2017

Civic Dignity and Meaningful Political Participation

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2017

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation looks at how enhanced political participation opportunities can increase individual liberty *and* improve public-sector reform efforts. It blends political theory with contemporary concerns for individual well-being and government accountability. To do this, several research methodologies are used, including normative, qualitative process-tracing, and quantitative analysis.

First, the dissertation draws insights from ancient and modern political philosophy and the political thought and example of Jane Addams in 19th Century Chicago. It begins with Josiah Ober's work on civic dignity, which he defines as "equal high standing" among citizens, marked by "non-infantilization and non-humiliation." This definition is a useful starting point but somehow seems thin for a concept of such import. In exploring the wisdom of Tocqueville's "schools" of democracy and Jane Addams' notion of fellowship, I expand the definition of civic dignity to include "having a sense of ownership." In other words, being dignified as a citizen in a self-governing political community should include having a seat at the proverbial table where one can speak and be heard. This means that political participation opportunities would ideally carry low transaction costs while maximizing the substance that can be contributed. Through Addams' experience at Hull House, the settlement house she co-founded, I highlight how these opportunities for

meaningful political participation are indispensable to individual civic dignity, and by extension, individual liberty and well-being.

Second, civic dignity is viewed through a different lens, namely the role it can play when incorporated successfully into policy design and implementation. Arguably, a self-governing political community's greatest asset is the collective knowledge and lived experience of its citizens. But current political participation mechanisms and policy designs do not do a good job leveraging that resource, and many individuals may find themselves unofficially shut out. Using process-tracing methodology, a case study explores resettlement projects targeting the urban poor in Mandaue City, the Philippines. The case study results demonstrate that deepening democracy (by incorporating civic dignity into the policy design and implementation) not only benefits individual liberty, but can also produce better outcomes and contribute to anti-corruption efforts. Taking civic dignity into account during policy design and implementation is not merely a "feel good" option; it is a strategic option that allows the political community to leverage local knowledge by enlisting the participation of those individuals or groups closest to the problem or challenge at hand. While this finding is not entirely novel, it is far from standard practice. Domestically and internationally, the coercive force of government and/or the "tyranny of experts" is too often the default approach for policy design and implementation.

Third, the theoretical and practical explorations of civic dignity are used to construct a measure for civic dignity. In a data driven world, reliable and valid measurement is key, and if the concept of civic dignity is going to gain currency, then validating a scale to capture it is essential. Through Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), survey items are examined to determine which items map onto the latent factors that

comprise civic dignity. A 22-item four-factor solution that maps onto the four components of civic dignity is presented. The newly minted Civic Dignity Scale is then compared against measures from political science and psychology literature that are theoretically related but distinct from civic dignity, such as political efficacy and self-determination, to test for construct validity. Spearman correlations yield reassuring results, showing statistically significant strong positive correlations as hypothesized. Finally, the relationship between the Civic Dignity Scale and political participation is analyzed for further construct validity. A Poisson regression model shows that for every one unit increase in an individual's civic dignity, the likelihood that one would participate in political activities also increases. While a confirmation factor analysis is needed for further scale validation, the EFA and subsequent analyses do codify and deepen our understanding of civic dignity. In the future, a fully validated Civic Dignity Scale would enable reformers like Addams and those in Mandaue City to legitimize and track their efforts empirically.

For my parents for their unending encouragement and support

And for anyone who has had their voice silenced or ignored, with the hope that you find it again and use it often

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My mentor and friend BJ Dobski told me many years ago to pursue a PhD *only* if the questions occupying my mind kept me awake at night. Several years of insomnia later, here we are.

I am grateful for the advice and guidance provided by my dissertation committee members, Jennifer Merolla, Robert Klitgaard, and Charles Kesler. They put good books and articles in my hands, raised important questions, and offered invaluable feedback. The separate pieces of this project were at times disjointed and even unwieldy, but they indulged my curiosity and helped me draw exciting connections. This project would not have been possible without them, and I am so thankful for the time and energy they invested in its success.

On a personal note, I want to acknowledge those special friends and family who encouraged me along the way. Sabine Freij and Marian de Paula were my partners (co-conspirators) throughout graduate school, and now are lifelong friends. My husband Micah inspired me with his own work ethic, was always ready to offer a happy distraction when I needed a break, and was/is my biggest cheerleader. (And by extension, Lennon, our rescue dog, who won't read this for obvious reasons, kept me company during long hours spent reading and writing, and occasionally nudged me to get up and go for a walk outside.) In the world of shared living arrangements, I hit the jackpot during the few years I lived in Claremont with Laura Graham, Summer Clay, and Lisa Teachanarong Aragon. In addition to sharing in the daily triumphs and trials that occur in graduate school, they introduced me to useful literature and research methods in Psychology.

Early in my life, my parents emphasized the value of education. Around my third year of graduate school, my dad reminded me that in addition to education, they had *also* emphasized making money, and gently asked when I would get around to doing the latter. Hard to say, but I am grateful for their love and encouragement over the years. My three siblings, Gary, Ryan, and Chelsey, and the Mahoney and Smith families provided laughter and were always prepared with a deck of cards at the kitchen table. Close friends Jessica Beinecke, Kristina Lee, and Laura Verbal reminded me of life outside of graduate school.

In addition, I want to acknowledge everyone in Mandaue City, the Philippines who welcomed me and made my fieldwork there possible. In particular, James Abadia, Cynthia Sucio, Jamaal Calipayan, and the staff of the Office of Strategy Management made the whole experience successful and memorable.

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CHAPTER ONE

I.   **INTRODUCTION**

Despite our American democracy becoming more open over time, and despite

having access to oceans of information thanks to technological connectivity, trust in

government has eroded since the 1960's. "Only 20% of Americans today say they can trust

the government [to do] what is right."[1] Beyond distrust, we see skepticism, fear, and even

hostility stain the margins of newspapers and hang in the air during nightly newscasts. Is

the political health of the country in as much trouble as some would suggest? It is hard to

say, and even harder to know.

When then-candidate Donald Trump stood at the 2016 Republican National

Convention and called out to the "forgotten men and women," he described them as people

"who work hard but no longer have a voice."[2] The message and his subsequent promise to

be their voice resonated with enough Americans for Trump to win the presidential election.

But the idea of being forgotten resonates with more than Trump supporters: consider

similar sentiments with the Black Lives Matters movement and the deluge of women

coming forward with claims of sexual assault and harassment in the workplace and streets.

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[1]   Pew Research Center, "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017." May 1, 2017.
http://www.people-press.org/2017/05/03/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017 (accessed
November 1, 2017). The 20 percent figure Pew cites is comprised of the 4 percent of Americans
who say they trust Washington "just about always" and the 16 percent who say they trust
Washington "most of the time."
[2]   Donald J. Trump, "Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech." July 21, 2016.
https://assets.donaldjtrump.com/DJT_Acceptance_Speech.pdf (accessed November 1, 2017). The
idea of the "forgotten man" was not original to Trump: Franklin D. Roosevelt had previously
invoked the idea, and it was coined even earlier by William Graham Sumner in an 1883 address.
See also Jefferson Cowie, "Donald Trump and History's Competing Visions of America's 'Forgotten
Man,'" *Time Magazine.* November 11, 2016. http://time.com/4567949/forgotten-man-donald-
trump/ (accessed November 1, 2017).

The idea of having a voice – and the resulting degradation from having your voice ignored or silenced– speaks to the subject of this project.

What does "having a voice" mean? Is "having a voice" simply speaking aloud, does it imply speaking *and* being heard, or is it even more involved? What we reduce to "having a voice" is likely more complicated than simply speaking and being heard. On an individual level, having a voice is the opportunity and ability to engage— to participate and shape the dialogue and maybe even the outcome. In a political sense, particularly in our regime type, we can call this idea *civic dignity*.

As humans, we are distinct from other animals by our ability to think and reason. Having a voice is the product of that thought and reason, and so it is an innate aspect of the human experience. Our autonomy as individuals hinges upon our voice. Being silenced or ignored is so profoundly degrading because it is in a sense *dehumanizing*. Sometimes these offenses are obvious and grotesque. But what about when the offenses are small and gradual, only accumulating slowly over time, so slowly in fact that one finds adjusting and accommodating easier than resisting? In that case, the result may be a lack of ownership over one's affairs, losing the ability to be the author of one's own life and experience.

If being silenced or ignored cuts against what it means to be human, then can we reason that being silenced or ignored in a republic cuts against what it means to be a citizen? In the case of big offenses when the denial of freedom is blatant (*e.g.,* wrongful imprisonment, censorship), we use the language of "justice" in our appeals. But again, what about the smaller more gradual offenses, where the impact is not in institutional terms? Those smaller offenses erode our individual civic dignity. This project unpacks what civic

dignity is, why it matters in our regime type, what it looks like in policy design and

implementation, and finally, how to measure it.

II.   MOTIVATION AND ORGANIZATION

Much of the democratic theory literature has an institutional orientation, either in

the form of a critique or at least in response to institutions real or imagined. This

characterization extends somewhat to the deliberative democracy and participation

literatures as well. To the extent that the literature is citizen focused, the inquiry typically

still has an institutional orientation either focused on how citizens preferences are

captured, how their interests are represented through institutional channels, and why and

when they participate. When solutions are proposed, they typically consist of institutional

reforms or add-ons.[3] This is not a dismissal of the scholarship, far from it; rather it is an

attempt to draw a distinction early on between this project and scholarship that is (a)

oriented toward institutions as its primary focus and/or (b) is focused on citizens as a

representation of the general will. More to the point, this distinction does not mean that

considerations of civic dignity do not overlap or converge with this literature, but the

starting places are different.

This project begins with the individual and individual natural rights. The soul of the

project is rooted in political philosophy (if we think of political philosophy as the ongoing

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[3]   There are surely exceptions, but I have in mind, for example: Benjamin R. Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); James S. Fishkin, *Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

pursuit of the truth, aiming to know intimately the timeless questions and problems).[4] This

project explores the challenge of liberty. Though it is given to all by Nature, liberty cannot

be possessed but rather needs to be exercised. It is a state of being as much as it is an

action. But it cannot be exercised without outlets or opportunities to do so. Then we must

ask, what constitutes an opportunity? And what if an opportunity is available in some

technical sense but is not accessible? And what makes an opportunity accessible?

Inaccessible? If we discover that opportunities are necessary to the flourishing of

individual liberty, then we begin a quest to discover what are the necessary preconditions

for accessing those opportunities.

After this short introductory chapter, the remainder of the project unfolds as

follows. The objective of chapter two is to explore civic dignity and provide more context

as to what civic dignity *is*, what it looks like, and why it is so central to individual liberty.

The discussion begins with Josiah Ober's definition of civic dignity as a helpful starting

point. Then Tocqueville's schools of democracy and soft despotism provides additional

perspective before spending the bulk of the chapter meditating on Jane Addams' political

thought and example. Addams, a reformer in 19th century Chicago and profoundly

influenced by Lincoln, thought seriously about the shortfall many experience between the

promise of liberty and the lived experience of being free.[5] The Settlement House

movement, which she discovered in England and later brought to America, took as a

fundamental truth that individuals long for democratic engagement and freedom. As such,

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[4]   Strauss, Leo, "What Can We Learn from Political Theory?" *The Review of Politics* 69, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 216-221.
[5]   Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: Signet Classic, 1961), p. 27, 33-45, esp. p. 39, 42, 44

Hull House in Chicago aimed to build capacity through formal and informal education efforts, by providing outlets to discuss and organize, and by bringing people together to discover their likenesses.[6] Though she did not use the words "civic dignity," the sentiment permeated her writings and animated her efforts at Hull House.

Chapter three pivots to view civic dignity through a different lens, namely the role it can play when incorporated successfully into policy design and implementation. In transitioning from normative political philosophy to qualitative process tracing, chapter three also brings us from Hull House in 19th century Chicago to a relocation project in contemporary Mandaue City, the Philippines. Arguably, a self-governing political community's greatest asset is the collective knowledge and lived experience of its citizens. Incorporating civic dignity in policy design and implementation means giving a seat at the table to all stakeholders, particularly those typically shut out of such efforts. Doing so may seem less efficient given the alternative of swift, heavy-handed government coercion. Still, it is a tradeoff that some might make for the "feel good" angle of giving voice to the voiceless. However, the case study that is the subject of chapter three shows how deepening democracy can lead to better outcomes and can even be a means to combat corruption. It is not merely a "feel good" option; it is a strategic option that allows the political community to leverage local knowledge by enlisting the participation of those individuals or groups closest to the problem or challenge at hand.

Chapter four marries the theoretical and practical explorations of civic dignity to construct a measure for civic dignity. In a data driven world, reliable and valid measurement is key, and if the concept of civic dignity is going to gain currency, then

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[6]   Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 94, 97, 294

validating a scale to capture it is essential. Since direct measurement is not likely, indicators are developed to serve as proxy measures at the individual level. Through exploratory factor analysis, survey items are examined to determine which items map onto the latent factors that comprise civic dignity. The newly minted civic dignity scale is then compared against theoretically similar measures from political science and psychology, such as political efficacy and self-determination, to test construct validity. Finally, the relationship between the civic dignity scale and political participation is analyzed for further construct validity.

As a conclusion to the project, chapter five summarizes the key findings, highlights important theoretical and practical implications, and suggests avenues for future research.

I received the good advice early in this project that I should pick my favorite proposed chapter and expand *that* into a proper dissertation. I ignored this advice and plowed ahead. I had concluded that any one of these chapters of its own, however expanded, would seem incomplete: Political philosophy without application can be difficult to justify or make relevant. Application without a strong philosophical mooring can easily become unanchored. With that reasoning, I judged both the philosophical and qualitative chapters to be indispensable to the project. Finally, the quantitative chapter allows us to codify the material and look ahead to future research and applications. What I hope to do in the pages that follow is to demonstrate that these three pieces fit together and that they provide three valuable lenses to view a political state of being that speaks to timeless and contemporary theoretical and practical concerns.

CHAPTER TWO:

Exploring Civic Dignity Through Jane Addams' Political Thought and Experience

I. INTRODUCTION

Think back to the middle of 2015, after Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders had both announced their intentions to run for president. No one in the "establishment" or mainstream media thought either candidate had a chance at mounting a lasting campaign. And in spite of how little regard the establishment had for the prospects of those two campaigns, voters started to mobilize. Again, the establishment wrote off the two campaigns, and again it would seem they were mistaken in doing so. Their mistake was not underestimating the political prowess of either Trump or Sanders; rather their mistake was underestimating how dissatisfied ordinary Americans were with the political landscape. Ordinary Americans were not as polarized as Congressional roll call data would suggest; ordinary Americans were by many accounts moderate. However, they were concerned, and unhappy, and in some cases, afraid. Regardless of the likelihood (or not) of Trump or Sanders capturing the White House in 2016, their sustained popularity within the electorate revealed a deep disconnect between the political establishment and the average American. Perhaps even more troubling than the disconnect was the tone of disbelief and sometimes disdain with which those supporters were treated during the primaries. To disagree with each other, even vehemently at times, is to be expected in a self-governing political community. But to treat fellow citizens with indignity is a separate issue. Does such poor treatment of each other indicate a breakdown in our collective ability to self-govern?

Among us are "glass as half full" and "glass as half empty" types. This project can be understood in light of either perspective. The glass half empty perspective laments the atrophy of the civic muscle, the lack of voter engagement, the amount of money in politics, the gap between citizens and the political process, etc. However, I contend that liberty is best understood as an active condition—not something to be preserved but exercised, if we hope to keep it. The glass as half full perspective then aims to understand liberty and deepen democracy through opportunities that can improve our ability to self-govern. We should start by immersing ourselves in the question (or problem), before running ahead to search for solutions, though there is great research in both areas. Rather than dwell on the disconnect between ordinary citizens and the political process, this project steps back to consider what it means to be free and what it means to be free in a political community like ours, that is, a republic dedicated to natural rights. With this philosophical understanding in mind, the project explores innovations in political participation that might close the gap. And rather than dwell on the trend of incivility and condescension, this project reflects on ways to break down the barriers between citizens, yielding more dignified treatment of each other. What is civic dignity? What does it mean to be dignified in the political community? What sort of political participation mechanisms could provide meaningful outlets to exercise liberty? What is the relationship between liberty and dignity? And what role does civic dignity play in a self-governing political community dedicated to liberty and equality?

