action issue framing paradigm describes what happened when one small liberal arts women's college in Virginia almost closed. The set of institutional arrangements for this college for its 114 year governing history was that the Board and the President, to some extent, called the shots, on administrative operations (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). The decisions were made with limited to no stakeholder engagement around administrative decisions except for selected key informants and/or consultants; that arguably may have been cherry-picked (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). An alumnae board with no governing authority may or may not have been consulted in decision-making but that board was honorary and had no real input except for the main governing board member who sat on both boards. Apathy translated into an assumption by alumnae and other stakeholders that the status quo was fine and that the college was healthy. On March 3, 2015, an unexpected decision was announced; the Board of Directors had decided to close Sweet Briar College. The unofficial challenge now to others such as alumnae, faculty and other community

stakeholders was to see if they could create a conflict and fight back or would accept the status quo. Sweet Briar is a special community of women who self-selected to attend and model the motto in alumnae communities across the Unites States and internationally, "[*s*]*he who has earned the rose may bear it*" (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015. These community stakeholders were the ones that needed to be called to participate and embrace Alinsky's (1957) conflict model to test the paradox of disconnected community.

The paper briefly explains the legal framework for the college which is central to the conflict, the actions and duties of the Board, an overview of participatory democracy literature before looking to see if the larger members of the Sweet Briar Community (i.e., alumnae, faculty, students and) others would band together and wear the cloak of conflict and engage according to Alinsky's prescribed 13 rules for radicals (1971). The paper concludes by morphing from radical activists to organizational actors who institutionalized change as a result of the conflict.

The legal framework for sweet briar college

Sweet Briar Institute now Sweet Briar College (SBC)[1], an independent private women's college sits on 3,300 acres in central Virginia. SBC "was created by an act of the General Assembly (of Virginia) in accordance with the will of Indiana Fletcher Williams…" as a perpetual memorial to her deceased daughter, Daisy Williams. (Bowers, 2015, p. 6). The will set up a trust that allowed the College to be formed as a nonprofit corporation in1901.

The decision to close

On March 3, 2015, the Sweet Briar Board Chair and Interim President unexpectedly announced that Sweet Briar College, a 114-year old institution would permanently close its doors by August of 2015. The Board would then liquidate all of the College's assets, including its 85 to 95-million-dollar endowment, land and buildings (Bowers, 2015).

"The (closure) announcement came as a shock, not to just students, faculty, alumnae but to all Virginia (Bowyers, 2015)". The Board and Interim President said that closure was necessary as the college was suffering from great financial strain and no longer had the funds to operate (Bowers, 2015).

Boards of directors/trustees

While not examining the actions of the Board specifically, it is important to understand the duties of a board in order to examine the power struggle between the Board of Directors of Sweet Briar College and the "Saving Sweet Briar" movement for adherence to Alinsky's community organization rules. Boards of Directors or Trustees of nonprofit or trusts have duties that vary by state and jurisdiction but generally they have a duty of *due diligence* (exercises reasonable care and employs the business judgment rule); *no self-dealing* (board members scrutinize and potential or actual transactions between a board member and the institution where that member would be enriched); *duty of loyalty* (faithful and loyal to the institution); *duty of obedience* (obedient to the central purpose and respects all laws and legal regulations); holds a *fiduciary duty* (ensure that financial resources are sufficient and handled properly (Bruce, 2000; BoardSource, 2010 as cited in Anheier, 2014). Several scholars look at core functions besides legal duties surround direction, independence and leadership (Dyer, 2010; Ingram, 2008; Kumar & Nunan, 2002). These core functions directly align with the Board's legal

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[1] Formerly Sweet Briar Institute

duties. Two components of the leadership framework include insuring "accountability legally and to stakeholders and compliance with the governing document" (Anheier, 2014, p. 414). These leadership duties are directly aligned with the duties of due diligence, loyalty and obedience.

Stakeholders and reaction

The action of the Board of Directors was unilateral (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). The Board voted to close the college without consulting stakeholders (i.e. stakeholders: alumnae, students, faculty and other interested parties including the Town of Amherst, Virginia and the Virginia Commonwealth Attorney's Office). While this constituency may not be described as on the margins or "have-nots" as envisioned by Alinsky (1971), they were marginalized by the actions of the Board of Directors. Their stakeholder capacity, culture and traditions and knowledge of the unique systems an associated by this women's college were ignored and/or trivialized by those in power. Social media outlets went viral on the evening of March 3, 2015. SBC's website crashed. Faculty was paralyzed because they were in a no-man's land between the directive by the board and their responsibilities to the student-body, other stakeholders and potentially facing a loss of an academic career (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). Alumnae, and importantly, those who attended but did not graduate, moved swiftly to action to officially form the "Saving Sweet Briar" website within a week (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). This paper addresses the story of how thousands of alumnae and other interested stakeholders prevented the closure of a college by employing methods associated with Saul Alinsky's (1971) model of community organizing (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015).

Means and ends rules

Alinsky (1971) suggests that the "perennial question" of whether "the ends justify the means" is not specific enough when considering ethics. Instead, it "is and always has been. [d]oes this *particular* end justify this *particular* means" (p. 24)? The end goal of the Board of Directors was to close the college. The "means" was the unilateral action by a Board of Directors for a trust or nonprofit organization justifies the exclusion of stakeholders when making decisions about the life or death of an organization. The Sweet Briar College Board of Directors not only had a personal interest in the college but they also had a legal duty to act on behalf of the college. Behind closed doors, the Board had decided that the college was no longer financially viable (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015).

The means-ends paradigm typically looks at the tension between the "haves" (power holders) and "have-nots" (without power) (Alinsky, 1971). Those who are concerned with the ethics of the mean-ends relationship are those with a personal interest in the issue (Alinsky, 1971). Two corresponding rules dictate whether the interest is stronger or weaker depending on distance from the conflict; and "dependent upon the political judgment of those sitting in judgement" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 26). There are eleven rules in the "means-ends ethics rules" group: however rule eight specially asks the decision-maker to consider the justification by being in the position of a winner or a loser. For our purposes, we will also assume that there was no legal wrongdoing or negligence by the Board in exercising their legal duties, specifically of care, loyalty and obedience. None was found by the courts nor was it decided given the negotiated transition of leadership that prevented the college's closure.

Partcipatory democracy

According to Alinsky (1971), he developed this set of rules for radicals for activists/organizers who were not the "haves," but for the "have nots" on how to take away the power of the "have," the power holders. These rules embody the very essence of principles associated with a liberal democracy that center on justice and equality (Sievers, 2010). Participatory democracy (or coming

together as a group to solve problems), is a concept that stems from De Tocqueville's observation of early American life (Sievers, 2010). Participatory democracy assumes that in a good society people participate fully, and that society cannot be good unless this occurs. "Participation and control must be one" (Roussopoulos & Benello, 2005, p. 6). Participatory democracy translates in the social sector to stakeholder engagement typically operationalized through a governance framework. Decision-making or collective decision-making is a tool for public and social sector leaders. Roussopoulos and Benello (2005) suggest that decision-making should be made and implemented by the people whose very lives are impacted. The process must be "continuous and significant, direct rather than through representatives, and organized around issues not personalities" (p. 6). Governance should involve people—the tool makers and tool users—and the processes through which they participate in the work of government. (Blomgren-Bingham, L., Nabatchi, T., & O'Leary, R., 2005). Blomgren-Bingham et al. (2005) suggest that practitioners are using new governance processes including "deliberative democracy, e-democracy, public conversations, participatory budgeting, citizen juries, study circles, collaborative policy making, and alternative dispute resolution, to permit citizens and stakeholders to actively participate in the work of government" (p. 547). These same tools can and should apply to civil society or social sector organizations, which include trusts and nonprofit organizations.

Revolution

This section of the paper examines rule by rule whether the tactics used by the "Saving Sweet Briar" Movement" align with Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals* (1971).

Rule One: *"Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have"* (Alinsky, 1971, p. 127). Given the facts, the Board of Directors of Sweet Briar College serving in March of 2015 was "the enemy" under Alinsky's paradigm. Attorneys for the former Board indicated the motion to dismiss before the Virginia Supreme Court that the board was exercising its "best business judgment" in its planned decision to close the college (Fowler, Johnson & Pope, 2015). This statement infers that the board did not believe that it had a legal duty to contact stakeholders to participate in the decision to close the college.

Rule Two: Never go outside the experience of your people (Alinsky, 1971, p. 127). Alinsky (1971) tells us that the initial reaction is "confusion, fear and retreat" (p. 127). Social media went wild; alumnae returned to campus from across the United States and demanded to know why the decision had been made. The faculty initially did not file a formal response to the Board based on its decision. They seemed to accept the decision.

Rule Three: *Whenever possible go outside the experience of your people* (Alinsky, 1971, p. 127). This rule then is the opposite approach to "create confusion, fear and retreat in the enemy (Alinsky, 1971, p. 127). Alumnae did not accept the Board's decisions. Social media quickly formed into a movement called "Saving Sweet Briar". On March 6, 2016, three days after the closure announcement, A group of Sweet Briar College alumnae and attendees announced that they are forming "Saving Sweet Briar", Inc., a Virginia not-for-profit corporation, whose mission will be to reverse the decision by the Sweet Briar Board of Directors and President to close the College, announced earlier this week. (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). Three days later on March 9th, a group of concerned alumnae and friends of Sweet Briar College joined to form "Saving Sweet Briar", Inc., a Virginia corporation, with a goal of reversing the recent decision to close the College, so that the College can continue its important educational mission (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). An initial board of directors of seven was formed by those who put together the website and coordinate the initial communications. *Two days* later on

March 9th, the faculty joined in the fight with the alumnae. "As members of the Sweet Briar faculty, we are standing today with the thousands of outraged alumnae on behalf of our students and demanding a reversal of the planned closure of Sweet Briar College," said professors Claudia Chang and John Ashbrook (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). "Six days after the closure announcement on March 11th a Board of directors was announced for "Saving Sweet Briar" (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015).

The "Saving Sweet Briar" Board shared talking points with other stakeholders surrounding the closure on the 13th. On March 18th, the "Saving Sweet Briar" movement set up fiduciary accounts with Virginia banking institutions to accept donations. Nonprofit status was fast-tracked with the Internal Revenue Service and was approved on May 17, 2015. (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). Three weeks following the closure announcement and resulting public outcry, the Amherst County (Virginia) Attorney filed a lawsuit to cease closure. This was a governmental entity now fighting to stop the closure representing the county's interest not alumnae or student interest. The "Saving Sweet Briar" group had not filed a separate law suit nor would they. The suit by the county Attorney was completely unexpected and created great confusion for the sitting Board. The Board of Director's pushed back legally and maintained that they were legally entitled to close the college and liquidate all assets (Fowler et al., 2015).

Rule Four: Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules (Alinsky, 1971, p. 128). The County Attorney's lawsuit alleged that the Interim president and/or staff had been soliciting donations once a decision had been made in violation of the law. It also alleged that because the College was formed as a trust in perpetuity that the Board of Directors did not have the legal authority to close the college. It would need to seek relief from the Virginia Attorney General who had oversight of charitable laws.

Rule Five Ridicule the man's most potent weapon. (Alinsky, 1971, p. 128). The Sweet Briar Board need the Virginia Attorney General's to help. Attorney General Herring was planning to help the board with the closure until he was pursued at public meetings when media were present and he was asked by alumnae why he wanted to close Sweet Briar. "Herring may not have fully realized that he is serving as attorney general in a time when stakeholders are not allowing themselves to be done to…" (McCambridge, 2015). The change by the Attorney general to help negotiate a settlement meets with rules six, seven, eight and importantly nine, employ an enjoyable tactic, don't drag out the tactic and keep the pressure on (Alinsky, 1971, pp. 128-129). In rule nine, Alinsky (1971) tells us that "*the threat is more terrifying than the thing itself*" (p. 129). Herring, a liberal Democrat was accused of waging a war on women by Sweet Briar. Through that misunderstanding, Herring may cost himself politically. Jenna Portnoy, writing for the Post, asserts "the flap could have political consequences for Herring, who, 16 months into his term as attorney general, is widely seen as positioning himself for a gubernatorial run in 2017" (McCambridge, 2015).

Rule ten states "*that the major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure on the organization*" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 129). In addition to the lawsuit filed by Amherst County, the faculty had retained council and filed a lawsuit asking for tens of millions of dollars in damages for breach of contract. Current and recently graduated students had also filed lawsuits. Stories of governance failure, social movement success from the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, to the Washing Post, Chronicles of Higher Education and Philanthropy to the policy wonk Ruth McCambridge spotlight on the college and, political careers in jeopardy, the Governor of Virginia and other Virginia legislators calling on the Board for answer to the closure or commenting on the special role of the college kept the pressure on. This is a private not a public institution so the pressure from elected officials is interesting in the larger community context. Vitriol flew on social

media; in public statements through lawyers and media outlast. College administration and leadership were accused of destroying documents on social media and in the press. Over one thousand alumnae from across the county came onto the campus to welcome back students from spring break. Two weeks later, Attorney General Herring said he arranged his office to help facilitate a negotiation. He switched sides (McCambridge, 2015). By switching positions from being favor of closure, to against the closure, of SBC, Alinsky's eleventh rule was met, "*that by pushing a negative hard, it breaks into the counterside*" (p. 45). The Board was unrelenting; they stuck to the original means-ends analysis and dug in their heels, the college was closing as planned (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015).

Rule 12, suggests that activists should "*propose a constructive alternative*" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 130). The lawsuit was fast tracked and wound up under review before the Virginia Supreme Court in May 2015. The Virginia Supreme Court found that the laws of trust applied and sent the case back to the lower Court for decision consistent with this finding (Saving Sweet Briar, 2015). It was not until the case was returned to the lower court and a Judge admonished the Sweet Briar College Board to negotiate a settlement because he was <u>not</u> closing the college was the board re-examine their "means-ends" approach (Jacobs, 2015). Finally, the Board of Sweet Briar College agreed to negotiate with the "Saving Sweet Briar" Board of Directors.

Rule 13: "*Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it*" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 130). The "Saving Sweet Briar" activists picked the correct target, the Sweet Briar Board and Interim College President. They personalized the message to their shared experiences while attending the college. During the momentum, there were all types of fundraising activities which ranged from small events, like selling tee shorts to soliciting major gifts. From the March 2015 closure announcement through the negotiated settlement in June 2015, tens of millions of dollars was raised and collected to save the college. As part of the negotiated settlement, the current Board and Interim president would resign, the "Saving Sweet Briar" Board grew and members were solicited from the alumnae and other stakeholders. A new president was found, who had turned another failing college around in Virginia, some endowment funds were released and the "Saving Sweet Briar" Board agreed to deliver 12 million dollars by September 2, 2015. "Saving Sweet Briar", the nonprofit group that was formed to save the college met its goals.

Whether or not "Saving Sweet Briar" activists knew it; they followed Alinsky's playbook step by step. *Rules for Radicals* (Alinsky, 1971) presents an alternative to means-end, top-down decision making. The "Saving Sweet Briar" movement encouraged diverse dialogue and created a forum for solutions and action. Central to the movement, its institutionalization into a stand-alone nonprofit was the trust that was set up in perpetuity by the founder as a memorial her deceased daughter. The technical side of the movement was requiring the sitting Sweet Briar College Board of Directors to adhere to the legal requirements established by the trust. The emotional side of the argument was to save their college which not only conferred upon alumnae and those who attended benefits of a higher education but membership in a close community.

e-Democracy

The movement was operationalized through a virtual web-based platform. Twenty years ago you could not have called revolution so quickly among diverse stakeholder across and the country the world. Radical change and momentum has shifted through the modality of the Internet. The website allowed activists to come together swiftly across the United States and the world to move to

coordinated action[2] through the website allowed for institutionalization and the movement into an organization.

More than rules for radicals, collective impact

Kania and Kramer (2011) established a different set of principles for organizational change which also applies to the Sweet Briar movement. Like Alinsky (1971), they suggest that in order to achieve collective impact, there must be commitment from a group of important stakeholders from different sectors to develop a common agenda to solve a specific social problem. Sweet Briar's closure was not a social problem; it was an institutional problem- organizationally and legally. We might call it a technical problem once all emotion from stakeholders is removed. It was also an adaptive leadership problem. The answer "was not known, it was complex, there was no single entity with resources or authority to bring on the necessary change" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 39).

A new solution was needed besides organizing and driving a movement, there need to be a new institution formed to take on the fight and become the institutional solution (i.e., new Board of Directors and President). The solution required collective action for impact. Collective impact unlike other collaborations "involves a centralized infrastructure, a dedicated staff, a structured process that leads to a common agenda, shared measurement, continuous communication, and mutually reinforcing activities among all participants" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, pp. 38-39).

Kania and Kramer (2011) suggest that collective impact requires a common agenda or what they call, "a shared vision for change" (p. 39). "Saving Sweet Briar" College was the shared vision for change. Shared measurement is also a requirement for both rules radicals and collective action. The shared measurement during the "Saving Sweet Briar" movement was a financial measurement, collecting $12 million between March 18, 2015 and September 2, 2015. Over $20 was pledged but in order to save Sweet briar, they had to raise $12 million. The success of "collective impact" depends on a diverse group of shareholders working together",[3] doing different things, and encouraging others to undertake activities at which they best excel (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 40). The movement had all sorts of volunteers from activities and grassroots support, to professional advice and consultation. Continuous communication is required for the success of collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 40). The Saving Sweet Briar website had a messaging portal where alumnae and others could communicate with the movement's leaders and eventually the Saving Sweet Briar Board. All graduating classes had a coordinating leader to communicate next steps through closed Facebook pages for those on social media and email. Sweet Briar clubs met across the United States to friend and fund raise in their local communities. Centralized communication included talking points, sample op-ed pieces and marketing materials for awareness and fundraising.

Importantly, "collective impact" is achieved when there is a "backbone organization" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 41). This is the dedicated infrastructure. The nonprofit organization, "Saving Sweet Briar" (Kania & Kramer, 2011) became the backbone organization that operated virtually to coordinate all action from legal coordination to communication to fundraising. Saving Sweet Briar Board members worked with volunteers to distribute the workload. Staff is a central feature for the "backbone organization" requirement in the model. The "Saving Sweet Briar" story represents that "staff" can be paid or unpaid. Volunteers staffed the movement from activism to clerical work. Like the "Occupy Wall Street" movement, the Saving Sweet Briar movement helped to' change the

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[2] Sweet Briar alumnae and current students hail from across the United States and across the globe.
[3] To join a closed group, a member's graduation or attendance was confirmed from rosters held by the Saving Sweet Briar leaders.

conversation" though a new vocabulary (Levitin, 2015). The "Occupy Movement" decried income inequality while "Saving Sweet Briar" decried accountability inequality. Anecdotally, the failure of the "Occupy Movement" was its desire to remain horizontal, and not institutionalize as an organization. The move from radicalization to an institutional organization gave the "Saving Sweet Briar" nonprofit organization, the grounds to negotiate after they followed the Alinsky rules whether knowingly or not.

Conclusion and the future

The paper presents a snapshot look at the "Saving Sweet Briar" movement. It was a movement that started in response to a top-down decision from a nonprofit Board of Directors who failed to consult stakeholders in making a major governance decision. Good governance includes people (citizens and stakeholders) (Blomgren-Bingham et al., 2005). Alinsky's (1971) rules apply to non-urban settings when there is issue cohesion that targets an "enemy" to produce needed change.

Sweet Briar's Board of Directors failed at least morally and ethically when they did not reach out to key stakeholders including alumnae and the local community leaders before making the decision to close. The Board's lack of inclusive stakeholder engagement led to an uprising, a revolution that they never predicted. Thousands of alumnae and other stakeholders joined together in order to unknowingly but specifically test Alinsky's rule three, "*whenever possible go outside the experience of your people*" (1971, p. 29). The alumnae collectively had the tools to stage a successful revolution. Sweet Briar College, according to the Amherst County Attorney's petition for review to the Virginia Supreme Court, "has produced doctors, lawyers, ambassadors, engineers, journalists, educators, civic leaders, actors and countless more outstanding members of society. Sweet Briar College also has had an immeasurable community and economic impact on Amherst County and is inextricably intertwined in the fabric of that community" (Bowers, 2015). Social activism is the start for change. The "Saving Sweet Briar" movement alone could not produce the needed change without transitioning into a formal institutional organization that could offer an acceptable alternative to negotiate the legal case. The alumnae also had the tools to collectively move from horizontal to vertical action in the movement to institutionalized change though action for impact.

On the future of Sweet Briar College, this paper does not address the pros and cons facing a rural residential liberal arts campus, the rising costs of college tuition, fund development and the myriad of other challenges that face institutions of higher education in rural and urban, private and public contexts. The "Saving Sweet Briar" movement shows that civic engagement and participatory democracy are alive and well in the 21st century. After all, it is worth noting that thousands of alumnae, friends of Sweet Briar and concerned stakeholders joined the movement to save one small liberal arts college. This movement received national and limited international news coverage. The Saving Sweet Briar movement according to The *Washing Post* potentially jeopardized the political aspirations of one gubernatorial-hopeful, the sitting Attorney General, because he forgot that engaging stakeholders is relevant to democracy and a good society (Alinsky, 1957, 1971; McCambridge, 2015).

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Chapter 21

Creating Community Solutions: A three-tiered citizen engagement strategy

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Abstract

In response to President Obama's call for a national dialogue on mental health following the tragic shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School, six leading deliberative democracy organizations came together to launch Creating Community Solutions (CCS). This coalition had two equally important goals: 1) Bringing tens of thousands of Americans into authentic dialogues to address mental health priorities in their communities and, 2) To demonstrate that it is possible to link locally based citizen engagement work to be part of a truly national discussion impacting policy and programs. This report outlines the presentation given at the Arizona State University Democracy Conference describing the three strategies used by CCS to achieve those two goals: Lead city community conversations, distributed community conversations, and online engagement with youth. This report also describes the impact and implications of these community efforts for mental health and deliberative democracy.

Introduction

"Only 40% of people with mental illness receive treatment. We would not accept that for any other disease...."

-President Barack Obama

"We have to change hearts and minds..."

-Secretary Kathleen Sebelius

At the White House Conference on Mental Health following the tragic shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School, President Obama said,

> The main goal of this conference is not to start a conversation—so many of you have spent decades waging long and lonely battles to be heard. Instead, it's about elevating that conversation to a national level and bringing mental illness out of the shadows.

In saying this, the President acknowledged two very important prerequisites for the state of mental health care to improve in this country. For one, the way we talk about mental health needs to change – mental health and illness cannot stay concealed in the shadows and burdened by harmful and counterproductive stigma. And two, there are already people talking about mental health, but their voices need to be elevated to the national level where they are more audible and effective.

In response to this call to action, six leading deliberative democracy organizations[1], in partnership with the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), came together to form Creating Community Solutions (CCS). This initiative was created with two goals in mind: 1) to bring Americans into meaningful, authentic dialogues to address mental health priorities in their communities and, 2) to demonstrate the feasibility of linking local community-based engagement to national-level discussions impacting policy and programming.

The CCS partners agreed on a three-tiered approach to accomplish these goals and make the right kinds of conversations happen across the nation. First, a group of lead cities with mayoral support would initiate large-scale community dialogues about mental health. Second, other communities around the country would be mobilized and provided with resources to initiate community dialogues about mental health. And third, in order to ensure that youth are involved, an online space for engagement would be implemented. In all cases, CCS proceeded with a goal to build and reinforce the civic infrastructure necessary to keep community dialogues going and produce meaningful results. This report will review each of the three strategies as well as the impacts and lessons learned from these community conversations about mental health.

A Three-Tiered Strategy

Strategy 1: Lead cities

The CCS lead cities were not only intended to make some meaningful progress regarding mental health care and awareness in their community, but they were also meant to set an example for other communities around the country. They were to be large-scale deliberative events that would serve as a focus point of local processes.

To be selected as a CCS lead city, a community needed to maintain mayoral support and a commitment to funding for the conversation from the beginning. Each city presented an up-front commitment from the mayor's office to build a coalition of nonprofits and mental health and non-mental health organizations that would both organize an event as well as commit to ongoing

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[1] National Institute for Civil Discourse; Everyday Democracy; America*Speaks*; National Issues Forums Institute; National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation; Deliberative Democracy Consortium

engagement and action implementation in the city. An initial commitment to providing resources and raising funds was crucial. Each lead city worked with America*Speaks*, Everyday Democracy, or the National Issues Forum Institute to plan their respective event(s). Importantly, while committing to participate in this project did not gather significant funding, a major incentive to participate involved the invaluable and rare connection to the White House provided by the event. The lead city conversations were conducted with the understanding that civic engagement would make a difference for people both directly and indirectly involved with the events.

Strategy 2: Distributed conversations

The CCS partners recognized that community conversations about mental health could not be limited only to a few major cities around the country. They knew that other communities and groups around the country wanted to have these conversations, and would benefit from bringing people together and they could build on the example set by the lead cities. As such, we wanted to enable people to have these conversations irrespective of the number of people involved or their location in the country.

To facilitate these conversations CCS created standardized materials and resources to provide to communities who wanted to participate. CCS also mobilized their networks to involve and connect people throughout the process. One of the resources provided included an interactive map on the CCS website (www.creatingcommunitysolutions.org) that showed which communities were planning conversations and allowed organizers to connect to one another and involve more people more effectively in these conversations.

Ultimately, 258 communities across the country completed a community conversation using the resources and infrastructure CCS provided; more events are still being organized. About 85 outcome reports have been uploaded to the CCS website. These conversations varied considerably from place to place in terms of who was involved, how many people there were, and so on. One city, Columbus, OH, actually started as a distributed conversation, but became a lead city because of the resources and people it mobilized early on. While the events all looked different, the outcomes were overwhelmingly positive for the communities and individuals involved.

Strategy 3: Text, Talk, Act (online engagement)

From the beginning, the CCS partners knew it would be important to include young people in any discussions about mental health. Data show that 75% of mental health problems face people before age 24. As such, this is clearly an issue in which young people have a large stake. It is also clear that it can be incredibly difficult to talk about mental health as a young person in society today. People are reluctant to talk discuss mental health because of the stigma associated with it and often because they lack any practical knowledge about what it is, how to notice problems, and what to do about problems when they arise for oneself or for another person. The places and people to which young people are regularly exposed at home and at school, for example, are often very poorly equipped to provide mental health education or intervene in a mental health emergency.

Because one of the hardest things about getting better mental health care and reducing stigma is simply bringing up the topic in the first place, we knew we would need to find a way to engage young people in talking about a topic that is very difficult to discuss. While we had seen success in the community dialogues in bringing people—including young people—together in discussions regarding mental health, it was clear that the settings of these community conversations were not the ideal way to reach young people and have them open up about such personal and sensitive issues. As such, we decided to reach them on their cell phones.

Text, Talk, Act (TTA) is the result of this realization that young people are easier to reach using technology that they are already comfortable with. With TTA, a group of participants—with access to a cell phone capable of text messaging—initiate a text-message-based script that walks them through mental health education and prompts participants to discuss certain topics and share personal experiences. Text, Talk, Act has facilitated discussions among nearly 40,000 young people in all 50 states. These discussions have taken place at schools, in homes, in clubs, and additional locations. They have powerfully demonstrated the importance of finding ways to reach youth where they are—and with technology they are comfortable with.

Outcomes and lessons

Each tier of the CCS approach has produced meaningful and lasting positive results for the communities who took part. Although each community focused on different things with specific goals, the national connection to the issues and the community-driven processes catalyzed such conversations, and were crucial to their success. Furthermore, a variety of themes emerged from all three of the conversations, highlighting the overarching themes emphasizing mental health needs to be addressed across unique communities. These themes include a focus on developing broad-based community awareness and education campaigns, engaging the youth directly in promoting awareness of mental health, effective programs for early identification of signs and symptoms, and delivering culturally specific and appropriate services, among others.

The CCS communities were able to attract a geographically and demographically diverse population of participants that made the outcomes more inclusive and generalizable to other communities in a way that can inform both local mental health care efforts and future community conversations. The success seen in each tier of the CCS strategy has mobilized youth to become more involved and communities to work together in efforts to improve the state of mental health education and care. Increased infrastructure for public dialogue, increased collaborative action, and amplified citizen voices are just a few of the other important impacts that communities have seen as a result of this unique approach to facilitating community conversations.

What follows is merely a sampling of the outcomes observed at each level of our approach.

Lead cities

The community conversations in the lead cities have led to several notable outcomes and important lessons for continuing this kind of engagement around important social and civic issues. In Albuquerque, NM, for example, organizers made the most of the CCS process and incorporated aspects of each of the three tiers into their conversations about mental health. Before CCS became involved, the city was already dealing with a crisis regarding high profile police shootings of individuals with mental illness, and it became clear that the community was lacking leadership on that front. With the help of Everyday Democracy, Albuquerque organizers were able to engage their community on multiple levels and witness important achievements as a result.

For Albuquerque, the structure and national connection provided by CCS were indispensable in their efforts. Organizers felt that the events simply would not have taken place without the resources and connection to something larger. Additionally, the involvement of the mayor distinguished this set of events from other community mental health initiatives. The mayor was able to see first hand the importance of this topic to his constituents, and take measures to address their concerns.

Following the CCS dialogue in Albuquerque, city employees are required to receive some mental health care training. Further, the mayor created a new staff position for the Director of Cultural

Impact, who is responsible for community engagement. Also, across New Mexico, mental health care professionals are working with public officials to create and implement more effective and comprehensive regional systems for managing mental health care. Organizers are adamant that none of these developments would have been possible without the resources and infrastructure offered by CCS.

Additional outcomes across the country include a strengthened focus on housing for transition age youth and a $1 million anti-stigma campaign in the DC area. CCS event organizers in Kansas City have also recently rolled out a set of recommendations for improving mental health care in that community. Additional lead city outcomes and future plans are accessible via the CCS website (www.creatingcommunitysolutions.org).

Distributed conversations

While the distributed conversations were less consistent in form and function than the lead cities, many communities around the country were still able to engage around mental health using the resources and infrastructure offered by CCS. Throughout the process we have learned a lot about the real resources needed for communities to continue to carry out these kinds of conversations. We learned that one simple thing that could connect distributed conversations to the national dialogue involves calling them and helping them report their outcomes by uploading them to the CCS website. It became clear that this kind of engagement is new to people and it is helpful to have people there to help them figure it out, as well as help determine how to proceed. Future efforts would need to address the need for coaching communities that were not familiar with this kind of conversation.

Challenges aside, several distributed conversation communities have seen remarkable positive impacts. For example, Palm Beach County began inviting social workers to ride along with police. They report that this new practice has saved at least one life so far.

Text, Talk, Act

The original version of TTA was focused on general mental health education; participants responded very positively to it. However, it was also clear that participants were interested in much more than simply general education; they also wanted to know what they could do to help their friends and loved ones who might be struggling with mental illness. As a result, later versions of TTA incorporated more information about how to help others who may be struggling with mental health problems.

It also became quite clear that text-messaging is a major way young people prefer to communicate, and it feels more natural to them. Since it is a peer-to-peer conversation that does not require direct adult involvement in the small group discussions, they seem to find it easier to communicate and open up with each other via test-messaging. Students who text at school—where cell phone use is usually prohibited—also become excited about the possibility of using their phones in class for an activity. TTA proved to be quite an effective way to engage young people.

An independent evaluation of TTA found that participants experienced a significant increase in their ability to discuss mental health and to recognize a peer in need, as well as an increased comfort in reaching out to a peer in need. Moreover, those with the lowest initial levels of self-reported knowledge and comfort regarding mental health experienced the strongest subsequent gains. These are powerful data to supplement the numerous anecdotal accounts of TTA's effectiveness in facilitating dialogue around mental health.

In one notable example of TTA's effectiveness, Mindy Nance, a licensed therapist from Delaware, hosted TTA events with her therapy groups at a mental health hospital with adolescent boys, all of whom had been diagnosed with mental health disorders and had been criminally charged. According to Nance, TTA "helped the group understand that they are not alone, a misfit, and there is hope for them… the event gave them 'a voice.' The familiar technology of texting gave them confidence their voice would be heard. The instant feedback gave them hope." She felt that removing herself as facilitator helped the boys open up more with each other as well as realize that they were not alone in their struggles. She went on to say that even though she had been hosting these therapy groups with the same set of boys on a weekly basis, this platform encouraged a deeper level of conversation then they had ever had before.

Conclusion

The President's call helped to mobilize individuals and groups in a way never before done. It is clear that in the U.S., the capacity to do both deep and shallow engagement on the topic of mental health is very robust, and there are large numbers of people that have not yet been connected to the ability to engage in a national conversation. The Creating Community Solutions effort has demonstrated how a network of deliberative democracy organizations and communities can help create this connection. To date, more than 54,000 people have participated in a CCS conversation. It has been remarkable to see how eagerly communities will latch on to these resources and infrastructure and how impactful it has been for the communities involved.

However, there is still work to do. The CCS resources and infrastructure can be further improved, and we are working on doing so. We also need more dedicated political support and clear political allies in both our large- and small-scale efforts, and we need to work to gather more broad support for future efforts. We need to continue to consider the gap that exists in peoples' understanding of both mental health knowledge and also of the potential for local community conversations to make a difference on a national scale. CCS has begun to shed some important light on how we might accomplish that.

Overall, the efforts of Creating Community Solutions and the many communities that joined them to engage in conversations about mental health have powerfully demonstrated one way to increase connections between communities and government that can ignite democratic processes on other issues. While CCS may have been focused on mental health issues, the implications of the success of this model of community engagement presents tremendous potential for other important civic and social issues. It is our hope that this model will continue to be used and adapted for other important issues facing this nation.

Carolyn J. Lukensmeyer, Ph.D. is the Executive Director of the National Institute for Civil Discourse. Under Carolyn's leadership, NICD established itself as a leader in the field of democratic renewal, receiving the Search for Common Ground's 2014 Common Ground Award and leading the coalition that received IAP2's 2014 USA Project of the Year Award for Creating Community Solutions, a national dialogue on mental health. Carolyn is the founder of AmericaSpeaks, a deliberative democracy organization that successfully applied its 21st Century Town Meeting® to a number of major public policy issues, including, state-wide health care reform in California and Maine, the national childhood obesity epidemic, disaster recovery in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, and the federal budget deficit. She is the author of Bringing Citizen Voices to the Table: A Guide for Public Managers which provides strategies and best practices to public managers and

leaders who wish to authentically engage citizens around significant policy issues. Prior to founding AmericaSpeaks, Carolyn served as Consultant to the White House Chief of Staff from November 1993 through June 1994, as the Deputy Project Director for Management of the National Performance Review (NPR), Vice President Al Gore's reinventing government task force, and as Chief of Staff to Governor Richard F. Celeste of Ohio from 1986 to 1991. She also led her own successful organizational development and management consulting firm for 14 years. In this capacity, she worked with public and private sector organizations on four continents.

Raquel Goodrich is the Director of Digital Communications for the National Institute for Civil Discourse. Raquel manages the Institute's digital communication platforms, and seeks to use virtual technologies to strengthen American's roles in our democracy. Raquel also helps to spearhead the Creating Community Solutions Initiative, part of the National Dialogue on Mental Health. Her work with CCS includes leading the Communications strategy and developing Text, Talk, Act, a text-massaging platform that leads participants through a dialogue on mental health via their cell phones. Raquel previously worked at the Udall Foundation's U.S. Institute for Environmental Conflict Resolution, where she worked to integrate collaborative technologies into conflict resolution processes and provided training to conflict resolution practitioners on the use of collaborative technology. She is experienced in meeting facilitation and conflict resolution processes. Raquel came to the Institute to help provide online platforms where Americans can engage in civil discourse around the issues that are most important to them. Recognizing a lack of safe spaces in the online environment, she utilizes technology and best practices to encourage people to take responsibility for their democracy. Raquel holds a Master of Public Administration from the University of Maine and a Bachelor of Social Sciences from Unity College.

Peter A. Leavitt, Ph.D. is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Psychology at Dickinson College. There he teaches courses in social psychology and related topics. He has been involved with various initiatives of the National Institute for Civil Discourse since 2012, where he began as a graduate student intern. Peter's research and community involvement often focuses on matters of social identity and intergroup communication, studying topics like social class, online communication and learning, and interpersonal influence. At Dickinson College, he frequently moderates campus dialogue groups whose goal is to allow students and faculty a productive space in which to share their different experiences around various important issues, like politics, race, and gender.

Martha McCoy is Executive Director of Everyday Democracy and President of The Paul J. Aicher Foundation. Under her leadership, Everyday Democracy has become one of the leading organizations in the U.S. that supports communities in solving problems equitably and inclusively. The organization collaborates with local, regional and national groups that strive to connect public dialogue to community change and governance, and that are committed to incorporating principles of racial and economic inclusion. McCoy serves on the advisory committee of the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, the executive committee of the Deliberative Democracy Consortium, the national advisory board for the Center for Community Trustbuilding, and the national steering committee for Creating Community Solutions, part of the National Dialogue on Mental Health. She is an advisory editor for the community building department of the National Civic Review. She is a frequent writer and speaker on grass-roots civic engagement, participatory governance, racial justice and inclusion, and the U.S. and global movement for stronger democracy.

Everette Hill, MA, is a Principal & Managing Director of the Social Innovation Strategies Group, LLC or SISGroup. After more than 20 years of working in the educational, non-profit and community development sectors, Hill is currently providing consultative services to leaders, organizational design and development services to institutions and organizations, and project

management services to NGO's, philanthropic groups and governmental organizations. Regardless of the sector, all of the organizations that are clients of the SISGroup are thinking about how to maximize their systems, structures and efforts to lead to transformative changes. "As a strategy management consultant my work is to support leaders in developing new concepts, strategies and ideas for their organizations to meet the most vexing and pernicious of social needs." My work is to engage institutional and individual reflection, cultural and organizational assessment through a series of deliberate community dialogues with constituents, partners and stakeholders. This process helps to determine what is working, and leads to building on current successes by incorporating tools and strategies that have been successful in other fields, industries and endeavors.

Matt Leighninger leads Public Agenda's work in public engagement and democratic governance, and directs the Yankelovich Center for Public Judgment. Previously, Matt was the Executive Director of the Deliberative Democracy Consortium (DDC), an alliance of major organizations (including Public Agenda) and leading scholars working in the field of deliberation and public participation. The DDC represents more than 50 foundations, nonprofit organizations, and universities, collaborating to support research activities and advance democratic practice, in North America and around the world. Over the last twenty years, Matt has worked with public participation efforts in over 100 communities, in 40 states and four Canadian provinces. Matt serves on the boards of e-democracy.org, the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2USA), The Democracy Imperative, and the Participatory Budgeting Project, and is a Senior Associate for Everyday Democracy. Matt has written for publications such as The Huffington Post, Chronicle of Philanthropy, The Christian Science Monitor, The National Civic Review, Public Management, Zócalo Public Square, and Public Administration Review. His first book, The Next Form of Democracy (2006), is a firsthand account of the wave of democratic innovation that emerged in the 1990s and 2000s. In May2015, Wiley-Blackwell released Public Participation in 21st Century Democracy, which Matt co-authored with Tina Nabatchi; this book is a comprehensive look at participation theory, history, and practice, and explains how we can transition from temporary engagement projects to stronger democratic infrastructure. In the last two years, Matt led a working group that produced a model ordinance on public participation; and was part of a team that developed a new tool, "Text, Talk, and Act," that combined online and face-to-face participation as part of President Obama's National Dialogue on Mental Health. He has also assisted in the development of Participedia, the world's largest online repository of information on public engagement. Matt holds a Master's in Public Administration from the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University.

Jennifer Wilding is director of Consensus, the nonprofit that puts the public in public policy. She works on behalf of metro Kansas City and for clients here and around the U.S. She is project director for the Kansas City site of Creating Community Solutions, part of the national dialogue on mental health. In addition, she recently directed a large-scale public engagement event for the Health Care Foundation and United Way of Greater Kansas City, and is working with the Mid-Continent Public Library to involve their residents in local issues. Consensus is also home to the Civility Project, which encourages government and others to engage people in ways that bring out the best in them. Consensus is a Kettering Foundation center for civic life, and she often works with national leaders in deliberative community engagement.

Chapter 22

Potentials and challenges of informal, online groups in response to crisis: The Boston marathon case

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Abstract

Dealing with man-made crises and natural disasters is extremely complex. In the digital era, information and communication technologies enable a vast group of the general public to collaborate with one another on a large scale to effectively respond to a crisis or a disaster. In recent crises and disasters, informal, online groups of individuals made significant contributions to the effective response by collecting and processing crisis and disaster data and mobilizing and delivering relief resources. In this paper, the authors explore how informal, online groups influence the effectiveness of the overall emergency response by focusing on the Boston Marathon bombing. Specifically, in the immediate aftermath of the Boston bombing, informal, online groups collated crisis-related information from multiple sources and provided this information to law enforcement agencies, thus enabling the investigation team to effectively identify and apprehend two bombing suspects. Additionally, informal, online groups helped the general public efficiently self-organize the mobilization and allocation of relief resources for stranded marathoners and visitors. Most importantly, the authors note the challenges of informal, online groups in response to crisis. Particularly, informal, online groups of amateur detectives led to data inaccuracies and privacy issues because these online groups were open to—and accessible by—the public. In this study, the authors use qualitative case study methods by collecting data from multiple secondary sources and employing exploratory thematic analysis.

Introduction

Dealing with man-made crises (terrorism and ethnic violence) and natural disasters (earthquakes, hurricanes, and floods) is extremely complex (Comfort, 2007; Waugh, 2006). In urgent crisis and disaster situations, it is hard to effectively obtain and maintain situational awareness on what is going on in the field (i.e. crisis and disaster conditions, the affected people's needs and requests for aid, and the ongoing response activities of public emergency management agencies and nonprofit humanitarian organizations). Such a lack of situational awareness often leads to inefficient coordination among multiple responding organizations across the sectors, therefore causing the failure of crisis and disaster responses. Today, informal, online groups of the general public, which are loosely connected, virtual communities among the affected people on the ground, and individuals across the globe emerge and make significant contributions to the effective response to a crisis or a disaster by using information and communication technologies, such as social media

(Facebook and Twitter), online collaboration tools (Google Docs), and text and video chat applications (Skype and Google Hangouts) (Crowley & Chan, 2011; Crowley, 2013; Meier, 2015). For example, in the 2007-2008 Kenya post-election violence, the Kenya government banned all live broadcasts and the mainstream media underreported the crisis situations due to pro-government bias, thus creating a crisis-related information vacuum. In that situation, informal, online groups of individuals from both across the globe and the affected communities collected, verified, and visualized crisis-related data from multiple sources in near real-time. This data was publicized online, so that any individual or any organization across the globe could use the data for their own purposes, such as humanitarian response. Despite their potential contributions, informal, online groups often times confront many challenges involving inaccurate data and privacy and security issues (Freifeld et al., 2010; Shanley et al., 2013). In this research, the authors conduct an in-depth qualitative case study of the Boston Marathon bombing. This bombing is a unique case in which informal, online groups of the general public not only significantly contributed to the effective response, but also led to a serious failure regarding data accuracies and privacy issues. In this paper, the authors aim to explore how informal, online groups influence the effectiveness of the overall emergency response. For that purpose, the authors first illustrate how informal, online groups emerged, took collective action, and contributed to the effective response through information and communication technologies in the immediate aftermath of the Boston Marathon bombing. tThe authors then discuss the potentials and challenges of informal, online groups in response to crisis.

Research methods: Qualitative case study

The qualitative case study method is employed in this research to explore informal, online groups' potential contributions and challenges (Yin, 2003). "A case study is an *empirical inquiry* that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 2003, p. 13). This research method is most useful and appropriate for investigating a novel social phenomenon with a lack of related theories and knowledge (Eisenhardt, 1989). The emergence of informal, online groups in response to crisis is a typical example of a new phenomenon in the digital era. Recently, the related literature is sharply growing in the fields of emergency and crisis management, geography, and computer science. However, many unanswered questions about collective action processes, potentials, and challenges of informal, online groups remain. As such, the qualitative case study method is used to thoroughly explore informal, online groups. The Boston Marathon bombing was selected in this research because this case includes examples of both success and failure of informal, online groups in response to crisis. Therefore, the Boston Marathon bombing offers a unique opportunity to investigate the potential contributions and challenges of informal, online groups in a single case. The authors collected secondary data from multiple sources including news articles, academic journal articles, conference proceedings, and the contents of websites during and after the bombing. Additionally, exploratory thematic analysis was used to analyze the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Saldaña, 2013).

Informal, online groups in response to the Boston Marathon Bombing

On April 15th, 2013 two bomb explosions occurred near the finish line of the Boston Marathon. As a result, three people were killed and over two hundred sixty people were injured. In the immediate aftermath of the bombing, multiple informal, online groups of individuals voluntarily emerged by using information and communication technologies in an effort to collectively respond to the crisis. These groups of the general public gathered information about potential suspects and self-organized to coordinate the mobilization of relief resources for stranded marathoners and visitors. While informal online groups successfully helped to mobilize and distribute relief resources in a just-in-

time manner as well as gather crisis-related information, these groups also created incorrect information regarding potential suspects—thereby leading to serious privacy issues.

Crisis information gathering

Soon after the explosions, the investigation team—including the Boston Police Department, the Massachusetts State Police, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—was securing all surveillance camera video footage related to the bombing to identify suspects. However, surveillance cameras fixed in certain places consisted of many blind spots. On April 16th, the investigation team led by FBI special agent Richard DesLauriers called for the public to submit any photos or videos regarding the bombing. As such, the public began sending their personal images and videos of the Boston Marathon environment to the FBI via email.

However, the sizes of images or videos were often too large to submit them through email due to email attachment size limits of 10 megabytes to 25 megabytes. Furthermore, when individuals sent their imagery or video evidence through email, crucial time and geo-location information automatically embedded by cell phone cameras were likely to be removed. To address these issues, a Boston-area volunteer group of entrepreneurs—including Sean Durkin, Jared Chung, and Nate Aune—launched EvidenceUpload.org[1]. The site enabled users to upload dozens of photos and videos directly from their cell phones or laptops, social media (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, and Flickr), and cloud storages (e.g., Google Drive, Dropbox, Box, and OneDrive). As a result, over two gigabytes of photos and videos taken in the immediate vicinity of the Boston Marathon finish line before and after the bombing were collected through the site and forwarded to the investigation team. This site made an important contribution to helping law enforcement agencies acquire all information necessary for their investigation.

With the help of the public who provided information in the forms of images, videos, and tips about the Marathon bombing, the investigation team identified two suspects through fuzzy images. On April 18th, the FBI announced the launch of their new site for tips (https://bostonmarathontips.fbi.gov/) to call for help from the public in identifying the suspects more clearly and in finding them. The public quickly responded to the second call for help and continued to submit thousands of textual messages, images, and videos. Ultimately, valuable tips and leads submitted enabled law enforcement agencies to identify the suspects accurately and to apprehend them on April 19th. Help provided by the public was essential in solving this case (Markowsky, 2013).

Unanticipated consequences of amateur investigation

The public not only provided information regarding the bombing, but also "sought to participate in the investigation as [amateur] detectives" independent of law enforcement (Tapia, Lalone, & Kim, 2014, p. 271). The public set up many online forums in which amateur detectives gathered a variety of images, videos, and textual information from original bystanders, social media, and the traditional national and international media with regard to the Marathon bombing. Here, they thoroughly investigated the incident to identify suspects. Among many online forums set up for this purpose, two online groups[2] on reddit[3] and 4chan[4] actively participated in their voluntary investigations on a large scale. As of April 19th, thousands of online users participated in the forums as contributors,

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[1] http://www.evidenceupload.org/#
[2] (1) http://www.Reddit.com/r/findbostonbombers and (2) http://imgur.com/a/sUrnA
[3] An online community for entertainment, social networking, and news collection and sharing (http://www.reddit.com/)
[4] An image board website on which people generally post and discuss anonymously (https://www.4chan.org)

commenters, and subscribers. They collected information from the incident through a variety of sources and discussed and analyzed the information collected (Tapia et al., 2014). In fact, "[w]ithin hours of the event, … [online users] knew more about the situation at ground zero than emergency responders did" (Tapia et al., 2014, p. 271). Social media, the national and international media, and the police immediately followed the results of their collective analysis. As a result of voluntary, collective investigations, they produced many important clues and were almost able to identify two actual suspects by flagging the suspects in several threads posted on the forums (i.e. Chechen-American brothers Dzhokar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev). However, they ultimately failed to correctly identify the two suspects.

Unfortunately, since these online discussion forums were open to—and accessible by—anyone who was interested in the bombing, analysis results were misused by social media users and the mainstream media in many cases. Further, incorrect information regarding potential suspects was quickly disseminated through social media. Moreover, "the larger national media followed the results of these online group investigations and reported these as fact to a national audience [without a thorough fact checking procedure]" (Tapia et al., 2014, p. 265). In consequence, the identities of those whom amateur detectives incorrectly identified as the perpetrators of the bombing (e.g., high school student Salah Barhoum and Boston University student Sunil Tripathi) were broadcast across the United States and around the world—despite the fact that they had nothing to do with the bombing. Thus, "[t]he speculation led to several witch-hunts" (Tapia et al., 2014, p. 271).

Self-organizing relief efforts: Shelter finder Google Docs and Radom Acts of Pizza

Several voluntary relief efforts emerged and were self-organized through information and communication technologies, such as online platforms and collaboration tools. The affected area was closed off soon after the blasts, leaving numerous marathoners and visitors stranded. Within three hours of the bombing, Boston.com[5] created Google Docs to connect displaced people with individuals offering their beds or couches. People who were willingly able to provide places for the displaced people simply needed to fill out and submit a simple Google Doc form that included their name, phone number, email address, and neighborhood. The information submitted was aggregated on another Google Doc that was publicly accessible on the internet.[6] As such, displaced people could easily contact those who offered places to stay. According to Boston.com, nearly six thousand people volunteered to offer their homes to the stranded marathoners and visitors as well as offer food and transportation. Additionally, displaced people were also able to request places to stay by filling out and submitting a Google Doc form.[7] The information submitted was aggregated on a Google Doc that anyone could access the on the Internet to then contact displaced people. Google Docs played the role of an online self-organizing mechanism matching people who offered homes with people who needed places to stay.

Within a few hours of the bombing, Liz Kosearas, a 23-year-old IT administrator who lived in Huntington Beach, CA, created a Boston Marathon bombing thread on the subreddit called the

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[5] A local website that was launched by Boston Globe Electronic Publishing Inc. in 1995 and provides a variety of news and information related to the Boston area

[6]
https://docs.google.com/spreadsheet/pub?key=0AoXVKFw1Uci5dFNpRGdWd2pXZTN4a3Fza0VhVTRVaGc&output=html

[7] https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1r2dbf7q2sIiiQWynPNgH74qNeheNycTyk7hXue9AJhs/viewform?pli=1

Radom Acts of Pizza[8] to offer some support and comfort to the affected people by buying pizzas for them. Right after the creation of the thread, hundreds of reddit users across the United States and Canada paid attention to her suggestion and willingly wanted to donate money to send pizzas, salads, and drinks. Kosearas and a small group of other reddit users who did not reside in Boston worked together to contact a pizza restaurant (i.e. Anytime Pizza located in Cambridge, MA), to determine delivery locations, and to coordinate the pizza delivery. Kosearas and the small group of volunteers recommended reddit users use GrubHub—an online food ordering service—to easily and conveniently order pizzas, drinks, and additional food. The food and drink orders were delivered to police stations, fire departments, hospitals, hotels, and homes hosting stranded marathoners and visitors. Over three hundreds of pizzas were ordered and delivered for a week after the bombing; the amount of food and drink delivers totaled approximately $11,000.

Institutional approaches for maximizing potentials while mitigating the challenges of informal, online groups in response to crisis

In responding to crisis, informal, online groups of the general public present potential for increasing situational awareness on crisis conditions and coordinating the mobilization and delivery of relief resources. Advances in information and communication technologies enable crisis-affected people to actively serve as human sensor networks rather than passive victims (Yuan, Guan, Huh, & Lee, 2013). Tasks to collect crisis information can be crowdsourced to a large group of crisis-affected people when crisis-affected people submit their video clips, images, and texts related to a crisis. When such crisis information is integrated into one crisis management system, situational awareness on crisis conditions can significantly improve. In the case of the Boston Marathon bombing, the collection of crisis information was effectively crowdsourced to the general public (marathoners, visitors, and Boston residents). Importantly, a small group of social entrepreneurs who launched EvidenceUpload.org allowed the people affected to easily submit crisis information in a timely and efficient manner. Ultimately, such efforts of the general public improved the capacity of law enforcement agencies to identify and apprehend the two suspects of the bombing.

In the existing crisis management system, such as the National Incident Management System and the National Response Framework (DHS, 2008, 2013), institutionalized formal organizations (e.g., public emergency management agencies and the American Red Cross) were responsible for managing relief resources (foods, water, transportation, temporary shelters, first medical kits, etc.). According to the related policies and laws, these formal organizations first mobilize relief resources from the public, private, and non-profit sectors. They then allocate and deliver these resources to crisis-affected people. However, in urgent, complex crisis situations, this institutionalized relief system is often inefficient because of its hierarchical organizational structures (Quarantelli, 1988; Waugh, 2006). Advances in information and communication technologies allow ordinary people to directly mobilize, allocate, and deliver a wide range of relief resources in a just-in-time manner. In the aftermath of the Boston Marathon bombing, Boston residents used Google Docs to match those who willingly offered places to stay to travelers stranded in a timely and efficient way. Additionally, as an online forum for information sharing and discussion, Reddit.com was transformed into a virtual headquarter for coordinating the mobilization and delivery of relief resources.

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[8] http://www.reddit.com/r/Random_Acts_Of_Pizza/comments/1cf3z5/offerrequest_boston_marathon/

Mitigating data inaccuracies and privacy issues

Despite their contributions to the effective response, informal, online groups may generate data inaccuracies and privacy issues during crisis response. Data inaccuracies are a key concern regarding informal, online groups in response to crisis (Lindsay, 2011; Shanley et al., 2013). These informal, online groups are vulnerable to false information and unverified rumors because these groups exist as open systems in which anyone can participate and contribute to the collection of crisis information and easily utilize the collected information for their own purposes. Indeed, during and after Hurricane Sandy in 2012, "misinformation and doctored photographs circulated on the Internet, made it difficult to find and verify accurate information" (Virtual Social Media Working Group, 2013, p. 22). In the case of the Boston Marathon bombing, informal, online groups of amateur detectives created incorrect information about potential suspects. Unfortunately, this information quickly spread on the Internet. Additionally, many mainstream media sources broadcasted this inaccurate information without fact-checking.

Further, informal, online groups often bring about privacy issues in response to crisis as another unintended consequence of the open nature of these groups. Such informal, online groups usually collect crisis-related data from multiple sources including individuals affected by the crisis, social media, and the mainstream media to then publicize this data on the Internet. This crisis-related data often includes personal information, such as names, phone numbers, emails, mailing addresses, and social media accounts. In some cases, publishing personal information is needed to effectively mobilize and deliver relief resources as described above. However, on the other hand, publishing personal information on the Internet can generate serious privacy issues. In the aftermath of the Boston bombing, those who had nothing to do with the bombing were incorrectly identified as the perpetrators of the bombing by informal, online groups of amateur detectives. Their identities were publicized on the Internet and broadcast across the United States, thereby leading to witch-hunts.

Conclusion

In this paper, the authors focused on the emergence of informal, online groups of individuals in response to crisis as a novel phenomenon in the networked age. These groups are loosely connected, virtual communities that use a variety of information and communication technologies including social media, online platforms, and various collaboration tools. By using these technologies, these groups collect crisis-related information from multiple sources. This information increases situational awareness of public agencies in regards to crisis conditions, thus improving their capacities for dealing with crises. Additionally, informal online groups self-organize the mobilization and delivery of a wide range of relief resources in an efficient manner by using information and communication technologies. Although informal online groups have the potential to establish effective responses, these groups may lead to data inaccuracies and privacy issues due to their openness. As such, further research is needed to develop technical and managerial strategies for improving potential contributions of informal, online groups in establishing effective responses as well as for addressing challenges related to data inaccuracies and privacy issues.

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Chapter 23

Designing the future: Engaging Millennials in active civic participation through user-centered design practices

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Abstract

Over the last four years Massey University's School of Design[1] (New Zealand) has collaborated with the Government and the GLAM sector (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) to engage Millennials in participatory governance through user-centered design practices. Through this initiative, representative groups of end users become an active part of the design process, influencing policy, programs and services within civic institutions and social agencies. This generates a significant shift in hierarchy whereby the public sector agencies design *with* their constituents and stakeholders, rather than *for* them.

This paper presents insights for effectively engaging Millennials that the authors gained during three design-led investigations. These 'real-world' projects saw young New Zealanders explore their current and future relationships with tax, museums and libraries. The findings draw on the responses and reflections of over 300 Bachelor of Design (Honors) students from the University's School of Design, and highlight the potential of merging practices of inclusive governance with *design thinking* principles and ethnographic research methods. They also illustrates why employing user-centered design methods as a strategy for effective youth engagement is quickly becoming established as best practice in many agencies in New Zealand's Government and GLAM sector.

Introduction

Civic agencies face an ongoing challenge in adapting their infrastructure to meet the needs of a young Millennial audience. Having had access to the Web for their entire lives Millennials are the first truly global generation. This has transformed the way in which they communicate, source and share ideas, and their expectations of systems and services. Millennials' demands are affecting every social institution, reshaping the form and functions of school, work and even democracy (Tapscott, 2008).

Civic agencies are finding it necessary to adapt to this generation's unique characteristics. While the need to prove their relevance to this audience poses many challenges for civic agencies it also offers opportunity. In the face of Millennials' ability to scrutinize and investigate their increasingly transparent world, agencies must explore new models of democracy that will have to be open,

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[1] This initiative sits under the umbrella of the Design & Democracy Project – a Massey University research unit that focuses on enhancing participation in civic issues through design.

collaborative and engaging. It is also evident that Millennials can be an intensely innovative, collaborative, and productive cohort, if given the proper environment, tools and modes of working.

This paper proposes that user-centered design processes can bridge the gap between existing civic infrastructure or services and the needs of Millennials. We argue that because user-centered design is inherently participatory, it is a suitable tool for civic agencies to engage with young people who would otherwise be absent and unheard.

We have analyzed the creative responses of over 300 design students enrolled in a third year studio paper, *Experience Design*, at Massey University's College of Creative Arts, Aotearoa - New Zealand. In the paper, we introduced students to the theories and processes of experience, social and service design. Over the past four years (2012-2015), students have collaborated with three major civic agencies facing real challenges with engaging young people.

In addition to providing an overview of three work-integrated student projects and the process underpinning them, we examine recurring themes in our students' responses. These themes lend themselves well to participatory governance; they reflect the impulse observable in Millennials to share, participate, collaborate and connect.

Background

Millennials: agents of change

Millennials are a generation who reached adulthood around the turn of the century or (reflecting the unequal and often plutocratic distribution of the technology that helps define them) those growing up as 'digital natives'. Characteristics that define Millennials present challenges to those delivering state services.

For the United States, Pew Research Center (2010) describes this group succinctly in the Portrait of Generation Next survey. Pew Research Center (2010) illustrates a generation confident, self-expressive, liberal, upbeat and open to change. They are more ethnically and racially diverse than older adults. They are less religious, less likely to have served in an institution (like the armed forces), and are on track to become the most formally-educated generation in American history. They are more 'upbeat' than their elders about their own economic future as well as about the overall state of the nation. They embrace multiple ways of self-expression, and– reading between the lines –are a very earnest group. These tendencies are transferable; almost every observation from this US project is observable in other democracies, including New Zealand.

Evidence suggests that these characteristics pose challenges for the ways in which civic agencies engage and interact with them. The radical shift in the way Millennials communicate and share ideas creates a disruptive environment in which civic agencies need to reconsider their infrastructure, products, and services. Included in this shift are the ways that Millennials harness technologies like social networks, navigate increasing transparency, and cope with the ability of the citizen to interact in ever-faster timeframes (Tapscott, 2008).

Advances in technology are rapidly making all agencies accountable, not just to stakeholders, but to all electors. Now, Millennials have constant access to the minutiae of an agency's real-world service delivery and the ethics of the agents behind them, on social media platforms including Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. These agencies, however, often lack personnel with authentic insight into the attitudes and mindsets of this audience.

Between 2012 and 2015 the authors were approached by three civic agencies seeking student input to provide the Millennial perspective they were lacking. The agencies were Wellington's regional

libraries, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) and New Zealand's Department of Inland Revenue (IR). The agencies had a range of issues they wanted the students to explore. These included the role they played in Millennials' lives, or would likely play in the future, and young people's attitudes towards services, spaces, and systems they are mandated to provide.

The tools and techniques taught in the Experience Design paper had great potential to ask these questions even though the development of infrastructure and services falls outside the traditional role of the designers. Design's purview has traditionally been limited to such issues as aesthetics, forms and creating sign value. Over the past decade, however, design's field of action has extended from the creation of objects to services, systems, and experiences. There has also been a shift in the context within which design is applied, from the commercial environment to social and civic challenges (Schneider & Stickdorn, 2010). Central to this shift has been a user-centered approach

User-centered design: a democratic process

User-centered design is a process of designing products, processes and services by including end users as active participants at each stage of the design process. In this way the user directly influences how the design takes shape and the quality or effectiveness of the experience (Brown, 2009). The designer gains empathy for user needs by encouraging dialogue among the different parties and guiding diverse perspectives towards a shared, democratic vision (DiSalvo, Clement & Pipek, 2013). Favored methods are adapted from ethnography and qualitative methods including interviewing, observing, role playing and participatory workshops. Design thinking, service design and experience design all employ these methods.

In other words, the process involves designing with users, as opposed to designing for them. This is a fundamental reason why user-centered design is so rich and potent a field when the agenda of democratization is considered.

Using these processes in the Experience Design paper represented a shift in how the civic agencies developed their products and services. Historically, the agencies took on the role of expert, using their in-house experience to develop a solution that they believed would best meet the needs of the user (McLean, Scully, & Tergas, 2008). This is a very top-down dynamic with potential for a disconnect between the perceived benefits of a solution and actual user needs.

Through the Experience Design paper, we changed this dynamic. The designer is no longer a 'hero' with all of the answers but a facilitator whose role is to identify, synthesize and respond to the problem from a user's perspective. This provides a great framework to introduce design students to civic participation, because inherent in user-centered design is an ethos of participatory governance.

Case studies

Applying user-centered design to civic issues

In this section we describe one example from each of the three projects, which highlights the key Millennial-specific issue facing each agency and the dominant approaches recommended by Millennials in response. The example solutions were developed to 'proof-of-concept' stage by students and influenced subsequent action by the agencies. The examples illustrate our much wider observation of Millennials' natural inclination towards participatory governance.

Each of the projects used the process outlined below, which was iterative with a 'fail fast' ethos. The scope of the projects was dictated by the explicit understanding of users, tasks and environments and informed by user-centered participation at each stage of the process.

Service Research

Participants researched the history and current Millennial experience of each agency, and those of its close 'competitors'. Students engaged a range of primary and secondary sources, auto-ethnography and ethnographic methods to gain user insights and inform strategic goals. Specifically, they analyzed:

- The current 'offering': product, service, place, promotion, price;
- Audiences: attitudinal, psychographic and demographic profiling;
- Current user experience(s): journey mapping;
- Competition;
- Macro-trends: the social, political, economic, cultural *zeitgeist*.

Audience Mind Sets

Through *persona-narratives* and projective techniques students developed user perspectives, highlighted the transformational needs the audience segments share, and also the tensions between different user groups and competing wants and needs. Empathy for audience's different demographic, psychographic and attitudinal dimensions – relating to both the agency's legacy and the proposed concept – guided this segmentation.

Transformation Matrix

A journey map charting the existing user experiences at each touchpoint or interaction with the service was created. This highlighted existing strengths (to be leveraged) and pain-points (to be eliminated).

This was guided by a tool developed and used within the School of Design's experience design program, the *Transformation Matrix*, ensuring the effect on the user is central to all thinking and work. This resulted in a clear identification and articulation of a user's *transformational needs*.

Big Idea

Findings were ultimately distilled by students into an overarching strategy for an enhanced Millennial experience concept. These often incorporated multiple touchpoints and stages of the user journey. As teachers in a time-limited project, we prioritized the 'big idea', rich in insights and innovative approaches, over focusing on details such as budget constraints, algorithmic complexities or logistics.

Conceptual Prototypes

Prototypes were developed to test, evolve and articulate this strategy. The responses were trans-disciplinary, and included visual communication collateral, social media strategies, spatial and digital innovations. These were communicated textually and visually, through artefacts and through film.

Using these tools and techniques, the students engaged with the following projects.

Project 1

What is a library beyond books: Connect me

The first iteration of the initiative was with Wellington City libraries. In recent years, libraries have had their relevance challenged, especially for young people, now that information is largely available anywhere, anytime online. The Wellington City libraries were interested to explore how 'digital

natives' perceived the role of libraries within the community and the potential for making libraries more relevant by design.

Figure 1. Students applying user-centered processes

Through a series of interviews and workshops the students emerged with the insight that Millennials perceived learning as a social and collaborative experience. They also observed that Millennials valued information recommended by their peers over ones recommended by librarians, algorithms or teachers. This proved potent for designing a library of the future. In response to this, the students explored ways to activate peer-to-peer learning within the library space. Students prioritized initiatives that enabled users to connect with others both digitally and physically to share resources and experiences.

This approach is evident in the exemplar *Our Library. Our Library* is an online social learning platform that incorporates individual's interest and knowledge as an extension of the library's resources. Users begin by creating a personal profile in which they have the option to participate as mentors. They then input their areas of interest and level of expertise, which gets added to the library's search engine. These are activated alongside other library resources when a participating mentor logs into the system. For example, a search might return 'Kate Baxter – Politics' as well as a textual resource relating to the topic.

When a mentor is selected the library helps to facilitate the connection by providing dedicated spaces and resources. These are accessed and booked through a responsive online app, which also provides a rating and feedback system that helps to regulate the quality of future interactions.

The emphasis on connectivity is perhaps suggestive of the sharing economy philosophy and culture (re-)entering the civic sphere. Students assumed that collaboration and sharing of knowledge would

occur to a degree that might be perceived by an older demographic as being quite idealistic but to them it seemed mainstream with incentives for participating not being seen as an issue.

Figure 2. Our Library: Activating peer-to-peer learning
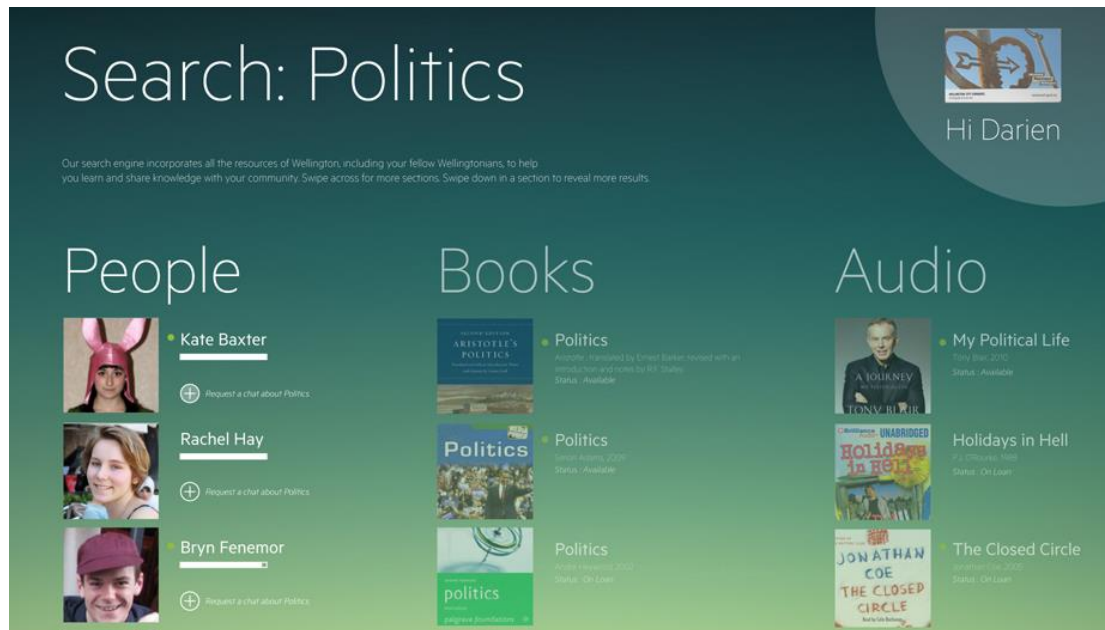
Source: (Baxter, Fisher, Hay, & Prescott, 2013)

Figure 3. Our Library: Facilitating connections

Source: (Baxter, Fisher, Hay, & Prescott, 2013)

Project 2

The future museum experience: Include me

In the second iteration the Experience Design students collaborated with the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Te Papa, like many other museums around the world, experience a significant reduction in visits from people in the years between leaving home and starting a family of their own. Te Papa were interested to explore how museums could fill this gap and successfully engage Millennials in a meaningful and sustained way.

Through the application of user-centered processes the students identified that Millennials perceived the museum experience as outwardly static, with very little reason for them to return after their first visit. They also felt that the exhibitions weren't reflective of their generation or their interests. Again the students sought to encourage Millennials to contribute their perspective to both specific exhibitions and the overall museum experience.

As an example, *Mad Dash* proposed a quarterly event in which participants have 48 hours to respond to a Millennial-specific theme set by Te Papa. In much the same way as 48 Hour Film Festivals, responses could approach the theme from a range of perspectives or agendas (including educational, political or purely entertainment). They also have the option to use any medium. In addition, under this proposal, Te Papa would provide mentors, workshops and resources to help guide the process.

Figure 4. Mad Dash proposed exhibition space

Source: (Andersen, Couper, & Wells, 2015)

Entries would be posted online and be voted for through social media channels. Finalists would then be exhibited in a pop-up exhibition space, with scheduled artist talks and tours. Winners would become mentors for future Mad Dash events, helping to sustain an authentic relationship between Te Papa and Millennials.

This approach repositions Te Papa as a hub for mentored creative making and exhibiting, and enables a unique youth perspective within a museum context. The preference for participation over representation reflects the Millennial penchant for embracing multiple modes of self-expression, encouraged through online innovations including personal profiles, blogs and video channels (Pew Research Center, 2010).

Project 3

Complying with tax: educate me

In the third and most recent iteration the collaborative partner was Inland Revenue (IR) whose biggest on-going concern is tax compliance. IR was seeking insight into Millennials' relationship with the tax system to help identify ways in which they might engage with the next generation of New Zealand entrepreneurs, employers and employees.

The students observed that Millennials have a natural desire to comply with tax but assumed that IR were there to help rather than to police. They also perceived their interactions with IR as a relationship, which - as with any relationship - they desired to be positive, constructive and transparent. To effectively activate this, the students explored strategies to transform the IR into a user-focused service provider, helping businesses succeed through risk-free learning, personal interactions and facilitating connections with similar businesses and other government agencies.