The American experiment made our political community "a city on a hill" -- a self-governing regime dedicated to natural rights of liberty and equality for all. While liberty and equality are often championed in the same breath, the two are conceptually in tension

with each other.[7] If we were perfectly free, then we would be free to dominate others, thereby trampling their equality. And if we were all forced to be perfectly equal by this or that measure, then the freedom of some would be impeded.[8] In spite of the tension, the integrity of our liberal democracy can only be realized through the persistent fulfillment of the promise of liberty and equality together.[9]

This fulfillment requires that citizens be free and equal in their access to participate in the political community, to have their voice be heard. Yet even that basic statement is fraught with difficulties-- surely the tension between liberty and equality extends also to political participation. What would free and equal political participation look like? Josiah Ober provides some initial instruction on this point: "Citizens lacking the freedom to associate with one another as they choose, or to express their views to one another, do not govern themselves. If citizens lack an equal say in salient matters of public significance, or equal standing before the laws, governance is not genuinely a collective enterprise."[10] In addition, to be free and equal in matters of political participation demands that citizens enjoy a sense of ownership in the political community *and* over their own affairs. How else could a citizen be said to be self-governing without having a seat at the table of the political

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[7]   Josiah Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 4 (2012), 827-846. See p. 839-840: Ober is far from being the first to make this argument. See also John Locke, *The Second Treatise on Civil Government* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1986); Alexis deTocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. Harvey C Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)

[8]   Consider the imagery from Kurt Vonnegut's "Harrison Bergeron," the dystopian short story in which the ballerina is made to wear heavy weights and a "hideous" mask to level her natural athletic ability and beauty, respectively.

[9]   See Abraham Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and Union," In *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Steven B Smith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 321-322. See also Lincoln, "Speech at Independence Hall (1861)," In *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln,* p. 323-324

[10]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 827

community and without being the director of one's own life?[11]

Though we have a rough sense of what free and equal political participation may look like, the tension between liberty and equality remains unresolved.[12] How do we get to the condition described by Ober—a self-governing, "collective enterprise"? If liberty and equality alone are not sufficient to moderate their own tension, how can these two natural rights be realized? We must look outside of liberty and equality for the solution. Civic dignity, following Ober's argument, is the "third core value of democracy," and in that capacity is the "mediating" force between "the demands of liberty and equality."[13] Civic dignity, a "subsidiary" to liberty and equality, balances competing claims of liberty and equality in liberal democracy, which in turn enables the two to flourish for citizens and the political community alike.

As a way to understand civic dignity more fully, this project investigates the relationship between civic dignity and political participation. It takes up the question of whether individual civic dignity can be strengthened through a deepening of democracy,

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[11]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831. Dignified individuals "employ their own judgment in choosing among inherently risk-laden options," which applies to private and political affairs.

[12]   Immanuel Kant's discussion of active versus passive citizens in *Doctrine of Right* is instructive here. Those individuals whose affairs are provided and managed by others are considered "passive citizens" by Kant. What remains to be discussed is whether "passive citizens" actually qualify as citizens given Kant's definition of "active citizens." See Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals.* trans. Mary Gregor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 6:314-317. Tocqueville is useful here, too, for his discussion of American citizenship moves beyond formal and legal definitions, insisting on a participatory element. Contemporary scholarship takes up a similar question; among many examples, see Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 549-566;
Smith, "'One United People:' Second-Class Female Citizenship and the American Quest for Community," *Journal of Law & Humanities* 1, no. 2 (1989).

[13]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity,"p. 827-828: "[Dignity] stabilizes democracy by mediating between demands of liberty and equality, forbidding libertarian neglect of basic needs and egalitarian paternalism alike. Democracy without secure dignity is at best a fragile construct. At worst it is a façade masking the despotism of entrenched and unaccountable elites."

and it explores various opportunities for meaningful political participation for the sake of increasing individual civic dignity. To do this, the definition and justification of civic dignity within a liberal democracy is addressed. Then the relationship between civic dignity and meaningful political participation is explored theoretically, qualitatively, and quantitatively.

The theoretical lens, which is the focus of this chapter, explores three models of civic dignity. It starts with Josiah Ober and civic humanism scholarship, then considers Alexis de Tocqueville's "schools" of freedom, and finally meditates on the political thought and example of Jane Addams and the Settlement House movement.

II. EXPLORING CIVIC DIGNITY

A. An Initial Model of Civic Dignity from Ober

Ober explores dignity as a philosophical concept to establish the type of dignity appropriate for a liberal democratic regime. In doing so, he builds on the efforts of Charles Taylor, Stephen Darwall, George Kateb, and Jeremy Waldron, among others. Ober considers four types of dignity: meritocratic, elite peerage, civic, and universal human. And he concludes that civic dignity (underpinned by universal human dignity) is the dignity that enables the stability and flourishing of liberty and equality in a liberal democracy. I find his reasoning to be persuasive, and so I take as my starting point civic dignity as the type of dignity with which we should be concerned in our liberal democratic regime. Without duplicating Ober's argument here, a discussion of the salient features of his definition and

justification of civic dignity is useful.[14]

Building on Waldron, Ober notes that "equal high standing" runs through all forms of dignity. But the single distinguishing question is "*who* shares equally in high standing." Civic dignity is more inclusive than meritocratic and elite peerage, but it is bound in a way that universal human dignity is not. In other words, civic dignity is the shared equal high standing of an "extensive and socially diverse body of citizens" who are bound together politically.[15] According to Ober, its two defining characteristics are "nonhumiliation" and "noninfantilization." Humiliation diminishes liberty, while infantilization undermines equality. While accurate, this two-pronged definition is too minimalistic, as it only characterizes what civic dignity is in the negative sense.

Of nonhumiliation, Ober explains that one suffers humiliation "when we are treated as inferiors, when we must grovel and cringe before the powerful."[16] The "powerful" may refer to the government, whether an elected official or unelected bureaucrat, or come in the form of a fellow citizen in a public or private capacity.[17] Humiliation would be an affront to

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[14]   See Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 827-828, 830, cf 827. Without becoming sidetracked by defining what he means by "liberal democracy," he notes that among the many schools of contemporary democratic theory, "the definition of democracy as *at least* self-governance by citizens, and the assumption that *at least* freedom and equality for citizens are necessary for democracy, appear to be broadly shared." Included in this, Ober notes "procedural (Dahl 1989); deliberative (Cohen 1996); agnostic/ pluralistic (Honig 1993); epistemic (Estlund 2008; List and Goodin 2001)." Regarding the other types of dignity, civic dignity is situated among them in the following way: it sits between the "hyper-exclusivity of traditional meritocratic and elite peerage forms of dignity" and the unbounded "universality of human dignity."

[15]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 829-830

[16]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831

[17]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831. Consider one example he provides: "If I do enter the public domain with those who humiliate me, I am unrecognized, invisible; my presence is no more acknowledged than that of a servant at a formal dinner." This is not to say that the nonhumiliation prong of civic dignity demands radical liberty or equality of outcomes; Ober is explicit on this point, and he asserts that civic dignity is compatible with (restrained) meritocratic dignity and the celebration of excellence.

a citizen's liberty, as it would likely inhibit one's ability to speak up and participate in self-governance.

Of noninfantilization, Ober explains that one suffers infantilization "when our public presence goes unacknowledged, when we are unduly subject to the paternalistic will of others, and when we are denied the opportunity to employ our reason and voice in making choices that affect us." He continues, "Democracy is illusory when citizens are kept in a condition of equal tutelage, such that their equal votes are limited to choices among options that have been judged risk-free and have been pre-approved by a paternalistic elite."[18] Ober's discussion of noninfantilization and nonhumiliation is evocative of Tocqueville's soft despotism (and contemporary critiques of the welfare state) and, to an extent, Morris Fiorina's *Disconnect* argument.[19]

Readers of Tocqueville will recognize the echoes of soft despotism in Ober's infantilization. Ober warns against infantilization that "[threatens] to treat adults as childlike wards." Similarly, excessive administrative centralization, Tocqueville observed, degrades citizens, reducing them to a "herd of timid and industrious animals."[20] A distant, unaccountable state, however paternalistic or well-meaning it may claim to be, reduces citizens to subjects. While political leaders claim government centralization and expansion are done in the name of efficiency, welfare, and security, Tocqueville remarked that it is akin to "paternal power, if, like that, it had for its object to prepare men for manhood; but

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[18]   Ober "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831

[19]   Morris Fiorina, *Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009). In *Disconnect* and his earlier *Culture War*, Fiorina argues that choices on the general election ballot have been pre-selected by political party elites and party activists. As a result, ordinary voters are often forced to choose between already polarized options.

[20]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 839; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v p. 82-89; II.2.i-v p. 481-492; II.4.vi p. 663

on the contrary, it seeks only to keep [citizens] fixed irrevocably in childhood."[21] This

uniquely democratic phenomenon atrophies the civic muscle by rendering citizen

participation unnecessary. It thereby extinguishes the citizenry's sense of ownership in the

affairs of their political community, reducing the opportunity and activities of self-

government. With this in mind, one can see how consistent infantilization results in the

breakdown of civic dignity, which is both problematic for the individual citizen and for the

self-governing political community.

That said, a commitment to noninfantilization does not preclude (or contradict) the

political community ensuring that the very basic needs of citizens are met. To participate

freely and equally in governance, to have ownership over one's affairs, requires that the

"basic material goods necessary [to] live decently" are secured.   In securing those basic

material goods, the political community is not necessarily infantilizing the citizen. How,

and the extent to which, the citizen is engaged and provided for determines whether

infantilization is occurring. This characterization of infantilization allows us to sail deftly

between Charybdis and Scylla: avoiding the degrading effects of the hammock-like liberal

welfare state on one side, and on the other, the austerity of some libertarian and

conservative arguments calling for the elimination of *any* social safety net.[22]

The comparison of Ober's nonhumiliation and noninfantilization to Fiorina's

Disconnect may be less obvious, but it facilitates an important connection between theory

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[21]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.4.vi p. 663

[22]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 840. See also p. 839: "The demands of noninfantilization
push back against the emergence of an intrusive nanny state bent on eliminating all vestiges of
inequality on the one hand, and against the willful perpetuation of gross inequalities in the name of
individual liberty on the other." Though Ober does not situate his argument politically, I contend
that this position could find a home within "Bleeding Heart Libertarian" thought.

and practice. Challenging the popular argument that America is more polarized today than

ever before, Fiorina argues the citizenry itself is not polarized, in spite of what recent

congressional and presidential election results and congressional roll call data might

suggest.[23] Instead he demonstrates empirically the growing disconnect between ordinary

Americans and the political elites or ruling class.[24] Fiorina contends that "the typical

American does not wish to devote very much of his or her free time to politics," and

simultaneously a new class of political activists who are "not like most people" moved to fill

the void.[25] This is particularly visible in primary elections. Ironically, "when the doors to

the political system were opened wider, less representative people walked through

them."[26] As a result, voters in the general election are increasingly forced to choose

between pre-selected, polarized options. Moreover, citing Pew Center and Gallup polls

from 2000, 2004, and 2006, Fiorina highlights that the issue priorities reported by ordinary

Americans were the near inverse of the issues most salient among the political elite.

Fiorina writes, "Many issues that are prominent in contemporary politics did not show up

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[23]   Fiorina was not only arguing against popular opinion when he questioned the supposed polarization of Americans in *Disconnect* and *Culture War*. There is debate within the literature about whether and/or to what extent Americans are polarized. For example, see: Alan I Abramowitz and Kyle L Saunders, "Is Polarization a Myth?" *The Journal of Politics* 70, No. 2, (April 2008), 542-555; Gary C. Johnson, "The Electoral Origins of Polarized Politics: Evidence From the 2010 Cooperative Congressional Election Study," *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, No. 12 (2012), 1612-1630

[24]   Fiorina, *Disconnect*, p. 7-12. The "political class" is made up of those Americans who hold political office and "activists," or those who engage in three or more political activities.

[25]   Consider single-issue advocates and party activists, both of whom play large roles in primary and general elections.

[26]   Fiorina, *Disconnect,* p. 86-88. Using ANES and Federal Elections Commission data from 1960 through 2006, Fiorina demonstrates "turnout in elections fell and trust in government plummeted."

as matters of major public concern."[27] While the trends Fiorina highlights are not fatal

blows to liberty and equality, one can see how ordinary citizens can be officially

enfranchised and yet still experience mild humiliation and infantilization as evidenced by

their reduced capacity to participate in the collective enterprise of self-governance.

Civic dignity provides parameters to prevent humiliation and infantilization by

suggesting limits on excessive claims of liberty or equality. The pursuit and exercise of

liberty should not result in the humiliation of other citizens. Similarly, the pursuit of

equality should not infantilize others. Ober continues, "Indignity is bad for those who

suffer it in ways that make it particularly bad for democracy as collective self-

governance."[28] When civic dignity is lacking or absent, degraded forms of liberty and

equality are revealed.

Importantly, civic dignity presupposes the potential gap between a citizen's claim to

natural rights of liberty and equality, and the fulfillment of those rights. A citizen, by

definition, is party to the social contract, thereby entitling him to the protection of the law.

Where the laws of the political community (such as our own) are dedicated to the

preservation of natural rights, a citizen should expect the protection of his rights to be

included. That expectation, however, sometimes results in disappointment. To that end,

Abraham Lincoln famously elevated the Declaration of Independence, highlighting its

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[27]	Fiorina, *Disconnect*, p. 26-29. For example, out of 19 issues, respondents to the Pew Center poll ranked education, the economy, and health care as the most important electoral issues, and global warming, abortion, and gay marriage as the least pressing issues.
[28]	Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831

promise of natural rights to be fulfilled for all as soon as circumstances allow.[29] Some

groups enjoyed the fulfillment of that promise earlier than others, with American political

development marked by episodes of "gaps" between promise and fulfillment. Rogers

Smith's scholarship chronicles the gradual fulfillment of this promise-- or more pointedly,

he raises awareness of the various "gaps."[30]

Civic dignity speaks not only to the potential "gap" between the promise of natural

rights and the eventual fulfillment, but also to the dynamic nature of both liberty and

equality. Neither liberty nor equality is a static condition or state to be discretely achieved

and then forever enjoyed. Perhaps liberty more than equality, but certainly both to some

extent, wax and wane throughout one's political lifetime. Hoping for noninterference alone

is not sufficient to preserve one's liberty and equality as a citizen. Liberty, in particular,

must be exercised. To be exercised, there must be opportunities for ownership over the

political process in one's self-governing community. This is where Ober's model for civic

dignity is shown to be incomplete. His definition provides the starting point as to what

conditions would characterize a lack of civic dignity. But in addition to not being

infantilized or humiliated, dignified citizens must in a positive sense have ownership over

their own affairs and the affairs of their community. On this point, if effectively being shut

out of genuine choice in one's community marks a lack of civic dignity, having ownership--

that is, an accessible platform or mechanism through which one can meaningfully

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[29]   Lincoln, "Speech on the Dred Scott Decision," in *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 115.
See also Lincoln, "Fragment on the Constitution and Union" and "Speech at Independence Hall," in
The Writings of Abraham Lincoln, p. 321-322, 323-324.
[30]   For example, see Rogers Smith, "One United People" (1989), and "Beyond Tocqueville"
(1993).

contribute ideas, feedback, opinions, and accountability-- shows a more dynamic model of civic dignity, moving beyond Ober.