Figure 5. My Timeline journey map
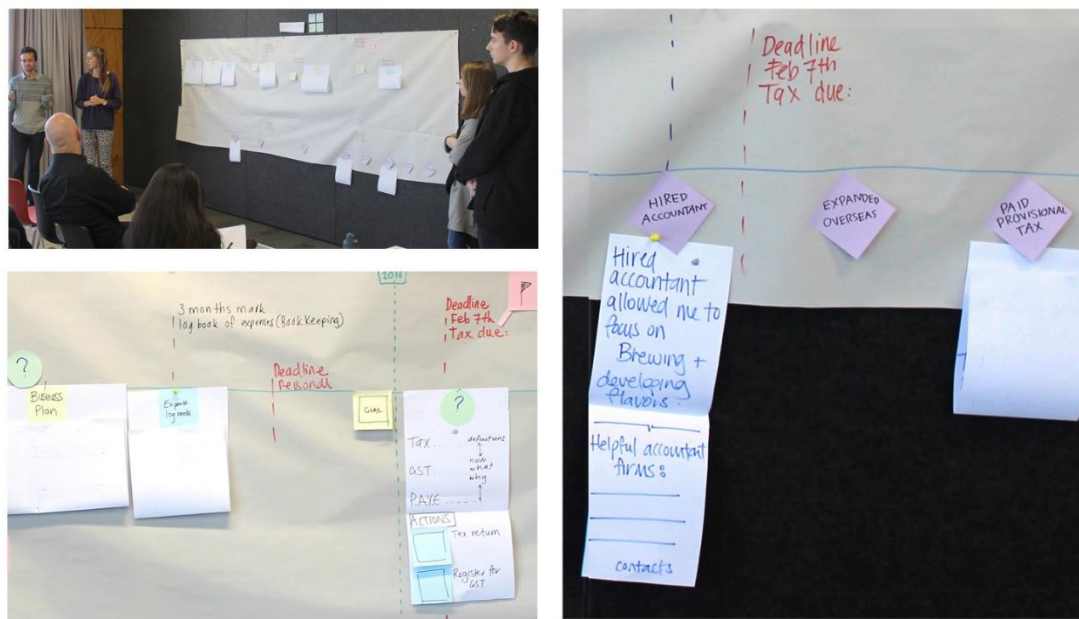
My Timeline is a gamified web tool that maps out all of the legal requirements to be completed by a new business over its first three years. This is presented in parallel with a case study from a relevant business selected by the user. It enables the user to make comparisons between what is required and the actual realities of running a business, highlighting issues that may occur and tips to deal with them. It also offers a drill-down system, where tasks or requirements are explained in more detail through online forums.

This approach repositions Inland Revenue as a business facilitator – helping users learn without consequences, pre-empting possible issues before they occur rather than waiting to penalize them once they've happened. It subscribes to concepts of transparency valued by Millennials by providing two-way channels of communication and the ability to personalize the experience. This helps to build relationships between IR, businesses and individuals, and assist them to learn and grow together.

Key findings

Our students' application of user-centered design processes to the three projects highlighted synergy between some of the defining characteristics of Millennials and mechanisms for activating participatory governance. These include a desire to share, participate, collaborate and connect. The projects also revealed much about Millennials' lifestyles, attitudes and needs, and provided innovative approaches for engagement in a civic context.

Below is a list of key expectations and assumptions that came through consistently in the students' design work. They create, in effect, a guideline for successful engagement with Millennials in the civic space:

- Prioritize social interaction, both in the physical and digital realms;

- Encourage and enable users to actively participation and contribute;

- Build in real-time interaction, results and feedback;

- Provide individualized experiences and the ability to customize;

- Listen and respond through personalized communication channels;

- Embrace the sharing economy;

- Keep communication on-point, relevant and enticing – and use this to build a deep connection over time.

The students' willingness and enthusiasm for engaging with civic projects was exciting, and helped to bridge the widening gap between Millennials and the three civic agencies with which they collaborated. Evidencing this, a range of student proposals have since been implemented, with other responses significantly influencing the development of civic initiatives. In a wider context, the proposed design responses offer potent solutions to many problems common throughout mature democracies and economies, with the integration of peer-to-peer learning, user-generated content and gamified infographics offering much potential.

As a direct result of this program many of the brightest and best from the School of Design now actively seek to work in the public sector on civic issues. At the same time, we have observed the value that design students applying user-centered design principles add to the public agencies, providing a future-friendly perspective as digital natives with a natural inclination to share, contribute and connect. They are now sought after to fill experience design roles that even four years ago did not exist. This signals a significant shift from the government's traditional top-down model.

The value of design in the development of civic infrastructure and services, however, remains unclear to many of those working in the public sector. Experiences through research such as this expose both students and government agents to the merits of the approach. This paper suggests that if agencies actively involve young people in the development of public services through the

application of user-centered design principles, they will be far more likely to continue to actively participate in the public realm. The more exposure civic agencies and Millennials get to each other, the better.

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Chapter 24

Civic engagement in Mexico's northern municipalities: How do people participate within a violent context?[1]

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze citizen perception as well as individual and collective participation in the pursuit of self-protection during the Mexican government's battle against organized crime. It also examines the different forms of expenses incurred by citizens in order to maintain a certain level of security. The geographical context of the study is the Northwestern region of Mexico, with a timeframe from 2012 to 2015.

Introduction

This paper deals with the context that prevails in some states in the northwestern part of Mexico resulting from the Mexican government's political decision to confront organized crime. It specifically analyses the data from the National Survey of Victimization and Crime Perception *(Envipe, for its acronym in Spanish)* from the year 2012 to the year 2015, to show the diverse forms in which citizens participate individually or collectively to seek self-protection and avoid becoming victims of delinquency. In this study, we raise two main questions: 1) what do the people in the northwestern part of the country think about the topic of public insecurity? And, 2) what are the main forms of participation as a means of self-defense against the setting of insecurity?

Background

In December 2006, almost at the beginning of his administration, President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa implemented the political decision, related to the security issue, to combat organized crime. Since then, the context of some Mexican regions was transformed due to the effects of violence and insecurity which were felt in some states and municipalities of the country, included among them are the ones that form the northwestern region of Mexico: Tamaulipas, Chihuahua,[2] Baja California, Sinaloa, Nuevo León and Sonora. This last one, despite the fact that the state government that ruled

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[2] The Mexican border of Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua was considered the most violent one worldwide. According to data from the Chihuahua State Attorney General's office, from November 2010 to 2012, a total of 2,666 homicides took place, whereas in 2009 a total of 2,754 persons were killed. Another indicator of violence in Mexico was the declaration of the United States General Consulate in Mexico, which constantly emitted travel alerts for its citizens to take extreme precautions in case of visiting some Mexican states, mainly the ones at the border like Baja California, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, among others.

from 2009 to 2015 repeatedly mentioned that during this period was the safest state in the northern part of the country. However, the United States of America's State Department in Washington has kept it on its records as a risky state, considering its indicators on the fight against organized crime.[3]

The official statistic data and some consultant sources illustrate in a general manner the reality in which the country has lived for several years, even considering that with the return of the PRI party in the Presidency, there prevails a different media strategy to the one of Felipe Calderon's six-year term, regarding the way to avoid dimensioning in the media, the news about executions related to drug trafficking. Some years ago, several analysts and experts on security topics pointed out that "towards the end of 2011 the executions linked to organized crime during Felipe Calderon's government were close to 51 thousand and the number of executions for 2011 was established in the order of 16,600, which is 9% superior to the number in the year 2010" (Guerrero, 2012). Even the execution count which was statistically accumulated every year puts the data published by the press through various channels face to face, with the official data issued by the Federal Government which, according to the Presidency, at that time ascended to 47,515 deaths (Hope, 2009).

In 2010, Mexican sociologist Fernando Escalante, published an essay titled *"Homicidios 2008-2009. La muerte tiene permiso"* seeking to prove that a short time after the strategy implemented by the Mexican state, the death toll increased, especially in places where there were important military and police operations. Thus, the battle between the federal government and organized crime established a series of intellectual discussions regarding the type of country that Mexico had turned into.

In the literature review on the subject it is possible to find an analysis that contains detailed descriptions regarding the characteristics of the cartels and delinquent groups that prevail in every one of the states (UNODC, 2010); there are also academic reflections found that refer to the discussion as to whether at that time there was talk about the "Deaths of Calderon", "Calderon's war" or in a more moderate equation about "the homicides committed by the criminal bands during Calderon's six year term" (Escalante, 2010). Other lines of work were dedicated to point out the failure of the strategy on combat to drug trafficking and hence, the options that the Mexican government had on the policies to confront the problem (Chabat, 2010); in this discussion, several proposals have also prevailed regarding the path that the country should take after the decision of confronting the cartels (Enciso, 2010), and in recent years, now under the presidency of Enrique Peña Nieto, the topics have referred to the inquiry as to whether violence has dropped, considering, as pointed out by Eduardo Guerrero (2015):

> In 2014 the tendency on violence related to organized crime was maintained at a low, a tendency that started in the middle of 2011 […] in a comparable manner, since 2011 there has been a steady decline on the total number of homicides reported by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography *(INEGI, for its acronym in Spanish)* […] even though *INEGI's* numbers on homicides aren't available yet, an estimation… reveals that the homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants during 2014 was close to 16.5; a decrease of almost 30% compared with the peak observed in 2011 of 23.5 homicides per 100 inhabitants.

Thus, in recent years it is possible to find several analytical proposals in which approaches are enlisted referring to some of the myths that were built around the various public positions in the framework of government strategy. Also a few years ago, Joaquin Villalobos (2010), a former

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[3] At the beginning of February 2012 the U.S. Department of State issued a new alert of the states with risk due to violence associated to drug trafficking. Of the 18 states that were enlisted in its message, Sonora was included (El Imparcial, 09/02/12, p. 1A).

Salvadorian guerrilla fighter and consultant expert on international conflict resolutions, pointed out 12 myths of the war on drug trafficking that synthesized some of the main ideas, some of which even prevail today in the literature and in some discussion spaces about the subject:

1. Organized crime should not have been confronted.
2. Mexico is Colombianized and at risk of becoming a failed state.
3. Intense debate about insecurity is a sign of aggravation.
4. The deaths and violence demonstrate that the war is being lost.
5. Three years is a long time, the Plan already failed.
6. The attacks made by the drug lords prove that they are powerful.
7. First, it's necessary to end corruption and poverty.
8. Behind drug trafficking, there are powerful politicians and businessmen.
9. The only way out is to negotiate with the drug traffickers.
10. The strategy should be addressed to the legalization of drugs.
11. The army's participation is negative and it should back out.
12. The most effective and fast way to combat crime is through vigilante justice.

Years later, once again Villalobos (2012) proposed 10 arguments to strengthen a theory that the former Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge G. Castañeda (2011) had pointed out regarding the Mexican authorities' cultural feature, which he described as an "aversion to conflict" considering various national public facts like the decision not to build Mexico City's new airport because of a small group of local inhabitants that were opposed to it; also like the time when the National Autonomous University of Mexico´s *(UNAM, for its acronym in Spanish)* facilities remained taken by a minority of students for a year, or when the government of Oaxaca was virtually overthrown and taken under rebel control for six months. So, by this perspective the Mexican authorities' "aversion to conflict", according to the former Foreign Minister, means that some government decisions were focused on administrating problems instead of solving them, which derived in coexisting with them up to the point of explosion, causing more confusion and the disappointment of citizens.

Therefore, in public debate, some arguments about the state's war against organized crime started to take force to avoid conflict related to the battle against organized crime that was already taking place in the streets, just as Villalobos noted it:

1. Force should have been prepared first.
2. Prevention must be prioritized.
3. Intelligence must be put more into practice.
4. A truce should be negotiated or agreed.
5. Dissuasive tactics like the ones used by the United States should be applied.
6. Only violent cartels must be persecuted.
7. It is a mistake to fragment cartels.
8. Drugs should be legalized.
9. Combat on other crimes should be prioritized, not drug trafficking.
10. Corrupt police and armed groups are everywhere.

At the time, each one of the statements raised by Villalobos was a topic of discussion. However, in spite of the weak points of his argumentation, these statements allowed to synthesize the state of affairs that a few years ago were still being discussed in Mexico, about the strategy and the results that derived from the Mexican government's decision to confront organized crime along the country. This decision caused a series of events to occur within the Mexican families' domestic and private activities, one of them, and a fundamental one was to seek for self-protection alternatives.

Public perception and forms of citizen participation

From the above, it is clear that there are regions in Mexico suffering from a type of social tension due to the increase of violence and the number of crimes that have been committed in the states that are under conflict. This has contributed to the configuration of a public perception in which the topic of insecurity is one of the main issues. The data registered in recent years suggests that up until today, there is no recipe that can guarantee the cease on violence. Therefore, every action taken by the federal government unleashes a series of controversies. In this sense, it is a fact that the governmental decision to confront organized crime has a direct impact on public life and, for what this work intends to show, in the construction of a public opinion that directly resents the type of results that have been reached. Therefore, citizens have had to change some routines in their way of life, nimbly participating in their self-protection.

In this sense, one might ask: What do the people in the northwestern states of the country think about the topic of public insecurity? And also: What are the main transformations in their personal habits as self-defense measures against the insecurity environment? These interrogations make sense, because what citizens think and feel portrays the moment, it gives meaning to the context of violence they suffer, and it allows for an exploration of the reality that remains in micro social and domestic spaces, which is too often diluted when a macro or national data is shown.

Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo (2009) says that violence in Mexico acquires four forms: The one that occurs in a rural atmosphere, and contrasts with an urban atmosphere, the one that emerges in border towns, and the one unleashed in remote areas. However, he notes that each one possesses a different explanation and context because the situation in the cities near the northern border is different. In addition to their geographical location, they have an accelerated demographic growth in common:

> The country's population grew 30% between 1990 and 2007, but the cities on the northern border grew between 70% and 100%. It is reasonable to think that this will also have an impact on the homicide rate and on delinquency in general, because it implies the arrival of large volumes of migrant population, fragility in the social networks, a lack of urban infrastructure resources, and a lack of services […]. Perhaps it would be productive to explore, for this specific case, the validity of some sort of variation of William Thomas's and Robert E. Park's theories on delinquency, migration and social control, or Emile Durkheim's definition about the concept of anomie (para. 30).

Moreover, Gonzalbo (2009) explains that border towns have some common characteristics that are not seen in the rest of the country. For different reasons, the border between Mexico and the United States turned into a particularly violent space during the middle of the nineties, with homicide rates that do not tend to decrease, as the ones in the rest of the country do. The tendency shows that it is a structural phenomenon and there is no indication that it will change in the near future.

Thus, the northwestern states have this type of common trait which can be linked to the idea that the spiral of violence had this northern region as a starting point and in which it was possible to establish a relationship between what a violent context has meant; the way in which a type of public perception of the topic is set; and the changes made in the routines and family habits to seek self-protection.

Table 1 shows the main insecurity problems that local communities suffer. The data shows two kinds of information related to the type of delinquency: the one caused by gangs, which takes place

near the schools, and the one related to theft. Additionally, it shows the percentage of citizens who responded that they organized themselves to try to solve the insecurity problems.

Table 1. Community problems in neighborhoods or localities (Nationwide data)

Security problems	2012	2013	2014	2015
Delinquency near schools	24.6	24.6	28.1	28.3
They were organized to solve it	25.7	29.0	32.3	35.8
Violent gangs	26.5	24.6	24.1	24.1
They were organized to solve it	17.3	19.9	23.4	23.7
Robbery	52.1	53.1	53.4	54.3
They were organized to solve it	18.7	22.7	27.1	29.6

Utility problems	2012	2013	2014	2015
Water leaks or damaged streets	33.3	38.0	41.1	46.9
They were organized to solve it	33.2	35.9	39.4	39.0
Lack of water	37.8	38.0	38.6	39.4
They were organized to solve it	40.3	35.3	46.6	43.7
Lack of street lighting	46.2	48.4	49.5	51.1
They were organized to solve it	39.9	43.4	45.0	35.7

Note. information up to March and April of each year; not available for 2011.

Source. Author's calculations based on information from *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública (2011-2015). INEGI.*

Table 1 also shows the way in which citizens seek to participate in public problems which are different from those related to crime such as water leaks on the pipelines or damaged streets, clean water shortage, and lack of street lighting. Even the percentage of participation in these issues has increased during the last years compared with the insecurity issue.

This implies at least two important points related to citizen participation in public affairs. On one hand, the data show that people participate more when it is about problems other than security. On the other hand, however, it is likely that the same insecurity issue inhibits a more open type of participation and of greater collective action, considering the danger that involves taking action when the cartels' threat is part of any local communities' context.

In this regard, Table 2 shows the percentage of people that responded who took preventive measures of self-protection in three states of northwestern Mexico: Baja California, Chihuahua, and Tamaulipas. The preventive measures correspond to the following forms of self-protection: changing doors and windows, replacing door locks, reinforcing the steel bars on the windows, installing security cameras, hiring insurance companies, purchasing watchdogs for their houses, and changing their residence to less insecure places.

Table 2. Percentage of the population that took preventive measures against crime at home
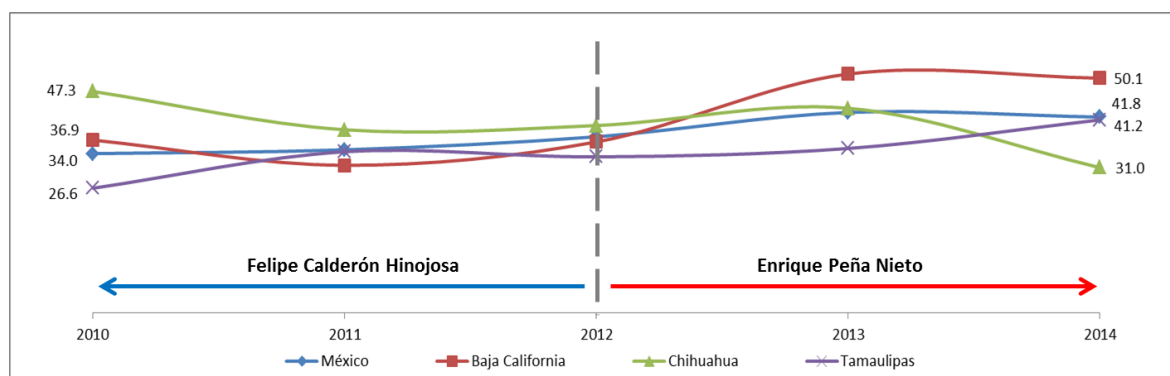
Source: Author's calculations based on information from *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública (2011-2015). INEGI.*

It is important to point out the expenses that families have spent when they seek these measures of self-protection. For example, as shown in table 3, the total amount of expenses has increased from 2010 to 2014, except for a small decrease in 2012, until reaching close to $5,000,000,000 dollars in 2015. It is an excessive expense that includes all social classes and reflects the efforts of lower-income families, who also seek alternatives to lower the danger level for their beneficiaries.

It is in Enrique Peña Nieto's current presidential term when the expenses in this category have increased. It is true that the media allowed over-dimensioned information to be perceived about the executions that took place in the battle against organized crime, however, in community life, violence does not cease. Thus, one of the explanations as to why Mexican families continue spending on self-protection during this administration is because violence continues to be a part of daily life in Mexico's northwestern states.

Table 3. Total spending on the measures taken by families (Nationwide data in millions of dollars)
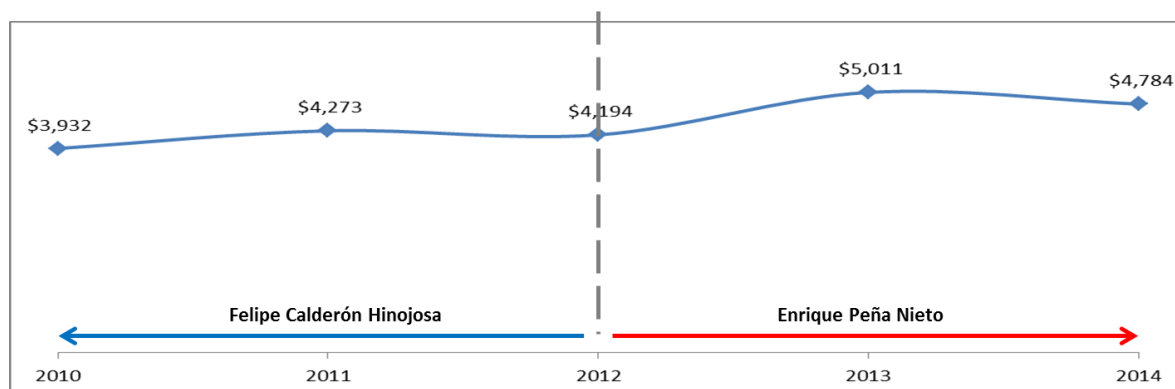
Note: The annual average exchange rate for currency conversion was used.

Source: Author's calculations based on information from *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública (2011-2015). INEGI.*

Some final considerations

It can be pointed out that in Mexico a direct relation exists between the increase of violence and citizen search of self-protection. Therefore, this seems to suggest that the issue is about a particular type of citizen participation, given the government's inability to provide security coverage in the states with greater levels of violence. The data used in this work descriptively points out three important issues that emerge from the findings shown in the survey used for this work.

On the one hand, there are forms of citizen organization that on an individual or collective manner seek forms of self-protection, which go from taking basic measures, like reinforcing the doors or windows of their homes, to expenses in the purchase of security cameras that come with the service of hired escorts. Secondly, the total amount of expenses that Mexican families spend to obtain a certain level of security is high, because all social classes, including the marginalized sectors, try to take preventive measures induced by the prevalent insecurity context. Finally, if in the year 2012 with the return of the PRI party it was thought that violence would decrease, facts show that it is not the case. The Mexican government's battle against organized crime, as the recent events show with the recapture of the drug lord Joaquin *"el Chapo"* Guzman, is still current and does not have a deadline. In this regard, the data shows that the increase in Mexican families' expenses to seek self-protection continues to be a part of the Mexican context. In a few words, faced with a high level of violence in Mexico's northwestern states, Mexican society appears to be participating in the search for self-protection, for it has several ways to do so. This is without a doubt, a positive social reaction to the insecurity atmosphere that Mexico has in its northern regions.

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Chapter 25

The structure of public testimony at public hearings

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Abstract

I propose a method for analyzing and understanding how people construct what they say in public hearings. Public hearings provide a contrast with most instances of deliberative democracy dialogues because formal, legal hearings require that people speak one at a time. In the case considered here, people signed up to speak and spoke in that order, for two minutes each. These two minutes of unbroken speech provide the consistency to examine not only what participants say, but also how they say it. The material presented in this paper should inform the practice of bureaucrats, moderators, and scholars of public involvement. It gives form and organization to the findings of scholars who have, in somewhat piecemeal fashion, picked out themes from participants' speech in contexts of democratic deliberation.

The structure of public testimony at public hearings

We know quite a bit about how to design for systems of public participation and public deliberation (Deitz & Stern, 2008; Nabatchi, 2012; O'Leary & Bingham, 2003). We know somewhat less about how to evaluate what is said during the process of participation (Black, 2012). In this paper, I propose a method for analyzing and understanding how people construct what they say in public hearings.[1] Public hearings provide a contrast with deliberative democracy because they require that people speak one at a time. In the case considered here, people signed up to speak and spoke in that order, for two minutes each. These two minutes of unbroken speech provide the consistency to examine not only what participants say, but also how they say it. The material presented in this paper should inform the practice of bureaucrats, moderators, and scholars of public involvement. It gives form and organization to the findings of scholars who have, in somewhat piecemeal fashion, picked out themes from participants' speech in contexts of democratic deliberation (Black, 2012).

I consider how people form their statements at public hearings in the light of complex and conflicting demands on speakers, using methods drawn from linguistic anthropology, to understand the way people use language to construct their statements – and how that language breaks apart into pieces, or segments (Bauman, 2004; Silverstein, 1993, 2005). The statements include emotion, narratives about the self (Ryfe, 2006), and reasoned analyses; the testimonies speak "for" many different entities, including the nation, the union, local residents, and the future: all in one constructed – though varied, form (Poletta & Lee, 2006). Thus, each statement incorporates as a whole exactly the themes that have been termed, for deliberative events, isolated (Mansbridge et al., 2010), or naturally

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[1] A public hearing is a special kind of public meeting that meets certain legal requirements under NEPA. I have found that the structure of language at public hearings does not differ from speeches at formal public meetings – when there are single speeches rather than back-and-forth exchanges, so I use the two forms, public hearings and meetings, interchangeably. The hearings described here took place in 2002.

and causally linked (Hoggett & Thompson, 2002). Though the way people speak during deliberative conversations certainly varies from the form discussed here, it seems likely that there is enough consistency between speech at public hearings and during deliberation to consider public hearing testimony a genre of speech (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Bauman, 2004).

When we analyze what is said, both by participants and bureaucrats, it becomes clear how cultural understandings are embedded in discourse, and how they are used to discipline participants, at least in the United States (Barnes, 2012; Spiegel, 2010; van Stokkom, 2012). My investigation of the structure of citizen speech reveals that talk of emotion can be used as a subtle–or not so subtle–way of dismissing citizen contributions to the public discussion. Emotion–as we shall see–is most often referenced obliquely, and it surfaces in discussion before, during and after the public has had its say (Urban, 2001; Warner, 2002). Since it can be an integral part of how people speak, practitioners and scholars should be cautious in dismissing emotion expression (Hoggett & Thompson, 2002).

The research problem: How do people talk to the state, and how does the state talk back?

I have researched the way the public speaks during public meetings by following the controversial effort of the Indiana Department of Transportation [INDOT] to choose a route – from 16 possible routes – for a new interstate highway, I-69. Highway I-69 was planned to run between Evansville, in the southwest corner of the state and Indianapolis, in the center. Supporters argued for economic development and better communication between Evansville and the state capital four hours away. Protestors objected to the price-tag of a new highway, and the loss of farms, forests, homes, and businesses. National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) law required INDOT to hold three public hearings to discuss the results of highway impact studies and to take public input. Those hearings and the coverage in newspapers afterward, form the core of the data for this essay.

The discourse of civility: The state talks to people about how to talk

When the state holds public meetings and public hearings on highly controversial issues, there is often an introductory plea for civility spoken by a meeting official (Bryson, Quick, Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013; Emerson, Joosse, Willis, & Cowgill, 2015). Though the plea may seem a neutral, even necessary, guideline, it highlights the possibility that citizens might speak–or behave–with emotion, while conveying a concurrent warning that only rational speech constitutes civil dialogue. What the state says to citizens before they testify is a vivid example of the way rational language is established as normative, while emotional language is often spoken of as if it were an outlaw form of expression.

Consider the following transcript of the presentation of Bryan Nicol, then Commissioner of Transportation, before an audience of citizens at the first public hearing about I-69. He is responding to speculation that highway opponents could mount a protest during the meeting. I have formatted all texts to reflect the way the talk was delivered.

> You know I 69
>
> IS a project
>
> That has GREAT emotions and
>
> GREAT FEELINGS for many people across the state.
>
> People have
>
> strong feelings one way or another with regard to this project.

And I would simply ask that

each of you

As you come forward

to make YOUR point

that you give

DUE RESPECT

AND CONSIDERATION

to your fellow citizen. (*low voice*)

…

And though we HAVE strong feelings about this

As we ALL know

That we want to

HAVE a hearing

That is both civil

And that gives EVERYone

An opportunity

To comment.

…

The repeated request for respect, or civility, highlights the normative standard of rational language that tells people to restrain and repress their feelings. Nicol's words portray emotion, here described as "strong feelings," as a dire risk to "this very important project." The request for restraint places on one side language that expresses rationality, objectivity, and good manners; on the other emotion, expression, subjectivity and disorder (Gal, 2002). It suggests, under the guise of encouraging civil behavior, that a trace of emotion in talk may make the rest of the contribution less valid. This kind of talk about talk puts the issue into the domain of language ideology (Gal and Woolard, 2001; Kroskrity, 2006; Silverstein, 1998).

Language ideology is a set of any ideas about language that discuss, regulate, or favor one kind of language over another. The comparison of rational and emotional language, both explicit and implicit, characterizes this kind of talk to citizens before they speak, the talk of citizens while they speak, and talk about citizens after they speak. It is so pervasive that I have called this continuing conversation the *discourse of civility* (Spiegel, 2010).[2] At this hearing, the imposition of a rational

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[2] This phrase is used with a debt to Jane Hill (1985). In "The Grammar of Consciousness and the Consciousness of Grammar" she discusses the discourse of nostalgia in the use of two languages, Mexicano and Spanish.

language standard served as a means for the state to reject ahead of time the contributions of some speakers. At the same time, speakers have their own sets of concerns to organize.

The paradox of participating citizens

When citizens make their statements at public hearings, they must respond to complex, even contradictory demands on the presenting public. It is no accident that citizens may be accused of emotion. They are sought for public meetings because of their individual particularity; they represent indigenous knowledge, beliefs, and insights that bureaucrats can't access. When citizens stand up to speak precisely because they and their thoughts are not well known, they must find a way to introduce themselves and their commitments that indicates just how close they are to their knowledge. In addition, of course, citizens should deliver a well-argued, rational statement of how they stand on the question at issue. At the same time, citizens are expected to assume yet another stance, one that contrasts vividly with a personal, local perspective. This is the generally held view that every good citizen must have a wider viewpoint, one that shows a concern for others. Citizens should represent more universal, more shared perspective, one directed away from the self towards ideas that represent an acknowledgment of collective needs. Citizens must not show emotion, even though they have been encouraged to speak *because* they are closest to a particular issue. They must express a collective point of view even as they articulate their own. Warnings about civility, such as the one Nichols delivered, strike at a time when important decisions are on the line, and strong feelings are at stake. But that is precisely what motivates the warning: citizens might, but should not, be emotional. Speakers are constantly vulnerable to the accusation that they are too particular, too close to their knowledge to see usefully beyond themselves and their territory, so they must present a self at once local, rational, and universal.

Citizen speakers surmount paradox

Citizens solve the problem through rhetoric, by organizing their speech so that each requirement is filled, one at a time. A citizen strings together segments of talk in different kinds of language, sequentially adding segments to form one whole speech. These cumulative additions form pieces of a pattern that can be traced, over and over, in citizen testimony at public meetings. I use methods of anthropological linguistics to distinguish and identify three segments, or sections, so frequently found in public testimony that the pattern constitutes repeated form, a genre of speaking (Briggs & Bauman, 1992). We can see the genre in the examples of public testimony that follow.

When people stand up to speak, the first segment that they construct most often serves as an introduction that establishes local credentials. This is a statement about the self that is at the same time an assertion of dedication to the specific place, issue and/or people that the decision involves: a *commitment*. The appearance of the narrative "I" often announces a story in this segment, though narratives about others also show up here. The second segment is marked with a transition, signaled by a verb of opinion that makes a rational and distanced statement of opinion, or *argument* about the subject. Finally a third segment, often signaled with a "we" form, makes a conclusion that extends the first local or individual concern into a wider net that includes more people, a bigger area, or a longer time frame. This is not just a conclusion, it is an *expansion* that takes the local commitment announced before, and extends it beyond the individual speaker. This form of conclusion mitigates the local affiliation announced at the beginning by asserting that the speaker is concerned about far more than her own, particular involvements. These three elements function to navigate the tension between personal perspective, reason, and universality.

The following example Table 1 is from David Morgan, a farmer. He used less than his allotted two minutes of time to oppose the construction of the new highway. I have condensed his speech to highlight the three-part structure. When he finished his intervention, he received warm applause.

Table 1

Text	Segments
We got a farm that this highway will go at a 45 degree angle through.	1. Commitment

I'm wondering how many people here would support
 	
  a highway that went
 	
  a 45-degree angle
 	
through their place of business
	2. Argument

where they're planning on their kids continuing on forever. [18 lines omitted] this is totally uncalled for and I'm not giving up.	3. Expansion

This farmer shows that he is as involved with the road as it is possible to be—he will be physically affected—the farm represents his residence and his business. The not-quite-perfect words demonstrate that a speech like this can be flawed but still effective – perhaps the quality of his language (and his overalls) at that moment gave credence to his commitment as a farmer. His statement of opinion, "I'm wondering" makes a transition to the second section, where he will explain his outlook in the severely rational terms of geometry: no plow can turn in the point of a field cut by a road at a 45-degree angle. In the third section, he makes an expansion in terms of time by bringing up the subject of the future. His final line "I'm not giving up" is a warning that performs its own intention; it takes the third section into a fully indefinite future. "I'm not giving up" is, from one point of view, a simple threat. Although a strong statement, the warning acts as a form of self-authorization of its own claims, a way to imbue a conclusion with extra, ceremonial power. When speakers make points about themselves and their own engagements during their speeches, they often use their time to make points about other speakers – and the state bureaucracy, which was widely viewed as supporting new interstate construction. As in this case, the expansion section can also broaden the dimensions of a speaker's authority by projecting yet another participant role: the right to command INDOT *not* to build the highway.

Another speaker was a teacher, who told a story about herself and others that contained a separate and reasoned argument that INDOT should listen to the many people aligned against the highway.

Table 2

Text	Segments
Thank you.	1. Commitment
I just wanted to say	
I've spent my whole life in	
Bloomington.	
I went to Monroe County Schools.	
I graduated from Bloomington South.	
I went to Indiana University and got my degree	
in Secondary Education	
and now I'm a teacher in Bloomington	
Indiana.	
And I would like to say	
on behalf of myself	
and **many** others because when one person comes up here	2. Argument
and says something it's representing	
many many people in the community.	
So on behalf of myself and MANY	3. Expansion
others in the community,	
I say please	
Firmly	
NO new-terrain.	
Thank you.	

The first segment reflexively narrates the speaker's own attributes and environment, recounting the elements of her life that she feels are pertinent to the opinion she is about to give, introduced with "I want to say." This first section is particularly effective in establishing the speaker's authority, or warrant, to give an opinion. The effusive quality of the opening statement, especially as expressed in the para-language of stressed voice, volume, and gesture does indeed suggest emotion. But that is an emotion used in service of the argument: the speaker has reason to know what she says: so many people oppose the new highway that public opinion should prevent its installation. The expansion, not surprisingly, is a variation on this theme.

The discourse of civility during the meeting

The discourse of civility was employed as a weapon in the contest over the decision about new Interstate 69. INDOT and the firm it contracted to prepare the Environmental Impact Statement were bitterly and repeatedly accused of not knowing, understanding, or caring about local values and concerns. But this accusation was also frequently made about individuals by other individuals.

One road supporter took a portion of his two minutes to emphasize the disruptions caused by vocal highway opponents at a hearing the night before.

> I also want to say that
>
> this little see-saw battle that's been going on with bickering
>
> and
>
> name calling
>
> and
>
> things like I heard
>
> which was just preposterous last night in Bloomington
>
> was yes I made the three and half hour trip to Bloomington last night
>
> and I thank you all for not **lowering** yourselves to that level
>
> that I seen
>
> 90 percent of that crowd lower themselves to last night,
>
> for that you deserve applause. [Audience: *yeah, yeah*, *applause*]

Here the speaker engages the discourse of civility to discipline the road opponents, a few of whom briefly heckled opposing speakers at the Bloomington meeting, using a strategy that links instances of out-of-turn speaking to maximal emotion and disruptiveness. At the same time, he weaves into this critique a comment about the length of his trip to Bloomington as a means of arguing the need for a direct route, posing his own rationality against the uncivil conduct of the road opponents the night before.

As the statement demonstrates, when speakers choose to comment on the language used by others, they engage in the kind of evaluation that is frequently reserved for authorities – teachers, tests, and bosses. The performance lends these speakers, for the moment, exactly that kind of authority. When INDOT evaluates these speeches, as legally it must, this kind of complexity is discarded (Bakhtin, 1986).

The state disposes of public testimony

The Federal Highway Administration requires that all individual testimonies must be recorded, transcribed, and answered in final NEPA report. INDOT employees use the transcripts as source material for answering issues raised at the hearings, meetings, and other forms of information gathering. The preparers edit each statement made by each citizen, surgically cutting out what they find extraneous. They discard the commitment section and the closing expansion segment of each statement, leaving only the middle section that contains the argument of each testimony. To say the

least, INDOT reduces complex claims to a very simple common question, a process made easy and seemingly natural by the readily segmented quality of testimony. INDOT then groups together several similar arguments and provides one answer for each group. For arguments against building the road, INDOT answers explain how the points are not applicable, wrong, or have been considered and discarded. Since citizen arguments are judged against standards that the state has decided according to information that the state has collected, any argument in protest of a state decision may be discounted.

Conclusion: Public hearings and public testimony

The discourse of civility, constructed in the speech of bureaucrats and speakers at public hearings and registered once more in a newspaper reports about the hearings, demonstrates the multiple ways that the genre of public speaking can take political life. This should inform our study of citizen opinion expressed at other types of democratic participation events. My analysis suggests that moderators (and bureaucrats) should always be cautious of the way that requests for civility and rationality 'dismiss' some kinds of speakers. In addition, the back and forth exchanges of speech at less formal participation settings may seem too different from the highly composed two-minute speeches of public hearings to draw any parallels between the two kinds of talk. But I believe that people often compose versions of the three segments as they speak, even over several exchanges of opinion. Scholars often single out one segment – frequently the argument section –for analysis. When that happens, we miss the full import of what people are saying. We miss, for example, what speakers claim as their authority for speaking. Or, like so much media reporting, we take people's identification of their grounds for speaking as individualistic and self-interested, as blind to greater, more compelling needs. The designation of speakers as NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) is only one example of this. As people introduce themselves, they often ground their statements in a narrative – about themselves. This kind of talk is understood as too emotional to support any rational statement. But most people who oppose actions that will directly affect them eventually articulate more universal arguments for their points when they expand their story to cover more people, more time, more land, even more money. This final statement comes at the end of the speech, and compared with the narrative introduction it is much less compelling to scholars, to media reporters and their audiences; it is frequently ignored. The sequence of different kinds of talk suggests the unit of analysis of speaker statements should itself be expanded at the least to cover several turns of talk in order to incorporate the many roles that speakers play as they speak. I suggest that we can look to how people organize what they say in order to trace the expectations for how citizens should represent themselves, and how speakers meet those expectations. In the process, we access the importance of ideas about language in shaping the way people fashion their statements about their own commitments and the commitments of other people as they establish who they are and what they stand for.

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Chapter 26

Crowdfunding and civic engagement: A managerial perspective

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Abstract

Crowdfunding is a relatively new instrument of fundraising. The main mechanism behind it is getting persons involved to support the initiation of a project by providing a (small) amount of money in return for a personal benefit (including shares) or a community-related one. Therefore, crowdfunding could be connected with the civic involvement of people, as well as with the perceived outcomes of their involvement. In order to facilitate this process, several crowdfunding platforms have been set up around the world. They have been used primarily for the benefit of start-ups. Nevertheless, a sub-category of crowdfunding has emerged entitled civic crowdfunding - which refers to the involvement of groups that support municipalities initiate community services. This research investigates the crowdfunding phenomenon in Romania, considering the ways in which the existing crowdfunding platforms function. The maturity of the Romanian crowdfunding platforms is observed in order to determine the way they are connected to civic engagement. The main method of investigation comprises of personal interviews with the managers of the Romanian crowdfunding platforms. The resulted outcome is used to suggest measures and appropriate approaches to develop crowdfunding platforms specific to Romania.

Introduction

Various perspectives have increasingly investigated the complex impact of digital evolution on contemporary society; digital activism is a popular topic among such perspectives. Mora (2014) considers digital activism a new form of social and political participation enabled by web 2.0. Initiators and supporters of a group statement use digital media to target certain authorities or other groups in order to make a stand or cultivate change (Edwards, Howards, & Joyce, 2013). The use of technology-mediated tools for social interaction, crowd engagement and sharing shape the common ground. The forms of participation enabled by the internet are very diverse; forms include e-mobilizations, e-movements, e-petitions, micro-blogging, and online forums, among others. One form of online civic engagement is the use of a crowdfunding platform for social intervention. Stated differently, this process of engagement involves donating money in an effort to solve a social issue. Even when supporting a start-up, a donor could consider the social impact of the business proposal the donor seeks to contribute to.

In some societies, digital activism is an appealing approach. For instance, 58% of Americans consider digital activism effective, almost half of all Americans would donate $10 online to nonprofit organizations, and 12% would support a company to address a social or environmental issue (Cone Communications, 2014). The willingness to donate online is higher than the actual registered donations, with 65% willingness to donate online in comparison to 35% of registered

donations. However, the percentage of such actions is projected to increase steadily (Cone Communications, 2014).

The World Giving Index (2015) demonstrates that the U.S. is the first to donate, while Romania is ranked 93rd. For Romania, this position increased from the previous year's record where the country ranked 108th. This rank improved because of the significant increase in helping a stranger year on year (World Giving Index, 2015, p. 27). If we consider only monetary donations, Romania ranks 84th worldwide. Moreover, the urban population in Romania performs better compared to the rural population. Daedalus (2012) demonstrates that nearly 70% of urban Romanians donate. Therefore, the opportunity to raise money for social causes exists. In this context, crowdfunding would theoretically have a public able and willing to participate Data worldwide shows that the social causes are the most appealing factor to people who participate in crowdfunding. To this point, 30% of the projects supported related to social causes (Statista, 2015c)

This research aims to investigate the civic dimension of crowdfunding in Romania. The research method comprises of three approaches: an investigation of the field literature, observations of the crowdfunding platforms mainly aiming to map the public involvement, and semi-structured interviews with the managers of the crowdfunding platforms.

Crowdfunding and civic engagement: A brief academic perspective

While crowdfunding is not a new approach, it became popular during the digital era due to the popularity of crowdfunding sites, which are user-friendly, trustworthy and helpful in connecting platforms with potential donors and investors. Here, individuals donate money instead of time, energy or work to help fund a project—including business projects (Booth, 2015). Generally speaking, crowdfunding is "an act of acquiring third-party financing from the general public via an intermediary, generally in the form of a web-based platform" (Tomczak & Brem, 2013, p. 339).

Since, in many cases, personal connections between donors and project initiators do not exist, one might wonder why the donor funds the project. Crowdfunding projects are collaborative projects, meaning people publically and financially contribute to, promote, and support certain causes or business initiatives without necessarily knowing one another (Ordanini, Miceli, Pizzetti, & Parasuraman, 2011). Nevertheless, three general involvement models in crowdfunding emerge: passive investment, active investment, and donations (Tomczak & Brem, 2013). Although civic crowdfunding could enter any of the previous schemes, it most often materializes in a donation.

Crowdfunding could be equity-based, where supporters receive equities, or reward-based, where people contributing receive an incentive as a direct and personal benefit if the project is initiated. In terms of amounts of money raised, the former seems to be much more popular (Statista, 2015b).

As the success of a crowdfunding campaign is tightly related to the opportunity recognition the return on the crowdfunding involvement should be clear and relevant to the targeted public (Lehner, 2013). Relatively large amounts of money may be obtained by collecting small contributions from many people.

Additionally, many factors contribute to the success of a crowdfunding campaign. While some contributing factors are related to the characteristics and motivations of participation, including the nature of the benefits, others are related to the features of the proposed projects or of their initiators. For example, credibility is considered one of these issues as it relates to the perceived quality of the project. Further, if the public personality relates to a project, obtaining necessary funding becomes a matter of chance (Mollick, 2014).

Reasons to donate through crowdfunding platforms are diverse; while some donate for entertainment purposes or as an emotional experience, others donate in an effort to establish a connection with a person one admires (Booth, 2015). Some donors may consider their support an investment (Firth, 2012) and may even have a charitable cause in mind (Nuwer, 2014), Donors may also consider their personal benefits - either directly because of their contributions, or indirectly as possible clients. Additionally, a selection of donors may contribute for social reputation, self-fulfillment, or other intrinsic motives (Tomczak & Brem, 2013). Crowdfunding may be perceived as a participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006) or as civic participation (Grossman, 2012; Stiver, Barroca, Minocha, Richards, & Roberts, 2015).

Civic crowdfunding occurs when people become involved in developing public assets for the benefit of certain communities (Davies, 2014; Stiver et al., 2015). In some cases, projects are initiated and sponsored by public bodies. However, they could also exist independently of the public administration. Some projects are developed at very large scales and significantly influence communities (e.g., infrastructure construction), while others are on a smaller scale, with a smaller impact (e.g., community festivals). People are often willing to financially contribute to projects influencing their communities in positive ways or to help individuals or groups in need. This perspective aligns with changes in mentalities, attitudes, and behaviors in contemporary society whereby people become more aware and active in the field of social involvement and civic responsibility.

While all crowdfunding platforms host civic projects, dedicated crowdfunding platforms were set up on line as the phenomenon began to increase and acquired its own specificities. Nevertheless, civic crowdfunding is not limited to online donations; it may be linked to online or offline communication, as well as other offline forms of involvement. In order to create supportive networks, it would be beneficial to involve people on wider scales (Stiver et al., 2015, pp. 267-268). Paradoxically, civic crowdfunding raises questions related to the role of public administration and the consistency of its activity, to social inequality, and to some negative impacts in the public sphere (Davies, 2015; Grossman, 2012).

Crowdfunding evolution worldwide and in Romania

The present growth of crowdfunding is considerable; the donations tripled to almost 2.7 billion USD between 2010 and 2012 (Statista, 2012). The most significant donors are North America (1.6 billion USD) and Europe (0.9 billion USD). Donated funds are related to the number of existing crowdfunding platforms; 191 exist in the United States, 44 in the United Kingdom, 29 in the Netherlands, 28 in France, 21 in Brazil, and 20 in Germany (Statista, 2012). While four of the platforms in the US are dedicated to civic crowdfunding, any of the others may host projects influencing communities.

The dynamism of worldwide crowdfunding is directly linked to the percentage growth of crowdfunding platforms and is growing significantly every year. For example, the percentage growth of crowdfunding platforms increased from 38% in 2008 to 60% in 2012 (Statista, 2015a).

In Romania, the first crowdfunding platform was launched in 2012. In 2015, there were seven reward-incentive platforms, including one developed by a university and two developed by companies (one to support nonprofits, created by the Romanian Commercial Bank (BCR), another developed by Avon to support individuals). Galantom serves as an additional type of crowdfunding platform, raising money for nonprofit organizations by mobilizing fundraisers dedicated to specific causes or projects. *Împarte.ro* also serves as a platform for charitable crowdfunding; this platform

accepts donations of all kinds, including financial donations to nonprofit organizations registered on the platform. Online platforms for goods donations and exchanges include *BisNit.ro* and *Tradecamel.com*.

Table 1. The Romanian crowdfunding platforms

Platform	Launch year	Type	Active
Finanțează proiecte (*Let's finance projects*)	?	General	No
Împarte (*Let's share*)	2010	Charity	Not updated
Creștem idei (*We grow ideas*)	2012	General	Yes
Multifinanțare (*Multiple financing*)	2012	General	Yes
Bursa Binelui (*Stock market for Good*)	2012	CSR platform	Yes
We are here	2013	General	Yes
Pot și eu (*I can do it, too*)	2013	General	Not updated
Kazuu	2013	General	No
Galantom	2013	Charity, crowdfunding by fundraisers	Yes
Crowdfunding @ UBB	2014	University platform	No
Donează cu Avon (*Donate with Avon*)	2014	CSR platform	Yes
Sprijină (*Let's support*)	2015	General	Yes
Buy and Help	2015	Cause-related marketing	Yes

The number of projects proposed for support on these platforms varies from almost 70, as in the case of *Creștem idei*, to only two, as in the case of *Kazuu* - which is no longer active. The most dynamic platforms - both in terms of the number of projects subscribed and communication or visibility - seem to be *Creștem idei, We are here* and *Sprijină*. While *Multifinanțare* also has a significant number of projects subscribed, only a few of them are ultimately financed (*ca.* 15%). One of the platforms entitled *Sprijină* - opened a sub-platform—*Sprijină destine*—aimed to attract funding for individuals.

All the aforementioned platforms classify projects in several categories; sometimes the typology extremely varies, with more than 25 domains, such as in the case of *Sprijină*. Other platforms are more specialized, as in the case of the university platform entitled *Crowdfunding@UBB,* promoting projects in the fields of community, education, and health.

Figure 1. Supported domains

The domains that stand out among all others involve culture and arts, technology, community, education, and health. This data suggests that the managers of the Romanian crowdfunding platforms consider civic projects extremely important—more important than helping to develop start-ups.

In terms of success, financing rates differ significantly among platforms. For instance, *Kazuu* did not receive financing, despite having proposed two projects, while eight of the nine projects *Crowdfunding@UBB* proposed were supported. Taking into account only the functional general platforms, the success rate is 38%.

In considering contributions, only a few projects ultimately reach 10,000 euros. The average amount of money raised for a project is much lower - typically ranging between 1,500 and 2,000 euros. The exception is a high-tech project that raised 3.5 million RON (over 800,000 euros) in May 2014. Although no details are available on the crowdfunding platform regarding the contributions for this project, it is highly probable that crowdfunding was responsible for only a small portion of the financing.

A list of the 10 most successful projects from all platforms financed through crowdfunding shows that four of the 10 are commercial in nature, with three proposed by artists and one by a company in the field of technology. Six of these projects are charities proposed by nonprofit organizations. When one looks at the supported domains, five are cultural, two are scientific, two are community oriented, and one falls into the field of technology and innovation. It is noteworthy that not all platforms are transparent in regards to the number of contributors and values of contributions raised through the platforms. As such, this analysis is only partially complete. Nevertheless, the existing analysis suggests that Romanians are eager to support causes that are community oriented, rather than to support commercial endeavors. When business proposals are considered, they are also mainly culture oriented - often including film or music.

Following our investigations of these platforms, some issues related to the way platforms communicate and function emerged and are summarized below: i) some administrators promote the concept of crowdfunding offering support both to project managers and donors, and such platforms seem to be more successful in terms of attracting proposals; ii) some platforms are very transparent in presenting a detailed report on each project (traffic, amount of donations, number of donors etc.), while others are less transparent; iii) the general impression generated is that traffic on most platforms is low, and so is the support for most of their projects.

Romanian crowdfunding platforms: Why and how do they function?

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to understand the way the existing crowdfunding platforms function. Several broad questions were considered, including questions of why they appeared, whether crowdfunding is a form of civic activism, and what processes are involved in crowdfunding.

In an effort to understand the managerial perspective within different frameworks, the primary targets of this research were managers and/or initiators of various types of crowdfunding platforms. Considering the time and availability of each manager, as well as various geographical constraints, some interviews were conducted in person, while others were mediated through the internet via Skype.

Table 2. List and details of the interviewees

Name	Platform	Position held
Cătălina Azamfirei	Pot şi eu	Project manager & Co-founder
Oana Rus	Creştem idei	Project coordinator
Nicoleta Deliu	Bursa Binelui	Department Manager, Corporate Communication and Community Affairs
Radu Popescu	Buy and Help	Founder

The initiation of crowdfunding platforms

In all the cases investigated, people who wanted to facilitate the implementation of certain charitable projects initiated the platforms; they sensed a lack of financial opportunities, they were aware of various approaches already popular in other countries, and they sensed a Romanian need that could get satisfied.

> It all started with Dragoş's wish, to mobilize his friends and colleagues. For his February birthday, rather than the usual gifts, to effectively wanted to help some projects with a social impact. Together with the Bucharest Community Foundation team, he released an announcement and received 40 social entrepreneurship project ideas. During a festive evening, guests donated money and services for four projects, in a total worth of 10,000 lei. This experience proved to be such a great way to effectively help develop entrepreneurship in Romania, that we started working on the development of the platform *Pot şi Eu*. (C.A.)

> The platform was launched by three co-founders, one of them working in the academia – and dealing with various projects, but she began to resent the fact that various projects and good ideas would not happen because of lack of financial support ... All three people had an NGO background, and were academics; their additional skills came from various fields - marketing, communication, sort of IT, customer care... They developed their own crowdfunding campaign for this platform to be technically developed. (O.R.)

About seven years ago I started organizing a mini-campaign aimed to help poor families with small children in the Cluj County. Every winter, before Christmas, I collect food, toys, clothes, and appliances for these needy families that we learned about through our acquaintances. For about three years I have been working with affiliated marketing for various personal projects, and last year I simply thought to somehow combine the donations and the affiliated marketing to help more people. In March 2015, I enrolled in a contest for startups (Innovation Labs) and I reached the final stage where I received mentoring and help to launch the platform that I imagined.. (R.P.)

Given that small and medium NGOs frequently face a funding problem, we decided to launch *Bursa Binelui* platform, the only platform for un-commissioned donations for NGOs in Romania, to encourage them to collect donations from individuals, community, and thus involving them directly in their projects. We want that these donations given to small and medium organizations to ensure sustainable growth in the long term, as individual donors invest not only their financial resources, but also their confidence when deciding to use the platform to support a project. Of course it is not easy for NGOs to persuade people donate online via credit card because people are reluctant to do it. But we also believe that this easy and useful tool would not only help NGOs to become sustainable, but will educate the general public to use the card more often for various transactions, donations included. (N.D.)

As such, the initiators proved to be responsible and, in many cases, involved in the civic projects in multiple ways. Additionally, the crowdfunding platforms could be specifically designed or strategically planned to attract social projects, rather than other types of proposals. While some other platforms may be oriented more towards innovation, they often continue to maintain awareness of the social greater good.

On our platform we invite all those who have a business idea that would make a difference for the community. We want to receive projects that have a lasting social impact, to learn and to financially support people who have ideas and want to step in to make a change for the betters, helping to transform their ideas into reality. Romanians do not know how to appreciate entrepreneurial experience and most of the times bankruptcy is considered shameful. At the same time, we have one of smallest cohort of young wannabe entrepreneurs. Through our platform, we want to invite Romanians to effectively help with the money they give to innovative and social entrepreneurship. *Pot și Eu* aggregates people around causes in which they believe… We initiated this process because we considered there is a great need to help intelligently and alternative fund those who want to enter into entrepreneurship for a good cause, but have great obstacles in raising capital at the beginning. We offer such a tool through which entrepreneurs devote their time and energy to mobilize and convince the community to support them to develop the project. Everyone in the community can add one drop to the success of a project s/he believes. (C.A.)

We select projects that come to us on the platform and we seek them to have two dimensions ... on one hand, a project has to come with something new, creative, unique, and, on the other hand, to generate a positive impact on the community… we seek to have a positive impact for the community, not for an individual. (O.R.)

In their desire to better support the causes on the platform—as well as to develop the platforms—the managers of crowdfunding platforms participate in various types of events, develop workshops and promote the concepts of crowdfunding and social responsibility.

Why do people get involved in crowdfunding?

The managers of crowdfunding platforms agree that a mix of factors formed by the incentives received and the desire to do something good motivate them to contribute, and especially when the benefits are symbolic.

> In Romania, there have not been many cool campaigns - it's cool to give money for it … The main reason is that someone knows the initiator and the cause. The second criterion for participation is the reward received. The third situation is that some campaigns were covered in the press and this generated supporters. (C.A.)

> I think everyone has something close to his soul. It may be love of animals, nature, and children, and would like to help them…. virtually everyone can donate money to a cause dear to him. Many people would donate money if there was a very simple way to do it, without getting too much involved… We help people donate… (R.P.)

> People donate money because they want to be involved in projects they believe in. Moreover, they have already seen very good results from other projects and they want to be part of the projects that change the society in which they live. Many do not only donate money but also volunteer, participate in the implementation of those projects, which can only please us very much…. We believe that in the near future, interest in such platforms would be higher because the Romanians understood that each of us could get involved in the community and contribute to its development with small gestures. A donation for a project may help more than we imagine, and that doing this constantly, with small amounts that will not affect very much our family budget is just a sign that we reached the normality we have hoped for. (O.R.)

While they also believe that the trend to support projects and initiatives through crowdfunding is positive, not all of them are confident:

> From my experience so far and the contacts I have with NGOs in Romania the crowdfunding does not work well enough in the social area. These campaigns were very successful in the IT area where it finances projects quickly and with amounts exceeding the initial application. When it comes to NGOs, I noticed that most do not act very much online, do not know how to draw funds from this area.(R.P.)

How do the platforms work?

In all investigated cases, the crowdfunding platform managers select the projects proposed for funding using several criteria in addition to a somewhat formalized procedure. They take into consideration both the characteristics of the proposal and the credentials of the initiator.

They also work closely with the initiators in order to better present the project on the platform, to adequately communicate its ideas, and to increase the chances of attracting financing. While the promotion of the projects is the responsibility of both the initiator and the platform itself, the dominant role belongs to the initiator of the project.

> Each project initiator is different from the others, the projects are different, the approaches differ ... And then (a campaign's success) depends on many factors. For

example, some people are more open, they do not have a problem to come forward, to talk about their project. A crowdfunding campaign involves an exposure, a step ahead; it is virtually a constant communication with the public, the community, those whom you address. Some people are shy, others are more courageous. Some have more experience on this side of project management, organization, communication, others do not have this experience and then we have to intervene more, to explain more ... We invest quite a lot in this area of education… We offer consultancy prior, during and after the campaign… We spend a lot of time in consultancy and education. (O.R.)

Conclusion and further research directions

From the perspective of crowdfunding platform managers, Romanian crowdfunding is tightly related to civic engagement. The platforms were initiated with the desire to do good, in many cases by persons who have a personal history of civic engagement. Several dimensions could be explored in order to better understand the relationships between crowdfunding and civic engagement, including the weight of the civic projects supported, the domains of social interest, and the profile of the people who became involved.

Both nonprofits and start-ups are using crowdfunding platforms. Additionally, a significant number of individuals—especially artists—are proposing projects through online platforms. In summary, the crowdfunding processes themselves do not work very well; only around 35% of the proposed projects are supported and many projects receive less than 25 euros. The average contribution per project is in general low. Reasons for this low turnout may vary, ranging from the public's unfamiliarity with the concept and the low visibility of the platforms to the lack of trust or the low perceived value of the proposed projects. An in-depth investigation of the wider public's perceptions and expectations would promote an increased understanding regarding the relatively low support generated by crowdfunding platforms.

The study shows that the project initiators play a decisive role in promoting proposals and obtaining funding. Other relevant factors influencing the decision-making to contribute are the domains proposed. Cultural, community (with cultural components) and scientific projects are the most supported in Romania. Civic engagement seems to be key to donors, as well as to managers of the Romanian crowdfunding platforms.

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PART III

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Chapter 27

By the (young) people: Youth participatory budgeting in Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Ashley Brennan
Participatory Budgeting Project

Abstract

As a democratic innovation involving deliberation and decision making, participatory budgeting (PB) often catalyzes powerful changes among individual participants and within their respective communities. Certain models of PB designate autonomous spaces for young people to determine how to spend a portion of a particular budget, typically that of a municipality or school. These processes of youth PB may address recent trends in the underrepresentation of youth in civic spaces. Following the initial launch of youth participatory budgeting (youth PB) in Cluj (Romania), the author spent three weeks in Cluj conducting 45 semi-structured interviews with youth PB participants and one focus group with youth PB facilitators. This paper explores two areas: (a) the main dynamics of the online Cluj youth PB process (team development and organization, themes of projects proposed and their intended impacts, and inclusion throughout the process) and (b) the impact of youth PB on participants (participant learning, change, and empowerment). Main findings suggest that organized groups with ongoing projects dominated the youth PB process and that a majority of projects aspired to impact either all residents of Cluj or a specific youth group (e.g. young artists, young engineers), while very few projects intended to impact young people in Cluj broadly. More than 85% of participants reported feeling empowered by involvement in youth PB. Some differences in learning and change were found by gender, ethnicity, and age. Key recommendations for future iterations of this process include establishing deliberation between teams, encouraging informal group development, restructuring the voting process, and enhancing inclusion of ethnic minorities and migrants.

Introduction

One widespread belief involves the notion that democracy at its present—and in its future—is in trouble. Some argue this crisis stems from a discontinuity of representative democracy. Others identify inadequate citizenship education as the primary source of all democratic ills. These challenges are of particular importance when applied to trends of decreased youth participation in civic and political spaces. Although nearly half of the global population is under 30 years old, young adults remain underrepresented in political and social discourse and exhibit low levels of involvement in civic engagement and participatory democracy. Such disengagement of young people may stem from low internal and external political efficacy, minimal trust in government institutions, shifted types of youth participation, or additional related factors.

One potential solution to the aforementioned challenges facing youth participation and democratic systems is a democratic innovation entitled youth participatory budgeting (youth PB). There is a

scarcity of literature on youth PB published in English; this study is a modest contribution to this body of research. In approaching the topic of youth PB in Cluj (Romania), the author addresses two main questions, each containing three sub-questions:

1. What are the main dynamics of the Cluj youth PB process?

> 1.1 What kinds of teams developed through youth PB and how did they organize?
> 1.2 What were the main themes of the projects proposed, and who did they intend to impact?
> 1.3 How inclusive was the youth PB process?

2. What are the main impacts of Cluj youth PB on participants?

> 2.1. How does Cluj youth PB impact participant learning and change?
>
> 2.2. What are the key effects of Cluj youth PB on participants' perceptions and behaviors in intergroup relations?
>
> 2.3 To what extent does Cluj youth PB empower participants?

The case study: Cluj-Napoca youth participatory budgeting

Cluj in the Romanian context

Cluj-Napoca (Cluj), located in the northwest region of Romania, is the second most populated city in the country and is unofficially recognized as the capital to the province of Transylvania. Both the region of Transylvania and the city of Cluj distinguish themselves from the rest of Romania historically and at present (Almasan, 2015). According to the 2011 census, Cluj is home to approximately 325,000 people. An additional 100,000 university students attend the six state universities and multiple private universities in the city. As such, students in Cluj comprise the greatest percentage of the student population in Romania. Cluj was selected among 49 competing European cities as the 2015 European Youth Capital (EYC), and thereby "given the chance to showcase, through a multi-faceted programme, its youth-related cultural, social, political and economic life and development" (Youth Forum News, n.d.). The EYC also intended to enhance active youth participation and citizenship through local level involvement. The implementation of youth PB in Cluj was one way this goal was realized.

Youth PB in Cluj

The youth PB process developed in response to a successful general PB process that generated great interest and energy but faced low youth participation (Almasan, 2015). City Hall recognized the low level of youth participation in the general PB process and intended to address this issue. As Cluj was recently designated as the EYC and local NGOs were considering projects to receive funding, one NGO presented the idea to develop a designated youth PB process separate from the existing general PB in Cluj (O. Almasan personal communication, March 22, 2015). This NGO intended to launch youth PB—to be called "Com'On Cluj-Napoca"—as a pilot project to support young people in developing small, community projects. Interestingly, although "Com'On Cluj-Napoca" is a creative and compelling name, the title does not explicitly describe the process as participatory budgeting or as intended for young people.

The process aimed to fund around 250 projects with the primary intention of engaging young adults ranging from age 14 to 35 in creating initiatives independent of existing NGOs or organizations (Almasan, 2015; Com'On Cluj-Napoca, n.d.). The emphasis on informal groups intended to provide opportunities for small teams of three to five young people organized around common goals and

ideas to identify and address problems within the social or cultural fabric of their community. Projects regarding the peripheral zones of the municipality were also strongly encouraged. Each team could submit up to five project proposals in the process.

The youth PB process in Cluj began in August 2014. Facilitators were recruited and trained both online and offline by NGO volunteers and City Hall employees throughout September, November, and December of 2014. Partnerships were also extended during this time. Organizers launched a campaign to raise awareness in November and December of 2014. The online platform officially opened in December 2014. Participants could submit project proposals online or personally from December 2014 until the end of February 2015. Support for writing project proposals was made available throughout this time frame. Proposed initiatives were verified to ensure compliance with criteria and feasibility at the end of March 2015. Voting took place during two weeks in March 2015. Throughout the voting process, each individual voter could submit a maximum of 10 votes. Winning projects were announced at the start of April 2015. Project implementation began immediately following announcements and continued throughout the course of the year.

Although the official online description of youth PB in Cluj begins with a statement regarding the importance of deliberation and decision-making in democratic processes, conflicting views on the development and implementation of the process resulted in challenges in incorporating deliberative components of PB in this model. Unique to existing instances of youth PB, Cluj youth PB was implemented entirely online. This format posed an added challenge in establishing deliberation among participants. Future models of this youth PB process intend to utilize a hybrid model of participation in online and face-to-face spaces involving discussion and deliberation in decision-making.

Methodology and sample

Mixed methods

The Institutional Review Board of Arizona State University approved the study in May 2015. The mixed method study design comprised of semi-structured interviews with quantitative and qualitative components, allowing participants to contribute individual reflections regarding the changes they reported numerically. The design also consisted of a focus group with youth PB facilitators as well as an informal online survey of one of the youth PB organizers.

Participants

The study was conducted in Cluj, Romania. A program organizer of youth PB in Cluj invited all participants, facilitators, and organizers of youth PB to take part as respondents in this study. With the assistance of this program coordinator, we recruited 50 participants (50% female, $M_{age}= 23.27$ [SD = 4.53]), including 45 youth PB participants and 5 facilitators. One of the program organizers also participated in an online survey about her experiences with—and observations of—youth PB.

Table 1. Ethnicity of Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Ethnicity	n	%	Ethnicity	n	%
Romanian	24	53.3	Romanian & German	2	4.4
Hungarian	15	33.3	Other	1	2.2
Romanian & Hungarian	3	6.7			

Table 2. Religion of Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Religion	n	%
Protestant	11	24.4
Eastern Orthodox	10	22.2
Not Practicing	7	15.6
Christian	4	8.9
Spiritual	4	8.9
Atheist	4	8.9
Roman Catholic	3	6.7
Unitarian	2	4.4

Table 3. Education level of Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Education Level	n	%
Some high school	5	11.1
High school	1	2.2
Some bachelors	20	44.4
Bachelors	8	17.8
Some masters	3	6.7
Masters	6	13.3
Some doctorate	2	4.4

Participant interviews

The first part of the interview comprised of open-ended questions to collect socio-demographic details (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, religion, education) along with participatory characteristics including type of project proposed, motivations to participate, opinions of the process, and key learning moments.

The second part of the interview comprised of 28 self-report items modified from existing indicators of knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices (KASP) of civic and political learning (Schugurensky, 2002). For each of the 28 items, respondents rated themselves both before youth PB participation and at the time of the interview on a scale of one to five, where one corresponded with a very low score and five with a very high score.

Data analysis

A series of content coding was conducted on participant interviews to identify and explore themes regarding their involvement in youth PB and their perceptions of the process. In addressing the research questions of this paper, content analyses resulted in multiple primary themes: factors of teams and project development, learning and change, and empowerment.

Findings

The PB process

In describing their initial interest in youth PB participation, a majority of participants explained having learned of the opportunity through informal groups such as friends and social media platforms online. In comparison, approximately one-third of participants reported having learned of youth PB through official or organized groups such as local non-profit organizations, City Hall, or their high school or university. Interestingly, although a majority of participants learned of youth PB through informal networks, a majority of young people participated with the support of organized groups and created ideas within their existing groups rather than created groups based on the collective development of new ideas.

Table 4. Outreach for Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Outreach type	n	%
Informal groups	29	64.4
Organized groups	15	33.3
Not mentioned	1	2.2

Table 5. Group type and development process of Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Group type and project development	n	%
Organized group; group created idea	33	73.3
Informal group; idea created group	12	26.7

Table 6. Project themes developed by participants of Cluj youth PB (N = 45)

Project theme	n	%
Performance; festival	21	46.7
City improvement	10	22.2
Education; workshop	9	20.0
Art exhibit	4	8.9
Fitness	1	2.2

Building on the idea that the impacts of youth PB may extend beyond youth communities in Cluj, more than half of the participants proposed projects intended to reach youth and adults in the city. Projects developed by young people often aspire to reach far more than youth alone. That said, 46.7% of projects within this sample aimed to exclusively impact specific youth demographics.

Table 7. Intended impact of projects of Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Project intended impact	n	%
All ages in Cluj	23	51.1
Specific youth demographic	21	46.7
All youth in Cluj	1	2.2

Learning and change

All paired-samples t-test analyses demonstrated significant differences between the scores indicated before youth PB participation and at the time of the interview—except for four of the 28 indicators: trusting politicians, respecting people of different genders, ethnicities, and religions. In these cases of gender, ethnicity, and religion, most initial scores of respect were very high; most post scores on these indicators were also generally very high. As such, we see floor and ceiling effects for these particular changes in mean scores of almost all participants.

Table 8. Changes among all Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: developing and defending projects	1.11** (0.93)	7.97	44
2: coordinating and leading groups	0.89** (0.91)	6.56	44
3: understanding city government	0.89** (1.01)	5.93	44
4: knowing people from other groups	0.89** (1.05)	5.68	44
5: understanding the needs of your community	0.84** (0.85)	6.65	44
6: working in a team and cooperating with others	0.84** (0.98)	5.80	44
7 addressing and resolving conflict	0.78** (0.85)	6.14	44
8: seeking information about social issues	0.77** (0.80)	6.34	43
9: public speaking abilities	0.76** (0.11)	6.82	44
10: concern for problems of the city	0.76** (0.86)	5.91	44
11: interacting with people from different groups	0.73** (0.91)	5.38	44
12: being aware of needs of other communities	0.66** (0.12)	5.43	43
13: self-confidence	0.66** (0.78)	5.64	43
14: thinking of solutions for these problems	0.65** (0.83)	5.21	44
15: resolving conflict	0.60** (0.99)	4.08	44
16: listening carefully to others	0.56** (0.62)	5.98	44
17: knowing your citizen rights and duties	0.44** (0.10)	4.61	42
18: feeling connected to your community	0.44** (0.78)	3.80	44

19: concern for the problems of your district	0.42** (0.75)	3.76	44
20: talking with neighbors about problems	0.39** (0.62)	4.15	43
21: voting in national elections	0.31* (0.72)	2.80	41
22: willingness to help others	0.29* (0.66)	2.93	44
23: feeling connected to your neighbors	0.29* (0.69)	2.79	44
24: voting in municipal elections	0.24* (0.58)	2.68	41
25: respecting people of different genders	0.16 (0.56)	1.86	44
26: respecting people of different ethnicities	0.09 (0.52)	1.16	43
27: respecting people of different religions	0.07 (0.50)	0.90	44
28: trusting politicians	0.05 (0.49)	0.63	41

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 9. Key learning moment identified by Cluj youth PB participants (N = 45)

Key learning moment type	n	%
Skills	28	62.2
Attitudes; values	9	20.0
Knowledge	5	11.1
Practices	2	4.4
Not mentioned	1	2.2

A majority of participants who discussed gaining skills as particularly memorable learning moments in youth PB referenced developing technical skills. Many reported learning to effectively promote their projects through social media platforms. Participants who discussed changes in their attitudes or values as their key learning moment frequently described either an increase or decrease of confidence in their abilities to create projects that could impact the city. Participants who discussed an increase in knowledge as their most memorable learning moment either spoke about a newfound understanding of the needs of particular communities or the processes of city government. Few participants shared changes in their behavior as their most memorable learning moments resulting from youth PB. Among those who shared such practices, most discussed talking with neighbors about problems in Cluj, thinking of solutions for these problems, and interacting with people of different groups in general.

Differences in learning and change

After exploring learning and change across all participants, we aimed to determine if any differences in such learning existed by gender, ethnicity, or age group, and found that these groups did in fact experience different types and degrees of learning.

Table 10. Most significant changes among female participants (N = 22)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Developing and defending projects	1.23** (0.97)	5.92	21
2: Coordinating and leading groups	1.23** (1.02)	5.64	21
3: Understanding the needs of your community	1.09** (0.81)	6.31	21
4: Understanding city government	1.00** (0.76)	6.21	21
5: Seeking information about social issues	1.00** (0.95)	4.83	20

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 11. Most significant changes among male participants (N = 23)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Developing and defending projects	1.00** (0.90)	5.30	22
2: Knowing people from other groups	0.78** (0.74)	5.10	22
3: Understanding city government	0.78* (1.20	3.12	22
4: Working in a team and cooperating with others	0.74** (0.81)	4.38	22
5: Concern for problems of the city	0.74** (0.86)	4.10	22

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 12. Most significant changes among Romanian participants (N = 24)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Developing and defending projects	1.30** (1.00)	6.33	23
2: Knowing people from other groups	1.04** (1.12)	4.55	23
3: Working in a team and cooperating with others	1.00** (1.10)	4.44	23
4: Coordinating and leading groups	0.96** (1.04)	4.51	23

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 13. Most significant changes among Hungarian participants (N = 15)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Understanding the needs of your community	1.07** (0.96)	4.30	14
2: Addressing and resolving conflict	1.00** (0.76)	5.12	14
3: Developing and defending projects	0.93** (0.70)	5.14	14
4: Understanding city government	0.87* (0.99)	3.39	14

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 14. Most significant changes among participants ages 15-22 (N = 22)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Developing and defending projects	1.23** (0.87)	6.62	21
2: Coordinating and leading groups	1.14** (0.99)	5.38	21
3: Working in a team and cooperating with others	1.09** (1.19)	4.29	21
4: Understanding the needs of your community	1.00** (0.93)	5.07	21

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Table 15. Most significant changes among participants ages 23-41 (N = 23)

Indicator	Mean change (SD)	t	df
1: Developing and defending projects	1.00** (1.00)	4.80	22
2: Being aware of needs of other communities	0.83** (0.78)	5.10	22
3: Understanding city government	0.83** (0.83)	4.75	22
4: Knowing people from other groups	0.78** (0.85)	4.41	22

Notes: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < .001$.