There is also the question of what civic dignity is phenomenologically speaking. This is a difficult question that will be explored in the pages and chapters that follow. In the meantime, perhaps some initial thoughts would be helpful: There are other civic conditions or phenomena that are palpable and consequential without being tangible (or easily measurable for that matter). One example has already been mentioned: soft despotism. A second example is Lincoln's idea of civil religion. Civic dignity is similarly elusive. Because of civic dignity's emphasis on the relationship not just between the citizen and the state, but also the relationship among citizens themselves, some may be reminded of social capital, made famous by Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone*. However, civic dignity relates to how citizens interact and impact each other in terms of political participation and self-governance. "Civic dignity *is* grounded in political relations, but *not* in personal relations." Many citizens, while enjoying and defending civic dignity, (can) remain strangers to each other.[31] In addition, civic dignity is also reflective, based at least party in how the citizen views him or herself, or stated differently, how one views one's role as a citizen.

To summarize, Ober offers the useful starting point of civic dignity being the equal high standing of citizens, marked by nonhumiliation and noninfantilization. It is a condition neither wholly internal to the individual nor external.[32] By mediating the tension

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[31]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 837
[32]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 831-832: "[It] cannot be reduced to an internal psychological state of the individual. Dignity certainly involves self-esteem, and we may retain an irreducible core of inviolable personal dignity as self-respect no matter what we suffer at the hands

between liberty and equality, civic dignity enables liberty and equality to be realized. When humiliation and/or infantilization are present, citizens are denied dignity, and habits and opportunities for self-government are eroded. And when self-government is eroded, liberty and equality diminish, even if the offenses are seemingly small and discrete. To be dignified, then, citizens need to be free from humiliation and infantilization-- as argued by Ober-- but this initial model is incomplete; citizens also need opportunities for ownership—to be the director of their own life and to have a seat at the self-governing table. From this point, we can pivot to Tocqueville's "schools" of freedom and Jane Addams' political thought and example as second and third models of civic dignity, respectively.

III. IMPORTANCE OF CIVIC DIGNITY AND CHALLENGES TO IT

Defining civic dignity ultimately bleeds into the discussion of its importance, and now we must take up the question explicitly; that is, why civic dignity is critical to the health of a liberal democratic regime, and what challenges does it face. The definition of civic dignity makes obvious why an individual would prefer living with it rather than without-- surely individuals prefer not being severely infantilized and humiliated. To be treated with indignity is to be denied one's rightful place as a free and equal citizen, prohibiting (or at least limiting) one's participation in self-government, politically and personally. But what about our tolerance for small increments of indignity? And in what

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of others. In practice, however, living with dignity involves the regard in which we are held by others, and how we are treated by them. Our dignity is manifest in how we behave toward others, and in how they behave toward us." Recognition and respect are concepts Ober emphasizes repeatedly in this 2012 article.

ways does civic dignity expand beyond an issue of individual concern to the political

community writ large?

For the political community, civic dignity regulates competing claims of liberty and

equality, as has already been discussed, and in so doing, civic dignity yields stability in the

political community. Ober writes, "Dignity makes democracy robust: Democratic

institutions defend dignity, whereas the habits of dignified citizens provide behavioral

foundations for defending democracy and improving institutions over time."[33] In this

sense, the sustained cultivation of civic dignity contributes to a liberal democratic
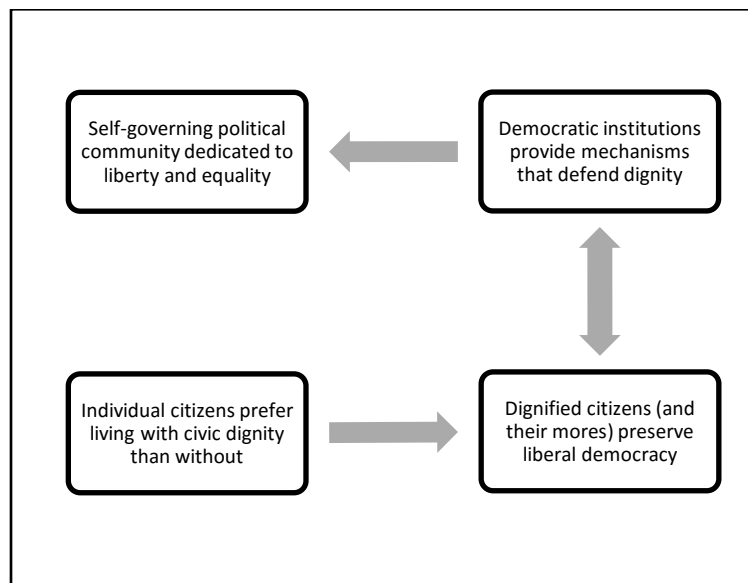
equilibrium.

**Figure 1: Sustained cultivation of civic dignity contributing to
a liberal democratic equilibrium**

The discussion about the role of civic dignity in a liberal democracy begs the further

question of who the democratic citizen is. Aristotle offers at least one definition of

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[33]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 828

citizenship as the "capacity both to be ruled and to rule.[34] Yet, under soft despotism

citizens *unofficially* lose their capacity to rule—so what then? What does this imply for

citizens who have been living under soft despotism or otherwise lacking in civic dignity?

Do they cease to be citizens; if so, at what point; and can they return to the ranks of

"citizen" later? Or do they never cease to be citizens so long as they are a party to our

social contract?[35]

For the citizenry, civic dignity is a public good to be shared and mutually preserved.

As with other collective action problems, first, citizens need to recognize that the defense

of civic dignity is in their self-interest (tied to their intrinsic motivation); second, they

need to have the appropriate knowledge or skills to act (or self-restrain); and third, they

need to have clear outlets through which they can coordinate and mobilize.[36]

First, rationally self-interested citizens can discover the ways in which defending

one's own and each other's civic dignity is advantageous. Consider the self-interested

individuals in Locke's state of nature: even the strong must sleep sometime, so without a

common authority, we all have equal ability to kill and be killed. Through consulting their

reason, these individuals choose to quit the state of nature, and sacrificing a degree of

personal freedom, they enter a social contract to secure their preservation and natural

rights. By this same logic employed *within* the political community, a given citizen may be

strong and able to exploit the weak, but someone stronger may appear before too long. If

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[34]   Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. Carnes Lord (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 1277b 14-15. See also 1277a 26-28, 1275b 16-20, 1253a 27-29
[35]   A future version of this project may consider Kant's distinction between active and passive citizens.
[36]   See Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965). Civic dignity is not a "scarce resource distributed by competitive games," so competition is not a force at play.

the defense of civic dignity has eroded, then to whom will one appeal?[37] Diverse citizens

can reason that their self-interest rightly understood is tied to the mutual and coordinated

defense of civic dignity, thus overcoming the problem of intrinsic motivation.

Having intrinsic motivation does not necessarily result in appropriate or preferred

action (to defend dignity) or self-restraint (to not challenge dignity). For the preservation

of civic dignity, problems of coordination and skills remain. Ober argues that civic dignity

(and its accompanying mores) can escape the ill-fated tragedy of the commons if, coupled

with education and awareness, institutions have "well-understood mechanisms and

adequate incentives." Then, he asserts, "any member, or group of members, of a civic

community suffering indignity can expect aid from fellow citizens-- most obviously [in the

form of] a jury in a court of law, but potentially in the form of direct and collective action

by the citizenry."[38] Indeed the latter is the long-term aim of this project— innovative

mechanisms or platforms that make more likely the "direct and collective action of the

citizenry." This underscores the importance of mores and institutions, both of which need

to be directed to the common good and/ or self-interest rightly understood.

Practically speaking, many challenges and questions remain. What constitutes a

threat to civic dignity may not be apparent; citizens may not realize that the defense of

civic dignity is connected to one's self interest; and citizens may choose to ignore, which is

their right to do so—and these are obstacles associated with just the "demand side." On

the "supply side," perhaps the biggest obstacle is that the outlets through which motivated

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[37]   See Locke, *Second Treatise*. See also Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 838: Ober does not
argue that individuals will be singularly rational; he asserts instead that "civic dignity is thus at
once virtuous, reciprocal, and rational." This may be so, but at the very least, individuals can be
rational.

[38]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 829, 837

citizens can act may not be so readily available or immediately effective.[39] As was

discussed above, dignified citizens need opportunities for ownership, but what those

opportunities look like and/or how to implement them may not always be clear. Ober's

model speaks primarily to how citizens ought to be treated by their government and by

each other, but his argument largely neglects the question of what citizens ought to *do.*

Tocqueville, on the other hand, speaks to exactly that concern. His discussion of America's

"schools" of freedom provides the basis for the second model of civic dignity.

Tocqueville's work provides further context for what ownership in the political

community may look like, metaphorically and literally, and what sort of institutionalized

platforms may increase civic dignity.

A.   Second Model of Civic Dignity Through Tocqueville's "Schools" of Freedom

While Ober begins our discussion on civic dignity by giving a name to the condition

and offering an initial definition, his model never moves beyond how citizens should (not)

be treated. Largely absent in his discussion is what citizens should do, or even if they

should do, besides abstaining from humiliating or infantilizing fellow citizens. Simply

refraining from infantilizing or humiliating seems a bit thin for something of such import.[40]

Moreover, not being infantilized or humiliated alone would not dignify a citizen. I contend

that in addition to noninfantilization and non-humiliation, citizens need to have a sense of

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[39]   Fortunately, efforts to increase civic dignity need not operate in an "all-or-nothing" fashion. In fact, that approach would be illogical given that civic dignity, like liberty and equality, is not a static condition to be attained once and enjoyed permanently.

[40]   Ober uses formal modeling to demonstrate the higher likelihood of fellow citizens coming to the defense of another in the event of humiliation or infantilization, but still absent is what those actions would or could actually be. Moreover, that perspective adopts a reactive posture-- and again, a reactive posture seems inappropriate for something of such import.

ownership in their self-governing political community and over their own affairs to be

dignified. Stated differently, to be denied the opportunity to engage meaningfully in one's

political community and/ or one's own affairs would be undignified.

Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* provides some needed context for what

ownership in the political community could look like and what sort of mores or

mechanisms could yield more meaningful participation. But before understanding

Tocqueville's solution and advancing our own discussion of civic dignity, we need to first

understand the puzzle of liberty in America as he saw it.

Tocqueville warned of a new type of tyranny finding fertile soil in America's

lands. He argued it is so novel that it demanded a new name: soft despotism.[41] Unlike the

brutal totalitarian regimes of the 20th Century, for instance, soft despotism subtly and

slowly enervates the citizenry. It atrophies the civic muscle by gradually assuming more

responsibilities from the individual until administrative centralization has *relieved* the

people of nearly all need to organize and civically engage each other. The genealogy of this

problem, according to Tocqueville, begins first with America's radical equality of

conditions, which in turn yields individualism, then a vacuous civic state, enabling further

administrative centralization and soft despotism.[42]

He stated that "nothing struck [his] eye more vividly than the equality of

conditions."[43] This element of American democracy stood out for Tocqueville against the

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[41]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.4.vi, p. 662-663
[42]   Importantly, soft despotism is a real threat to liberty in America, though not the only
threat: also troublesome is the potential tyranny of the majority, which is related to yet distinct
from soft despotism.
[43]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* p. 3. He continued, "I discovered without difficulty the
enormous influence that this primary fact exerts on the course of society." See also I.2.ix, p. 266-

backdrop of his own experience with European aristocracy, where the roles of nobles and

peasants were clear and relatively unchanging over the course of generations. Under

aristocracy, distinctions of rank dictated social expectations, allocating power and

responsibility. The aristocrats united as needed to protect the well-being of the poor:

"[They] took the sort of benevolent and tranquil interest in the lot of the people that the

shepherd accords to his flock; and without seeing in the poor man their equal, they

watched over his destiny as a trust placed by Providence in their hands."[44] The practice of

primogeniture maintained these roles, as land holdings determined power and claims to

authority. More importantly, the idea of social obligation and duty permeated the upper

classes, compelling them to connect and reconnect within themselves to fulfill their

responsibility and societal function.

But aristocracy did not take hold in America. Tocqueville reasoned the basis for

aristocracy rests on land and property holdings. Settlers arrived in the New World on

equal footing in a few key respects: no property holdings, no titles, and therefore, no claim

to rule over another. Property holdings were obtained and maintained based on whoever

could clear and cultivate the land. The first concern of the settlers in America was one of

individual interest and self-preservation.

The elimination of permanent land holdings diminished the distance between the

rich and poor, and it set the stage for the emergence of democracy. Tocqueville wrote, "The

barriers raised among men are lowered; estates are divided, power is partitioned,

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267: "American had that chance of birth working for them: their fathers had long since brought equality of conditions and of intelligence onto the soil they inhabited."
[44]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* p. 8

enlightenment spreads, intelligence is equalized."[45] In the New World, no man had a natural claim to rule over another without consent.[46] Townships formed, and men designed the rules by which they wanted to live. This was an instructive experience for those involved. Eventually, an entire government based on consent and self-rule was erected by the Founders, dedicated unequivocally to the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The American experience with self-rule and freedom, however, may paradoxically undermine itself insofar as it can erode a citizen's sense of obligation to those around him. As man is not born into a strict caste position or status in America, he has no call to duty enforced by society, and instead, focuses on himself and his own material interest. If one man deems himself self-sufficient, he may reason that all others ought to possess the same self-sufficiency. When this rationale is coupled with the lack of social ordering, it gives birth to individualism, according to Tocqueville.

Tocqueville distilled the essence of individualism as follows: "Individualism is a reflective and peaceable sentiment that disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of those like him and to withdraw to one side with his family and friends, so that after having thus created a little society for his own use, he willingly abandons society at large to itself."[47] And for all of the new modes of communication and transportation today, citizens,

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[45]	Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* p. 8-9
[46]	Claims were made nonetheless—the practice of slavery being the most obvious exception. But those claims were unnatural and unjust, which was highlighted notably in the Declaration and again by Lincoln.
[47]	Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.2.ii, p. 482

on the whole, have withdrawn over time from society into themselves, existing and living

out their days with only a small number of family and friends.[48]

Individualism, however benign in its inception, can deteriorate to a malignant

atomistic existence whereby citizens retreat from the public square.[49] Tocqueville

described the deterioration: "As conditions are equalized, one finds a greater number of

individuals who, not being wealthy enough or powerful enough to exert a great influence

over the fates of those like them, have nevertheless acquired [enough goods] to be able to

be self-sufficient. These owe nothing to anyone, they expect so to speak nothing from

anyone; they are in the habit of already considering themselves in isolation, and they

willingly fancy that their whole destiny is in their hands."[50]

What is the connection between individualism and civic dignity? There is nothing in

individualism that immediately or necessarily produces infantilization and humiliation. In

fact, being preoccupied with one's self and one's family could easily produce

noninfantilization and nonhumiliation among citizens. The very rationale for the retreat

into one's small social existence is the idea that self-reliance should be sufficient; we are all

(or should be) strong and prudent enough to carve out for ourselves a life that we deem fit.

And yet as we will see, individualism is not the friend of sustained freedom and equality in

our liberal democracy, just as limiting our definition of civic dignity to noninfantilization

and nonhumiliation is insufficient. What is missing from the definition is having a sense of

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[48]   See Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
[49]   The slide from individualism to isolationism certainly is possible, but it is neither automatic nor guaranteed. Self-reliance does not automate a withdrawal from society or a refusal to assist family, friends, or neighbors.
[50]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.2.iii, p. 483-484

ownership in one's political community and over one's own affairs-- something

individualism can undermine.

Soft despotism disconnects citizens from the political process, diminishing the

opportunity for ownership in the political community and (potentially) in one's affairs.

Tocqueville described the phenomenon:[51] This was not brutal tyranny, conjuring up

images of physical oppression, a lack of legitimate suffrage, and severe and obvious

limitations of individual liberty. Instead, the ailment suffered by Americans, soft

despotism, afflicts not the corporeal but the mind, the soul, and the will to act.

Soft despotism is mild and subtle yet unrelenting, bullying all but the most alert

individuals into a monotonous state of living in which they have a narrow amount of

control. It springs from administrative centralization (as opposed to governmental

centralization), which Tocqueville argued has a corrosive effect on a nation and its people.

Administrative centralization occurs when the power to direct interests "special to certain

parts of the nation, such as, for example, the undertakings of the township" is concentrated

in one hand at a great distance, rather than in several hands much closer to the interests.

Tocqueville warned, "Administrative centralization is fit only to enervate the people who

submit to it, because it constantly tends to diminish the spirit of the city in them."[52]

A central power is most often a distant power, one that is ill equipped to understand

the problems in their local context. As a consequence, solutions offered may not reflect the

realities on the ground, which can result not only a wasteful use of resources but be

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[51]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, p. II.4.xi, p.662: "The thing is new, therefore I must try to define it, since I cannot name it."
[52]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* I.1.v, p. 82-83

coercive as well.[53] Tocqueville remarked, "The collective force of citizens will also be more

powerful to produce social well-being than the authority of government. [And] when the

central administration claims to replace completely the free cooperation of those primarily

interested, it deceives itself or wants to deceive you." Due to the size and distance of

administrative centralization—to say nothing of the attitude inherent in the "rule of

experts"— the government can serve at best as a reactionary agent.

Citizen participation is limited to performing the tasks outlined by the distant

government without participating in the dialogue that shaped and designed the actions to

be completed. The citizens cannot enjoy the success of the actions since their participation

required no creativity or design of their own: "It is not under [administrative

centralization] that one obtains the concurrence of the human will. It must have freedom

in its style, responsibility in its actions."[54] Living under excessive administration

centralization is the antithesis of a sense of ownership.

And the undercurrent of administrative centralization pulls citizens far from the

ideal of civil association. Without civil associations, an individual lacks the means to realize

civic goals, since any one individual alone remains quiet and feeble. Yet, the individual and

the community still have needs. Of the individual who has abandoned civil association,

sinking into the false comforts of the paternal government, Tocqueville characterized him

as follows: "The greatest changes come about in his country without his concurrence; he

does not even know precisely what has taken place; he suspects; he has heard the event

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[53]   See Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* I.1.v, p. 86: "A central power, however enlightened, however learned one imagines it, cannot gather itself alone all the details of the life of a great people."

[54]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 87

recounted by chance. Even more, the fortune of his village, the policing of his street, the

fate of his church […] do not touch him; he thinks that all these things do not concern him

in any fashion and that they belong to a powerful foreigner called the government. For

himself, he enjoys these goods as a tenant, without a spirit of ownership."[55]

More than being absentee citizens, Tocqueville argued that soft despotism

(produced by excessive administrative centralization) actually degrades the individual to

an undignified citizen: "It would resemble paternal power if, like that, it has for its object to

prepare men for manhood; but on the contrary, it seeks only to keep them fixed irrevocably

in childhood." The soft despotic state does not care to prepare and equip their citizens for

happiness so that the citizens may achieve it on their own, but prefers instead to determine

the extent and to be "the unique agent and sole arbiter" of that happiness. This description

very closely resembles Ober's argument about infantilization being undignified, but

Tocqueville went further by pinpointing the sense of ownership as critical to bolstering

civic dignity. When robbing citizens of responsibility, personal accountability fades,

leaving citizens whose will is not shattered, but is "[softened, bent, and directed]; [soft

despotism] rarely forces one to act, but it constantly opposes itself to one's acting." The

people degenerate from citizens to subjects, to a "herd of timid and industrious animals of

which the government is the shepherd."[56] Healthy interdependence, which rests upon the

community and voluntary association of individuals, is reduced to complete dependence on

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[55]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 88

[56]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* II.4.xi, p. 663-664. Tocqueville continued, "It does not tyrannize, it hinders, compromises, enervates, extinguishes, dazes, and finally reduces each nation to being nothing more than a herd of timid and industrious animals of which the government is the shepherd."

the government and the ambitious actors who expand their political prerogative at every available turn through fear or benevolence.

The government becomes a body so centralized and detached from local affairs that it cannot comprehend the needs of the individuals it purports to serve. In this condition, sovereignty has not *officially* been dismantled, however, since the "sheep" still vote for their representatives. If, however, the people had the energy and civic muscle to *move*, then they would find their movements restricted. But instead they exist in a state of blissful ignorance, and the liberties they retain are chiefly the liberties to obey and serve. They emerge from their slavery simply to vote for new masters.[57]

A decentralized administrative government, on the other hand, can incorporate its citizens into the daily tasks of self-governance, soliciting their advice, and providing them an outlet through which they act. This can facilitate a sense of ownership in the affairs of their political community, thus dignifying citizens. Not only is this preferable but it is necessary: to maintain the democratic republic, citizens must cultivate the "taste for liberty and the art of being free."[58]

In addition to underscoring the importance of having a sense of ownership in the political community, Tocqueville also highlighted ways in which Americans can experience that sense of ownership. Through "schools" of freedom—townships, free press, jury duty, and civil associations— citizens can come together for a common purpose.[59] These activities draw citizens out of their narrow self-interest, teaching citizens how to be

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[57]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* II.4.xi, p. 664
[58]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.2.ix, p. 274
[59]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* p. lxxiv-lxxv, II.4.xi, 664-668. See also *DA*, II.2.xii, p 497: "Political associations can therefore be considered great schools, free of charge, where all citizens come to learn the general theory of associations."

together.[60] Local government, in particular, is where "the strength of free peoples reside,"

according to Tocqueville.

The work of townships arguably has a greater impact on the daily affairs of ordinary

citizens than the happenings at higher levels of government.[61] Plus, they operate on a

smaller scale, and leadership positions are populated by neighbors. This degree of

relevance and approachability found at the local level should be seized upon as an

opportunity to practice and become accustomed to self-governance.[62] Tocqueville

remarked, "Thus by charging citizens with the administration of small affairs, much more

than by leaving the government of great ones to them, one interests them in the public

good and makes them see the need they constantly have for one another in order to

produce it."[63] Rather than designing and implementing projects for the people, local

governments are uniquely positioned to draw citizens together as stakeholders to ask for

their ideas, feedback, and energy. These outlets push back against the trend of

infantilization inherent in administration centralization. Additionally, within townships

citizens serve on juries, yet another opportunity to be duty bound, "combat individual

selfishness," and participate in their political community at work. [64]

The virtue of local governments is apparent from the point of view of stimulating a

sense of ownership in the political community, but local governments alone are not

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[60]   Tocqueville wrote, "When citizens are forced to be occupied with public affairs, they are necessarily drawn away from the midst of their individual interests, and from time to time, torn away from the sights of themselves." (II.2.ix, p. 486)
[61]   Among the many areas handled at least in part at the local area are schools, police, zoning regulations, and transportation.
[62]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 57-58, 63
[63]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II,2.iv, p. 487
[64]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.2.xiii, p. 262

sufficient to ensure civic dignity nor do they provide a guaranteed solution. This is

particularly true when one considers that liberty consists of the freedom to act as well as

the freedom to abstain from participation. Citizens need to be drawn out of themselves, to

view their interests as linked to those around them. To that end, Tocqueville's discussions

of a free press, jury duty, and civil associations prove useful. Like townships, they too are

indispensable to a free people as they all teach citizens something about the activity of

being free. A free press allows individuals or minorities to persuade and connect with

others far beyond their immediate geographic area.[65] And as newspapers can be

understood as associations for thought, then civil associations can be similarly understood

as the actual vehicles for action. Unlike townships, whose geographic boundaries

determine who lives within the district and who does not, associations like newspapers can

transcend the sometimes arbitrary nature of geographic boundaries. The myriad civil

associations in America, Tocqueville observed, empower citizens to set a "common goal

[for] the efforts of many men and to get them to advance to it freely."[66]

　　　Tocqueville's discussion demonstrates the importance of a sense of ownership for

realizing individual civic dignity: a sense of ownership is what enables citizens to enjoy a

more robust and sustainable freedom in the political community. When combined with

noninfantilization and nonhumiliation, the contours and importance of civic dignity

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[65]　　Tocqueville remarked, "When men are no longer bound among themselves in a solid and permanent manner, one cannot get many to act in common except by persuading each of them whose cooperation is necessary that his particular interest obliges him voluntarily to unite his efforts with the efforts of all the others. That can be done habitually and conveniently only with the aid of a newspaper; only a newspaper can come to deposit the same thought in a thousand minds at the same moment" (II.2.xi, p. 493). See also: II.2.xi, p. 493-495.

[66]　　Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.2.v, p. 489. See also II.2.v, p 489-492; II.2.xii, p. 496-500.

become more apparent. Highlighting the importance of ownership and the mechanisms

and mores that support those opportunities is useful but more challenges abound.

Tocqueville himself hinted at this unresolved puzzle: "Not only do they not naturally have

the taste to occupy themselves with [public affairs], but often they lack time to do it.

Private life is so active in democratic times, so agitated, so filled with desires and work, that

hardly any energy or leisure remains to each man for political life."[67] In light of the

importance of ownership to the vitality of individual liberty and to the continued health of

the self-governing political community though, how can citizens be drawn out of

themselves; or even more fundamentally, can they be? Tocqueville offered some

encouragement with yet another question when writing about the doctrine of self-interest

rightly understood—the American practice of "combining [one's] own well-being with that

of [one's] fellow citizens." He saw in Americans a willingness to" sacrifice a part of [one's]

particular interests to save the rest." But even knowing of Americans' disposition to align

their self-interest with the rest, "it remains to know how each man will understand his

individual interest."[68]

What sort of appeals would be most effective? Tocqueville speculated, "One is

occupied with the general interest at first by necessity and then by choice; what was

calculation becomes instinct, and by dint of working for the good of one's fellow citizens,

one finally picks up the habit and taste of serving them."[69] Hypothetically, this is sound; but

what about practically speaking? The political, social, and geographic landscapes have

evolved considerably since Tocqueville visited America. For example, he wrote about the

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[67] Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.4.iii, p. 643
[68] Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.2.viii, p. p 501-503
[69] Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.2.iv, p. 488

attachment felt by New Englanders to their towns, "not so much because [they were] born there as because [they] see in that township a free and strong corporation that [they are] a part of and that is worth [their] trouble to seek to direct."[70] Do America's local governments still have that same draw? What else might serve as a "home of lively affections"? Better still, what innovative mechanisms or mores could cultivate an outward-facing dignified citizen? And some basic questions from Ober remain as well: Besides refraining from infantilizing or humiliating fellow citizens, how ought we to treat each other? What should the nature of our interactions be—and why? What would that look like, practically speaking?

There is reason to maintain a degree of hopefulness that Americans can be destined for a fate other than the herd-like existence about which Tocqueville warned. Tocqueville even reminded his audience, "Let it not be said that it is too late to attempt it; nations do not grow old in the same manner as men. Each generation born within them is like a new people that comes to offer itself to the hand of the legislator."[71] The question of America's fate is yet unanswered and is asked again to every generation; and at the same time, the promise of the Declaration endures, ever deserving of continued fulfillment by a worthy people. With that, we turn our attention to a third model of civic dignity rooted in the political thought and example of Jane Addams.

IV. CULTIVATING CIVIC DIGNITY

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[70]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 63-64
[71]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 89-90

Underpinning civic dignity is the idea that *how*, or the manner in which, one engages

others *matters*. On one end of the spectrum, one could degrade through humiliation or

infantilization; or one could be neutral or indifferent; or on the other end of the spectrum,

one could dignify others by recognizing them as individuals, animated by a sense of

fellowship.[72] Treatment that increases or defends civic dignity may take many forms.

Shining examples can be found in small gestures, like the student at the University of

Southern California who performed two piano recitals for inmates at an Arizona prison.

The student, Evan Pensis, reflected afterward of "humanizing" those who are in an

otherwise stagnating environment, to share with them the experience of hearing classical

music, to "connect" to something "universal" together.[73] In this spirit, I pivot now to the

political thought and example of Jane Addams, a woman whose life is rich intellectually and

practically with a commitment to increasing civic dignity among America's immigrants,

women, and otherwise less fortunate populations.[74]

A. **Third Model of Civic Dignity Through the Political Thought and Example of Jane Addams**

Jane Addams, famous for co-founding Hull-House and championing the Settlement

House movement, explored the idea of settlements firsthand during an 1888 trip to London

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[72]   Julia Poe, "Thorton Student Performs for Prisoners," October 5, 2015.
http://dailytrojan.com/2015/10/05/thornton-student-performs-for-prisoners/ (accessed
February 22, 2016)
[73]   One may even consider the conditions in which prisoners exist not just stagnating but
dehumanizing. This is not to say that just punishment is dehumanizing; the opposite could be
argued. But aspects of the prison industrial complex in America seems more oriented to profits
than public service.
[74]   In the next chapter, I look at present day political participation innovations from the
developing world that may increase civic dignity.

during which she visited Toynbee Hall. Founded three years prior in 1885, Toynbee Hall

was established in an impoverished section of London by educated young men. "In place of

old-fashioned modes of relief to the poor," Toynbee Hall was novel in that, "it provided

mutual engagement across class lines and a broad education for working men and

women."[75] Its purpose was at least two-fold: to provide an outlet for the young men to

contribute to society, and for the impoverished and overlooked to have access to education

typically limited to the privileged.

While her visit to Toynbee Hall may have introduced her to a solution, she became

painfully aware of the problem during an earlier trip abroad. Recounted in her

autobiographical work *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Addams vividly recalled an experience

from her 1883 trip to London. Produce "beyond safe keeping" was auctioned off every

Saturday night in London's "[wretched]" East End to people desperate enough to eat

uncooked, rotting food. Addams watched one such auction, attended by "two huge masses

of ill-clad people clamoring […] and clutching forward for food which was already unfit to

eat." She observed one man who, after successfully bidding on a cabbage, broke away from

the group to "[sit] down on the curb, [tear] it with his teeth, and hastily [devour] it,

unwashed and uncooked as it was." The experience overwhelmed her. What was she to

do; what could she do? This scene of "hideous human need and suffering" stayed with

Addams for the rest of her trip, and indeed for the rest of her life. She writes, "I have never

since been able to see a number of hands held upward, even when they are moving

rhythmically in a callisthenic exercise, or when they belong to a class of chubby children

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[75]   Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 74. See also Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House,* (New York: Signet Classic, 1961), 74

who wave them in eager response to a teacher's query, without a certain revival of this memory, [...] of the despair and resentment which seized me then."[76]

Throughout the major cities she visited, charitable efforts seemed inadequate to the challenges, and more to the point, were based on one-way interactions (and thus one-sided benefits), rather than fellowship. State intervention would have been no different. Weighing on Addams even more though was her own impotence in "the gradual, often invisible crushing of the human body."[77] Had she, like other educated young women of her day, pursued higher learning so that she could simply choose from among a life of "mission work, marriage, or society"? To learn about the world and then be denied the opportunity to be in the world seemed contradictory to what education ought to be. Mistaken, in Addams' view, was the practice of learning about the human experience only to opt out of participating in it.[78] The problem as she saw it, in the most general sense, was two-fold: there was human suffering within the political community, and there was also a lack of outlets or mechanisms to ameliorate the condition through fellowship.

Her yearning for an outlet found itself a home in Hull-House, which she and her close friend Ellen Gates Starr opened in 1889 in Chicago's 19th Ward. Addams reflected, "I gradually became convinced that it would be a good thing to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who had been given over too exclusively to study might restore a balance of activity along

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[76]   Addams, Twenty Years, p. 61-62. See also Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 65-68

[77]   Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 75

[78]   Addams remarked further in *Twenty Years*: "I gradually reached a conviction that the first generation of college women had taken their learning too quickly, had departed too suddenly from the active, emotional life led by their grandmothers…" (64).   See pages 47-59, 64-65, 69-70. See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 76-77

traditional lines and learn of life from life itself; where they might try out some of the

things they had been taught."[79] And this is precisely what Addams and Starr did. Chicago's

19th Ward was filled with immigrant families living in overcrowded homes and tenements,

employed in deplorable conditions, in a city ruled by corrupt politicians.[80] Hull-House sat

squarely in the middle of it as a place of fellowship among the classes, dedicated to

socializing democracy for the mutual benefit of those involved and the broader political

community.