Empowerment

Approximately 86.6% of participants responded to questions regarding their motivations for involvement, their participation in youth PB, or their perception of the process with references to feeling empowered at one of four levels (individual, team, all youth in Cluj, all of Cluj). These results suggest the potential for youth PB to promote collective sentiments of civic and political efficacy for entire communities of young people, and beyond.

Table 16. Level of empowerment discussed by youth PB participants (N = 45)

Empowerment level	n	%
All youth in Cluj	30	33.3
All of Cluj	10	22.2
Team	10	22.2
No mention	12	13.3
Individual	4	8.9

Conclusions

This study intended to identify key components of the Cluj youth PB process and resulting individual change by exploring team development, participant organization, project proposals, process inclusion, civic learning, and overall effects on community dynamics and empowerment.

The PB process

Based on the participant sample, organized groups dominated the youth PB process in Cluj. In many cases, these organized groups proposed to receive funding from youth PB to support the continuation of their existing project(s). This finding highlights challenges inherent to the online voting platform of Cluj youth PB. Voting in Cluj youth PB required potential voters to navigate more than 450 project proposals. These issues challenge organizers to pay particular attention to individual participants (e.g. non-organized, independent, informal groups) and raise questions of how to best ensure informal groups receive support in developing teams around shared ideas to ultimately engage in a relatively fair competition with organized groups.

The aforementioned question regarding competition among project proposals is of special interest in the case of Cluj youth PB. Many of the participants in this sample discussed their involvement in youth PB in competitive terms. Perhaps the structure of this online model of youth PB resulted in small cases of deliberation and collaboration within teams along with competition across teams, and often void of partnerships between projects. In many cases, development of teams, project proposals, and project implementation served as key components of learning to deliberate within teams, rather than among all youth participants.

A majority of participants emphasized the need for greater instances of performances and festivals or of city improvements in Cluj in comparison to educational programs, art exhibits, or fitness initiatives. Beyond particular project themes, nearly half of all participants created projects they hoped would impact people of all ages in Cluj, while a slightly lower percentage of participants developed projects with a specific youth demographic in mind (e.g. high school, young artists, young writers). Such results raise critical questions about which groups benefit from youth PB processes, in what ways these communities profit, and who remains unaffected by youth PB entirely. These questions challenge the foundations of youth PB in distinguishing demographics of decision makers from demographics of residents who benefit from such decisions.

As I could not access demographics of all participants, I cannot speak to how representative this sample is of all of youth PB. However, I can distinguish how representative this sample is when compared to all of Cluj or Romania in certain cases. As the sample was evenly divided among male and female participants, we might infer that the overall process succeeded in inclusion by gender. Future research is needed to determine how representative this sample is of education level and socioeconomic status within the age group of interest. This sample is not representative of religious affiliation within Cluj or within Romania. However, as I do not have data regarding the religiosity of young people in Cluj or in Romania, I cannot determine how representative this sample is of religious orientation for youth. In terms of ethnicity, Hungarians are overrepresented; as Hungarians are an ethnic minority in Cluj, this overrepresentation may be a positive aspect of equity and inclusion within the youth PB process. However, as this sample does not involve individuals from additional ethnic minorities in Cluj, I hesitate to suggest the process succeeded in promoting an equitable inclusion across ethnicity.

Learning and change

The most significant learning reported by participants related to developing and defending projects, coordinating and leading groups, understanding city government, knowing people from other groups, understanding community needs, and working in a team and cooperating with others. The least significant learning experienced by all participants involved trusting politicians and respecting people of different religions, ethnicities, or genders.

Differences in learning and change

The finding that females reported learning to coordinate and lead groups, while males reported learning to work in a team and cooperate with others as one of their most significant changes is intriguing and suggests that perhaps female and male participants served different roles within their particular teams, and in consequence learned to work in new capacities within a group setting. When paired together, the findings that female participants reported understanding community needs and male participants reported knowing people from other groups as one of their key changes raise an interesting question about the knowledge females and males gained throughout the youth PB process. Here, it seems that females developed an increased understanding of their respective community while males became acquainted with individuals from groups outside their own. Again, the seemingly parallel changes of seeking information about social issues by females and developing an increased concern for problems of the city by males suggest that males and females learned different things as a result of starting at different points along these indicators. Interestingly, seeking information about social issues is a practice, while concern for problems of the city is an attitude.

The contrast between most significant learning on micro- and macro- levels is striking between Romanian and Hungarian participants. While Romanian participants reported changes regarding interpersonal interactions within their individual team as among their most significant changes, Hungarian participants reported changes regarding issues of the entire community as among their most significant learning.

Developing and defending projects emerged as the most significant learning reported by both the age group comprising of ages 15 to 22 as well as the older group of ages 23 to 41. Interestingly, the younger age group reported an increased understanding of their own community, and the older age group reported having developed a better understanding of communities other than their own. This contrast is intriguing and suggests a progression of this understanding development by age. Further, these differences may relate to lessons that correspond with particular stages in educational, occupational, and broader situations across adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Although conclusive statements regarding the question of empowerment in the case of youth PB require future research, it is both promising and exciting that more than 85% of participants discussed feeling empowered through youth PB to varying degrees. As participants were not prompted by any interview question to discuss empowerment, this statistic is particularly impressive.

Recommendations for further research

As the context of this paper comprised a case study within a single city, future research may benefit from collecting comparative cross-cultural data across various processes of youth PB. Longitudinal multi-method analyses may reveal enhanced understandings of what types of civic and political learning occur through youth PB along with possible explanations for each. In terms of assessing changes in individual learning and change, it may be useful to incorporate behavior measurements to the mixed methods design in an effort to validate self-reported responses.

Future research regarding youth PB may consider incorporating participatory action research. Although such methods may be time and resource intensive, young people involved in this type of research may acquire greater understandings of the research and development process in further enhancing youth PB. In consequence, this type of extended involvement in youth PB may further impact efficacy and empowerment for young people, along with overall sustainability of the process of interest.

Recommendations for practice

During their discussion of areas for improvement, facilitators referenced disappointment with bureaucratic delays in the youth PB process. Their disappointment appeared to stem from frustrations with being situated between youth PB coordinators in control of the budgets and participants seeking funding. One process designer explained this burden as stemming from a faulty process design (O. Almasan personal communication, March 26, 2016). She explained that the facilitator role should have been simply to facilitate in deliberation and decision-making, rather than to advise participants on project proposals. Almasan relayed that when facilitators take on these types of supportive roles, they become "champions of the projects they were involved in, as they were inexperienced, young and eager to see change." She emphasized with the experiences of these facilitators and looks forward to minimizing and eliminating such challenges for future facilitators.

Future outreach initiatives may consider emphasizing the participation of informal groups formed on the basis of similar interests and shared goals for the city. It may be interesting to explore ways to maximize possible partnerships between the general PB and youth PB in Cluj. In doing so, process organizers may enhance youth-adult partnerships and their beneficial implications in positive youth development for both the young people and adults involved.

As this was the first year of youth PB in Cluj, this introduction was in itself a pivotal step in expanding youth engagement and generating excitement among young people in Romania. Moving forward, process organizers may consider providing more support with translation to maximize inclusive participation throughout the process. Additionally, participants may benefit from engaging lessons on best practices to consider feasibility and community need beyond projects intended for the sole purpose of entertainment. In the coming year, Cluj City Hall plans to expand youth PB from its current online process to a hybrid model inclusive of in-person deliberation in 2015-2016. Future models of Cluj youth PB will likely benefit from many of the factors they intend to incorporate. Such improvements consist of deliberation, in-person components, caravans to expand inclusion, and a restructured voting process. One of the process organizers shared her belief in the importance of developing and maintaining "an extremely well-planned action plan, a suitable target-group, a team of well-prepared and dedicated facilitators, and a clear message for the process."

Ultimately, the questions, connections, methods, findings, and recommendations explored within this paper resonate and align with the final quote shared with the author during the concluding focus group held with youth PB facilitators. In summarizing the conversation, this particular facilitator relayed,

> I think it shows the faces of a lot of actors from the city and I think it's important to see not only the good parts, but if you don't dig, you don't see the Earth consistency, so I think it's a good indicator. I always believe in processes more than results lately because in projects you always have to have the strict results, but we always forget about the processes that make us who we are.

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Chapter 28

Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education (DPLTE): What issues and trends have emerged over the past ten years?

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Abstract

Throughout the past several years in our international research project, we have explored the linkages between the perceptions, experiences, and perspectives of democracy in relation to education and the potential for political literacy and transformative education. In addition to analyzing a number of samples of teacher-education students in Canada, the USA, Australia, and several other countries involving more than 5,000 participants, employing the same methodology and survey instruments, adapted for language and context, the research also surveyed teachers, education faculty, administrators and those in leadership positions, members of civil society and activists. Throughout the various studies, the main findings are relatively consistent across samples, regardless of language, geography, and other contextual factors. The studies highlight the constrained and often limited critical conscientization and conceptualization of democracy and social justice, on the part of teacher-education students, which, we believe, impacts the ability to orchestrate social change. Rather, the perspectives of democracy that develop from our analysis reflect passive and neutralized engagement at several levels, based, in part, on limited democratic experiences that participants have had while being a student. The research argues for more explicit as well as implicit connections to the experiences of students outside of the classroom in addition to the formal components of education.

Introduction

Throughout the past several years during our international research project on *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* (DPLTE),[1] including the *Global Doing Democracy Research Project* (GDDRP) (Carr, Zyngier, & Pruyn, 2012),[2] we have explored the linkages between the perceptions, experiences, and perspectives of democracy in relation to education and the potential for political literacy and transformative education. We have developed several models[3] that seek to explore and

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[1] See www.education4democracy.net

[2] Co-founded in 2008 by Paul R. Carr at the Université du Québec en Outaouais (Canada) and David Zyngier at Monash University (Australia).

[3] Greater elaboration of these models can be found on the DPLTE website, which has bifurcated into the UNESCO Chair in Democracy, Global Citizenship and Transformative Education (DCMÉT) website and project, and which is

explain how experience with democracy and democracy in education may influence the critical engagement of future educators once they become teachers. In order to confront and reconcile hegemonic forms of dominance, privilege, neoliberalism, and inequitable power relations, education has to be considered a central educational and political focus. In addition, teacher education needs to be consistent with and constructed by the types of transformative social change that is increasingly necessary (Carr & Becker, 2013). It is, therefore, vital and necessary that students, educators, and society as a whole conceptualize how we "do" democracy, how we experience it, conceptualize it, and connect it critically to education (Carr et al., 2012; Lund & Carr, 2008; Westheimer, 2015). Part of the concern relates to educational environments and pre-service teacher programs developing a language, a culture and educational experience that cultivate critical engagement, political literacy and social justice (Carr & Becker, 2013).

In addition to analyzing a number of samples of teacher-education students in Canada, the USA, Australia, and several other countries, including some 5,000 participants, and employing the same methodology and survey instruments which were adapted for language and context (see Carr & Becker, 2013; Carr & Pluim, 2015; Carr, Pluim, & Howard, 2014, 2015; Carr & Thésée, 2012; Carr et al., 2012), this research also surveyed teachers, education faculty, administrators, leaders, members of civil society and activists. The first study (see Carr, 2011) was conducted with a sample of 129 teacher-education students in the U.S. in 2006. Throughout the various studies, the main findings are relatively consistent across samples, regardless of language, geography, and other contextual factors.

The studies highlight the constrained and often limited critical conscientization and conceptualization of democracy and social justice, on the part of teacher-education students, which, we believe, impacts the ability to orchestrate social change. Rather, the perspectives of democracy that develop from our analysis reflect passive and neutralized engagement at several levels, based, in part, on limited democratic experiences that participants have had while being a student. Few participants in our studies, which were conducted over the past decade, critically spoke of neither social justice in relation to democracy nor the connection to education. As a result, this research argues for more explicit, as well as implicit, connections to the experiences of students outside of the classroom in addition to the formal components of education, which are explored in the following sections, as well as the conceptual models that have been co-created and developed. The need for "*thicker*" approaches to understanding and analyzing democracy, which includes critical media and political literacy as well as critical engagement that problematizes hegemonic forms of power, is a central concern for our research and is the focus of this paper.

Context for the research

Democracy is a fundamental concern in relation to education because it could be argued that a meaningful democracy could not exist without a meaningful, critically-engaged educational experience (Abdi, 2012; Carr, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). Education that encourages and cultivates critical and dialectical thinking, deliberative democracy, an unwavering questioning of how power

functions and the meaning of social justice, inequalities, war, discrimination, and poverty, for example, is more likely to bolster democratic tendencies within society/societies (Banks et al., 2005; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014, 2015; Giroux, 2014; Kincheloe, 2008a, 2008b). Schools that open critical and conducive spaces and voices for democratic experimentation, including alternative voices, diverse forms of engagement, inclusion and diversity, and the possibility of reshaping practices, processes and outcomes, can have a significant effect on young people, communities and society at-large (Allen & Reich, 2013; Kahne & Westhemier, 2006; Portelli & McMahon, 2012; Portelli & Solomon, 2001).

Conversely, educational programs—including within the curriculum, pedagogy, educational policy, and institutional culture—that avoid, omit, underplay, resist or diminish bona fide, tangible engagement with critical forms of democracy ultimately risk reproducing inequitable social relations (Bourdieu & Passaron, 1990; Saltman, 2012; Schostak & Goodson, 2012). Thus, the focus of our research over the past decade has been to understand how present and future educators experience democracy themselves in and through education, and how they might envisage engaging with controversy, contention, participation, engagement, transformative change, and political literacy in relation to democracy when they are in classrooms and educational settings.

Quite simply, we have been interested in examining and understanding the connection between tepid, presumably politically neutral, often docile teaching and learning experiences, framed within the scaffolding of neoliberalism and an over-accentuated normative belief that democracy equates elections and electoral processes, and the role of educators in seeking to address, or not, the need for some essence of ("thick") democracy in relation to education. If democracy is not an objective, the desired outcome or a priority of education, what then is the objective? If it is the objective, how then do we conceptualize, develop, understand and achieve education for democracy?

Our research bleeds over to connected themes, such as peace and peace education (Carr & Porfilio, 2012), media studies and media literacy (Hoechsmann & Poyntz, 2012; Macedo & Steinberg, 2007; McChesney, 2008, 2011, 2015; Postman, 1995; Postman & Postman, 1986), environment education (Sauvé, 2011; Sauvé & Orellana, 2008; Thésée & Carr, 2008, 2008b, 2015), neoliberalism (Giroux, 2012; Hill, 2012; Portelli & Konecny, 2013), and multicultural/diversity education (Banks, 2008; Lund & Carr, 2015; Sleeter, 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 2007), all within a critical grounding and framework.

Research Studies as Part of GDDRP (2008-2016) and DPLTE (2012-2016)

As illustrated in Table 1, there have been more than 50 studies undertaken by a number of researchers in a dozen countries, using the methodology developed by Carr in 2006. The studies employ an online questionnaire with roughly 40 questions, including a demographic section with 20 questions, and a section surveying participants in relation to their perceptions, experiences and perspectives of democracy, and democracy in/and education. The second section includes closed-ended questions using a five-point Likert scale as well as open-ended questions allowing for narrative commentary. The analysis included attempts to triangulate answers, seeking coherence, justification and insight into the connection between quantitative and qualitative answers.

Table 1. Research studies as part of GDDRP (2008-2015) and DPLTE (2012-2015)

Year	Projects	Countries (A)	# of participants	Origin (B)	Samples (C)
2006	2	USA	129+15	1 (1)	1+5
2007	1	USA	48	1 (1)	2
2008	2	Canada	261+158	1 (2)	1+1
2009	5	Canada, USA, Cyprus, Australia	44+20+37+27+ 29	2 (5)	1+1+1+1+2
2010	11	Australia, USA, Argentina, Malaysia, Brazil	40+100+100+ 68+24+150+ 137+114 +150 +45+129	2 (11)	3+2+2+1+1+ 1+1+1+2+3 +1
2011	4	Australia, USA	133+45+72+32	1 (1); 2 (1)	1+5+1+2
2012	1	Russia	222	2 (1)	1
2013	15	Canada, USA, Australia, Brazil, Russia, Greece,	+90+14+95+35+118+93+ 25+102+33+81+169+432 +189+30+140	2 (10); 3 (5)	1+1+1+5+1+ 2+1+1+2+1+ 1+1+1+4+2
2014	8	USA, Australia, Scotland, Brazil, South Africa, International	42+29+117+32+35+92+2 03+57	2 (4); 3 (3); 2/3 (1)	1+1+5+5+2+ 1+2+5
2015	8	S. Africa, Greece, Norway, Canada, International, Australia, Pakistan	25+139+147+53+21+57+ 500 +100	2 (2); 3 (5); 2/3 (1)	1+2+2+2+5+ 2+2+1
TOTAL	**57**	**12+**	**N=5578**		

(A) Several other projects—Turkey, Mexico, Vietnam, Thailand and elsewhere—are being developed at this time.

(B) Legend: 1-Initial phase (2006-2008); 2-DPLTE (2012-2015); 3-GDDRP (2008-2015) (the # equals the number of projects)

(C) Legend: 1-Teacher-ed. Students; 2-Teachers; 3-Principals & leadership; 4-Community; 5-Scholars & others

Comparative analysis was conducted between samples across jurisdictions, and involved diverse perspectives, theoretical vantage-points, and pertinent, contextual factors. The online collection of data allowed for a range of data analysis. The data have been continuously culled, reviewed and probed over the years, and a number of issues and trends are highlighted and presented at the end of this paper. The conceptual framework for this research (see Figures 1 and 2) aims to inclusively, and as comprehensively as possible, view the quest for education for democracy in a global, and ever-changing, sense.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework for *democracy, Political Literacy, and Transformative Education* Project

CONTEXT: power; culture; history; globalization; neoliberalism; conflict; identity

1. *Stakeholders:* students, parents, communities; academic sector; governments; labor market; civil society
2. *Levels of intervention:* individual, family, community; school; locality, city, region; nation; world
3. *Methods of analysis:* philosophical; political/policy; economic; social; educational; ideological; theoretical
4. *Conceptual frameworks:* pedagogy; curriculum; institutional culture; educational policy; epistemology; leadership; informal/non-formal learning
5. *Ways of knowing:* experience; culture; encounters; education
6. *Outcomes:* critical content (knowledge); critical reflection (dispositions); critical action (transformation); critical engagement (re-conceptualization)

Figure 2. Key variables in defining the conceptualization of the *democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* Project
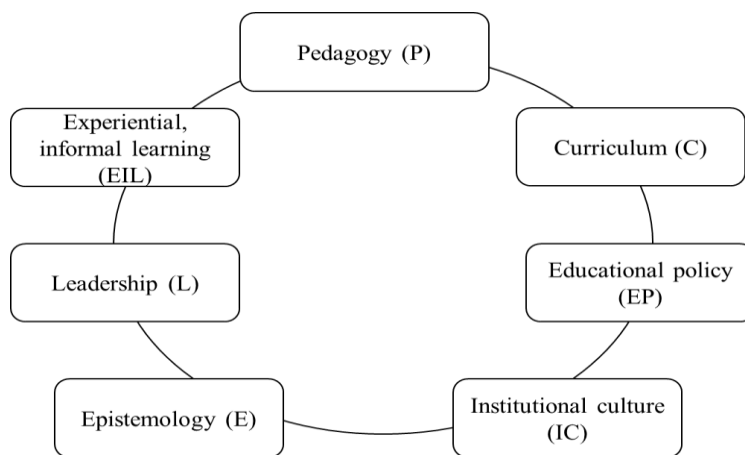
- ***Pedagogy (P):*** concerned principally with teaching, teaching methods, and what happens in the classroom
- ***Curriculum (C):*** concerned principally with the content of what is taught and learned, and how this content is experienced in the classroom
- ***Educational policy (EP):*** concerned principally with the policies that frame the educational experience, and how these policies are developed
- ***Institutional culture (IC):*** concerned principally with activities, attitudes, behaviours, and procedures that frame the educational experience, and what happens in the school and educational institutions

- ***Epistemology (E):*** concerned principally with how knowledge is constructed by students, educators, administrators, and others, and how this affects the development of the educational experience
- ***Leadership (L):*** concerned principally with administration, leadership, authority, and supervisors, and how this contributes to the educational experience
- ***Experiential, informal learning (EIL):*** concerned principally with what happens outside of the formal educational experience, and what the effect of the former is on the latter, and vice versa

The Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy

The *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy* that Carr first published in 2011, and which has been re-worked since, developed from this research does not infer fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments. Rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement with and for education and democracy. Within the context of education, what do schools, school boards, departments/ministries of education and governments actually do in relation to education for democracy? How do they define it, document it, measure it, evaluate it, and engage with it? These questions are not the sidebar, add-on, superfluous ones. If we are to achieve some form of meaningful, critical, tangible engagement in and through education that can contribute to education for democracy, then, arguably, we should be able to articulate it, cultivate it, describe it, and, importantly, have a vision for it that can be supported and enhanced by broad, vibrant participation at multiple levels. If democracy—and the development of global democratic citizenship—is deemed important for society, and rhetorically there is a great deal of evidence to that effect (Carr et al., 2014), then how should it be achieved? Are there specific courses, tests, outcomes, data-collection points, measures, standards, events, milestones and activities that underpin the quest for education for democracy?
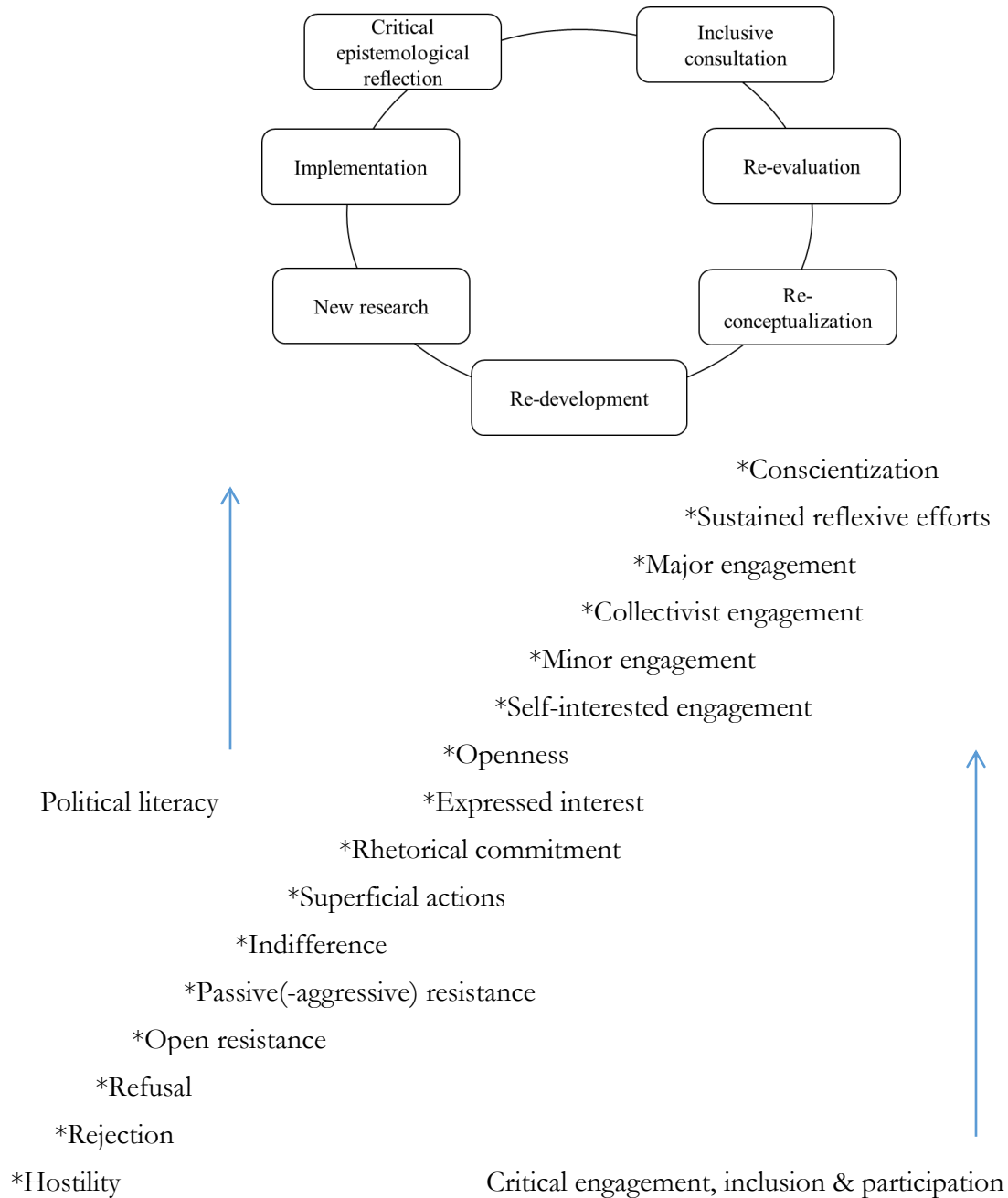
Over the past decade, our research on education for democracy—and its many variants, including democratic education, citizenship education and, to varying degrees, multicultural and social justice education—has documented how teacher-education students in diverse international contexts, including several samples in North America, have acknowledged that participants, particularly pre-service educators, substantially lacked a robust democratic educational experience, and how this affects their vision of education of democracy as future teachers. Moreover, the research also underscored how democracy and citizenship are often considered abstract objectives and concepts without well-defined pedagogical, curricular, institutional, financial and human resource support. Thus, the *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy* is meant to be a framework to present weaknesses and strengths, challenges and opportunities, and barriers and openings, as well as the dimensions, pitfalls, and ramifications of leadership.

The *Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy* model (see Figure 3) presents sixteen levels of the educational experience, touching on the seven-point framework (Figure 2) underscoring the research of the *Democracy, Political Literacy and Transformative Education* project. These are not the only components in education; however, they represent aspects that we feel are extremely relevant for the purposes of understanding and engaging with democracy. Each component can be understood within the diverse points on the spectrum, allowing decision makers, educators, students, parents, civil society and others, to engage with, and to critically examine what has happened, what is happening, and what should happen. One vigorous critique that has been made against neoliberal education reforms is that they appear to seek "accountability" by measuring all kinds of issues,

notably through tests, yet there appears to be almost non-existent accountability for democracy and social justice.

Figure 3. Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy

THICK END OF SPECTRUM: *Endless process of seeking, problematizing, cultivating and developing Education for Democracy, focused on a critical, meaningful, inclusive, participatory, social-justice based, thick approach*

Critical epistemological reflection — Inclusive consultation — Re-evaluation — Re-conceptualization — Re-development — New research — Implementation — (cycle)