The political thought and example of Jane Addams serves as a historical case study

of sorts to explore the importance of, and how to increase, civic dignity in our political

community. Ober asserts this kind of approach can "help us better explain the conditions

that sustain relatively choice-worthy political regimes—for example, the mechanisms that

preserve regimes in which dignity is reliably secured for an extensive population."[81] More

to the point, Hull-House makes a rich case study since Addams was deliberate in her

actions; through her writings one discovers her practical efforts can be understood in light

of higher philosophical arguments. It should be noted that the revitalization of Jane

Addams' legacy is a credit to the scholarship of Jean Bethke Elshtain, whose *Jane Addams*

and the Dream of American Democracy and the complementary *The Jane Addams Reader* are

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[79]   Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 72

[80]   For a longer description of Chicago's 19th Ward in Addams' own words, see Jane Addams, "The Objective Value of Social Settlements," in *The Jane Addams Reader,* ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York: Basic Books, 2002)*.* For example: "The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, factory legislation unenforced, the street-lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller street, and the stables defy all laws of sanitation."

[81]   Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 829. He continues: "History is not a constraint on theory; it puts flesh on the bones of both normative and positive political theory."

indispensable to this project.[82] Elshtain rebuts earlier literature misrepresenting Addams as a cultural hegemon, socialist, and as "anti-intellectual."[83] The charges of socialism and cultural hegemony fall apart under the weight of evidence to the contrary from Addams' writings and actions. The same can be said for the anti-intellectual charge, but Elshtain addresses this one directly. Addams' writings demonstrate a deep dedication to grappling with timeless questions—of the human condition and human flourishing, one's purpose in life, the role of the political community, and the meaning of citizenship. And these sorts of questions lead to another question still more challenging: "What use, she reasoned, are grand ideas if they can never be put into practice in some way?" In this light, Elshtain writes, "[Addams'] primary concern was closing the gap between thought and deed, and her civic identity sprang from this concern."[84]

The political thought and example of Addams will likely remind readers of recent literature being published under the umbrellas of civic humanism and social capital. Addams is set apart from these schools of thought by the simple fact that she led a life of action *and* thought. Still, many of her areas of focus have been the subject of contemporary empirical analysis. Examples include the work of Charles Murray, James Q. Wilson, and Robert Putnam, among others. These scholars use sociological lenses to view challenges facing individuals in our political community, blending quantitative data with qualitative observations. Though, like Addams, they do not discuss "civic dignity" explicitly, their arguments illuminate questions about the significance of this project and counterfactual

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[82]   Jane Addams, *The Jane Addams Reader*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York: Basic Books, 2002)*.*
[83]   Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 18-22
[84]   Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 18

concerns: why does civic dignity matter, and why should we as a political community

attempt to increase civic dignity? What is the connection between civic dignity and

political efficacy? How would we measure civic dignity? What outlets or mechanisms may

be useful in shifting the way citizens view their relationship to the government to a more

engaged posture? For example, Charles Murray examines the effectiveness of the welfare

state, arguing that many programs intended to reduce or eliminate poverty have the

unfortunate effect of increasing poverty, thus harming the very people the programs intend

to help.[85] Addams and Hull-House make a great historical case study not only because

Addams bequeathed to us a wealth of writings related to questions of contemporary (and

perennial) concern, but also because she experimented with how to address those

questions practically.

The exploration of Addams' political thought and example serves to illuminate three

main points. First, civic dignity is explored in more contextualized terms. While Addams

did not use the term "civic dignity," her idea of "fellowship" is very closely related.

Fellowship is frequently referenced in her writings and cited in her actions; indeed,

fellowship can be viewed as the animating principle behind Hull-House. Second, with civic

dignity roughly translated from theory to practice, the mission of Hull-House— "to

socialize democracy"—helps delve into the relationship between civic dignity and political

participation mechanisms. Addams' idea of "socializing democracy" is a more developed

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[85]   Charles Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Murray argued that by focusing on short-term incentives and rewards, the prospects for long-term lasting escapes from poverty are hampered. In light of showing the "harms" of welfare policy, his book encouraged people to think about other solutions and ways to address poverty. I also have in mind Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone* (2000), which was mentioned earlier, in addition to his *Our Kids* (2015).

version of Tocqueville's "schools" of freedom.[86] Hull-House's tradition of social clubs and

educational activities enables readers to see civic dignity in action. Third, increasing civic

dignity is discussed in light of civic participation outlets facilitated at Hull-House. Addams'

"civic housekeeping" and "garbage wars" show how accessible and meaningful

opportunities to participate can foster a spirit of ownership, thus strengthening civic

dignity.

1. Fellowship: contextualizing civic dignity

Ober describes civic dignity as citizens having equal high standing in front of each

other and the law, a condition that is marked by nonhumiliation and noninfantilization. But

what does civic dignity look like when translated from theoretical terms to everyday

practice? Addams' conception of fellowship may not map seamlessly onto civic dignity, but

it helps illustrate how civic dignity looks, sounds, and feels like in everyday practice.

Fellowship is the animating principle behind Hull-House, and is the fact that

distinguishes Hull-House (and the Settlement House movement) from private charity and

government welfare.[87] This point is reflected in several pieces of Addams' writings. In

"The Subtle Problems of Charity," Addams suggested that "our modern experience" with

charity is at odds with what our liberal democracy purports to be, namely, dedicated to the

promise of liberty and equality. Families that find themselves on the receiving end of

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[86]   Addams' "socializing democracy" is more developed than Tocqueville's "schools" of
freedom is that Addams idea was shaped by her many years of practice, by doing the work of
drawing people out of themselves, connecting them with the community beyond the walls of their
home and family.
[87]   "Charity," moving forward, refers to both private charity and government welfare (in the
sense that both are a kind of charitable activity).

charity are there because they are "industrially ailing." The charity worker aims at restoring the family's "industrial health," and so focuses on "industrial virtues." Not only is this interaction one-sided, with one party giving and the other receiving, but it is ironically divorced from real humanity for the charity worker and the would-be beneficiary. Charity's chief objective is to remedy the economic problem, obscuring the other virtues of the would-be beneficiary, reducing him to an industrial animal. This is even more pronounced in instances where the charity worker has to "investigate" and explain the conditions by which the aid will be distributed. Addams continues by discussing the ways in which a charity worker, however well-intentioned by "the natural promptings of the heart," is "continually surprised" that the advice s/he offers is disconnected from the actual conditions and needs among the poor. This is especially true when the problems are not economic in nature or differ from "the conventions which have regulated [the life of the charity worker]." The would-be beneficiary is often infantilized, treated like "a child of defective will." Addams mused that in education we meet the child where s/he is, "but in our charitable efforts, we think much more of what a man ought to be than of what he is or of what he may become."[88] How could such an approach square with our democratic principles?

She found fault with the model of charity where solutions and conditions, too narrowly economic, were imposed by external forces. In addition to the inadequacy of charity, Addams was concerned with the one-sided nature of the interactions. Recipients were denied opportunity for ownership over their affairs; they were simply to take what

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[88]   Jane Addams, "The Subtle Problem of Charity," in *The Jane Addams Reader*, p. 62-75. See also "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" in *The Jane Addams Reader*, p. 14-17.

was given to them, a need calculated and dispersed without their input. Charity was administered to the individuals as if the individuals were passive receptacles, somehow damaged, needing to be "fixed" by someone "morally superior."[89]

Addams was not naïve; she understood well that some people in America were in an economic position to be charitable while others were poor. Summarizing Addams' position, Elshtain writes, "It was one thing to acknowledge an empirical reality that separated people; it was another to use a collective category to classify hundreds of thousands of people, and in so doing, to obliterate their distinctiveness. Americans should think of one another as neighbors and fellow citizens who have had vastly different experiences."[90] Individuals are more than just their economic advantage or desperation, and Addams' notion of fellowship urged taking a more comprehensive view of individuals.[91]

In Addams' time, working men may have been organized according to their industry, but there was little to no social organization. In spite of living in crowded tenements, the only place of leisured congregation was at the saloon.[92] This was problematic since after some time their "desire for higher social pleasure" would be "extinct." As a result, "they have no share in the traditions and social energy which make for progress." "Refined"

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[89]   Moreover, Addams thought "the most serious effect upon the individual comes when dependence upon the charitable society is substituted for the natural outgoing of human love and sympathy, which, happily, we all possess to some degree." Addams, "The Subtle Problem of Charity," in *The Jane Addams Reader*, p. 66

[90]   Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 124

[91]   See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 112: "Being good to people in a paternalistic way is not the same as trying to understand them." This is in line with Ober's argument for civic dignity, in addition to echoing the sentiment expressed by Tocqueville. In the next chapter, William Easterly's *Tyranny of Experts* (2013) is cited as making a similar argument.

[92]   Saloons outnumbered churches in Chicago's 19th Ward, 255 saloons to 7 churches (9 if the two missions are included). See Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 31-32.

individuals who could socialize and share higher pleasures with their fellow citizens

choose not to, opting instead to stay in the "nice" part of the city. "Personally," Addams

wrote, "I believe the men who lose the most are those who thus stay away."[93] Instead of

reinforcing the dividing lines, Addams advocated a reciprocal relationship among the

classes.

Her impetus for founding Hull-House in the midst of Chicago's 19th Ward was to

"settle" where the needs could be felt acutely, determined clearly, and where real

reciprocity could be viable.

Hull-House was animated by the cultivation of fellowship, and it was dedicated to

socializing democracy. Elshtain clarifies, "Addams doesn't have socialism in mind when

she speaks of socializing democracy […]; rather, she is referring to a process that breaks

down artificial barriers between people and makes it possible for human beings to realize

their full sociality." This is critical to the promise of liberty and equality, and thus the

health of a self-governing political community by extension.[94] The explicit emphasis on the

political community links Addams' notion of fellowship to Ober's civic dignity. The

nonhumiliation, noninfantilization, and equal high standing that comprise civic dignity are

shared by individuals bound together within their political community. For Addams, the

dignity of individuals was paramount. Hull-House visitors were received as equals, had

access to all the facilities and activities, and were reminded by Addams that they were all

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[93]   Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *The Jane Addams Reader,* p. 14, 16. See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 94-95
[94]   Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 95. This is another point of overlap between Addams' idea of fellowship and Ober's civic dignity. In *Democracy and Knowledge*, Ober argues that the collective knowledge of the citizenry is the greatest strength of a democracy, and he explores the ways in which it can be developed and harnessed.

collectively "a part of it."[95]   The fellowship that Addams sought required that Americans see

themselves together as citizens, who treat each other accordingly despite their individual

differences.

2. **Fellowship and education as a means to socializing democracy and cultivating civic dignity**

When discussing fellowship among the classes, one may more easily imagine how

those less fortunate, less educated, and with fewer resources would more immediately

benefit from the practice. Is reciprocity possible when parity is severely lacking? Addams

thought so. The less fortunate by definition simply have more unmet needs that could be

fulfilled. Some of those needs are very simple. For example, in "The Objective Value of a

Social Settlement," Addams wrote that "one function of the Settlement to its neighborhood

somewhat resembles that of the big brother whose mere presence on the playground

protects the little one from bullies."[96] While the benefits enjoyed by the "little one" may be

more obvious or tangible, the "big brothers" among us stand to benefit, too. In several of

her writings, Addams expressed concern about educated young people. She spoke about

the "uselessness" that young people too often feel; "how eagerly they long to give tangible

expression to the democratic ideal," and yet they "have no recognized outlet for the active

faculties."[97] Having an accessible and welcoming space dedicated to fellowship enabled

people to come together formally and informally for the sort of higher social pleasure and

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[95]   For a few anecdotal examples, see Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 9-13, 125.
[96]   Addams, "The Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 43
[97]   Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 17, 21

civic engagement that Addams argued was so important for individual flourishing and for the health of our political community.

Indeed, "Hull-House's objective value lay in its capacity to help create strong free (or freer) citizens through a variety of means, methods, and media."[98] Education was one of the means heavily emphasized at Hull-House and within the Settlement House Movement generally. Education has long been viewed as a way to overcome "artificial barriers" separating people, and to empower individuals to realize their full potential.[99] Yet, teaching at a settlement differs pedagogically from approaches used in more formal settings with traditional students. The aim of education in the settlement was to "not confine learning to those who already want it, or to those who, by making an effort, can gain it," but to take it to those who have not had the benefit of a professional teacher or "cultivated friend" since childhood. To do this, the learning "has to be diffused in a social atmosphere."[100] At Hull-House, this diffusion took place through social clubs organized by a variety of interests, university extension classes, public lectures, and the like.

Addams' view of education—its value, who should enjoy it, and how it should be made available—echoes the component pieces of civic dignity. Under her direction, Hull-House offered many programs and resources to the neighborhood, but this was done without treating the participants as children (unless of course they were children!), and without humiliating them for coming from challenging circumstances. In this sense, civic

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[98] Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 100. See also Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 19: "The social and educational activities of a Settlement are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the existence of the settlement itself."

[99] Elshtain, Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy, p. 95

[100] Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 18

dignity in practice is (at least) recognizing someone as an individual and meeting that person where s/he is without condescending. Where civic dignity (alternatively, fellowship) in action is concerned, this implies that actions taken are not taken by one individual "for" another individual, but rather "with" the individual. If one were to do *for* another, as opposed to *with,* what share in ownership could the latter be expected to enjoy? The answer is "very little," if any. And what consequences does this distinction have for the self-governing political community? Having a sense of ownership is intrinsically linked to liberty and equality in theory and in practice. If an individual lacks ownership over his/her own affairs, that person is less free and (or) equal. If an individual lacks ownership over the affairs of the political community, then that person is not part of the collective self-governing. This line of reasoning does not mean that one cannot or should not do an action *for* someone else to benefit that person. Rather the point is that the action taken *and* the way in which it is done (*i.e., for* versus *with*) together determine how beneficial an action may be. More to the point, acting in such a way so that an individual can share in the sense of ownership may serve to dignify that individual as much as the action itself.[101]

In circumstances where resources are limited and efficiency is worshiped, the temptation to do *for* someone may be stronger than the idea to do *with* someone. One need only consider how government welfare and most private charity operate to prove the point: would-be beneficiaries are precluded from participating, save completing paperwork and adhering to the conditions. However, at Hull-House there were a multitude of opportunities to do *with,* to partake in the reciprocity of fellowship. Hull-House boasted

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[101]   In the next chapter, examples from a governance reform initiative in the Philippines are discussed at length.

numerous social clubs. In reading through accounts of life at Hull-House, there seems to

have been a club for every interest, immigrant group, age, and gender. There was the Hull-

House Men's Club, Women's Club, Boys Club, and Girls Club. There was a club for reading

Shakespeare and another for Plato; there were clubs for dancing, for theatrical productions,

for debating, and general socializing. There was one called the Working People's Social

Science Club, organized by an English workingman. Addams referred to the "zest for

discussion" in this club as "unceasing."[102] "The value of these clubs," Addams said, "lies

almost entirely in their success in arousing the higher imagination." The many anecdotes

recalled by Addams suggest that the members of the various clubs did benefit in the way

that she had hoped. And if the stories she recalled are not enough to indicate success, the

volume of weekly visitors ought to: over 1000 individuals per week visited Hull-House for

one gathering or another! [103]

These clubs provided an opportunity for social interaction through clean recreation,

an alternative to the saloon, the dance halls, etc. Fellowship, in line with Addams' view of

education, should not be limited to those who already have it or who have the means and

desire to seek it; it should also be brought to people who have not had occasion to enjoy it.

To that end, a "Social Extension Committee" organized one party a month for "people in the

neighborhood who for any reason seem forlorn and without much social pleasure."

Addams recalled that at one such party the committee, whose membership was mostly

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[102]   See Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 43
[103]   Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 239-256, 267-268, 299; Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 38-43; Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 26. Of the Shakespeare reading group, which ran for 16 years, Addams recalled one member saying "her mind was peopled with Shakespeare characters during her long hours of sewing in a shop, [and] that she couldn't remember what she thought about before she joined the club, and concluded that she hadn't thought about anything at all" (*Twenty Years,* p. 299).

Irish-American women, invited only Italian women. Addams wrote of the "gulf" between

the distinct groups at the start of the party, but that at the end of the party, she knew it was

successful by the comment made by one of the departing guests: "'Do you know I am

ashamed of the way I have always talked about [them]. They are quite like other people

[…] I have been nagging my husband to move off of M Street because they are moving in,

but I am going to try staying awhile and see if I can make a real acquaintance with some of

them.'"[104] In a large political community dedicated to liberty and equality, there will

always be a "them," those with whom one does not easily identify or understand. Maybe a

self-governing political community does not necessarily need its citizens to have the ability

to see through the barriers that separate one's self from the "them." But the citizens would

be stronger and freer, and the political community healthier if they did have the ability, or

at least the willingness.[105]

Addams wrote of the need "to feed the mind of the worker, to lift it above the

monotony of his task, and to connect it with the larger world outside of his immediate

surroundings." This recalls a question posed earlier: connecting the worker with the larger

world may be desirable, even noble, but does his liberty depend on it, and is it necessary

for the political community? The answer, I contend, is yes: expanding and nourishing the

[104]   Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 243, 248-249
[105]   See Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 249-250: Speaking of one committee member who had reconsidered her view of "them" as a result of attending the mixed party: "At that moment the speaker had passed from the region of the uncultivated person into the possibilities of the cultivated person. The former is bounded by a narrow outlook on life, unable to overcome differences of dress and habit, and his interests are slowly contracting within a circumscribed area; while the latter constantly tends to be more a citizen of the world because of his growing understanding of all kinds of people with their varying experiences. We send our young people to Europe that they may lose their provincialism and be able to judge their fellows by a more universal test, as we send them to college that they may attain the cultural background and a larger outlook; all of these it is possible to acquire in other ways, as this member of the woman's club had discovered for herself."

mind of the worker (or whoever) is vital to fulfilling the promise of liberty and for

maintaining the health of collective self-government. Reason is the faculty that

distinguishes man from other animals. To shut out or exclude an individual from the

opportunity to develop his/her reason is to deny an individual's full humanity.[106]

In addition to the many social clubs, Hull-House was the meeting place for a wide

offering of courses and lectures. The College Extension movement was a natural partner

for the settlement movement, and Hull-House benefited from its proximity to the

University of Chicago and the willingness of faculty members to offer courses at Hull-

House. There were public lectures given, concerts performed, and art exhibits, too.

Addams admitted that not all classes and lectures were successful—lecturers who were

animated by the desire to have the "latest word" on a subject or use the "dull terminology

of the classroom" did so at the expense of their audience's attention. But there were more

successes than failures. John Dewey's Hull-House lecture series on "social psychology" was

one such success, with attendance "consisting largely of people from the immediate

neighborhood." Hull-House also boasted weekly economics lectures, literature and math

classes, an array of art classes, athletic classes held in the Hull-House gymnasium, and

courses geared toward domestic training and trade teaching. There was also "a good deal

of tutoring […] among the students themselves in the rooms of Hull-House." Participants

were charged fifty cents per course, which covered incidental expenses with enough funds

leftover "to import distinguished lecturers." The spontaneous co-tutoring and small tuition

fee illustrate further how participants were not charity cases. Paying for their courses

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[106]   Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 92. See Elshtain quoting
Addams' *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House*: "It was the function of the settlements to bring
into the circle of knowledge and fuller life, men and women who might otherwise be left outside."

allowed them a sense of ownership and responsibility in their own learning. As a result of

how accessible the opportunities at Hull-House were, participants varied in their abilities.

Of the art classes, Addams remarked one would find "classes filled not only by young

people possessing facility and sometimes talent, but also older people to whom the studio

affords the one opportunity of escape from dreariness." Importantly, all were welcome.[107]

3. Increasing civic dignity through meaningful and accessible participation

The right to vote is championed as the definitive indication that one has a legitimate

place at the political table. Voting freely in fair elections is indispensable to self-

government; indeed, when coupled with the peaceful transition of power, it is the hallmark

of democracy. While voting may be the minimum, is it also the maximum? Does having the

franchise immediately and unequivocally constitute a free citizen, and is voting sufficient to

ensure the (civic) health of a self-governing political community? Recalling the earlier

discussions of Tocqueville and Fiorina, the answer seems to be "no." A democratic

experience limited to voting for "new masters," or to use softer language, choosing from

among pre-selected options filtered by party elites, seems unworthy of a full-throated

declaration of individual liberty and self-government.[108] This is particularly true if the

elections and governing systems are corrupt, as they were at the time of Addams' writing.

Addams railed against the practice of "boodling," a cycle of corruption where a city council

member manipulated procurements and bids so that favored companies were awarded the

city contract, with those companies then giving employment to constituents within the city

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[107]   Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 258-261, 295-299; Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 92; Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 36-37
[108]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II.4.vi, p. 664

council member's ward. The constituents, eager for work and routinely indoctrinated by

the local demagogue at one of the many saloons, happily voted for the city council

member's reelection without giving the matter a second thought.[109]

Furthermore, voting as a political participation mechanism may be accessible—

today, no citizen of voting age is excluded based on gender or race,[110] and the transaction

costs are low relative to other mechanisms or outlets. But voting is a blunt instrument; it

lacks substance.[111] It does not solicit the priorities, ideas, or concerns of the voter. It does

not allow the voter to engage the issues that are relevant to the voter's life in a meaningful

or substantive way. If having a sense of ownership is vital to increasing civic dignity, voting

alone is inadequate.

There is yet another problem. Having the right to vote does not preclude

transgressions against one's civic dignity. Addams echoed this sentiment: "It is not difficult

to see that although America is pledged to the democratic ideal, the view of democracy has

been partial." While Blacks were given the right to vote, she continued, "we are quite

unmoved by the fact that he lives among us in a practical social ostracism. We hasten to

give the franchise to the immigrant from a sense of justice, […] while we dub him with

epithets deriding his past life or present occupation, and feel no duty to invite him to our

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[109]   Jane Addams, "Why the Ward Boss Rules," in *The Jane Addams Reader,* p. 118-124. See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy*, p. 168, 181, 183-186; Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *The Jane Addams Reader,* p. 15
[110]   Though some states do exclude felons from voting, a point that is only offered to clarify, not to debate.
[111]   See Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (1995)

houses."[112] One can have the right to vote and still be infantilized or humiliated by fellow citizens and those with power.[113]

Voting is the necessary minimum but is also insufficient. What sort of mechanisms or outlets could connect citizens to issues of their everyday concern; what could increase civic dignity? Theoretically, political participation mechanisms or outlets that are accessible (low transaction costs) and are meaningful and relevant to the individual's life (substantive) could imbue the individual with a stronger sense of ownership. Through this sense of ownership individuals are better positioned to exercise their liberty and equality, and are less vulnerable to the degrading effects of infantilization or humiliation. Practically speaking, what would these outlets or mechanisms look like? And even if they could be conceived, could they be implemented—and still more daunting, would the people use them?

Addams acknowledged the "[impossibility of establishing] a higher political life than the people themselves crave." But she also recognized that "the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain [...] until it is secured for all of us."[114] If taken as true, one could view those two statements as contradictory or hopeless. Addams took a different view. She began experimenting with how to instill democratic "cravings" within the people. Essentially, she was trying to shift the way individuals viewed their role in the political community and their relationship to others in the political community. She knew that cultivating strong citizens would have to extend beyond having an education and

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[112]   Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 15
[113]   To cite a current example, consider the condescension with which Trump supporters were treated by large segments of the media and public during the primary and general elections in 2016.
[114]   Addams, "Subjective Necessity," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 17

awareness of how the government functioned. Part of the strength would have to derive from fellowship, which was discussed in the previous section. Fostering fellowship would address the shift in how individuals viewed their relationship to others in the political community. And part of the strength would have to derive from connecting individuals to political participation opportunities so that they could experience the work of self-government. Facilitating political participation innovations and/or helping to make existing outlets more accessible or meaningful would address the shift in how individuals viewed their relationship with the self-governing political community.

The Hull-House social clubs were discussed earlier for their role in fostering fellowship, but some are worth noting again for their critical role in making political participation more accessible and meaningful. Because the clubs were directed by Hull-House residents and participants, the club activities were meaningful and relevant to the participants' lives. The Hull-House Columbian Guards, the Working People's Social Science Club (mentioned earlier), and the Nineteenth Ward Improvement Association were among the social clubs whose activities extended explicitly into the civic and political realms. The Improvement Association "was the first body of citizens able to make a real impression upon the local paving situation." This may not sound like an exciting undertaking, but the "dilapidated" streets were a serious safety and sanitary concern. Where before they were disparate individuals privately lamenting the problem, they united around a common aim and collectively exerted pressure on the appropriate official.[115]

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[115]   Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 35, 43; Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 225-226.

Addams appreciated that most people "require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated, and the means of attaining them put at their disposal."[116] Regarding the latter, Hull-House worked to make existing political outlets more accessible. Hull-House served as an unofficial "information bureau" in the neighborhood, in addition to doing "a good deal of legal work." Official government offices equipped and resourced to handle this sort of work were located downtown, which seemed "far away and inaccessible" to those who were most in need of the services. Addams remarked, "there should be [a Bureau of Justice] office in every ward."[117] In fact, a lot of what Addams and Hull-House did was bringing the government to the neighborhood by demystifying government bureaucratic processes and serving as a liaison or advocate.

As much as she brought the government to the people, she also facilitated bringing the people to the government. The sense of ownership that is vital to civic dignity crosses over the distinction between one's personal and civic affairs. Or alternatively, perhaps it is the compartmentalization between what is a personal concern and what is a civic concern that is flawed. Addams seized upon the distinction and remade it through her idea of "civic housekeeping." Addams made her appeal most explicitly to mothers and women. Mothers in particular labored to keep their houses clean so that their children would have a healthy home. When these same mothers were asked about conditions in the street, in the water, in the food supply, they thought those issues existed outside of their concern. Addams reasoned that those areas too ought to be of concern to the mothers—to everyone, truly,

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[116]   Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 45. Addams continued, "Hull House makes a constant effort to secure these means for its neighbors, but to call that effort philanthropy is to use the word unfairly and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship."
[117]   Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 43. See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 99-100

but Addams saw an opportunity to appeal to the mothers' personal self-interest and then

enlarge it so that it connected to their civic interests. She urged the mothers to adopt a

more expansive view of their household concerns, to adopt the perspective of "civic

housekeeping." The "Garbage Wars" episode is an oft-cited example of "civic

housekeeping" at work. "The system of garbage collecting was inadequate throughout the

city but it became the greatest menace in a Ward such as ours." Members of the Hull-House

Woman's Club collaborated with Hull-House residents to investigate and report garbage

collection violations. Within the span of two months, Hull-House reported 1,037 violations

of the law to the health department. There are two facts more remarkable than the volume

of violations recorded and reported by this band of citizens: One, these women conducted

their investigations in "ill-kept alleys" *after* having "finished a long day's work"; and two,

the Irish-American women who volunteered did not even live on the streets most

impacted. Their participation in this initiative, Addams said, "required both civic

enterprise and moral conviction."[118] Importantly, their civic enterprise helped create a

participation outlet where there was none before.

Jane Addams and Hull-House provide tremendous insight into what civic dignity

looks like theoretically and in practice, in addition to illustrating how civic dignity can be

bolstered. Her political example was philosophically informed, underpinned by civic and

moral motivation, and anecdotally rich. What we learn from Addams' focus on the

individual is that the individual is worthy of our fellowship and needs an outlet through

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[118]   Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 77-78, 90; Addams, *Twenty Years*, p. 200-203. "Civic housekeeping" was not limited to mothers, but was tied more generally to women, whose sphere at the time was often considered the home.

which a sense of ownership can be enjoyed.   Addams warned, "If we would hold to our political democracy, some pains must be taken to keep on common ground in our human experiences […]. And if we discover that men of low ideals and corrupt practice are forming popular political standards simply because such men stand by and for and with the people, then nothing remains but to obtain a like sense of identification before we can hope to modify ethical standards."[119] This is a lesson we ought to take seriously today in light of our political climate and always.   In addition to fellowship, participatory institutions must be designed so that they are accessible to the people purported to use them.

 And so, we pivot to look at political participation mechanisms and systems that seek to amplify the meaning or substance of individual participation, while reducing the transaction costs associated with it. These next examples are drawn from the developing world, with particular attention paid to governance reform efforts in the Philippines. These governments, more so than America, face difficult "supply side" challenges of poor quality of public goods, inefficiency in delivery of public services, and corruption. As a result, their innovations are more sweeping and incidentally address many demand side challenges, from which we can learn a great deal. The hope, referencing back to Ober's justification, is that dignified citizens defend democratic institutions, while at the same time democratic institutions dignify citizens.

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[119]   Addams, "Why the Ward Boss Rules," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 124

CHAPTER THREE: INSTITUTIONALIZING CIVIC DIGNITY
THROUGH A PERFORMANCE GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

I. INTRODUCTION

A Texas-based grassroots reform group began a 2016 report with, "It has often been said that those who are closest to the problem are closest to its solution." The report continued, "That is no less true for those who are in prison."[120] Unfortunately for the Responsible Prison Project, many in power do not share their inclination to harness the collective knowledge and efforts of those closest to the challenge.

Jane Addams, however, was one champion who understood that "[giving] tangible expression to the democratic ideal" depends on individuals having a "recognized outlet for their active faculties."[121] Her insistence that individuals engage in "civic housekeeping" was motivated by her belief that those opportunities were the anchors not only for individual liberty but also good government. In political economy terms, we can say that the issue of individual liberty is a demand-side issue. Addams' political thought and example demonstrate how civic dignity is critical to an individual's liberty and equal treatment. But what impact does the deepening of democracy have on the supply-side of the equation; can the case for increasing civic dignity be made in terms of improving governance?

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[120]   Aaron Flaherty, David Graham, Michael Smith, William D Jones, and Vondre Cash. "Reshaping the Texas Prison System for Greater Public Safety." *The Marshall Project.* October 21, 2016. https://www.themarshallproject.org/documents/3149075-Responsible-Prison-Project#.avQ1YDwFJ (accessed November 1, 2016).
[121]   Jane Addams, "Subjective Necessity," *The Jane Addams Reader.* Edited by Jean Bethke Elshtain. New York: Basic Books, 2002, p. 17, 21

The authors of the Responsible Prison Project report incidentally provide an answer to that question: "Prisoners see things that need to be changed within the prison system, things that people in society and upper-level prison administrators do not. The five writers of this proposal are all first-time offenders, with a combined prison experience of 95 years, and have contemplated the intricacies of prison."[122] Not only is the endeavor beneficial to the individual authors in terms of engaging issues that impact their lives in a meaningful way, but their efforts benefit the political community at large insofar as their observations and suggestions could move us closer to fulfilling the prison system's strategic objectives, namely retribution and rehabilitation.

The example of the prisoner-led prison reform stands out because it is not the standard approach to policy development. They are not experts a conventional sense. They lack formal training and professional certifications, and if not for an organization like The Marshall Project, they would likely lack a platform through which their ideas could be widely shared. Their approach sits in sharp distinction to the administrative state in America. The advent of the administrative state was marked by a pivot toward rule by technocrats housed protectively in an increasingly centralized and powerful federal government. In his 1886 essay, "The Study of Administration," Woodrow Wilson argued for establishing an administrative bureaucracy beyond the reach of politics.[123] Trained civil servants, more so than politicians and certainly superior to the common man, were

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[122]   Flaherty *et al*, "Reshaping the Texas Prison System"
[123]   Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration," *Teaching American History.* November 1, 1886. http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-study-of-administration/ (accessed November 1, 2016).

best equipped to staff administrative agencies.[124] Civil servants with broad grants of

power, educated in the "science of administration," would determine and subsequently act

in the public's best interest, according to Wilson. Not only does this approach eclipse the

role of the citizen, but it also undermines government accountability.