*Conscientization

*Sustained reflexive efforts

*Major engagement

*Collectivist engagement

*Minor engagement

*Self-interested engagement

*Openness

Political literacy   *Expressed interest

*Rhetorical commitment

*Superficial actions

*Indifference

*Passive(-aggressive) resistance

*Open resistance

*Refusal

*Rejection

*Hostility   Critical engagement, inclusion & participation

THIN END OF SPECTRUM: *Intransigent, moribund, hegemonic processes, practices, plans, functions and ideology that underpin, restrict and counter meaningful, tangible efforts toward Education for Democracy*

```
                         ┌─────────────┐
                         │  Deception  │
                         └─────────────┘
      ┌───────────────────┐         ┌─────────────┐
      │ Exclusionary  practices │   │   Anomie    │
      │    & processes     │        └─────────────┘
      └───────────────────┘
      ┌───────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────┐
      │ Enhanced reproduction │     │  Marginalization │
      │  of social relations  │     └──────────────────┘
      └───────────────────┘
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │  Hegemonic   │
                    │  supremacy   │
                    └──────────────┘
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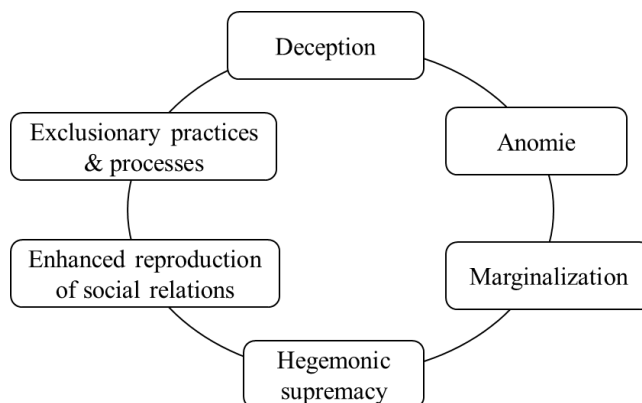
The question of who has the decision-making power in formulating these reforms must also be problematized, and, although the politico-economic context is indelibly interwoven into neoliberalism, one can imagine that some reforms/measures/proposals may be less likely to be fully co-opted into a capitalist or consumer-focused framework. How could it be achieved if there are no plans, strategies or support systems put in place? We are not saying that there are no "democratic" moments, events, people or outcomes but we are arguing that they seem to be created more so through coincidence, outside forces (parents, community events, personal initiatives, etc.), and through counter-hegemonic mobilization. Our emphasis here is on the formal educational structures and systems actually playing a favorable, rather than passive, role in permitting *bona fide*, meaningful democratic action, and, importantly, in recognition of the experiential realities that students' bring to the educational experience.

Another caveat in adapting this spectrum of education for democracy is that it is possible to have a *thin* level of engagement for one component and a *thicker* level of engagement for another. The goal here is not so much to evaluate the level of education for democracy for a specific component, although that could certainly be a helpful and meaningful process. Rather, the focus is on identifying how, if at all, democracy is taking place within a given educational context. Sincere, open, critical engagement with the *Spectrum for Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy* can lead to critical epistemological reflection, greater levels of conscientization, transformative education, and a reappraisal of hegemonic processes and measures.

The *Spectrum* will be of little interest or utility if the principal objective is co-optation, further enhanced rhetorical commitment alone, or muted openness toward minimal, cosmetic changes alone. The formal needs to be informed and buttressed by the informal: in other words, the context is as important, if not more so, than the content. Power relations need to be placed on, and brought to, the table for democracy to flourish within the educational context, and to positively combat entrenched social inequalities and injustices.

The proposed model, starting at the *thin* end of the spectrum, and ending with the *thick*, critical and empowering end of the spectrum, contains the levels outlined below. It is important to note that these levels are not mutually exclusive, and are intended primarily as indicators to encapsulate actions, reflections, and realities that can change, and that can also connect and overlap with

different indicators concurrently. Nevertheless, by examining, diagnosing, discussing and situating specific educational postures, processes, and practices, one can start to develop a portrait of how education for democracy manifests and develops within a particular educational context. The *Spectrum* is intended to be used with a critical, inclusive and rigorous analysis of the conceptual components in Figure 3, which include:

- *Hostility*: Overt disdain for discussion, proposals, and change directed at engaging with democracy. Usually politically motivated or, at the very least, imbued with heavy hegemonic tones to denigrate attempts to alter the status quo.

- *Rejection*: Less openly hostile but equally disparaging of attempts to alter the status quo. Usually involves arguments to shut down debate and efforts to reform.

- *Refusal*: Acknowledgment of context and proposals for change but concerted unwillingness to engage with the process. Usually involves some informal collaboration to confront power dynamics.

- *Open resistance*: Consolidated efforts to use institutional and cultural mechanisms and processes to deter engagement with, and implementation of, change process and/or proposed progressive reforms. Usually not hidden or masked.

- *Passive(-aggressive) resistance*: Intuitive efforts to enact non-compliance or concerted efforts to counter progressive reforms. Usually organized through informal gestures, symbols and messages.

- *Indifference*: Lack of motivation, reflection, and action due to the feelings of uselessness of proposed changes. Usually involves a strong institutional and cultural component.

- *Superficial actions*: Minimalist efforts, gestures, and manifestations to obfuscate and undermine significant movement toward education for democracy. Usually involves a weak personal and collective commitment combined with institutional intransigence, which favors some visible support for change over bona fide action.

- *Rhetorical commitment*: Some formal support at the level of discourse and public relations usually accompanied by superficial actions. While the rhetorical commitment can provide motivation in the short-term, when not followed by bona fide, tangible action is considered to be counter-productive and can lead to indifference and institutional intransigence.

- *Expressed interest*: More enhanced rhetorical commitment, usually accompanied by argumentation and aspects of moral suasion. Similar to rhetorical commitment but more engaged, although the same caveat remains in relation to the need for constructive action to follow.

- *Openness*: The beginning of the engagement and embracing the potential for change. Usually involves creating some space for dialogue, consultation, and deliberation but still within a tightly defined institutional context.

- *Self-interested engagement*: The next level of engagement that recognizes the advantages of inclusionary development and a re-thinking of institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy. Usually involves the initial phases of developing some standards, policies, objectives, and outcomes.

- *Minor engagement*: A more enhanced engagement than self-interested engagement, which includes the beginning of institutional commitment with resources, training, and a policy framework.

- *Collectivist engagement*: Involves a coalition of interests in concerted action in favor of progressive engagement aimed at education for democracy. Usually involves a more enhanced consultation and participation with diverse formal and informal stakeholders.

- *Major engagement*: Building on collectivist engagement, includes a more defined and robust policy framework with a range of institutional initiatives and practices that seek to build education for democracy. Usually involves defined leadership and policy roles.

- *Sustained reflexive efforts*: Extending major engagement, sustained reflexive efforts include developing a cycle of evaluation, innovation, and capacity-building for education for democracy. Usually involves an opening for critique and bona fide dialogue to reformulation the approach.

- *Conscientization*: This level involves a critical, meaningful, engaged approach to education for democracy, taking into consideration inequitable power relations, political literacy and social justice. Not an end-point but, rather, an entry-point into a re-thinking of epistemological, pedagogical, curricular, educational policy, and institutional cultural dimensions of education for democracy. The importance of humility is central and inclusive, participatory processes and mechanisms are put in place to allow for critique, change, innovation, dialogue, and re-consideration.

The spectrum covers a broad range of sophisticated and nuanced phases/categories/indicators. Each phase has a specific meaning but also bleeds into the preceding and succeeding phases. At the *thick* end of the spectrum, the conscientization phase flows into an endless process of re-innovation, development, evaluation and critical reflection. The process of conducting the analysis—what's happening, why, how, where, what's included, documented, areas of concern, and data-collection issues, etc.—is fundamental to understanding how democracy functions and reproduced throughout society.

The four-level, integrated, hierarchical model of types of education with respect to democracy

Extending the dynamic, dimensions, depth and scope of the research, and in concert with the *Thick-Thin Spectrum of Education for Democracy*, and the *Spectrum of Critical Engagement for Education for Democracy*, presented above, Thésée, in collaboration with Carr, developed the *Four-Level, Integrated, Hierarchical Model of Types of Education With Respect to Democracy* (Table 2). This model serves to explain the diverse dimensions—ontological, praxiological, epistemological and axiological—that encapsulate the varied approaches, experiences, outcomes, and realities of how democracy is viewed, understood, practiced and explored within the educational context.

There are *thin* and *thick* contours to each of the dimensions presented, and our research has found that solely focusing upon one particular dimension, which is commonly the case within formal educational contexts in relation to Education about Democracy (EaD), will not reinforce conscientization, critical engagement, political literacy and transformative education.

Table 2. The four-level, integrated, hierarchical model of types of education with respect to democracy

Forms of Democracy	Education *about* Democracy (EaD)	Education *through* Democracy (EtD)	Education *in relation to* Democracy (ErD)	Education *for* Democracy (EfD)
Dimension	Ontological dimension (What is…?)	Praxeological dimension (How to…?)	Epistemological dimension (Who…? Who is in/out? Whose knowledge?)	Axiological dimension (Why for…? Interests? Advantages? Impacts?)
Description	Learning and knowing characteristics, properties, categories, policies, institutions, historical steps, key figures & discourses in democracy	Engaging and acting with models, methods or means accepted or emerging as being democratic	De-constructing and re/co-constructing democratic knowledge, consciousness, attitudes, actions (in formal, non-formal and informal education settings)	Claiming and pursuing democratic values and finalities; developing democratic consciousness, attitudes and engagement to fight for: Human rights; Social/Environmental justice; Peace; Education for All…
Values	Patriotism; nationalism	Social justice; social engagement; citizenship; interdependence; inclusion; equity; solidarity	Critical consciousness; social transformations; emancipation; contextualized knowledge; media literacy	Democracy; fundamental rights; diversity; identity; pluralism; environmental/social justice; eco-citizenship; mondiality (being to the world)
Actions	Being informed; voting	Speaking; communicating; denouncing; dialoguing; debating, deliberating	Reclaiming new balances of power/knowledge; de/re/co/construction of knowledge	Building "trans-identities" (beyond multi & inter paradigms): trans/culturality; trans/nationality; trans/disciplinarity; trans-gender
Location	International; national	Local (citizens; communities; non-governmental organizations, voluntary work, etc.)	Regional, national, international (media, culture, literature, research, institutions, social media and networks)	Local, regional, national, international, global (ecological development systems)
Education	Formal (schools; curricula; programs; courses; specific professions)	Mostly non-formal (diversity of social activities)	Formal, non-formal & informal education (research based knowledge; community based knowledge; oppressed based knowledge)	Informal/non-formal/formal education (all spheres of living: families, communities, institutions, societies, social network, etc.)

Some issues, themes, and trends flowing from our research project

Having presented some of the models that were developed throughout the research, we now turn to our findings. Our research contends that it is fundamental that students are presented with formal and informal opportunities to become critically media-literate and politically literate, to explore multiple relationships and perspectives, to be able to problematize subjective and stereotypical positions, and to critically discuss and act so as to be able to enact social change and conscientization (Carr, 2011, 2013; Carr & Becker, 2013; Carr & Pluim, 2015; Carr et al., 2014, 2015; Carr & Thésée, 2012; Carr et al., 2012). A *thicker*, more inclusive, comprehensive and critical range of approaches to democracy for education will have, we believe, a substantial impact on educational outcomes in relation to social justice in society. The models that have been developed throughout the course of this research project—and only a few have been presented herein (see the project website for a complete analysis and overview of all of the models)—can potentially and critically assist interested parties in further enabling education to be more democratic.

For this abridged paper, we present a list of 15 key issues, themes and trends related to our research, and they are elaborated on at greater length elsewhere.[4]

1. The language and terminology can affect what is discussed, taught and learned in relation to democracy and education.

2. The misapprehension of the meaning of democracy has inhibited critical engagement.

3. The need to engage people in research on democracy, especially those within the education sector, in order to view it as a process rather than a defined end-point.

4. The process of engagement with research on democracy can have a positive effect on educators in relation to cultivating voice and critical epistemological interrogation.

5. The discomforting reality of normative, hegemonic, representative democracy, while not always clearly understood, (can) lead to disenfranchisement, marginalization, and indifference.

6. The thin democratic experience in and through education is a discomforting reality for a majority of teacher-education students in our studies.

7. The power of formal education to influence societal movements (or is it that the latter drives the former?) is often under-valued and under-estimated.

8. The common international experiences juxtaposed against isolated local actions are a reflection of the prevalence of globalization, neoliberalism and the migration of people around the world.

9. The disconnection from fundamental and far-reaching macro issues, such as war, conflict, the environment, trade and commerce, migration, etc., is deleterious to social justice work locally

10. The weak treatment of social justice in spite of all evidence further buttresses anti-democratic development within educational institutions

11. The numerous examples, movements, projects, and experiences that offer hope for thicker, more critically engaged democracy can spur on efforts to democratize education

12. The marginalization of education for democracy within formal education, including in teacher education, will affect the development of thicker democracy

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[4] See the project website at www.education4democracy.net for a complete archive of the research

13. The need to better connect with civil society represents a significant opportunity for educational institutions/systems

14. The salience of media literacy, peace education, service/experiential learning, political literacy, etc. should be further and more formally accentuated in the conceptualization of education for democracy.

15. The problematic concern over how to *do* democracy needs to be addressed, cultivated and engaged with, especially in relation to the concepts contained in the models presented through this research project.

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Chapter 29

Justice Citizens: A study of a 'thick' approach to civics and citizenship education

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Abstract

Civics and citizenship education remains a contested space in many democratic countries, with involvement from the state, non-government institutions and policy development groups continuing to complicate the topic by conflating it with other school subjects such as democratic education, human rights education, and social justice education (amongst others). Despite the widespread agreement on the importance of civics and citizenship education to the democratic health of a nation, different nations and groups have adopted different ideas about what makes a 'good' citizen and how such a citizen might be encouraged—ranging from an emphasis on obligation-based approaches to much more maximal, activist notions. However, few of these approaches have started with the point of view of students involved in civics education programs.

This paper rejects the dominant discourse of a 'civics deficit' amongst young Australians and instead argues that young people remain passionate about a wide range of civic issues, yet they engage with these issues in substantively different ways and for different purposes than previous generations. This suggests that we require a new way of understanding young people's participation in civil society. This paper draws on *Justice Citizens*, a civics and citizenship program from Sydney, Australia. This program engaged students in 'thick' education, foregrounding both the issues that students felt were important and developing students' agency to take action on these issues. By building links with community partners, the participants developed the traits of justice-oriented activists within their communities. The results have significant meaning for the development of civics and citizenship education policy within Australia and internationally.

Introduction

Civics and citizenship education remains a much-contested topic within educational circles for two reasons. First, there is a staggering number of terms that are often included in any debate about the nature and purpose of civics and citizenship education: notwithstanding the arguments about the differences between civics education and citizenship education, it is not unusual to see human rights education, education for democracy, patriotic education and social justice education (amongst many others) all included in any such discussion (Tudball & Henderson, 2014). Second, the accretion of citizenship-like terms themselves complicates the field. For example, now educators and scholars often talk about active citizenship, environmental citizenship, consumer citizenship, global citizenship or even digital citizenship, and their attendant forms of education (for example, see Jordan, Singer, Vaughan, & Berkowitz, 2008).

How, then, should teachers and educational policy-makers find a way to encourage good citizenship amongst their citizens? Something that many liberal democracies agree upon is the importance of civics and citizenship education, especially at the level of schooling. However, while it may be seen as important, there is an astounding range of views within and between countries regarding what constitutes a 'good' citizen, and how the education system might function to develop such a citizen (Kerr, 1999; Nelson & Kerr, 2006). Some proponents of citizenship education insist on it being taught as a separate subject, while others argue that it is better approached from a cross-curricular perspective. Some systems adopt a moral tone to civics education, while others are more relative in their approaches (Lee, 2014).

It is difficult terrain for the educator to navigate, but even a cursory examination identifies that far too often, students are excluded in any of these debates outlined above. Young people are almost always excluded from discussion about how they conceive of citizenship, and the ways that they see themselves enacting it. *Justice Citizens*, a participatory film-making project based in Sydney, Australia, sought to address this deficit by examining students' own understandings of active citizenship and their strategies to enact justice citizenship. It also illustrates how these perspectives changed over the course of a self-directed period of study into local community issues.

The Civics Deficit: Civics and citizenship education in Australia

Civics and citizenship education has existed in Australia since Federation in 1901. This type of education was an essential part of the school curriculum in various guises throughout the 20ᵗʰ century. In the period leading up to World War 2, Australia's links with the British Empire were emphasized through morals and civics education that placed great importance upon patriotism, military service, and duty (Krinks, 1999). After World War 2, the focus was changed to meet the needs of Australia's post-war migration boom, firstly emphasizing assimilation and then multiculturalism (Kalantzis & Cope, 1999).

The political landscape in the 1990s was characterized by debates about Australia becoming a republic. In order to generate support for such a move, the Keating government commissioned a number of Senate reports into Australians' understanding of their form of government. These reports identified that many Australians—and especially young Australians—were ignorant or apathetic about their government (Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education, and Training, 1989, 1991). This perceived lack of understanding rapidly became known as the 'civics deficit' by certain stakeholders and commentators (Tudball & Henderson, 2014). In response to the perceived deficit in students' knowledge of civics, the nation-wide education program, *Discovering Democracy* was developed and implemented in all Australian schools in 1997. The program was for students in Years 3 to 10 and sought to educate them on both the principles and structures that underpinned Australian systems of government, while also demonstrating the importance of being involved in local communities.

Discovering Democracy ran until 2007 when it was replaced by *Values Education*. Ultimately, *Discovering Democracy* was a failure. Despite the program being assessed as of high quality (Erebus Consulting Group, 2003), civic literacy assessments showed little improvement over the period. By 2007, only 54% of Year 6 students were at the expected level of achievement, and even fewer Year 10 students had reached their respective level (Ministerial Council for Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs (MCEECDYA), 2009).

There are numerous reasons for the failure. Scholars have suggested that *Discovering Democracy* did not take into account the previously existing state-based programs of civics and citizenship education

and failed to make use of the good features of such programs (Criddle, Vidovich, & O'Neill, 2004). Others have suggested that the problem lay in the ignorance of teachers who were poorly prepared to deliver such a course (Mellor, 2003), or the fact that there was only limited funding for professional development. Finally, some academics have suggested that the content and pedagogy of *Discovering Democracy* was the issue (O'Loughlin, 1997). Stated differently, it failed to engage young people in the matters that they felt were important to them as citizens of Australia in the 21st century.

It is worth noting that the debate about Civics and Citizenship Education is ongoing in Australia as yet no single program has been successful. Currently, the new Australian Curriculum has a subject called Civics and Citizenship which is still in draft format. A theoretical analysis of civics and citizenship education models might begin to unpack the causes for the failure of *Discovering Democracy*, as well as recommending alternative approaches that might be more successful in developing the skills, knowledge, and values that young Australians will need in the future.

Theoretical framework

Terence McLaughlin (1992) described civics and citizenship education as a continuum between maximal and minimal versions. His contention is that all programs of civics and citizenship education could be placed on the continuum based on a variety of characteristics. Minimal versions of citizenship education included those that placed greater weight on content knowledge and understanding the mechanics and structures of government. These forms of education were more likely to be taught in a didactic way, and the emphasis was on the final product.

Conversely, maximal versions were those forms of civics and citizenship education that were more activist in orientation. They placed greater emphasis on the process of civics education, rather than simply the product, and were more likely to be collaborative in nature. When considered according to these criteria, *Discovering Democracy* is closer to the minimal end of the continuum. This is not to say that some teachers did not implement creative and collaborative things in the classroom when applying this program; rather, the emphasis in the curriculum upon content knowledge weighted *Discovering Democracy* towards the minimal end.

Another approach to understanding civics and citizenship education is that adopted by Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne (2004). These scholars argued that civics and citizenship education programs could be divided into three categories, dependent upon the kinds of citizens that they were seeking to develop. Their argument was that the idea of a 'good citizen' needed further unpacking and exploration, as it was a vague term with a multiplicity of different meanings. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggested that there were three different kinds of 'good' citizens. First, there was the personally responsible citizen, who generally did little that might be called 'active'. This kind of citizen pays his/ her taxes, obeys the laws, but does not engage in any campaigns to change his/her communities. They identify the second kind of citizen—the participatory citizen—as more active in their community. This type of citizen is likely to engage with superficial symptoms of inequality or injustice, and would exhibit behavior like organizing food drives or feeding the homeless. The final category of citizen they conceptualized is the justice-oriented citizen. This category of citizen is much closer to the definition of activist; he or she is aware of the structural causes of inequality and injustice and is actively involved in the struggle to challenge those causes. Perhaps not surprisingly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) identified the third typology as the least common in educational practice.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) provide examples of school programs that encourage each of the three different kinds of citizens. However, much research still needs to be done regarding the

interaction between McLaughlin's continuum and the pedagogy related to the development of each of these kinds of citizens. In addition, there is much to be considered in relation to young people's own conceptions of active citizenship and the way that personal and mobile technology might influence the development of that citizenship.

Methodology

I developed a program of study entitled *Justice Citizens* in order to explore the concepts behind justice-oriented citizenship, as well as to examine how it correlated with young people's own understandings and practices of active citizenship and their practices online. I was also interested in the kinds of educational experiences that would assist in the development of justice-oriented citizens. This program was implemented at a Western Sydney school in 2012 and was timetabled for one hour of class time per fortnight for the whole of the year.

Although this seems like quite a limited amount of time, it is important to understand that as the project developed, students and teachers gave up considerable amounts of their own time—often after school or during lunch—to work on their research.

More than 100 students, organized into six mixed ability classes took part in the program. I worked with three other teachers to deliver the course, although I did the majority of the teaching and planning. In the planning, I was inspired by other, similar projects, including David Zyngier's (2009) RUMad? Progam and the Global Citizensship program run by Oxfam (2016).

The aim of the course was for students to develop the skills, values, and attitudes required of active citizens. In particular, I was seeking to develop critical thinking, digital literacy, research skills and collaborative learning practices. In addition, I wanted students to be intrinsically motivated to identify issues they were facing and then to take action about those issues in constructive and creative ways. These values, skills, and attitudes were drawn from the work on global citizenship (for an example, see Oxfam, 2016).

The course was broken into three main sections. In the first section, students were challenged to consider their own agency. This was done by presenting students with a range of situations in the form of true/false statements (for example: 'Young people are capable of organizing nationwide protests'). Students were then presented with examples where young people had done precisely that. This led to discussions about why young people were capable of doing such things, and whether the participants in *Justice Citizens* could conceive of themselves as acting in a similar fashion. In addition, students identified the kinds of skills and knowledge that were required in order to take this form of action.

In the second part of the course, students worked with journalists from local newspapers to develop an understanding of research and interview techniques. Students also received the opportunity to speak with a range of community members about different topics that community members felt were important. During this phase, a number of issues constantly recurred: these included racism, the treatment of asylum seekers, the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse and bullying and harassment.

The final part of the course involved students researching, planning, shooting and editing their films. This project developed their sense of agency. Students worked in small groups (chosen by themselves) ranging from pairs to one group of seven. Students were responsible for 'pitching' an idea for their film to their teacher and then researching it. They needed to collaboratively devise a script and a storyboard before shooting their film. For many students, this was done during school time (either during the lessons themselves or during other free time). However, some groups used

their own personal time to meet with participants or people they wanted to film. More than 30 films were produced, which was more than 90% of the expected number if all groups completed the task.

These films were then shown to the entire cohort, who voted on which ones they thought were the best. These films were placed on the school's YouTube channel and also presented at a local Film Festival. The online space and the actual physical film festival were important for different reasons. The physical festival allowed students to invite prominent members of the community to see their films, and also engage in discussion about the topics. The online space provided a chance for students to share their films with a much broader audience and invoke other students' awareness of the issues depicted in the films.

These films became part of the data collection for this research project. In addition, I undertook participatory observation in the classes that I taught and in other classes and school activities. The purpose of this was to listen to the students as they engaged with the *Justice Citizens* course, and to examine the way that they both spoke about and acted during the course.

The final way I gathered data was through two series of interviews with 11 participants in *Justice Citizens*. The first round of interviews took place before the program began, and the second round took place at the conclusion of *Justice Citizens*. In both cases, the same students were interviewed. The interviews were individual, with the exception of one, in which a pair of students were involved. Six boys and five girls were interviewed. The students nominated themselves for the interview process. The interviews were semi-structured in nature; I coded the interviews as part of the analysis.

Students' initial conceptions of active citizenship

The most obvious finding from this research project was the limited knowledge about civics and citizenship—both as a school subject and in general—that students actually had. This knowledge was exemplified that most of the students had very little idea that they were actually studying civics and citizenship education as part of their History and Geography Courses. Almost all of them expressed surprise about that fact, which suggests the relative weight that teachers place on the different subjects within the Key Learning Area of Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE). I suspect most teachers do not position civics centrally in their delivery of HSIE.

In addition to their lack of knowledge about Civics as an academic subject, students struggled to identify what citizenship meant to them or even to give examples of someone who might be an active citizen. Common answers from students included the idea of 'citizenship as belonging', which was often discussed in relation to those who didn't belong. At the time of *Justice Citizens*, there was a federal election campaign in Australia, and much of the debate centered around the place of asylum seekers and refugees in Australian life. Western Sydney was seen as a key battleground in this argument, so it is perhaps not surprising that students linked citizenship with notions of either being 'Australian' or not.

Students were generally unable to give many examples of active citizens in their communities. Some students nominated their local members of parliament, or the prime minister as examples of active citizens, but upon further questioning, they could only explain that the person got elected as the reason why they nominated that particular person. As examples of active citizenship activities, students were able to nominate large-scale community events that were organized by third parties. For example, students nominated Caritas' Project Compassion (a Catholic fund-raising charity) and Clean Up Australia Day (a litter reduction volunteer program). Only one student gave more localized examples, or examples that they had been involved in—these were related to that particular student's involvement with his church.

Students also exhibited a behavior that might be described as learned helplessness. When discussing the agency of young people and their ability to affect their environment and change people's minds (as discussed above), students were confident that young people would be able to do all of the things discussed. This surprised me. Upon further exploration, it became apparent that there was a dichotomy between what the students felt that young people were capable of in general, and what they, as individuals, felt they were capable of. This was generally expressed in the following terms: 'Yes, we understand that young people can do all of these things. It's just that *we* can't.' When pressed further, students admitted that they felt that they lacked the skills or knowledge needed to start, and were unsure whether enough other people were interested in things that they thought were important or were interested in.

On the face of it, as discussed earlier, the Senate Reports findings suggesting that young people are 'apathetic and ignorant' might appear to have some truth, considering the responses outlined above including their reluctance to follow up their defined areas of concern. However, this was not the case when students discussed issues that they felt were important. Some of the issues raised during class discussions were national in focus including refugee policy, racism, and domestic violence. However, there were others that were local in their scope—either in regards to the school or the community in which the school was located. Even the national issues almost always had a local anchor. For example, students were interested in domestic violence because of something they had seen, heard, or experienced, and not simply because it was a topical issue with Australia's media. Students who were interested in these matters were surprisingly well informed, and more than willing to engage in passionate debates about topics that they felt were important to them—even if their peers did not share the same interests.

Justice Citizens: Developing justice-oriented citizens

The second round of interviews—and my observations during the second half of the course—suggested that the students were beginning to develop a more nuanced approach to active citizenship, and also that they were beginning to conceive of themselves in different ways. Although it would be foolish to suggest that *Justice Citizens* had the same effect upon all the students who participated in it, I felt confident that many of the students I observed were developing a sense of agency about how they could be involved in their local communities.

This agency expressed itself in two different ways. Firstly, some students took the skills and contacts that they had developed over the course of their research and used that to continue pursuing their agendas in that particular area. For example, two groups of students were interested in environmental issues, especially around the local river system. After preparing a film about riverbank degradation by interviewing local environmental activists, the students in these groups joined a local environmental agency, which had a role to play in maintaining the riverbanks, and were thus able to be more active in their local community. In this sense, *Justice Citizens* had acted as a bridge between their previous context and their desire to pursue an interest.

Secondly, some students chose not to pursue their interest in the topic that they had made their films about. This was often because students in these groups felt that they had said all they had to say about that topic, and there were other interests that were now consuming their attention. These students remained interested in taking an active role in their community, and especially their school community. Four of the students I interviewed were planning on running for school student leadership positions in the following year. They explained that *Justice Citizens* had opened their eyes to how they might be involved in improving the school community, and the importance of students having a voice in the running of the school. In these instances, *Justice Citizens* had both changed the

attitudes of the students involved, but also altered their own understanding of their agency by developing skills that they could employ in pursuit of their active citizenship goals.

Conclusion

The first and most important conclusion I drew from *Justice Citizens* was that the current models of civics and citizenship and civics and citizenship education do not reflect the realities for many students in Australia in the 21st century. Unlike previous generations, most students involved in *Justice Citizens* were not looking to be involved in their communities in traditional manners. They were not 'joiners' in the sense that most of them had no intention of joining any kind of political or community organization. They were critical of both politicians and traditional politics and skeptical of its capacity to make any changes. Students often mentioned that 'all politicians were the same.' The notable exception to this joining rule was local sporting clubs; most of the students were members of at least one.

Instead, the participants in the project spoke more about particular issues that they were concerned about, and what they might do as an active citizen about those particular issues. These issues differed from student to student; some students were passionate about motorbike safety in their local community, while others were more interested in the effects of domestic violence. For this reason, I would categorize youth citizenship as homogenous and issue-based.

Secondly, the young people involved in the program had different notions of what it meant to be an active citizen in Australia. As already described, the participants were more likely to focus on particular issues of interest to them. However, the way they enacted these interests was substantially different. Students used mobile technology and social media to remain in touch with groups that shared their own interests and were more likely to share their own beliefs and thoughts about particular topics via social media.

Additionally, students were not merely consumers of this media. Through the use of smartphones, students were capable of making simple films (amongst other digital products) to create their own media. Indeed, *Justice Citizens* was predicated upon precisely this trait. These films were then either supported by being commented upon or shared by other viewers. This practice of active citizenship is, of course, not perfect, and there is much research to be done in how they conceived of their identity as change agents. Young people, acting in this way, express a form of networked citizenship that often has a reach beyond their physical or geographical communities.

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Chapter 30

The Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement: Participatory democracy, education, and the struggle for human emancipation

Alessandro Santos Mariano

National Education Collective of the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement

Abstract

This text outlines some aspects of the Brazilian Landless Rural Workers' Movement's (MST) struggle for human emancipation as well as the relationship of this struggle to its educational project and popular education. The MST developed its struggle through agrarian reform and social transformation. Thus, the movement occupies large land estates and builds communities (camps and settlements) characterized by democratic participation, gender equality, and the production of healthy food without chemicals. It also has a public school network and independent educational centers that emphasize education for activism and the construction of a new society.

Introduction

The Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement (MST, or Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) emerges from the contradiction of the land concentration system in Brazil, which is the fifth largest country globally. Its large concentration of land is connected to social inequality. According to IBGE, 0.9% of the population owns 60% of the country's wealth, while the other 50% of the poorest Brazilians own only 2% of the country's wealth (IBGE, 2010). Brazil is the country with the highest land concentration in the world, and its territory has the largest land estates. Land concentration in Brazil has its historic roots at the beginning of the Portuguese colonization during the sixteenth century. The Portuguese colonization created an agriculture model based on land concentration, monoculture, and slavery. The way the Portuguese occupied lands at that time established wealth concentration and social inequality that affects Brazil until the present day.

According to Fernandes (1975), the Brazilian bourgeoisie emerged from the agrarian oligarch with conservative values that sustain an economic and social structure that mixes the modern with the archaic, resulting in the large land estates. In other words, during Brazil's historic process of political development, there were no substantial changes in the economic structure. Despite industrialization, there are still elements of accommodation and conservation that date back to Brazil's independence in 1822. Although independence represents the beginning of the political emancipation, the slavery regime was kept intact, which expresses the heritage order and the state behavior that still exists in Brazil today.

During the political independence process, the bourgeoisie became the dominant class (government) and consolidated the modern political regime, replacing the old colonial regime. However, this did not mean the end of the class structure. It actually added more elements to it, such as free slaves and

rural workers, who became the sellers of their own labor as they were denied the rights to the means of production, although they could now vote in the democratic elections. Marx (2010) considered the political emancipation a great advancement, but he emphasized that did not represent a form of human emancipation because it did not promote real equality among men nor put an end to men's exploitation of other men. According to Sergio Lessa and Ivo Tonet (2004), "the bourgeoisie equality, as well as the bourgeoisie democracy, is nothing more than the maximum freedom to exploit workers. No matter how democratic the bourgeoisie State, it will always be a tool used against workers to repress them" (p. 89).

In Brazil, all of the State's repressive tools were used to oppress any kind of workers' manifestations, such as agrarian reform struggles or other urban organizations. In the countryside, the agrarian bourgeoisie made use of false legal documents in order to guarantee their right to property. More recently, they have developed an agriculture system that subordinated Brazil to international capital interests. In other words, the owners of the large properties aligned themselves with the financial international capitalist class (i.e., financial capital, banks), the transactional companies such as Syngenta, Monsanto, and Bunge, and also with the media. This new configuration of capitalism in the countryside is called agribusiness, an agricultural model that prioritizes the production of agriculture commodities for exportation, which maintains the land concentration model. The main products exported are soil, cellulose, sugar cane, and cattle – activities that do not generate employment, do not feed people, use heavy machinery, and destroy Brazil's biodiversity by releasing millions of chemical liters into the environment that contaminate the soil and water and kill plants and animals.

The MST was born in this context and organizes around 2 million landless workers. It fights for human emancipation, which according to Marx and Engels (1990) is achievable through a social revolution. This revolution must be led by workers and strive to replace the capitalist society with a communal, truly humane, and emancipated society. For this reason, the MST's main activity is the occupation of large land estates by landless workers. It has an organizational structure that includes democratic participation, equality of gender power, and communities (camps and settlements) that are created through permanent mobilization and pressure against the capitalist State. It also encourages cooperative production and the commercialization of healthy food and the creation of public schools that focus on the education of the next generations. These schools emphasize the education of local leaders in order to support the organizational processes of the movement.

The Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement: democratic participation and the struggle for human emancipation

The struggle for land in Brazil is historic. It includes Indigenous people's resistance to the Portuguese colonization and the resistance of Africans who were brought to Brazil. Many times these Africans actively resisted slavery, and the formation of quilombos (runaway slave communities) expresses this form of resistance. Brazil's history is full of these experiences of rural people that always fought for their rights to land but were strongly oppressed and killed by the dominant classes.

The MST emerged in the context of the Brazilian dictatorship (1964-1984) as the heir of the struggle for land. In 1979, hundreds of rural workers occupied the Macali and Brilhante farms in the Rio Grande do Sul. In 1981, a new occupation was organized in this same state, the Encruzilhada Natalino occupation. Many other groups occupied land in Brazil throughout this period, and as a result of this process, a first National Meeting of these landless people occurred in 1984. The

meeting gathered the leaders of these disperse occupations, who decided to create a national rural movement, which they called the Landless Rural Worker's Movement (MST).

The MST was created with three goals: 1) the struggle for land, which is the concrete struggle that mobilizes the rural landless workers; 2) the struggle for agrarian reform, which is a proposal for an alternative development model in countryside that seeks to democratize property and land; and, 3) the struggle for social transformation, which means a transformation of the social structure of society that overcomes the bourgeois society and allows for political emancipation. In other words, it seeks a social revolution in order to build a communal society and an emancipated humanity.

There is a difference between political emancipation and human emancipation. According to Lukács (2009), political emancipation is the result of a bourgeoisie revolution. Therefore, it is the bourgeoisie's and not the workers' emancipation. It is the naturalization of exploitation by social class. On the other hand, human emancipation is the initiative of the proletariat, in order to overcome all exploitation. Human emancipation is what eliminates classism, racism, and gender discrimination.

In order to promote human emancipation, the MST occupies large land estates and questions private land rights. Currently, the MST has 120 thousand families (men, women, and children) that are living occupied encampments. The camps are characterized by sheds covered with black plastic, except the ones in the North and Northeast states that are covered with "sape" (local tree leaves) and clay walls. These families live for 5 to 10 years in these camps until they obtain the land and construct new agrarian reform settlements.

Throughout its 32 years of existence (1984-2016), the MST has helped 400 thousand families to transfer from these camps to the settlements. After the settlements are built, MST leaders pressure the government to build schools and health centers. Settlements also organize cooperative production, assuming a new agriculture model of production that emphasizes the production of healthy food without chemicals.

Camps and settlements represent more than the redistribution of land estates. They also represent spaces of participatory democracy and popular power of workers. When landless workers join the MST, there is one main goal: to own land. Once the family gets there, the MST leaders help them learn about this new, dynamic, collective organizational structure to which they all now belong.

The organic structure of the camps and settlements seeks to practice democratic participation and incorporate all individuals into a collective process. There are three collective spaces that form this structure:

The first and most important collective group is the Base Nucleus (Nucleos da Base, or NB), which is formed by 10 to 15 families that live near each other and gather weekly in order to discuss the community's issues, such as the coordination of the camp, educational sector, food, communication, infrastructure, security, rural production, etc. The NBs are the first space for democratic participation.

The second space is the settlement/camp's coordination collective, which is composed by one male and one female coordinator from the families' NBs, who gather to think about the totality of the camp. The coordination collective is not the most important decision-making space, but rather, a space to develop ideas that are proposed to a general assembly, which makes these final decisions.

The third space is the assembly, which is the activity that gathers everyone in the camp to decide the next steps to be taken in relation to the occupations, agricultural production, and other important matters. All the big decisions are made in the assembly.

This organizational structure is also reproduced at the local, state, and national levels of the MST. This organizational structure is always guided by the principles of collective direction, division of labor, discipline, study, professionalism, relationship with the members, critique, and self-criticism. The MST also has other forms of struggles such as marches, occupations of public buildings, vigils, hunger strikes, camping along the roads and in front of transnational companies, and the occupation and destruction of GMO cultivations by companies such as Monsanto, Cargill, Bayer, Vale, etc. These manifestations are always organized with the same structure as the community, which integrates all of the landless families in collective decision-making processes to complete tasks such as cooking, security, the construction of the shelters, etc.

The movement fights for land by building relationships with other urban movements across Brazil, because it considers that the solution to inequality and social injustice as only possible through a united popular struggle. In this context, agrarian reform is a central element for popular struggle, as it allows for the democratization of access to land and production of healthy food without chemicals. At the same time, the movement clearly understands that human emancipation is only possible through global struggles. Therefore, the MST also participates in global networks and organizations that seek to oppose capitalism at the global level. For these reasons, the MST participates in The Via Campesina (the Peasant Path), which connects rural social movements from the five continents.