The debate over the value of experts versus collective local knowledge and the ideal

balance of power between the two continues today. And yet in practice, the rule of the

elites and experts seems to progress largely unchallenged, which is what makes shining a

light on counter-examples a worthy undertaking. To that end, there are powerful examples

at home and abroad from which we can draw evidence to argue for a community-driven

approach (and against the "tyranny of experts") where local knowledge is combined with

expert insights. This chapter explores one such case involving the urban poor in Mandaue

City, the Philippines. As disenfranchised members of the political community, the urban

poor were too easily and too often written off as inconveniences or as charity cases. An

ambitious young mayor saw them differently, often repeating the mantra, "Those who are a

part of the problem, must be a part of the solution." The Texas inmates could not have said

it better themselves.

The particular research question addressed in this chapter is the following: Why

was the Lower Tipolo Homeowners Association, Inc. (LTHAI) resettlement project in

Mandaue successful (while other projects were less so)? The question builds on the theory

that increasing civic dignity through opportunities for meaningful political participation is

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[124]   Wilson wrote, "In government, as in virtue, the hardest of things is to make progress. [...]
Nowadays the reason is that the many, the people, who are sovereign have no single ear which one
can approach, and are selfish, ignorant, timid, stubborn, or foolish with the selfishness, the
ignorances, the stubbornnesses, the timidities, or the follies of several thousand persons, -albeit
there are hundreds who are wise."

imperative not only for individual liberty and equal treatment, but also for the sustained health of a political community based on republican principles. The case study that is the subject of this chapter explores the impact of incorporating civic dignity into policy design and implementation on strategic outcomes.[125] From this, the hypothesis is as follows: The LTHAI resettlement project was successful because the policy design and implementation incorporated civic dignity.

II.   LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretically informed with far-reaching practical consequences, this chapter engages several areas of scholarship spanning domestic policy and international development. In American politics, the two relevant schools of thought are progressive and classical liberal. The labels are not perfect: Addams, for instance, was considered a progressive. However, her political thought and example are enlisted in this project to support the classical liberal school of thought. For our purposes here, the term "Progressive" refers to those who advocate a Darwinian view of government, "progressing" beyond the Constitutional framework erected by the American Founders, and in doing so, prefer an expanding centralized federal government that seeks to guarantee several positive rights *for* the people. "Classical liberal" includes the scholars and actors who advocate a Newtonian view of government, one that is dedicated to the preservation of natural (negative) rights. In international development, the two relevant schools of thought can be distinguished as authoritarian development and free development.

Progressive thought, as articulated by Wilson, places heavy emphasis on the "science of politics." Experts would administer more effectively than the politicians and the people could govern because the experts were not only knowledgeable but also considered selfless and objective. The politicians and the people, by contrast, were "selfish, ignorant, timid, stubborn, or foolish."[126] What began as a reaction to the spoils system became a rejection of American constitutionalism and the separation of powers. Goodnow, following Wilson, also argued for administration to be severed from politics. Their objective was eventually made clear: consolidating power in administration would change the function and role of government to fulfill their progressive policy agenda.[127] Landis, considered the architect of FDR's New Deal, was influenced by Wilson and Goodnow, and to that end argued for broad delegation of powers within agencies for the promotion the "welfare of the governed."[128] And this trend has only continued, in scholarship and in practice.

In defending the separation of powers and federalism, the classical liberal school of thought in American has its roots in Locke and Montesquieu. When Wilson, Goodnow, and other progressives argued for the separation of administration from politics, they were in a sense arguing against the *Federalist Papers* (among other sources). The Founders separated the powers of government into "distinct" branches and limited the overall scope of government. A government of men by men needs to be strong enough to rule but it must

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[126] Wilson, "The Study of Administration"

[127] See: Frank J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administrative Law,* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903; and *Politics and Administration: A Study in Government,* New York: The MacMillan Company, 1900. See also R. J. Pestritto, "The Progressive Origins of the Administrative State: Wilson, Goodnow, and Landis," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, Vol. 24, Issue 1 (January 2007), p. 16-54

[128] James M. Landis, *The Administrative Process,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, p. 1-10

also rule itself and still be accountable to the governed.[129] What the progressives cannot or refuse to acknowledge-- which the Founders acutely understood-- is that the "latent causes of faction are thus sewn into the nature of man," regardless of whether those men are politicians or administrators. In response to the progressive era, arguments in favor of smaller, restrained government abound, and Tocqueville's work continues to inspire scholars and actors alike. To that end, Berger and Neuhaus, among many others, sought to reinvigorate "mediating structures" to fill the gap left by the inadequacies of the modern welfare state.[130]

In contemporary discussions, critics sometime paint classical liberalism as heartless or unconcerned with the general welfare of the citizens, presupposing that progressives hold a monopoly on empathy. This is an uncharitable rendering of classical liberalism. The disagreement between progressives and classical liberals is often not what should be done, but rather how it should be done and where those plans fall on the spectrum between coercion and voluntary action. To the extent that this chapter engages American politics and American political thought, it argues in favor of decentralized, voluntary collaboration over government coercion, both prudentially and principally.

Turning to international development, this chapter is indebted to Easterly's *Tyranny of Experts* for reigniting the debate between authoritarian development and free development. Easterly takes seriously the moral and practical importance of the rights of poor people, arguing in defense of their freedom as individuals against the power of the

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[129]	Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers,* Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: Signet Classic, 2003, no 10. See also nos. 47, 51, and 39.
[130]	Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, *To Empower People: From State to Civil Society,* Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press, 1996.

coercive state. In doing so he is arguing against institutionalized powerhouses such as the

World Bank and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, who rule the field of international

development as "benevolent autocrats." Easterly argues that the "real cause of poverty" is

the "unchecked power of the state against poor people without rights." Free development,

on the other hand, "gives us the right to choose amongst a myriad of spontaneous problem-

solvers, rewarding those that solve our problems."[131] His view is one that rebukes

technocrats who apply "best practices" irrespective of local context and local needs. This

chapter demonstrates how the more successful resettlement efforts in Mandaue hinged

upon wide collaboration and empowerment (enfranchisement) of the would-be

beneficiaries to participate in the problem solving.

The practical literature of problem-driven iterative adaption (PDIA) is also relevant

in light of Mandaue's commitment to solving the problem at hand rather than reaching for

an easy "solution." Developed by Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock as a part of Harvard's

Building State Capability program, PDIA is an emerging innovation in development that

departs from "big development's" top-down, technocrat-led design and implementation.

Instead of importing "best practices," the PDIA approach focuses on solving problems by

deconstructing them in the local context, avoiding capability traps, and encouraging

bureaucratic entrepreneurialism and multiple iterations. While the Mandaue case did not

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[131]   William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor,* New York: Basic Books, 2013, p. 6-7. See also p 17-25: Easterly positions his argument for free development as a revival and an extension of the argument initially made much earlier (1944) by Friedrick Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom.*

use specific PDIA technologies (at least not explicitly), the efforts in Mandaue are similar in

spirit to PDIA.[132]

This chapter also underscores the importance of studying implementation. Heavy

emphasis is already placed on studying policy design and evaluation, both valuable areas.

That said, neither instruct practitioners on how to anticipate and workaround

implementation challenges. Paul urged scholars and practitioners to realize "that policy

choices and program designs will lead to desired outcomes only when they take into

account the problems and politics of implementation."[133] Gradually, more scholars and

practitioners are waking up to the need to learn more about implementation strategies,

obstacles, and workarounds. The World Bank announced a new initiative in 2015 called

the Science of Delivery, which is dedicated to understanding and disseminating lessons

about implementation. The team spearheading the initiative developed a case study

methodology specifically for implementation case studies with the hope of building a

library of such cases from around the world and on different development challenges.[134]

Whether there can be such a "science" is debatable. That question is not taken up in this

chapter as the chapter only looks at one example (but if pressed, the Mandaue case

suggests that "delivery" seems to be more of an art than a science).

This chapter draws connections between currents in American politics (progressive

versus classical liberal thinking) and trends in international development (authoritarian

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[132]   Matt Andrews, Lant Pritchett, and Michael Woolcock. *Escaping Capability Traps through Problem-Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA).* Faculty Research Working Paper, Harvard Kennedy School of Government, Washington D.C.: Center for Global Development, 2012, 1-26.
[133]   Samuel Paul, *Managing Development Programs: The Lessons of Success,* Boulder: Westview Press, 1982, p. 2
[134]   In addition to the new science of delivery initiative at the World Bank, Princeton University's Innovations for Successful Societies is doing similar work.

versus free development). Drawing the connections is an end of its own, but the larger

contribution is testing the theory that free development (and more specifically,

development that incorporates civic dignity) yields better outcomes. Therefore, not only is

civic dignity critical to individual liberty and flourishing, but it is also linked to better

governance and can aid anti-corruption efforts. Using Mandaue's resettlement efforts as

the case at hand, I hypothesize that a sense of ownership is the causal mechanism for

yielding (more) successful outcomes.

III.   METHODOLOGY

A. Design and Justification

Several months of document review and research culminated in a fieldwork trip to

Mandaue, the Philippines, in October 2015. The Philippines, like many developing nations,

pays lip service to the idea of "good governance." Political leaders campaign on promises of

curbing corruption, moving away from systems of patronage, and making government

more transparent and efficient. This, they claim, would put government at the service of

the many rather than the few. The Institute for Solidarity in Asia (ISA), a Manila-based

NGO, goes further—or rather, proposes a governance system in which the promises of good

governance could come to fruition. Under the leadership of Dr. Jesus Estanislao, ISA

teaches interested cities and agencies how to implement the Performance Governance

System (PGS), an approach to governance that uses an adapted version of the Balanced

Scorecard, a strategic management tool made famous by Harvard Business School's Kaplan

and Norton.[135]

In 2015, nine cities in the Philippines had demonstrated breakthrough results using

PGS, qualifying the cities for Islands of Good Governance (IGG) certification from ISA.

Mandaue City, a densely populated city once celebrated for its furniture manufacturing,

was one of those cities. And while all the cities awarded with the coveted IGG certification

demonstrated laudable improvements in governance, Mandaue's comeback story more

than the others seemed to embody the idea of "governance as a shared responsibility,"

ISA's motto. Under the leadership of [former] Mayor Jonah Cortes, city hall began

emphasizing the need for broader collaboration and participation from all sectors of the

city, including those that were previously overlooked or underserved. Mandaue's

implementation of PGS was staked on instilling a sense of ownership among the city

employees and citizens, in addition to institutionalizing platforms that could solicit

feedback and ideas from citizens. Moreover, Mayor Cortes committed to making Mandaue

a more dignified place to live and work, ensuring that the city's strategic objectives

reflected a more holistic Mandaue, not just those interests that carried the most weight or

influence. Among the city's long-term strategic objectives was the resettlement of some of

Mandaue's most vulnerable citizens away from hazardous areas in the city. Those three

resettlement projects, which are the focus of this chapter, took place within Mandaue's

borders, a small city geographically-speaking, starting in the 1990's through 2016.[136]

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[135]   Robert S. Kaplan and David P. Norton, "Using the Balanced Scorecard as a Strategic
Management System," *Harvard Business Review*, July 2007.
[136]   Mandaue's Balanced Scorecard and Strategy Map cited a population of 4,000 informal
settlers needing to be resettled in socialized housing. The resettlement projects discussed in this

The Institute for Solidarity in Asia provided support for my trip, and representatives from the Mandaue City government hosted me during my visit. While in Mandaue, I conducted interviews with city and business leaders, in addition to conducting a participant observation at one of the resettlement project locations. In total, 12 in-depth interviews were conducted, with many casual conversations on related topics interspersed. Participants were informed about the purpose of the interview, were asked for their permission to be interviewed, were told that there were no right or wrong answers, and were made aware that they were free to end the interview or decline to answer specific questions at any point. Questions focused on their experience during the implementation of the Performance Governance System (PGS) in Mandaue, how the implementation unfolded, what obstacles were encountered, how those obstacles were addressed, in addition to the changes (if any) they observed in Mandaue before and after Mandaue adopted PGS. Follow up interviews have been conducted over email and Skype with four of the participants. Interviews were supplemented with extensive research through newspaper archives, local and federal government documents, and a third-party audit of Mandaue's state of affairs conducted by a firm hired by Institute for Solidarity of Asia. The archival analysis and third-party audit reports buttressed the interview data by providing fact-checking and useful clarification.

The interviews yielded indispensable data for addressing the research question and investigating whether strong enough evidence existed to support the hypothesized causal relationship. The interview data illuminated otherwise opaque connections between

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case account for just a portion of that population. With that, one should expect the resettlement projects to continue beyond 2016.

inputs, activities, and outputs on one hand, and outcomes on the other. Interview

questions addressed areas unexamined (or under-examined) by evaluation reports. While

evaluation reports can offer useful data on outputs and outcomes, they typically do not

address design and implementation. The interviews focused on how the projects unfolded

and why and how decisions were made. Moreover, the interviews offered the various

actors an opportunity to reflect on the challenges they faced and changes they observed.

This case study uses a qualitative method known as process tracing. Bennett

describes process tracing as working "backward from observed outcomes to potential

causes—as well as forward from hypothesizes causes to subsequent outcomes." He uses

the analogy of a detective "[working] forward from suspects and backwards from clues

about a crime." In this application, process tracing starts from the correlation between the

independent and dependent variables (ownership and successful outcomes, respectively),

and it then provides a rigorous framework in which causation can be tested. Process

tracing is particularly useful for cases like this in which "statistical analysis alone" is

unavailable and/or insufficient to move beyond simple correlation to establishing a causal

relationship.[137]

The process tracing interviews and research conducted in Mandaue tease out a

sequence of what individual actors did, how and when they did it and with whom, and what

motivated (or prevented) their actions. Detailed process tracing culminates in being able

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[137]   Andrew Bennett, "Process Tracing and Causal Inference," In *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by Henry E. Brady, & David Collier, 207-219. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2010. See p. 208-209. See also David Collier, "Understanding Process Tracing," *PS* 44, no. 4 (2011): 823-830.

to support one hypothesized explanation while at the same time refuting or eliminating alternative explanations of why a particular outcome occurred.

This case traces Mandaue's efforts to resettle or relocate informal settlers along flood-prone areas and dump sites, investigating whether the hypothesized causal mechanism (ownership) was in fact present *and* whether it functioned as predicted. Beach and Pedersen distinguish three approaches within process tracing, including theory-testing process tracing, which is the research method used in this chapter. They describe theory-testing process tracing as starting with a theory that explains an outcome, and then "conceptualiz[es] a plausible causal mechanism" and "operationaliz[es]" the causal mechanism. As Beach and Pedersen explain, "operationalizing the causal mechanism" is the development of a "set of predicted observable manifestations." The causal mechanism is "translated" from "theoretical expectations into case-specific predictions of what observable manifestations of each of the parts of the mechanism should have if the mechanism is actually present in the case."[138] The figure below (adapted from Beach and Pedersen) lays out the hypothesized causal mechanism in this case and the case-specific predicted observable manifestations.