In short, we can say that the struggle to access land is what mobilizes landless workers. Through this collective organizational experience, these landless workers begin to understand that it is necessary to fight for human emancipation, which also demands a fight for a different social structure. The MST tries to construct a social structure that is based on participatory democracy, wherein a new type of relationship between people is built and practiced.

Public schools: Educational project and a new way of thinking

Due to the demand for education at different levels, the MST has pressured the state to build public schools and implement new public policies for rural education. As a result of this political pressure, an educational "network" has been created inside of the settlement areas. Although numbers fluctuate, in 2014 this network included 2,000 elementary and middle schools and more than 8,000 teachers. It is estimated that more than 200,000 elementary, middle, and high school students are studying inside the settlements. Around 50,000 people have become literate through the MST's educational initiatives. The movement has also created educational opportunities at the high school and superior levels, through partnerships with more than 60 public universities. Around 2,000 thousand people are attending these courses. The MST has also documented more than 5,000 people were educated through MST-administered technical high schools and superior educational courses (Carter & Carvalho, 2009).

Since its beginning, the MST fights for the right to educational access and has been searching for the answer to an important question: how do we build the school we want? This question generated actions, reflections, and practices experimenting with school's organization. Female and male professors linked to the MST's struggle are the protagonists of this process. It is important to point out that the movement's own internal organizational structure, such as the movements constant involvement in political struggle and collective organization, helped to inspire the process of rethinking the pedagogy of the MST's schools.

The MST has formulated a theoretical and practical conception of education that has three main referents: the Pedagogy of the Movement (Caldart, 2004), Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 2005) and Socialist Pedagogy (Pistrak, 2010).

The MST (1999) understands the school as not restricted to teaching issues only, but also addressing all of the multilateral dimensions of human emancipation, such as cognitive, motor, emotional, esthetical, artistic, physic, and so on. These dimensions can be developed through organizing diverse educational spaces throughout the school day. Thus, the school is planned with the goal of educating through its allocation of time, space, and the social relations that take place in the school. The schools allow students practice the student's self-governance, the creation of mística (cultural performances), and the practice of living together while respecting the values of equality, justice, and solidarity. These schools do not reject the traditional curriculum, but rather, values this curriculum as a necessary tool for full comprehension of reality, and as an instrument for collective struggle and social transformation. These schools promote education that is based on reality, the relation between theory and practice, labor, self-management, and democratic management. In short, according to the MST, the educational project of the Movement changes students, teachers, and the community's educational space. It proposes a new way of schooling that is composed of four aspects.

The first aspect is the organizational structure of the school, based on the camps' organizational styles – including democratic participation, self-governance by the students through the NBs, pedagogical collectives composed of professors, coordinating collectives, and the division of labor. It has three important spaces: a) NBs: composed by 7 to 10 students that gather once a week to propose and evaluate the process of the school, b) Coordinating Collective of the School: composed by one female and one male coordinator of each NB, responsible for being the NB's voice as well as organizing the general assembly at the school, c) the general assembly, which is the maximum organ of the school and takes place once a month or every two months and includes everybody in the school (students, professors, and community).

The second organizational component of the school is the educative environment that emphasizes the importance of organizing spaces that educate human beings in a way that aligns with the MST's social project. This means educational moments for class, work, workshop, sports, leisure time, study, collective work, cultural performances, ecology, and so on. Besides the four classes, there are other times for sports, art and each group's living experiences.

The third aspect of these schools is the manual labor and work. In these spaces, the main goal is to develop collective and ecological agriculture production and participate in other collective work tasks. The students are organized in work teams such as agricultural production, cooking, gardening, communication (radio), and library work. These teams work for periods of time that may vary from 4 to 10 hours per week.

The last aspect of these schools is research as a form of study that goes beyond the classroom. The main goal of this component of the school is the maximum involvement of educators in the process of knowledge production. In this way, the students go on field trips and elaborate projects that contribute to addressing the issues in their communities such as epidemics and plagues. The MST understands that it is the State's responsibility the maintenance of public education (access, permanency, and quality), but that at the same time it is up to the community to participate in its management. This means that the school must be a tool of the community and not a tool of the State.

In this context, the MST tries to confront to confront the state by occupying the public school and implementing the movement's pedagogical proposal: 1) transmitting the knowledge socially and historically constructed by humanity; b) unveiling the nature of our class-based society and the nature of capitalism; and c) constructing the political consciousness and competence among the

working class in order for them to critically transform the world. It is important to understand that education is a space of social dispute for hegemony.

Florestan Fernandes National School: The conscious organizational education of the working-class

Beyond the public schools, the MST has constructed an independent network of 50 educational centers. These educational centers are integral to the process of leadership development among activists that participate in the various sectors of the movement—agriculture, education, communication, health, culture, and "direct action". At the national level, there is the Florestan Fernandes National School, which opened in January 2005 in Guararema (Vale do Paraiba, 60 km from Sao Paulo).

The Florestan Fernandes National School (ENFF) is one of the greatest achievements of the MST. It brings together MST leaders across the country, in addition to leaders from other Brazilain social movements and activists around the world. For example, the ENFF hold political theory courses in Spanish language for activists from Latin America and political theory courses in English language for activists coming from North America, South Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The curriculum in these course combines history, philosophy, culture, critical theories, and methods of popular organization. The ENFF represents an important step in the popular education initiatives of social movements in Brazil and worldwide. The ENFF was constructed with the idea that human emancipation and education are strongly connected. The school's name is in honor of the pioneer sociologist, educator, and activist Florestan Fernandes.

The courses offered at the ENFF include introduction to theories of Marxism, Carlos Mariátegui, Pan-Africanism, and others theorists, in addition to graduate school courses. The pedagogical method of these courses is divided into three central categories: study, self-management, and labor. In the area of study, students have six hours of class daily, taught by professors and specialists, in addition to two hours of collective and individual readings, debates, and discussions. In the area of self-governance, there are organizational meetings in which students evaluate the pedagogical and organizational process of the school and propose new ideas. There is also a school assembly, in which the work process at the school is deliberated and approved. The third category is work (manual labor), which involves two hours of work in a "production unit," where students develop collective work practices such as farming, gardening, kitchen, domestic chores, radio communication, cultural activities, cleaning the rooms, etc.

This pedagogical method is connected to the process of struggle for the emancipation of workers. The school recognizes the importance of teaching the working-class how to organize itself, live, work, and struggle together. In this context, according to Pizetta (2007), the educational practices of MST arose due to the movement's need to develop local, regional and national leadership. In short, the political and educational processes make possible a higher level of organizational capacity and the appropriation of theory and practical knowledge in order to overcome future challenges.

Conclusion

Nowadays the challenge that workers face globally is to fight against only political emancipation (representative democracy), because only having political emancipation represents the interest of capitals, while human emancipation represents the interests of the workers). It is necessary to combine the struggle of the working-class with popular education because it is necessary to fight against the dominant ideologies as well as practice other forms of power and participation. It is

important for workers to show their ability to effectively practice democracy (participatory democracy) as an element of strengthening the struggle and the break-up of the bourgeois model of society.

In order to achieve this goal, the MST uses democratic participation as a tool for the freedom of workers as well as to build a working-class education based on the assumption that human emancipation is only possible through social transformation. This transformation seeks the transformation of capitalistic society, which is only possible, according to Paulo Freire, through the education and organization of the oppressed in their struggle to free themselves and their oppressors.

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Chapter 31

Learning in Chicago's 49th ward participatory budgeting process: How to study democratic activity across time and space by analyzing discourse

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Abstract

Through an analysis of discourse, the analysis presented here explores how learning occurred in Chicago's 49th ward Participatory Budgeting process (PB49). The analysis was conducted on discussions that took place in the Leadership Committee (LC) meetings about the topic of creating a Spanish Language Committee (SLC) to support predominant Spanish speaking Latino immigrant participation in the PB49 process. This paper's findings relate to a larger three-year longitudinal ethnographic case study focusing on how the Latino immigrant community members participated in the PB49 process (Meléndez, 2016). Based on findings from the larger study about the nature of predominant Spanish speaking Latino immigrants' participation, analysis for this paper involved purposefully selecting LC meetings that addressed talk about the topic of creating a SLC. The real-time instances when PB49 takes place are considered enactments, which in this paper are positioned as learning environments of democratic activity.

While the analysis of discourse is not new to the study of democratic activity, analysis of discourse in these contexts has typically not systemically been used to examine talk over longer periods of time. Briggs (1998) insightfully demonstrated what a socio-linguistic analysis of a participatory planning enactment could provide in three brief ethnographic accounts of interaction in a participatory planning process. This kind of analytic approach offers insights into the power dynamics at play in participants' social interactions. However, very few, if any, planning, community development or other forms of democratic activity take place in one enactment. Expanding the analysis of discourse from one speech event, such as a public meeting, to multiple speech events over time and places (Wortham & Reyes, 2015) provides more analytical tools. These analytical tools can help decipher how power and learning are at play in complex evolving democratic activity systems. Furthermore, in these kinds of processes, there is a need for more practice-based research and analysis of learning that moves beyond summative evaluations that capture participants self-reporting what they have learned. Such reports can miss nuanced manifestations of power structures at play in democratic activity. The paper examines how learning occurs in practice from participants' own words and actions over time across multiple speech events in different settings.

Introduction

This paper presents an analysis of the Leadership Committee's (LC) talk about creating a Spanish Language Committee (SLC) in the Participatory Budgeting process in Chicago's 49th ward (PB49).

PB49 is the first participatory budgeting (PB) process to be implemented in a municipality in the United States. PB began in Brazil in 1989 as an innovative democratic process that provides local residents with a direct say on how to spend funds in their communities (Cabanes, 2004). However, until 2009, PB had not been implemented in the United States. The research presented here stems from a larger case study that focuses specifically on the Latino immigrant community's participation in PB49. This provided a unique case study given this first instantiation of this process in the U.S. This is since the 49th ward is one of the most diverse communities in the county, of which Hispanics during the time of this study made up 24.43% of the residents (Paral, 2012).

This study situates Spanish-language mediated participation in relationship to English-language mediated participation in PB49. Situating the lived-in world context (Lave, 1988) of Spanish-speaking participants in this way foregrounds English as the official language of the business of the PB49's process. The study analyzed discourse to decipher how participation unfolded in the PB49 process, and how the nature of participation related to key learning opportunities in practice. Learning in this paper refers to the changes or evolution of practices that occur as a result of participants' engagement in the PB49 process, with the foci in this paper on learning that is collective or system level related.

Participatory democratic activity

This study uses an expansive view of participatory democratic activity, which, amongst other processes, includes when community groups, neighborhood associations, citizen interest groups, and formal or informal planning committees such as participatory budgeting groups are organized to negotiate on community-based initiatives. Regardless of the labels attached to these processes, in these kinds of democratic activities great priority is placed on public engagement. Public engagement in a democratic activity is defined as "the participation in voluntary, community-based organizations and associations" when "individual and organizational attempts to influence public policy or the electoral process" (Hays, 2007, p. 401-402). Public participation in democratic activity acts as a "training ground for development of skills and attitudes necessary for ongoing participation" (p. 402). Diverse public participation in the democratic activity is critical for public stake and ownership of solutions proposed by participatory processes. This is particularly true in the context of PB49, where decisions are made about how local infrastructure funds are used. Thus, it is important that participation reflects the 49th ward's diverse demographics in order to have buy-in from the community, to ensure funds are not being spent disproportionally for one interest, and to achieve the desired goals of a deliberate democratic process.

A challenge in studying learning in democratic activity is to show how learning occurs *in practice*. Hence, clarifying the goals and objectives of participatory processes is important, since researchers can inadvertently equate the democratic ideals of these processes and the learning outcomes as one and the same, or even as a given (Forrester, 1989; Briggs, 1998; Martinez-Cosio, 2006). Stated differently, just because a process under study has democratic ideals as its goals, it does not guarantee the goals are met in practice. Researchers should not let democratic ideals cloud how they/we study the practices of these participatory processes. Researchers interested in studying participatory processes must be clear about what the process is, including how it functions procedurally and what role participants play in the process in order to study how learning occurs in practice. The research presented here takes a step towards demonstrating a way to both "see" and characterize the learning in participatory processes through the language participants use in practice.

Additionally, researchers need to apply methodological approaches that move beyond the analysis of single enactments, since participatory democratic processes take place over time, usually in multiple

spaces (meetings, assemblies, etc.). Given the timeframes over which participatory processes take place, summative evaluations that ask participants to self-report what they have learned at the end are common. Such results are then used to replicate processes without much knowledge about the kind of observable learning that took place in practice over time. The current study does not aim to evaluate or to advocate for or against the expansion of these democratic participatory processes. Instead, this study seeks to both complicate and shed light on how participation is nuanced and complex, demanding additional research that takes into account how communities are affected by participatory processes—especially those usually absent from decision-making bodies.

Theoretical framework: Cultural Historical Activity Theory

The current research uses a Cultural Historical Activity Theory framework (Vygotsky, 1978; Engeström, 1999) to investigate how artifacts mediate participation. Mediation involves intentional activity made possible by "using and creating artifacts," both tools and language, that enable individuals to plan and search for useful ways to act in activity (Engeström, 1999, p. 29). In the research presented here, the central notion of mediated action through tools and language implies studying participation as a form of planning activity.

Figure 1. (A) Vygotsky's model of mediated action and (B) its common reformulation Engeström, Y. (1987).
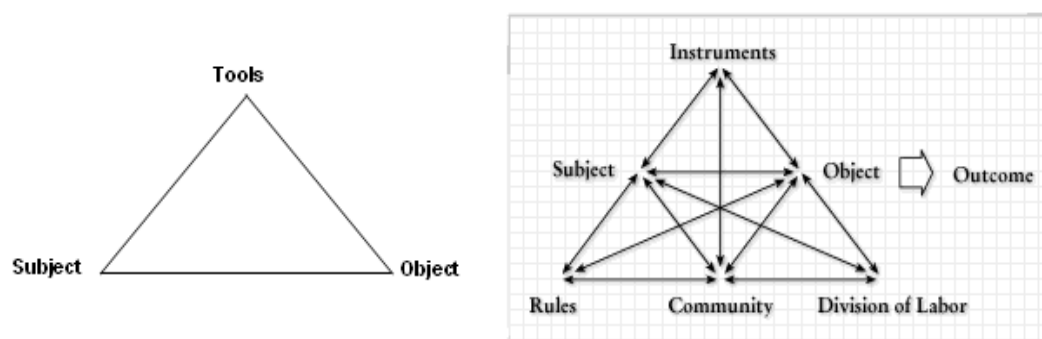
As such, this study looked at the PB49 process as an activity system (Figure 2). This means looking at PB49 as a complex system constituted of parts in relation to one another. Thus, an inherent aim in this analysis is to document the effect of participants' practices (through their actions as mediated through tools and language) on the evolution of the PB49 activity system (Engeström, 1987). The instruments individuals create and use in democratic activity enable participants to actively engage in the PB49 activity system.

In democratic activity, civic capacities are one key form of mediation by which individuals can civically engage. In this paper, civic capacities refer to the skills, identities, and dispositions needed for active engagement in democratic activity (Martinez-Cosio, 2006; Price et al., 2011). Investigating the role that civic capacities play in adults' civic engagement is a key piece to describing the learning that takes place in democratic activity. Since civic capacities are numerous and initiated in various ways and contexts, their combined influence on democratic activity relates to how they may coalesce under certain conditions to instigate collective action for addressing a community's problem-solving practices. Participatory processes often privilege certain forms of participation over others, meaning

not all civic capacities are equally valued. Research on how and when civic capacities are learned can lead to greater understanding about the learning potential of participation in democratic activity.

Context: Participatory budgeting in the 49th ward

In the PB49 process, participant eligibility includes any resident of the ward over the age of 16, regardless of either their immigration status or voter eligibility. Referred to as *menu money,* the PB49 process allows community members to decide how to allocate $1 million in discretionary funds for neighborhood capital improvements,. These are tax funds that the alderman had traditionally—prior to PB—been responsible for deciding how to allocate for infrastructure projects within the boundaries of his ward. The alderman's office and the overarching LC make design decisions about how to facilitate the process (see Melendez & Radinsky, 2012 for further details on the origins of the PB49 process). Aspects of the PB49 process can be changed through the LC as needed, making decisions on logistics, expansion or restrictions of the process, all done in close coordination with the alderman and his staff. As such, the LC is the means through which the democratic activity is responsive to participants' practices (Fung, 2003), given how it is made up of prior year's participants.

Data corpus and analysis

Across three years of the PB49 process (2011 – 2014), 28 LC meetings were reviewed for discussions pertaining to Latino immigrants' participation. Nineteen of the 29 reviewed meetings had conversations about this issue. Those segments of conversations from the videos were transcribed, becoming the primary source of analysis for this study. Other data sources, such as artifacts related to meetings and field notes, were also referenced when needed.

Transcripts were imported into NVivo, where a grounded theory method was used to code for key moments related to how participation unfolded (Charmaz, 2016). Informed by Wortham and Reyes' method of analyzing multiple speech events over time (2015), transcripts were first coded for topics of discussion within and across each of the 19 meetings. Topics of discussion are participants' descriptions of actions or activities that occurred in the past, took place in the present, or could occur in the future. Analysis of these topics communicated content for further analysis of social action. Topics are the interactional, organizational means through which participants engage with one another in democratic activity. Analyzing linked topics over time allowed the researcher to map how participants socially interacted within the discussions, providing insight into what participants valued, the power structures at play, and evidence about key moments of learning.

Once topics were coded, the key speech events related to Latino immigrants' actual participation were mapped over time. The topic of *creating a Spanish language committee (SLC)* was chosen as the focus of further analysis. Segments of talk about this topic were mapped across meetings to determine their trajectory. The topic of creating a SLC was particularly key to engaging Latino immigrants in the PB49 process, as predominantly Spanish speaking participants up until that point had to rely on translation to mediate their participation. This initial design principle of the PB49 process had the unintended consequence of making Latino immigrant participants ineligible to be on the LC. This was due to challenges faced by predominant Spanish speaking Latino immigrants, which since their civic engagement was mediated by translation had never sustained their engagement through an entire cycle of the PB49 process. As such, the *creation of a SLC* was proposed as a strategy that might have a long-term impact on the sustained engagement of a considerable portion of the 49th ward residents.

This paper presents the analysis of linked speech events across meetings in which the topic of *creating a SLC* was discussed. This topic was discussed in five out of the 19 LC meetings. Table 1 provides details about each of these five meetings, including the dates, who participated, and the participants' roles/titles. All names except for the Active Research Participant (author) are pseudonyms.

Table 1. Data corpus for analysis

Meeting Date	# of Participants	Active Research Participant	Staff	Community Member Participants
05/30/2012	4	José	Alderman	Rose, Susan
07/10/2012	4	José	Abil	Rick, Sally
07/17/2012	3	José		Eric, Omar
08/14/2012	4	José	Abil	Rick, Sally
08/21/2012	9	José	Betty, Corina	Eric, Jerry, Josh, Omar, Sally, Susan

Each segment within the five meetings about the topic of *creating a SLC* was coded for three key constructs. These constructs have been identified in the literature as having the analytical potential to provide insights into how participants engage in social interactions, including what is needed for active participation in democratic activity. The three constructs include:

- Framing – how individuals define or situate an issue (Gordon, 2015)
- Positioning Role – how identities are created in practice (Gordon, 2015)
- Civic Capacities – the skills, identities, and dispositions needed to actively engage in democratic activity (Martinez-Cosio, 2006; Price et al., 2011)

Following Wortham and Reyes (2015), two rounds of coding were done by linguistic cues related to the constructs. For example, evaluative words that indicated significance and/or judgment, emotions, and/or comparisons were indicative of how participants framed issues (i.e., should, need to). Positioning roles were identified through linguistic cues where individuals referred to themselves, themselves in relation to others, and to themselves in a way that suggested a certain role (i.e., usage of pronouns, taking on the voice of a larger entity such as committee). Finally, civic capacities were identified through linguistic cues including verbs and gerunds related to observable civic actions, such as asking questions and referring to other meetings. Finally, the author conceptualized and sifted through the codes (Saldaña, 2009), seeking patterns and themes, which were conceptually mapped and reflected upon through analytic memos.

Findings and discussion

Framing

Participants in the LC framed the topic of *creating a SLC* in three ways. These three frames are outlined in Table 2. It is important to note that frame categories are nuanced and are not meant to be black and white.

Table 2. Ways the topic of creating a Spanish language committee was framed

Ways the Spanish language committee was framed	Definition	Example discourse with linguistic cues italicized
As an experimental strategy	An experimental strategy that moves beyond outreach to support the participation of Latino immigrant community members	Alderman: "It's certainly, *it's certainly worth* you know I, I both *plusses and minuses* come to mind, but I think, *definitely think it's worth* uhh some you know, discussion over the course of the summer as we lead into next year. "{05/30/2012}
As a different kind of space (distinct)	A space where Latino immigrant participants could actually engage in the ideals of PB	Abil: "And if that is something that's pretty well-- actually, that makes it *super exciting ((gesture)). It's in their heart, they're really -- ((gesture)) {~}, they're getting down and dirty and they're meeting with city leadership etc. Eventually, we'll understand ((gesture)) how do you start this little idea and see it ((gesture)) into fruition? Maybe no one goes for it or maybe in the end it's not feasible, but just so you get an understanding of how the city works. I think that's exciting. That's what I enjoyed most over the process last year."* {08/14/2012}
As a logistical unknown	Logistically, the SLC brings up questions of how it will fit within the PB49 process framework that existed in 2012.	Rick: "but if we're going to have a separate Spanish committee then *what project might they work on or projects would it be something that could like could draw from any one of the other committees? /* And I'm not trying to like, that's the first question that comes to mind." {07/10/2012}

Although individuals used various terms for how they viewed the proposal for creating a SLC, a joint perspective emerged that the creation of the SLC would be a means to an end, or *an experimental strategy* for engaging predominantly Spanish language speakers. Examples of different terms used to frame the SLC as *an experimental strategy* included: strategy, idea strategy, goal, test, and experiment.

Subsequently, participants framed the SLC as *a different kind of space (distinct)* as they began to imagine the kind of space that such a committee would provide to participants whose predominant language was Spanish. In the example presented in Table 1, Abil's language reflects her imagining a participation space where predominant Spanish speaking Latino immigrant participants could engage in back and forth talk with each other about the value of the ideas they proposed. When Abil stated, "they're getting down and dirty and they're meeting with city leadership," she was describing what she recalled was worthwhile about the PB49 process the prior year, something not accessible to predominantly Spanish speaking participants at that time.

Finally, the SLC was framed as a *logistical unknown.* As the proposal to create the committee took shape, multiple questions emerged regarding details about how the SLC would fit into the overall committee structure of the PB49 process. Talk that included questions about how projects would be assigned reflected such logistical concerns. For example, as illustrated in Table 1, Rick stated "what

project might [the SLC] work on or projects would it be something that could like could draw from any one of the other committees?" As the discussions of the SLC evolved over time and the proposal gained more traction as a real possibility, participants expressed different logistical concerns as they tried to figure out how the committee would relate to other committees. For instance, participants were concerned with how the SLC would interact with other committees and how they would be assigned projects.

Framing in relation to positioning roles

Numerous positioning roles were enacted across each of the three frames about the creation of a SLC. These positioning roles included: *Advocate for participant/community involvement, Community leader, Devil's advocate, Humble participant, Process insider, Community insider, Returning participant, Spanish speakers, Expert.* See Table 3 for an overview of which positioning roles were enacted within each of the frames.

Table 3. Positioning roles by frames

Ways the Spanish language committee was framed	Positioning Roles	Example discourse reflecting positioning roles participants placed themselves or others into
Frame 1 An experimental strategy	Advocate for participant/community involvement[1]; Community leader[2]; Community Insider[3]; Expert[4]; Returning participant[6]; Humble[7]	Rick: "I think I remember the day that it split up too much, there was a large number Spanish speaking people that started interested in that committee but they kind of fell off/" [3,6] José: "/Yes, fell off and I think for a variety of reasons[3,4]…if they have an opportunity to really discuss these things amongst themselves and to disagree um with each other than come to a resolution, they have the same opportunity that we are having in disagreeing and coming up with a resolution." [1,2,6] {07/10/2012}
Frame 2 A different kind of space (distinct)	Advocate for participant/community involvement[1]; Community leader[2]; Process insider[3]; Returning participant[6]; Spanish speakers[8]; Expert[5]	As Omar put it on 07/17/2012 when pressed by Rick on what would be the next steps required to further the discussion on the SLC, "I mean, it doesn't fit our current structure so we'd have to think it through."[2,5]
Frame 3 A logistical unknown	Advocate for participant/community involvement[1]; Devil's advocate[9]; Process insider[3]; Expert[5]; Community insider[4]	The role of questioning and clarifying is referred to here as playing Devil's advocate, picking up on Rick positioning of himself as such on 08/14/2012 "That's just me being a devil's advocate."[4]

Note. Superscript assigned to positioning roles in the example discourse

How individuals frame issues, that is, how participants construct a particular kind of inanimate thing, such as an event, idea, issue, or problem (Gordon, 2015) enables them to "define[d] situations and sustain experiences" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 104) in social interactions. This is especially important in public policy, where feminist scholars have established relationships between the framing of problems and their potential resolutions (Bacchi, 2009). On the other hand, individuals position themselves and each other while engaging in discussions dealing with the value, judgment, or relation of issues. How they do this is indicative of how they perceive themselves and others within this social interaction (Holland & Leader, 2004). In the PB49 context, the observed positioning resulted in certain roles being picked up by individuals, as opposed to thickening of identities over time (Wortham, 2004). This means that individual emergent identities did not necessarily crystalize over time, but instead, roles emerged that were key in facilitating the social interaction regardless of who was performing that role. While we may assume that certain frames require certain positions, we can also observe how certain positioning roles instigated the development of certain frames. In this way, framing and the positioning roles are constitutive of one another, instigating one another as individuals try to make sense of the evolving social interaction. As such, the findings presented here suggest that how issues were framed were in dialectical relation to the positioning roles that were taken up.

For example, those in the positioning roles of *returning participants*, as evidenced by participants' multi-cycle participation, tended to engage old and new challenges in the PB49 process with openness, inviting solutions. Put another way, *returning participants* framed issues positively rather than as impediments. As they did this, they also took up the positioning roles of process *insiders*, and *community leaders*. For example, on 08/21/2012:

> Omar: "Is the goal of inclusion and trying to get this process available to the Spanish, the whole process available for the Spanish language committee - You know we need to make a decision to say yes that's worth it. Knowing that we're going to have to work out a few kinks this first time through."

In the above turn, Omar who was a *returning participant* and the Co-Chair of the LC (*community leader*) pushed back against the notion of having all logistics figured out before taking a vote to create the SLC. As such, through the use of collective pronouns (i.e., we), Omar assumed the voice of the LC (*process insider*), encouraging the rest of the LC members to think of the larger objective: making the PB49 process available to Latino immigrant participants. Thus, Omar's positioning roles aligned with how the group co-framed the SLC as a positive strategy.

Civic capacities

Civic capacities are the key ingredients that people need to actively engage in collective problem solving (Martinez-Cosio, 2006; Price et al., 2011). These key ingredients are a combination of essential skills, abilities, and dispositions that, when combined, mediate participants' civic engagement in democratic activity. How civic capacities are learned or enacted is key in participatory democratic activity. Participants activated numerous civic capacities within the various frames of the topic to *create a SLC*. See Table 4 for a view of all the Civic Capacities activated by frame.

Table 4. Activated civic capacities by frame

Ways the Spanish language committee was framed	Activated civic capacities by participants	Examples of activated civic capacities seen in participants' talk
Frame 1 An experimental strategy	Collaborating[1]; Constructing/presenting a proposal[7]; Explaining[2]; Introducing ideas[3]; Historicizing[4]; Providing reasons to support idea[5]; Questions: asking Q[8]; answering Q[9]; Returning to a previously raised idea[10]; Supporting[11];Voting[6]	Omar: I think what we want to do here, and I read your research, and I think it's a compelling argument and experiment to try accessibility and inclusion[1,11]. I think there's value in it, today it's Spanish and this year it's Spanish and we've got to work out some kinks, I'm not suggesting we have to go further, but I think we have to push a decision here because at this point I think we need to start planning to do something special for it[5,7,11]. So how do we approach this, Leadership committee, do we vote on this -- or consensus?[8] Is everybody -- do a growl to say no and a yipyipyipyip to say yes (laughter) something like that.{08/21/2012}
Frame 2 A different kind of space (distinct)	Constructing/presenting a proposal[7]; Encouraging civic participation[13]; Explaining[2]; Introducing ideas[3]; Historicizing[4]; Providing reasons to support suggestions[5]; Question: answering Q[9]; Returning to a previously raised idea[10]; Strategizing[12]; Supporting[11];	Rick: So (moves body towards table) we had discussed the Spanish language committee, but I don't know if that's really our {prerogative} as an outreach committee saying, "oh, we're going to do this," and not {~} ((gesture)) (agreeing)/[10,11] {07/17/2012}
Frame 3 A logistical unknown	Collaborating[1]; To Counter[14]; Explaining[2], Introducing ideas[3]; Historicizing[4] Providing reasons to support suggestions[5]; Questions: asking Q[8]; answering Q[9], Strategizing[12]; Returning to a previously raised idea[10]; Supporting[11]; Constructing/presenting a proposal[7]	Rick: That's just me being a devil's advocate, on that side of it. I could also see people saying, "let's keep it simple. What's going to be here and what's going to be here?"[3,7] José: It could also kind of {~} to each idea. So, for example, it could be that not any ideas come out of the Spanish assembly or that too many come out, but they need to be shipped off to other committees, so it would just be a matter of numbers so to speak./[1,2] Rick: Right, right.[11] {08/14/2012}

Note. Superscript assigned to positioning roles in the example discourse

Although civic capacities are individually activated, rarely can individuals enact changes in complex evolving systems such as the PB49 process by themselves. Therefore, figuring out if and how civic capacities can coalesce to support collective and system level changes can generate key insights into how to support their development while engaging in democratic activity. The above table portrays an overview of the multiple civic capacities activated and how their activation sustained the social interaction of creating a SLC.

In the current study, two sets of combined civic capacities seemed to play critical roles in instigating such sets of actions to materialize regardless of which frame they are activated in. In the first set of civic capacities, it was evident that participants needed to have the ability to *introduce ideas*, *providing evidence in support of their ideas*, and be able to *explain* to their fellow participants their reasoning. This combination of civic capacities, regardless of order, seemed to result in the civic capacities coalescing for enacting collective action. Coalescing is when related civic capacities appear in close proximity to one another and participants pick up the ideas being proposed, developed, and refined by the civic capacities to sustain the overall progress from idea to proposal. For example, in Table 3, Frame 1, once the *idea is introduced* to create a SLC for Latino immigrant participants who are predominantly Spanish language speakers, Rick *provided evidence in support of the idea*. As a returning participant himself, he showed the ability to cite (*historicize*) the experience of Latino immigrant participants' failed participation during the previous cycle of the PB49 process. Meanwhile, José jumped in to *provide reasons* for why creating a SLC would be a positive thing. This shows a coalescing of civic activities as they build on one another across participants, allowing for the social interaction to sustain the joint activity as participants focus their attention on a given idea for longer periods of time (i.e., collective action).

Once this coalescing of the first set of civic capacities took place, the second set of civic capacities played the additional key role of bringing about systemic change. The *support* provided by participants of certain *introduced ideas* facilitated amount of time the idea remained as a topic of discussion over multiple meetings. This then allowed for participants to begin to *collaborate* with one another on possible steps forward (i.e., solutions) and finally to *strategize* with one another about how that solution will become a reality. Table 4, frame 3, shows an example of how once the first set of civic capacities coalesced, it sustained the idea of creating a SLC over time and across meetings as it was supported by various participants. This sustained discussion across space and time allowed participants to begin to *collaborate* and *strategize* with one another on possible challenges and solutions. It would be very hard to *collaborate* and *strategize* on systemic challenges and solutions for a democratic process in one sitting, unless an idea was so crucial that as soon as an idea was introduced all business stopped until a resolution was found. In the above example, Rick and José *collaborated* three months after the initial idea was introduced. Their collaboration in that moment focused on figuring out how the committee would function in the future. Envisioning how the committee would function required *strategizing* about different choices and their implications. In this case, the final outcome of these social-interactions playing out over months is a *vote* by the LC to create a SLC.

Summary and concluding thoughts

The systemic implications of creating a SLC are multiple and will be spelled out in other publications (Meléndez, 2016). Not least of these implications is the future availability of a participation space for predominantly Spanish language speakers. The availability of a SLC opened the door for Latino immigrant participants to finally be able to join the LC. The creation of the SLC would not have

been possible without the appropriate framing of the challenges faced by Latino immigrant participants. Additionally, the positioning roles that sustained the idea of creating the SLC were crucial to keeping the idea alive across time and spaces. Finally, two key sets of civic capacities mediated participants' creation of the SLC as civic capacities coalesced to support collective and system level changes.

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Chapter 32

From ideals to social change: The Port Huron Statement and education for democracy

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Abstract

This paper argues that The Port Huron Statement—written by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1962—broke with classic political theorizing of idealizing end state utopias (Plato, Marx, King), states of nature (Hobbes, Rousseau), or decision procedures (Bentham, Mill) in favor of looking at current social problems and idealizing the mechanism of social change, as "participatory democracy," and change agents as "university students." The result involved a call for a truly democratic society, within certain parameters, but without a predetermined outcome. The call for university students to be considered agents of democratic change required that educating for democracy take center stage. This paper examines how many universities follow a "critical thinking" model of education for democracy through emphasizing broad course distributions and critical thinking. However, the paper argues that the "critical thinking" model is insufficient to support participatory, democratic agents. Therefore, universities should educate for democracy by building "communities of controversy" with a multidisciplinary social problems-based approach to democratic education.

Introduction

The Port Huron Statement was the founding document and political manifesto of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The Students for a Democratic Society grew out of the Civil Rights movement, and began life at the University of Michigan, in Ann Arbor. Approximately 60 college students from the Northeastern and Midwestern states met just outside of Port Huron, Michigan (an hour north of Detroit) to write what became The Port Huron Statement, the original of the compromised second draft. Working from an original draft by Tom Hayden, the founding convention produced the document that is arguably one of the seminal documents of America's "New Left," and the catalyst for America's 1960's student movements. After 1962, SDS expanded rapidly across college campuses, peaking at nearly one million members before the much-publicized break up in 1968-69.

The Port Huron Statement

Like many political manifestos, the Port Huron Statement does not contain extensive or rigorous argumentation. However, the Statement exemplifies an important methodological shift in political theorizing that was central to America's "New Left." SDS's methodological shift came by breaking with the tradition of formulating idealizations by attempting to theorize without idealizing.

In looking at a selection of the classics from social and political philosophy, we see Plato idealized an end state of a just state being well ordered, brought about, and ruled by the Philosopher Kings. Marx idealized an end state of a classless society following the inevitable the proletarian revolution. Dr. King called for the "Beloved Community" brought about by non-violent direct action. Hobbes and Rousseau idealized pre-state man with their divergent takes on the state of nature. Locke claimed that in our natural state humans possessed natural rights, which government protects. The Utilitarians (Bentham and Mill) idealized decision procedures with the principle of utility. Marx also idealized the change mechanism of history: class struggle. Kant offered an idealized social contract with the Kingdom of Ends, while the neo-Kantian Rawls idealized the social contract by having moral agents enter the original position after passing through the veil of ignorance.

"Participatory democracy": Program without vision

Instead of building a complete political theory, SDS examined current social problems and emphasized the mechanism of social change, "participatory democracy," and change agents, "university students." SDS announced their break with the idealizing tradition with the first sentence of the Port Huron Statement, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." Here SDS signaled that instead of formulating some idealization, they were going to look at the world in front of them. The majority of the Statement focuses on the social problems of the world they were about to inherit: discrimination, racism, poverty, political apathy, and the Cold War. In SDS's analysis, these social problems resulted from democratic deficiencies and therefore required democratic solutions. The proposed solution was more democracy, not less.

SDS was keen to address potential criticisms from a more ideological left. However, SDS did not have the language to make clear their distinction when they said, "It has been said that our liberal and socialist predecessors were plagued by vision without program, while our own generation is plagued by program without vision" (Hayden, 2005, p. 50). The "program without vision" that SDS offered was their call for a "participatory democracy" where people have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Again, we do not get an extended discussion of participatory democracy, but rather some root principles for political life. I want to highlight one of these principles: "politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community" (Hayden, 2005, p. 53). Hopefully, I've made plausible that SDS broke with the idealizing method of social and political philosophy.

In transition, I will examine how we educate for democracy in higher education through what I call the "critical thinking" model, and offer some criticisms. Later, I will move to a discussion of the challenges participatory or deliberative democrats face and conclude with SDS's call to build "communities of controversy" through a multi-disciplinary social problems-based approach to democratic education.

How do we educate for democracy now?: The critical thinking model

A difficult question to answer involves that of how we educate for democracy in higher education. I encourage exploring college catalogs in an effort to determine how each institution approaches this piece of education. I confess that my institution does not offer explicitly offer this type of education beyond requiring an introductory Political Science course. When it comes to democratic education in the academy, we make claims like, "Critical thinking allows people to make good decisions," or we justify the Liberal Arts and general education requirements as being vital to future citizenship. Our curriculums are largely built around these assumptions. The strongest generalization I can make is that we attempt to build virtuous democratic agents through emphasizing critical thinking, broad

course distributions, and magical thinking. We seem to think that if we place students in a broad variety of courses and add enough critical thinking, they will become good, democratic citizens; of course, there are exceptions.

I do not wish to denigrate the critical thinking model, because it is radical, democratic, and works fairly well, but as practiced in much of America, the model omits connecting subjects to the broader society, with some notable exceptions such as service learning. However, we largely hope that when students graduate, they will be able to apply their knowledge to society and social problems, but at many institutions, we do not explicitly build an application to society into the curriculum. Although we rely on the hope that professors will show students how their subject relates to society, this is not the aim in many courses; it is not to say that it is not done. When relevant and if time allows, many professors use examples or illustrations to show how their subject pertains to society. That said, these activities are often not encompassed in the aim of the course. Some institutions utilize a different approach and require specific courses on the Government process, diversity, or global awareness. Although each of these is wonderful and vital, and while there are numerous and important exceptions, the overwhelming majority follow the critical thinking model.

I suggest a better path springs from a broader conception of citizenship.

Educating for democracy: Participatory citizenship

I have a more robust view of citizenship in mind, where citizens actively participate in the workings of government and society. In a participatory or deliberative democracy, citizens are actively engaged in a wide variety of government issues. Participatory democrats do more than safeguard rights from constitutional abuses; participatory democrats actively look to progress the wellbeing of people through the continuous application of knowledge and rights. As such, participatory democrats will need to be subject experts, but also intake, respect, and process information from multiple persons and various epistemic sources. Therefore, participatory democrats must be moral and epistemic pluralists. Our current critical thinking model attempts to instill this pluralism through wide course distributions; I argue it is deficient in that it does not model the moral and epistemic contexts that participatory citizens must navigate.

For example, Detroit residents faced widespread water shutoffs in 2014. The United Nations investigated these shutoffs and expressed deep concern. The UN Special Rapporteur's press release reported, "I heard testimonies from poor, African American residents of Detroit who were forced to make impossible choices – to pay the water bill or to pay their rent" ("In Detroit," 2014). Sadly, the water department ignored these passionate testimonies, opting instead for the course of action that saved the agency the most money. One could argue that saving money was a "good decision" and therefore they virtuously discharged their democratic duty. From a participatory, or deliberative democracy standpoint, their decision was flawed. Ignoring citizens' narratives is doubly pernicious, in that narrative is often all one has to express their views—particularly for the majority of Americans without college degrees.

Instead, imagine such testimonies being given to a panel of citizens tasked with developing water policy—in place of elected representatives or technocrats. The citizen's panel will require a tremendous amount of varied skills and knowledge. They must recognize the science behind water filtration systems, possess mathematical reasoning, understand city planning, and accept narrative as a legitimate knowledge source. Further, the citizen's panel must be able to justify their decision to affected persons and build democratic consensus behind their decision. The participatory citizen must have audience awareness and be versed in narrative and rational argumentation to both

persuade and justify their decisions to others. While critical thinking is lurking in the background, the participatory citizen requires the explicit content of nearly every department at the university, which the critical thinking model appears to supply.

Perhaps more importantly, consider the epistemic and moral setting of the participatory citizen. The citizen confronts these inputs and needs *all at once*. Rarely will they have the luxury of their being one frame, discipline, or paradigm to grapple with the issue in front of them. Participatory citizens must navigate multiple disciplines concurrently, which our critical thinking approach does not explicitly or repeatedly model. Nor does the citizen have the luxury that their decision will occur in a moral vacuum. Affected citizens have disparate and competing interests that must be handled concurrently. It is here, in the concurrent nature of navigating competing epistemic sources and moral interests that our critical thinking model of democratic education is not up to the task.

How should we do it?

The question of what education participatory or deliberative democratic agents should require arises. I argue that we should bring the full weight of the university to bear on social problems and build—as SDS called for—"communities of controversy." SDS thought that communities of controversy are built by "…import[ing] major public issues into the curriculum –research and teaching on problems of war and peace is an outstanding example" (Hayden, 2005, p. 168). For instance, a course on climate change could incorporate science, economics, environmental ethics, and literature, where professors in each field could teach their respective sections. Courses on water management might incorporate agriculture, business, geography, and law. Here, the exact social problems or the exact grouping of disciplines are not my concern; the primary point is that we begin to make explicit our goal of educating for robust, democratic citizenship, instead of marginalizing democratic education to the abyss of critical thinking, course distributions, and wishful thinking. I believe educating for democracy begins with attempting to model the concurrent moral and epistemic contexts participatory citizens must navigate. While the number of such courses a student must take depends on a considerable number of factors—most of them funding related—I believe asking students to take one or two of such courses per year is possible in the short term in most cases.

I want to emphasize that in traditional courses, faculty often have competing goals of delivering course content and instilling democratic citizenship. Often, however, faculty members emphasize traditional content and demonstrate how individual disciplines relate to contemporary problems when, and *if*, time allows. In consequence, much faculty expertise is not imparted to students. Furthermore, in America, faculty are sometimes punished by being called "too political" when they try to make explicit how their discipline relates to social issues.

Such multidisciplinary courses would begin to impact society and the university. University faculty and students occupy a unique position in society. Generally, these individuals possess the time, knowledge, and skill to perform research or other projects that can inform and change society. Bringing together faculty from multiple disciplines in the same course might provide much-needed opportunities for collaboration and scholarship. For students and faculty, multi-disciplinary courses demonstrate that if one makes a decision across one discipline, they have not necessarily performed as a virtuous democratic agent. While such a program may be expensive, it is a promising investment in students, faculty, and society because it brings the university, faculty, students, and disciplines "out of isolation and into community" both physically in the course, and intellectually by becoming moral and epistemic pluralists.

While I recognize it would be naïve to think that this multi-disciplinary approach is new, or has not yet been tried, I believe we must begin making explicit how exactly we educate for democracy so we can begin to use politics and the university to build a more just and democratic society.

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Chapter 33

Cross-national inequalities in preparation for democratic participation: The process and findings of the IEA Civic Education Study

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Abstract

This paper synthesizes three presentations from the *By the People* conference held at Arizona State University in December 2015. The first section deals with the research process and findings from the IEA Civic Education Study (CIVED) conducted in the late 1990s in nearly 30 countries with national representative samples of 14-year-olds. It had a more qualitative case-study phase and a more quantitative test and survey phase. The second section describes the contexts of the eleven post-Communist countries participating in CIVED and findings about civic knowledge and engagement from those countries. The third section compares attitudinal responses from 16 countries that participated in another IEA study in 2009 (ICCS) with responses from the CIVED study.

The research process and findings from the IEA Civic Education Study

Judith Torney-Purta

The IEA Civic Education Study of 1999 (CIVED) was a two-phased research project conducted under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), ultimately involving 29 countries and 150,000 student respondents. Understanding this study and its contributions to knowledge about preparing young people for citizenship has to begin by considering IEA's history. In the 1950s IEA was established by an international group of professors to conduct quantitative research (starting with achievement tests in mathematics) to allow the world's education systems to develop a science of education. Most agree that such aim has not been achieved, but the proliferation and value of international studies—primarily knowledge assessments—has been substantial.

In 1968 IEA planned its first study where attitudinal outcomes were central—in civic education. Previous studies of political attitudes had been conducted with U.S. children using interviews and surveys (Hess & Torney, 1967, 2005). The IEA Civic Education Study's testing was conducted in

1971. Both knowledge and attitudinal questions (e.g., trust in government and likelihood of civic participation) were included (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975).

With a gap of more than 15 years, and after the Berlin Wall had fallen, delegates from Eastern Europe to the 1992 IEA General Assembly (GA) Meeting expressed the wish to go beyond the organization's assessments in which they had previously participated (in school subjects such as mathematics, reading, and science). Judith was asked to prepare a proposal in civic education. When she met the GA delegates from these post-Communist countries, she realized how little was known about these democratic transitions and changed her original proposal for a standard IEA achievement test into a two-phase study. The first phase of case studies would collect information about what participating countries expected 14-year-old students to know and believe about civics and politics.

Soon after, Judith met Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz, who had been press spokesperson for Solidarity in Poland contributing to the collapse of Communism. Barbara, a social psychologist, joined the Steering Committee to ensure that the study would capture the complex context of civic education in the post-Communist countries. Members included comparative education researchers John Schwille, Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Rainer Lehmann and teacher education specialist Bruno Losito. In 1995, Barbara delivered the keynote speech at the first meeting of National Project Coordinators about how to interview policy specialists and received a standing ovation. She and a Polish colleague anchored a focus group in which all attendees were asked to recount their "first remembered political experience." Few mentioned school experiences; many talked about depictions of Lenin in their homes or public places, or about parents' admonitions not to openly discuss politics. This focus group confirmed that the study should cover many contexts.

However, that meeting was challenging. About half the attendees were from post-Communist countries, and they voiced mistrust and skepticism about whether their perspectives would be taken seriously in this study. Some feared that individuals from the United States would present a non-negotiable study framework based on that model of democracy. The decision already made by the Steering Committee to develop *framing questions* for a series of qualitative country-level case studies helped reassure the attendees that their perspectives would be considered as the test and survey were developed. During the next three years, each country collected massive information from sources including curriculum frameworks and interviews with experts. Each country-based authoring team submitted drafts to a "Corresponding Advisor," who provided feedback. A book of 24 national case studies was published (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). Consultations within the Steering Committee resulted in a test framework and pilot instruments (cognitive and attitudinal) built on quotations from the case studies.

There were two unanticipated positive consequences of this process. First, the case study book was published at about the time that authorities in each country were deciding whether to approve participation in the Phase 2 test and attitudinal survey. Seeing this 600-page book impressed decision-makers. Second, the case studies required teams of assistants in most countries to assemble materials, conduct Phase 1 interviews and pilot test questions for the Phase 2 test and survey. Twenty years later, these younger scholars constitute a new generation with training in both qualitative and quantitative methods for studying civic education. They are rising within academic, governmental, and non-governmental organizations in their own and other countries.

Individual National Research Coordinators from a range of disciplines (e.g., political science, literacy studies, and psychology) also played a role at these meetings. The Portuguese coordinator proposed a model based on Bronfenbrenner (2005). The group suggested additions, and the resulting Octagon

Model included detailed levels of context or exosystem factors (such as a country's perceptions of allies and enemies, respect for power hierarchies, economic processes and institutions, and socioeconomic stratification/opportunity structures). The National Research Coordinators developed a sense of ownership of this model, a process recognized as important in successful international collaborations (National Research Council, 2014). Meetings operated on the "one country one vote" principle for contentious issues, and the Steering Committee listened carefully to what would be problematic in individual countries. In some ways, this process reflects the *By the People* conference theme.

Phase 2, built on the work in Phase 1, was comprised of a quantitative test and survey (in which 28 countries tested a total of 90,000 14-year-olds in 1999 and 16 countries tested 50,000 older students in 2000). These were nationally representative samples of schools (chosen with supervision from IEA's sampling referees). The basic results from the Phase 2 CIVED test and survey are found in Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz (2001) and Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, and Nikolova (2002). Although there is insufficient space to present detailed findings from CIVED, some deserve mention:

- Analysis across 28 countries showed that by mid-adolescence young people show integrated patterns of attitudes and are members of the political culture surrounding them.
- Analysis of data from Australia, England, Finland, Sweden and the United States identified a group of about 10% of 14-year-olds in 1999 (now in their early thirties) who were *alienated*. They were very mistrustful of all levels of government and had strongly negative attitudes toward immigrants' rights (Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). In some ways, they resemble some adults seen at U.S. campaign rallies in 2015. In other words, a group with negative attitudes could be identified a decade and a half earlier among 14-year-olds.
- In most countries (including the United States) there were no significant gender differences in civic knowledge. However, the average Support for Women's Rights by female students exceeded male students by nearly a standard deviation (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In the United States and Sweden, immigrant students were less likely than native-born students to support women's rights (Barber, Torney-Purta, Wilkenfeld, & Ross, 2015).
- There were also substantial gender differences in students' willingness to participate in certain civic activities. For example, female students were much more likely than male students to expect to engage in community activities (such as volunteering) and to support the norm of citizens' involvement in social movement organizations.

Carole Hahn (Emory University) was the U.S. National Representative for CIVED, coordinating the qualitative data collection in Phase 1. This was challenging given 50 state social studies frameworks, more than 100 civic education organizations and a range of textbooks (Hahn, 2002). She also participated actively in decision-making and coordinated with the contractor conducting the Phase 2 test and survey in 124 schools.

U.S. students as a whole scored among the top countries on the test of civic knowledge and skills. However, because this did not generate alarmist headlines, these results received little newspaper coverage. Later analysis showed a "bimodal distribution" in the United States (Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004). A substantial group of students achieved nearly perfect test scores while a second substantial group of students had scores little better than chance. This distribution did not characterize most other countries.

In the United States there were substantial differences in civic knowledge associated with home literacy background, neighborhood economic status, and with the student's intent to continue

education past high school (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, Wilkenfeld & Torney-Purta, 2012). Furthermore, students enrolled in schools with many students of low SES (i.e., with high proportions of students on free/reduced lunch) were less likely to study social studies frequently and had fewer opportunities for open and respectful discussion of issues in their classrooms (Hahn, 2002; Kahne & Middaugh, 2009). State varied in the extent to which students were provided with strong civic education. Finally, the association between civic knowledge and conceptually-based teaching has recently been investigated by Arensmeier (2016) and Zhang, Torney-Purta, and Barber (2012).

In summary, CIVED is an example of cross-national collaboration and the melding of qualitative (case study) and quantitative (test and survey) methods internationally. Findings appear both in primary study reports and in secondary analyses published since (Knowles, Torney-Purta, & Barber, in press; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2013). CIVED data are available for secondary analyses (Humboldt University of Berlin and University of Maryland-College Park, 2008; International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement [IEA], 2004; 2008).

What eleven post-Communist countries learned about context in civic education

Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz

Nearly half the countries participating in Phase 2 of CIVED were from the post-Communist region, and ten years after the collapse of Communism all were in the midst of political reform. Almost all were characterized by polarization in opinions of different groups in the society about this new reality. There were citizens enthusiastic about change (especially the well-educated and those who experienced oppression under Communism), many who were uncertain about the future (especially the less well-educated and those from small towns), and beneficiaries of Communism who were trying to find their place in this new reality. This resulted in deficiencies of the democratic process such as low participation in elections (Cześnik, 2009).

There were also differences between countries, for example in levels and types of former dependency on the Soviet Union. The Baltic States had been part of the USSR. Some countries were its allies (e.g. Bulgaria, Poland) while others were adversaries (Romania, Yugoslavia). There were also differences related to national histories. Democracy often meant something closer to communitarianism than liberal democracy. For example, in Poland a debate between liberalism and communitarian nationalism was prominent (Król, 1994). This led to different starting points after the collapse of the Soviet system. Also, some countries had economies in better shape than others; the infrastructure for reform might be somewhat developed or hardly existing. Poland, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Slovenia, and Hungary were relatively richer countries with stronger infrastructures. Such countries were also of more interest to Western investors (Malak-Minkiewicz, 1994).

The education system in general and civic education in particular also differed among and within countries. There were public pronouncements about the need for democratization of schooling, but often relatively little real consensus about how education could prepare students to live in a newly democratic country. Substantial international cooperation in civic and citizenship-related education had been offered by Western Europe and the United States, more in some regions than others. At first, textbooks used in the former Communist countries were translations of U.S. or Scandinavian

textbooks (especially in the Baltic States). Polish civic lesson scenarios (and those in the Czech Republic) were based on work by cross-national teams at Ohio State University in the early 1990s (e.g. Brząkalik et al., 1995). The most urgent need was for new training of teachers, many of whom had been teaching their entire careers under Communism. Programs for them were also developed with international cooperation (e.g. Brocławik, et al., 1994), starting first in countries farther along in educational reforms (i.e., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia).

Former Communist countries took different approaches; most countries included civic education as a separate subject and prioritized it in policy (e.g. Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Slovenia). In some countries, civic education was not reflected in enhanced student involvement in school governance (e.g. Czech Republic, Slovak Republic). There was little evidence that any particular approach led to better student results. While CIVED results showed Polish students as high in civic knowledge, students from the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic were also among the ten best-performing countries (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

During the approximately ten years between the collapse of Communism and CIVED testing in 1999, new curricula were built, many using models from Western democracies. Most focused on three elements: democracy and its functioning, free market economy and its operations, and individual rights and responsibilities. However, there were also differences, for example in the sense of national identity; it was ethnically and historically rooted in Lithuania and Poland, and more oriented to civil society in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Issues of ethnic and minority rights were treated selectively in some countries (often failing to mention Roma). In the Baltic States, discussion of ethnic and minority rights tended to be avoided due to the existence of substantial Russian minorities in those countries (in big cities forming nearly 30% of the population). The status of this minority was a source of controversy. In countries where ethnic and minority rights were not discussed, students' results on the CIVED survey tended to be less positive toward ethnic groups.

There were many constraints on building civic education curricula. Diverse political ideas confronted each other; there were religious constraints on some issues (for example, views on the position of women). In particular, the lack of a well-developed civil society and an authoritarian model of school (built up over generations) presented difficulties.

There were also different educational constituencies to address—teachers of all subjects, teachers of subjects related to civics, and specialists in civics. This required some transformation of schools toward more democratic environments, both new kinds of school climates and also new relations between teachers, students, and sometimes parents. Changes were necessary to promote more active pedagogy to encourage student engagement. This could not be accomplished quickly and often resulted in school communities not functioning well. A set of strict rules in an authoritarian school was supposed to be replaced by an ideal "heuristic" that was difficult to achieve because of its novelty and the absence of concrete ways to promote democratic interaction in schools.

Most teachers continued to regard the fostering of civic knowledge and cognitive skills as the most important aim of civic education, while democratic attitudes and active participation were less important. Generally speaking, the Phase 2 achievement results were lower in countries where the reform of schooling and pedagogy had been more problematic. Countries that experienced considerable help from U.S. and European democracy projects and where the educational system was relatively strong to begin with (e.g., Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovak Republic) had relatively strong performance on the CIVED cognitive test.

As in developed democracies, there were differences associated with the socio-economic and educational background of students' homes. There were also very substantial differences in civic

knowledge associated with whether the students intended to continue into post-secondary education. This may have had to do with tracking in some countries. Plans for further education in this part of Europe might also have been linked to optimistic perceptions of their countries' futures after the collapse of Communism and increased motivation to acquire relevant knowledge.

In the CIVED attitudinal results, there was considerable similarity between students in these new democracies and those in well-established democracies (with a few exceptions). The majority of students supported democratic values and liberties and basic human rights principles. Students' willingness to participate rarely extended beyond the intent to vote as an adult. There were also cross-national differences. Students from the former Communist countries had relatively high expectations concerning government's responsibilities for citizens' economic and social well-being, low levels of trust in government-related institutions, high levels of positive feeling toward their nation (with the exception of the Baltic states) and low levels of support for women's political rights. Expression of relatively high patriotic feelings and less equity-oriented attitudes towards women's political participation might have resulted from the rejection of Communist ideology with its demand of "love for the Soviet Union" (rather than one's own country) and the often superficial emancipation of women under Communism (Malak-Minkiewicz, 2007).

In summary, although students in both old and new democratic countries shared a similar political ethos, there were also differences. This reinforces the point made earlier that by the age of 14, students are already members of the political culture in which they are growing up, having been influenced by the attitudes of their parents, neighbors, and peers as well as their schools (Torney-Purta & Barber, 2011). Engagement in democracy, on both the cognitive and behavioral levels, requires a variety of civic-related experiences relevant for younger generations. This was absent in many of the former communist countries, especially in comparison to the long-standing democracies. Schools tried to fill this gap to the extent possible.

Changes in civic attitudes from 1999 to 2009

Carolyn Barber

In 2009, the International Civics and Citizenship Study (ICCS: Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010) repeated some—but not all—of the CIVED measures (Barber & Torney-Purta, 2012). Thirty-eight countries participated, not including Australia or the United States. When data from the ICCS study became available, we revisited the CIVED data and examined how civic engagement changed over the course of a decade. This is important for several reasons: First is that ecological systems theory, the basis for CIVED's Octagon Model, includes the *chronosystem* to capture development over time (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Specifically, ICCS researchers cited changes in globalization and migration and increased historical distance from the fall of Communism, in justifying a new civics study (Schulz et al., 2010). ICCS researchers reported changes in civic content knowledge across cohorts in their primary report. However, some alterations had been made in attitudinal measures and cross-cohort analysis could not easily be conducted (details in Barber & Torney-Purta, 2012).

A first step in assessing cross-cohort changes was the re-scaling of attitudinal data to produce comparable scales for CIVED and ICCS. Of the 28 countries participating in CIVED's survey of 14-year olds (1999), 16 participated in ICCS (2009) and had comparable data to support cross-cohort comparisons. Using recently developed measurement techniques (Barber & Ross, 2017;

Munck, Barber, & Torney-Purta, 2017), Barber and colleagues developed scales for citizenship norms (conventional and social-movement) and pluralistic attitudes (toward women's rights, immigrants, and racial/ethnic minority groups) that were structurally valid across countries and cohorts (and also for male and female students).

Analyses using these scales examines how attitudes differed comparing the CIVED (1999) and ICCS (2009) samples' results. Controlling for age and gender, attitudes toward immigrants grew more positive in 14 of 16 countries participating in both studies. Support for gender equality grew stronger in 11 countries (decreasing in two). Changes across time in support for citizenship norms were varied. Some countries increased on both dimensions (e.g., Estonia, Italy, and Latvia); others decreased on both (e.g., Greece, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic). Still, others showed mixed patterns (e.g., Bulgaria increased in social-movement norms while decreasing in conventional norms, while Denmark, Norway, and Switzerland increased in conventional norms while decreasing in social-movement norms).

These analyses also identified profiles of youth across cohorts. Profiles characterized by supportive attitudes toward women, immigrants, and minorities (with or without strong citizenship norms) were more frequent in 2009, while the proportion in the exclusionary profile decreased over this period. Bulgaria, Estonia, and Slovenia showed greater proportions of youth in more engaged profiles in 2009; the opposite was true for Lithuania, Slovak Republic, and Poland. There appears to be growing attitudinal differentiation among the post-Communist countries. Finally, while within-country analyses revealed differences in the more positive profiles by gender (favoring female students) and home literacy (favoring those with more resources), these differences were not as substantial as those across cohorts or countries.

Overall, this demonstrates the potential for CIVED to make ongoing contributions by providing useful benchmark data against which changes in attitudes and knowledge can be assessed. Many findings illustrate how issues raised in CIVED continue to be relevant, while other findings underscore the importance of considering the nuances of national context (particularly within Eastern Europe) when making claims about contexts for civic engagement.

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Chapter 34

Global citizenship education: A comparative political economy of education perspective

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Abstract

The Paulo Freire Institute at UCLA, in collaboration with the Instituto Paulo Freire Brasil and the North South Centre of the Council of Europe, facilitated a review of practical approaches to global citizenship education and sustainable development at the UNESCO World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in Aichi-Nagoya, Japan, in November 2014. As an outcome of the collaborative effort of approximately one hundred participating educational experts from across the world, a number of generative themes were identified. Additionally, examples of practices where experiences have been gained in the use of participatory approaches in ESD and Global Citizenship Education (GCE) were collected by this consultation.

In the first part of this paper, I provide a definition for a comparative political economy of education approach. The second part of the paper presents examples of practical approaches for advancing global citizenship education (GCE) and education for sustainable development (ESD). Subsequently, I provide a review of generative themes, challenges, resources and policy recommendations identified in the consultation on which this paper draws. The goal of this paper is to support the thesis that documenting diversities of existing practices and policies is a promising approach for continued work in advancing educational practices in the complementary fields of GCE and ESD.

PART I

Global citizenship education (GCE) was born as a post- Second World War policy agenda aimed at supporting the promotion of peace in a geopolitical and economic context that has changed much since. Paulo Freire proposed democratization of culture as a goal of education. Both the proposed goal for education and the changing global context provide a social and political impetus for re-considering participatory practices in citizenship education globally.

Comparative political economy of education

With the term *political economy of education*, I refer to an inquiry into educational practices governed by national policies. Anthropological research in education has advanced an understanding by which the role of the nation-state in education has been problematized (Kendall, 2007; Masemann 1976). Education is a meeting point of multiple actors and factors of which several are beyond the control of national governments. In the post Second World War period, an important shift in educational policy has taken place in which the global economy has taken center stage as a driver of educational change in issues where national governments previously held a stronger position (Cowen, 1996,

p.166). Subsequently, pressure has mounted for national governments to meaningfully respond to the question: *What are legitimate roles for public government to pursue in relation to its citizens?*

One of the uncontrollable factors for a given government is that individual states do not exist in isolation. Rather, educational policies are formulated in a context of time and space that is intersected by global influences, which in addition to the global financial system include multiple other fields of practices, such as practices related to the use of global media (Appadurai, 1990).

Recognition of complexities does not exclude national education policies as an interesting object of inquiry. Reasonably, we ought to be able to expect that what happens in classrooms with regard to education relates in some way to the governing policies established by a state (cf. Raz, 1985, p.15). While it is prudent to accept that goals are not perfectly achieved, complexity ought not in this view stand in the way of seeking over time to adjust policies and practices in order to achieve coherence, consistency, and practices appropriate for collectively accepted purposes. The political economy of education accordingly investigates the role of national policies in coordinating education. The proposed comparative political economy of education approach seeks to respond to the following question: How do national policies differ across countries and how are such differences reflected in educational practices across countries?

PART II

Practical approaches to Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education

In the following, I provide examples of practices for advancing Global Citizenship Education (GCE) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). The profiles of the experts consulted ranged geographically from the global south to the global north, representing both non-governmental organizations, national representations to UNESCO, as well as scholars in the field of education. Contributors were asked to draw on their professional experience to identify relevant examples for (1) advancing work in GCE and/or ESD, (2) challenges for advancing GCE and ESD, and (3) where appropriate comment on applicability of examples to the five priority action areas of the UNESCO *Roadmap* (2014).[1]

Basque Country, Spain

In 2014, the Osprey Migration Foundation coordinated the *Ospreys Flyways Linking Communities* project in which young schoolchildren from Spain, England, Italy, Gambia and the United States joined in an effort to study the migratory route of the *Osprey*.[2] As the Osprey cross-national, cultural and religious boundaries on their annual routes, the life and habits of this migratory bird provide a subject of study that can link communities separated by great distances (Mackrill et al., 2015). School children engaged in problem-based inquiry and dialogue with peers from other countries facilitated by a joint video-conference online. The project connects schools with scientific expertise at local birdlife research and visiting centers. A goal in this educational project was to collaboratively explore and discuss threats to the Osprey in relation to economic, social and environmental impacts. The

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[1] I. Advance policy, II. Transform learning environments, III. Build capacities of educators, IV. Empower and mobilize youth, V. Accelerate sustainable solutions at local level.
[2] *Ospreys Flyways Linking Communities* Video Conference 2014 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6J-0HUM6L4

project provides an example of how young students can be engaged in a comprehensive study of complex, yet concrete relationships of local and global relevance.

In another project in the Basque country in Spain, children were provided a platform to present their concerns to the local council in their minority language, Basque. This project was supported by the Council of Europe and represented a broader policy effort to support vertical governance collaborations across Europe. The example from the Basque country was mentioned as a successful example of how the responsiveness of local governments to concerns raised by the local community can be supported (cf. Council of Europe, 2011).

The community of French-speaking countries

L'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) was founded in 1970 as an international development agency for supporting institutional collaboration among French-speaking communities. OIF includes several operators, including the French-speaking university association (AUF) that predates the OIF.[3] As stated in its charter, OIF promotes solidarity among French-speaking communities in order to support peace and sustainable development (OIF, 2005). Support for the development of shared understanding, democratic forms of governance, rule of law and human rights are promoted alongside the aims of strengthening economic development and education. In total, there are 80 member-states, member-governments and observing member states that participate in the OIF. Experts pointed at the collaboration with OIF as the forum where emerging issues in ESD are identified jointly and where shared references for implementation of ESD into school curricula was advanced. OIF thereby serves as a producer of shared references for organizational practices for ESD implementation in participating French-speaking countries.

South Korea

The United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability (UNU-IAS) in Tokyo launched in 2003 with support from Japan's Ministry of Environment, a global network of Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD (RCEs). By 2015 the network included 138 registered participating member institutions across the world. The goal of the network is to support locally relevant implementations of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by including a broad variety of local stakeholders (United Nations, 2015). Activities focus on dialogue, knowledge sharing, education and learning for the development of new approaches to sustainable development.

One such center is located in the city of Tongyeong in South Korea. Since 2005, the center has brought together local administrative units, two universities, and a 38 member informal education committee. Activities have been supported by monthly meetings and by the formalization of collaboration projects, as well as by the inauguration of a foundation, the *Tongyeong Education Foundation for Sustainable Development* in 2010.

The *Bridge to the World Program* is one of the projects realized in this context (http://btw.rce.or.kr) as a youth-program that provides adolescents an opportunity to carry out an inquiry project, to participate in job training and to visit one of the RCE collaborating institutions abroad. Information is disseminated to the general public by producing and distributing reports and workshops. The project promotes adolescents familiarity with an international context as well as collaboration among young people and their communities. The program has emphasized self-management and self-responsibility among adolescents and has thereby challenged traditional stereotypes of Korean youth as vulnerable and in need of parental guidance until they enter university.

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[3] AUF was founded in the 1960s.

Mexico

A project that promotes a municipality level perspective to practices in ESD and GCE is provided by *Preserva HXQ, Comunidad Sustenable* (http://www.huixquilucan.gob.mx) in Huixquilucan, Mexico. A goal of this project has been to develop inclusive practices in municipal governance with a particular focus on strengthening environmental practices and developing a sustainable community. Dialogue, cultural responsiveness, and awareness-raising in the local community are understood as the keys to building a sustainable city and for the development of a culture of environmental care. Five goals of the project are (1) raising awareness of the local relevance of sustainable practices; (2) preserving natural resources and biodiversity; (3) recovering and promoting public spaces for community recreation; (4) developing responsible waste disposal; (5) raising awareness about energy efficient practices. These five goals were each associated with specific activities such as workshops on recycling and—most notably—updating the regulatory framework for environmental matters in the municipality.

Norway

The Norwegian National School Curriculum promotes the development of holistic and interdisciplinary forms of knowledge so that elementary school children develop environmental awareness (Raabs, 2010, p.53). Interdisciplinary approaches include writing assignments connecting ESD and age-appropriate literacy skills development. Learning by discussing with peers in class is an important dimension in relating ESD meaningfully to lived experiences of children. The approach described in this example was noted as practical for engaging GCE and ESD in classroom instruction.

Thailand

The *Environmental Education Award* of the Department of Environment in Thailand is an example of incentives that aim to stimulate good and sustainable practices in communities. Every year, a designated jury of judges select among schools or teachers that have a practice or project in education for sustainable development. The award encourages responsibility and has positive outcomes both in the form of environmental outcomes and social outcomes.

United States

The Big History Project is a history course that is available freely as an online resource for teachers. The maintenance of the course materials, as well as content including videos, was available by funding provided by the Bill Gates Foundation. The course incorporates in an interdisciplinary manner science, geography, and history in order to provide a large-scale overview of humanity, thereby providing a coherent world-origin narrative that draws on current knowledge from several fields of study. The course has been designed to meet curricular requirements in the US and is adjustable to requirements of local schools in other regions. The course is transformative in the sense that it proposes ways of engaging students in broad cross-disciplinary thinking that promotes forming connections between several subject matters.

Denmark

Civic participation—in the form of contributing a day's work for supporting the educational opportunities of less fortunate students in other countries—was proposed by students in Sweden in the early 1960s. The participatory approach of this charity became popular among student organizations and within a few years, the model spread to other Nordic countries including Finland,

Norway and subsequently Denmark. The movement has developed into an annual solidarity action day with the national engagement of youth in several European countries.[4]

In 2015, funding collected by 20,000 students during the solidarity action day in Denmark was donated to support high schools in Somalia (od.dk). The support in 2015 was targeted for the maintenance of high school buildings, the local student organization and encouraging the education of young women.

Generative themes

Democratic values as guiding principles of educational theory and practice was a central theme that was reaffirmed during this consultation. Several participants addressed concerns regarding practices for supporting participatory and inclusive educational governance practices. Shifting the role of teachers towards facilitating learning rather than serving as sources of learning was proposed as one of the practical approaches that would benefit many learning environments. The implementation of ESD and GCE was proposed to require engendering hope among students, thereby presenting teachers with a task that was not purely technical. Curricula needed to promote the use of alternative and complementary ways of learning and constructing meaning in order to meet this challenge. The use of a broad curriculum in both arts and music contributed to a broad scope by which teachers could engage ESD and GCE in meaningful ways. It was also proposed as necessary that practices are advanced in schools such as schools are now, so that an advancement of practices is not set aside to wait for additional resources. Instead, efforts should be made to work in innovative ways with existing resources.

Challenges

"If people do not see the connections they will not see themselves as global citizens".

Decoupling human rights discourses from imperialism was identified as one of the challenges to ESD and GCE. A related challenge involves the question of how to connect ESD and GCE practices to different traditions of knowledge, both formal and indigenous forms of knowledge. The challenge in this sense consists primarily of the tension between cultural and universal rights, which are at times seen as incompatible. Existing gaps between practices and policies was another challenge identified. Yet another global level challenge was identified in questions pertaining to de-militarization. Experts emphasized on this background the importance of recognizing the diversity of local contexts and needs (e.g., access to education remains a challenge in parts of the world). Similarly, ESD and GCE education have very different expressions in different regions of the world. ESD and GCE are not at all present in schools in some regions.

Alleviating what is understood as a growing inter-generational gap is also an important challenge for advancing ESD. Experts pointed out that it would be impossible to create sustainable futures if young people are excluded from the processes by which discourses and practices regarding ESD and GCE are advanced. Meanwhile, it was noted that youth are expressing interest in global issues and values. The question of how to advance school cultures where students can critically take what they learn and apply it in everyday life, their individual and broader contexts, was accordingly proposed as a relevant practice related challenge. Further, the experts proposed that conflicts are formed when

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[4] A number of these civic associations have formed the umbrella organization 'Solidarity Action Day Movement in Europe' (SAME).

different governance levels are represented as incompatible. The treatment of global and local concerns in dichotomous ways was in this vein understood as problematic.

Resources

The international human rights discourse was identified as a resource in the sense that it promotes a principle of respect for human dignity. Human dignity serves a conceptual foundation on which ESD and GCE practices and policies can be supported. Social and environmental justice models provide support for definitions of Global Citizenship based on diversity rather than homogeneity. In educational practices, such approaches are advanced by critical and transformative approaches as well as by holistic approaches that connect people with surrounding environments and nature.

Youth contribute with hope and are themselves in this sense a resource for advancing the ESD and GCE discourses and practices. Engaging young emerging leaders from diverse backgrounds in local level planning for a common future was proposed as a concrete practice for mobilizing youth. Anchoring ESD and GCE discourses in the local context is crucial in this view, as it allows individuals to relate to global discourses in meaningful ways to form concrete discussions of relevance for local communities. Engaging youth would also be promoted by the development of inter-generational learning opportunities. Talking together about the future of the community on inter-generational platforms would allow mutual learning to take place, and could thereby support sustainable decisions.

Recommendations

"Bridge policy and practice better."

Continued efforts to further global level policy discourse are needed to support the identification of common goals and to support resource allocation. The international agenda serves as a support and reference in the formulation of national policies and curricula for ESD and GCE. As such, continued work to develop multi-stakeholder approaches and dialogue in the formulation and implementation of international agenda is needed. Recommendations emerging from this consultation reaffirmed the need to support networking and mobility of higher education institutions by policy and funding. Structural support to the development of networks across different value-frameworks and identities was proposed as advantageous for advancing ESD and GCE.

A need to recognize the engagement of local communities and the value of both formal and informal forms of education was emphasized. As a concrete approach for advancing this in practice, it was proposed that families are to be taken as a starting point for policy development. Policies that are genuinely connected to local community life could be advanced by this approach. Assessments are needed to see what is translated and implemented into practices so that policy frameworks can be updated to reflect community and learner needs, and the development of critical reflection. Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education should be seen as complementary concepts and implemented in an integrated framework. A practical approach proposed for the context of local communities in this vein was to bring private and public sector leadership and community leaders together in concrete problem solving oriented activities such as workshops.

With regard to educational practices, the experts recommended support to the development of skills for active listening of others with a particular emphasis on those who are not commonly consulted in decision-making processes such as children and potentially even non-humans. It is of importance

to contextualize approaches and to support coherent systemic approaches rather than piecemeal activities. To meet the challenge of actually impacting attitudes, the values of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education should be incorporated into teaching and learning so that inquisitive, critical and problem-solving skills can be nurtured.

Concluding discussion

The primary goal of working with discussion groups in the consultation was to draw on the experience and expertise of participants. The problem of representation emerged as a precarious question on all levels of ESD and GCE decisions. In practice, this concern points at the need for all future policy implementation efforts to pose questions such as: How is the consultation of participants realized? What is the demographic profile of participants and how is their contribution facilitated? These are critical questions needed for the sake of establishing and maintaining governing processes of high quality and integrity. Meanwhile, it is also necessary to recognize the value of the support to ESD and GCE provided by existing practices, of which a glimpse is provided in this paper. While a multitude of disagreements regarding how local communities should be included in development projects when international policy frameworks are implemented exist (cf. Poterie & Baudoin, 2015, p. 129), the examples reviewed here represent partial steps among many more needed in a long-term development agenda. This agenda will crucially need to problematize top-down policy implementation practices (cf. Carr & Owusu-Daaku, 2015, p. 2; Easterly, 2006). Even glimpses of diversity contribute to a better understanding of the imagined profiles of development 'recipients'. In practice, ESD and GCE projects stand good chances to impact attitudes—in particular, when discourses are sustained beyond an initial set of meetings, as noted by Cumiskey et. al. (2015).

Concepts, approaches and practices reviewed within the scope of this paper have emphasized the need to move diverse and locally defined practices in education to the foreground in ESD and GCE discourses. A shift from top-down hierarchal models of practice is supported by Freirean pedagogical practices that underscore the importance of participatory and meaningful forms of teaching and learning (Freire, 1970). Seeing diversity as a resource rather than obstacle requires an engagement with inclusive practices that capacitate learners to draw on individual life experiences in discussing challenges to planetary and human conditions in productive and collaborative ways. The political economic perspective proposed in the first part of this paper is compatible with the Freirean tradition in the sense that both can be mobilized to support the documentation and celebration of a diversity of GCE and ESD practices. On the background of the consultation presented in this paper, I propose such an approach is promising for supporting the advancement of discourses and educational practices in the complementary fields of GCE and ESD.

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Online resources

Big History https://www.bighistoryproject.com/home

Organisation de la Francophonie (OIF)
OIF presentation http://www.francophonie.org/-Qu-est-ce-que-la-Francophonie-.html

OIF (2015a) Budget http://www.francophonie.org/Le-budget.html

OIF (2015b), *Appel des jeunes Francophones pour une avenir durable et solidaire*
http://jeunesse.francophonie.org/sites/default/files/oif_appel_solennel_hd_01.pdf

List of member-countries and observers to *L'Organisation de la Francophonie* as of November 2014
http://www.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/sommet_xv_membres_oif.pdf

Charter of the *Organisation de la Francophonie* http://www.francophonie.org/Charte-de-la-
Francophonie.html

Regional Centers of Expertise on Education in Sustainable Development (RCEs)

RCE portal http://www.rce-network.org/portal/

RCE Tongyeong http://www.rce-network.org/portal/rce-tongyeong-2014

Bridge To The World Program http://btw.rce.or.kr

The United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability (UNU-IAS),
Tokyo, Japan. http://ias.unu.edu/en/

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

UNESCO website for ESD http://en.unesco.org/themes/education-sustainable-development

The UN Sustainable Development Platform https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/

Solidarity Action Day Movement in Europe (SAME) http://www.same-network.org/files/same-
solidarity-action-day-movement-europe

Operation Dagsverke, Sweden (UNICEF) https://unicef.se/operationdagsverke/historia

Operation Dagsvaerke, Denmark http://od.dk

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation http://www.daghammarskjold.se/

Susan Wiksten has worked with evaluation and administration of mobility in higher education in Denmark, France and the US since 2007. She has provided support to the development of internationalization strategy in higher education and to the development of international cooperation agreements in higher education. In recent work, she has provided research assitance to the Office of the President to the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), the UNESCO Chair in Global Learning and Global Citizenship Education at UCLA as well as the UCLA International Institute. Since 2001, her research has focused on a comparative study of political economies of education and international policy frameworks for higher education. An area of particular interest for her is the incremental development of institutions over time, also known as the longue durée. In the research that she is currently conducting for her PhD dissertation at UCLA, she studies a local discourse on science teacher preparation in Finland. Her active engagement in the Paulo Freire Institute at UCLA reflects her dedication to supporting the promotion of participatory and democratic practices in education.