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[138]   Derek Beach and Rasmus Brun Pedersen, "What is Process-Tracing Actually Tracing? The Three Variants of Process Tracing Methods and Their Uses and Limitations," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2011. 1-35.
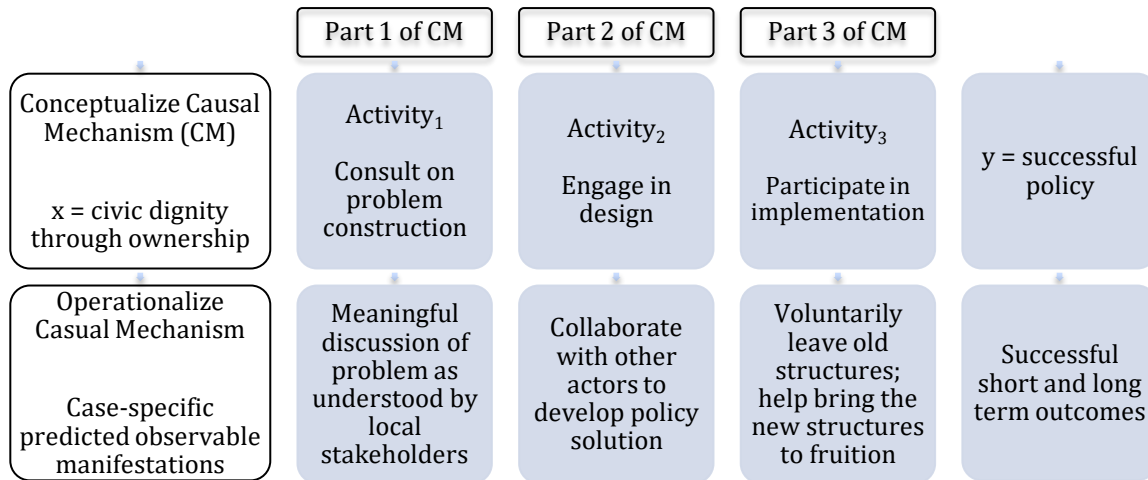
Figure 2: Hypothesized casual mechanism conceptualized and operationalized

In addition to investigating whether a causal mechanism was present and functioned as predicted, researchers using process tracing can employ a combination of four "tests," formulated by Van Evera. These tests provide a formal means for weighing whether the evidence is strong enough to support hypothesized explanations of particular outcomes. The two tests relevant to this case are the "Hoop" and "Smoking Gun" tests. As explained by Bennett, hoop tests "provide a *necessary but not sufficient* criterion for accepting the hypothesis. The hypothesis must 'jump through the hoop' just to remain under consideration, but success [...] does not strongly affirm a hypothesis." The hoop test then is complemented by the "smoking gun" test, which provides "a *sufficient but not necessary* criterion for confirmation."[139] The combination of these two tests "accomplish

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[139]   Bennett, "Process Tracing and Causal Inference," p. 210-211 (*emphasis in original*). See also Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 31-32

the same analytic goal" as the "doubly decisive" test, which supports one explanation while eliminating alternative explanations.[140] This case investigates why the LTHAI resettlement projects in Mandaue was successful while others were less so.

B. Limitations

Due to resource constraints, the Mandaue fieldwork trip was brief, taking place over the course of a few days. Naturally, a short time in the field limits the number of interviews that can be conducted. When this case was first conceived, I was investigating how Mandaue's implementation of PGS hinged upon and facilitated opportunities for ownership among city employees and citizens alike. As a result, my efforts on the ground were not exclusively focused on citizens, let alone those we could consider vulnerable citizens. A language barrier posed a challenge as well, particularly during the site visit of one of the resettlement projects (LTHAI). Thankfully, welcoming gestures and enthusiasm allowed us to communicate where common words could not be found. In an ideal scenario, a subsequent trip would be longer with focus groups conducted among citizens and informal settlers alongside a translator.

Methodological limitations related to the fieldwork logistics, to the comparison between countries, and to process tracing itself need to be acknowledged. First, this case study is but one case with a sample size of three (n=3), representing the three resettlement projects attempted in Mandaue. Second, if a longer trip were possible, focus groups among the citizens and informal settlers would have yielded more evidence. Third, there are

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[140]   Doubly decisive tests, while ideal, are rarely possible within social science research. See Bennett, "Process Tracing," p. 211.

have] strong instrumental or ideational reasons for hiding or misrepresenting information about their behavior or motives."[142] This may be true, and yet we do know that some resettlement projects were successful while others were not. Participants in Mandaue have an interest in figuring out why and how some initiatives yielded successful outcomes while other times they came up short. Deceiving an academic researcher may be advantageous to them from a credit-claiming perspective. Deceiving themselves, however, would hardly be useful given the objective to resettle informal settlers into socialized housing is one of the city's strategic objectives, which is measured publicly through the city's balanced scorecard. Regardless, the reality that actors may still have reasons to hide or misrepresent information requires that process tracing consist of fine grain research across several sources of data or evidence. This is why in addition to in-depth interviews with a variety of participants, research is supplemented by newspaper archives, government documents, and third-party NGO findings.

The small number of cases relative to the large number of variables typical of process tracing is also cited as a limit to this methodological approach. Degrees of freedom may be an issue for statistical analysis, but it does not have a similar impact on process tracing. "Not all information is of equal probative value in discriminating between alternative explanations," or in other words, "not all data are created equal." [143]   With process tracing—similar to criminal investigations and medical diagnostics, to use two oft-cited analogies— evidence originates from different sources in different forms and is weighted differently. Bennett writes, "What matters is not the amount of evidence, but its

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[142]   Bennett, "Process Tracing and Causal Inference," p. 211

[143]   Bennett, "Process Tracing and Causal Inference," p. 209

contribution to adjudicating among alternative hypotheses."[144] This argument is supported

by the idea of "thick analysis," in which "analysts place great reliance on a detailed

knowledge of cases." The in-depth analysis of the case study approach enables researchers

"to carefully rule out alternative explanations until they come to one that stands up to

scrutiny."[145] Finally, and related to the last two points, is the issue of the number of

interviews conducted and the lack of focus groups. While conducting focus groups with

citizens and informal settlers would add to the evidence, I contend that in this instance

more evidence does not necessarily mean *different* evidence. Ultimately, in spite of the

limitations discussed, the case is rigorous in its design and execution, and we can learn a

great deal from it.

IV.   "You Don't Have to Go Home, But You Can't Stay Here": Resettlement and Relocation Projects in Mandaue, the Philippines

A. Lower Tipolo Homeowners Association, Inc. (LTHAI) Resettlement

When we arrive, the water of Tipolo Creek is opaque and black, with empty bottles

and potato chip bags slowly floating by as if participants in a bizarre lazy river attraction.

Roosters roam, small trash fires burn unattended on the side of the road, and an

inescapable smell of waste hangs in the air thanks to the thick humidity. On one side of the

creek, tenements are sandwiched side-by-side and stacked on top of each other. The

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[144]   Bennett, "Process Tracing and Causal Inference," p. 209, 211

[145]   David Collier, Henry E. Brady, and Jason Seawright, "Sources of Leverage in Causal Inference: Toward an Alternative View of Methodology," In *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, edited by Henry E. Brady, & David Collier, 161-199. Lanham: Rowman & Littelfield Publishers, Inc., 2010, p 180-181

structures are made from scrap sheets of corrugated metal and other loose materials.

Some are on stilts, perched precariously above the creek itself. On the other side of the

creek sit several rows of multi-family buildings, three stories high and made from bricks.

Potted plants in repurposed buckets stamped with "#iamMandaue" sit along that side of

the creek and in front of the housing buildings. The youngest children run around chasing

each other, while those slightly older can be found sitting in a circle under a canopy

practicing English with volunteer teachers from a nearby church.

Several years ago, visitors to this area would have seen no difference between the

two sides of the creek—both banks were stacked with tenements. Both sides lacked

proper drainage and sanitation. Both sides were populated with informal settlers living in

the dangerous flood zone.

Earlier efforts in Mandaue to resettle or relocate informal settlers to safer,

permanent housing have produced mixed outcomes. Some projects culminate with

families *leaving* their new government-provided housing behind to *rebuild* the one-room

tenement they had before. Other projects end in tense protests and stand-offs between

individuals and the demolition crews tasked with clearing an area of structures. Why was

the Lower Tipolo Homeowners' Association Inc. (LTHAI) resettlement project successful

while others were not?

The hypothesis for LTHAI's relative success focuses on the cultivation of civic

dignity among individuals through project ownership. The LTHAI project design and

implementation phases included opportunities for meaningful political participation for the

beneficiaries. Rather than having something done for them, or worse, done to them (i.e.,

coercive government action), the LTHAI resettlement project was conceived as a

collaborative effort among public, private, civil society, and the individual citizens

themselves. Their unmet basics needs may have been the impetus behind the project, but it

was the ideas and hard work of the individuals that drove the project, bringing it to

fruition.

For years, hundreds of informal settlers had been squatting illegally on city

government owned property along Tipolo Creek. Not only was their occupancy illegal, but

in addition the tenements were a source of frustration for the adjacent businesses.

Eventually, the Mandaue city government donated the 9.2-hectare lot to the informal

settlers in the 1990s. In spite of the collective property ownership, little else improved; the

occupants lacked the resources to build, the land itself was not developed for building, and

most importantly, their dwellings, however undesirable or unsafe from an objective view,

were their homes, and so they had emotional attachments. When a July 2007 fire

destroyed 247 structures and left 913 individuals homeless, the Philippine Alliance, a civil

society organization,[146] stepped in to help.[147] Through the assistance of the Philippine

Alliance, the occupants were able to begin organizing themselves into homeowners'

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[146]   The Philippine Alliance is a civil society organization comprised of several member groups. The Homeless People's Federation Philippines Inc., for example, organizes residents into homeowners associations (HOAs) for the sake of establishing legitimacy (i.e., political representation or enfranchisement as a group) and community savings accounts. Being organized into a legally recognized entity with a community savings account gives *some* legal protections against eviction, and enables an HOA to access low-interest loans from a federal funding source to be used for the purchase of land and/or the cost of building materials and labor. The Philippine Action for Community-led Shelter Initiatives is an NGO advocacy organization that partners with the Homeless People's Federation to provide support through coordinating financial and other resources. Finally, the Technical Assistance Movement for People and the Environment Inc helps in the design of low cost urban housing, among other technical aspects related to resettlement projects.
[147]   David Dodman Diana Mitlin, and Jason Christopher Rayos Co, "Victims to Victors, Disasters to Opportunities: Community Driven Responses to Climate Change," *Fifth Urban Research Symposium.* 2009, p. 7

associations so that they could raise funds to finance the development of the land. If the

land could be developed, the occupants could rebuild, this time, a safe distance from the

creek and in proper homes. The city government, seeing that occupants were organized

and motivated to improve their living conditions, decided to jumpstart the project design

and implementation process by guaranteeing low-interest loans to the homeowners'

association, at which point the LTHAI resettlement project began in earnest.

The LTHAI resettlement project turned out to be something of a gold standard,

dignifying the beneficiaries by incorporating provisions for project ownership in the policy

design and implementation. First, the beneficiaries were persuaded to participate in their

resettlement, rather than being evicted and compelled. Consultation meetings with people

in the community were conducted. Employees from the Community Organizing division of

Mandaue's Housing and Urban Development Office went into the communities, bringing the

government to the people, into the barangay, into the *sitio*. To maximize attendance (and

thus impact) of these meetings, the team held the meetings in the communities on the

weekends over the course of a couple of months. They explained what the resettlement

program was designed to do (and what it was not designed to do), heard the occupants'

concerns, refined the program, and then helped those who wanted to resettle into

permanent homes through the administrative process to qualify as a beneficiary.[148]

Families that did not want to sign up did not have to participate. This outreach process to

secure buy-in was labor intensive on the front end, but the efforts likely resulted in

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[148]   Ms. Cynthia Sucio later recalled that at meetings "topics discussed covered housing design, sweat equity for site development, and [...] low cost housing through a loan with minimal monthly amortization." Cynthia Sucio, "Follow Up Email Correspondance: Mandaue Resettlement Project Field Interview with Cynthia Sucio." Mandaue, December 9, 2015.

smoother implementation. In that sense, one sees how efficiency and civic dignity can be

complementary in the larger policy design and implementation process.

One city official explained, "As soon as everything was legalized with documents [for

those who chose to participate], they were part of the planning."[149] To enhance the sense

of project ownership at LTHAI, the Philippine Alliance connected local architects and

architecture students to work side-by-side with beneficiaries to design the interior layout

of their homes. In addition, beneficiaries were able to make down payments and embark

on the road to home ownership through a combination of sweat equity and below cost,

low-interest loans over a 25-year term (guaranteed by Mandaue city government). A

private company donated fill material to develop the site,[150] and the city government

loaned an interlocking compressed earth block (ICEB) machine for the construction efforts.

With the ICEB technology, women were able to make the bricks, and the men built the

houses. Mayor Cortes explained, "From planning to implementation, they are part of it. It's

really something they're proud of, and they have bragging rights for their children, 'You

know we built these houses; this is our house.' It's different [from squatting or being given

something]."[151]

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[149]   Cynthia Sucio, interview by Melissa Mahoney Smith, *Mandaue Resettlement Project Field Interview with Cynthia Sucio* Manduae, (October 24, 2015).
[150]   For a discussion of Mandaue's strong tradition of public, private, and civil society, collaborations, see Robert Klitgaard and Melissa Mahoney Smith. *Reforming Mandaue City: The Struggle to Implement a Performance Governance System.* Case Study, Ann Arbor: William Davidson Institute Publishing, 2017. Mandaue's implementation of the Performance Governance System (PGS) instituted a Multi-Sectoral Governance Council, through which those collaborations were made more regular.
[151]   Jonah Cortes, interview by Melissa Mahoney Smith, *Mandaue Reform Journey Field Interview with Mayor Cortes* Mandaue, (October 23, 2015).

Other informal settlers living in Lower Tipolo, having witnessed the successful first phase of the resettlement project from start to finish, were then motivated to participate in the next phase of the project. "Seeing was believing"; they could benefit from the partnerships to build and own a better home.[152] The LTHAI resettlement project won more support and enthusiasm as it unfolded, and yet some remained obstinate, unwilling to participate. Fortunately, there was not a sense of urgency, and so households would not be forcibly relocated (for now). Instead the city, alongside the Philippine Alliance, worked tirelessly to address concerns and persuade. As of December 2015, "there are 780 structure owners [on the broader 9.2-hectare site] who were given Certificate of Ownership by the city."[153]

The success of the LTHAI resettlement project is remarkable, not only for the individuals living along the Lower Tipolo creek, but for the estimated 4,000 informal settler households living in Mandaue alone, as of 2013. In fact, local governments all over the Philippines are at odds with huge populations of informal settlers living in danger zones but refusing to relocate. Incorporating civic dignity into the policy design and implementation, seen here through meaningful opportunities for project ownership, seems to be the distinguishing component that produced successful outcomes for LTHAI.

In seeking to account for LTHAI's success, competing explanations must be explored. For that purpose, there are two other projects from Mandaue during roughly the same period and involving the same population demographics. One alternative explanation

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[152]   "Seeing was believing," was a theme echoed many times during the field visit to Mandaue, from the then mayor, Jonas Cortes, to members of the Housing and Urban Development Office and Community Affairs Division.
[153]   City of Mandaue, Housing and Urban Development Office, memo, "Resettlement Projects in the City of Mandaue," 16 December 2015

is that LTHAI's project success is attributable to the basic unmet need finally being

addressed—the need for permanent housing located a safe distance from the flood zone. In

a similar vein, a second competing explanation is that the success is attributable to

economic interests—projects will succeed when individuals have an economic incentive to

cooperate. Many informal settlers can live rent-free or near to it (as is the nature of

squatting), and when that is the case, why would settlers take on the expense and loan

necessary for homeownership? And yet, in LTHAI they did just that. A third alternative

explanation is that the occupants were able to resettle very near their original housing site.

Geographic distance can have economic implications, and so this third alternative

explanation has something to do with livelihood in addition to simple distance.

Two examples from Mandaue during roughly the same period and involving the

same population demographics provide an opportunity to test this chapter's hypothesis

alongside these alternative explanations.

B. Umapad Dumpsite

Mayor Jonah Cortes and his predecessor both attempted to address the plight of

informal settlers living on the Umapad Dumpsite in Mandaue. The Umapad Dumpsite sat

on a 5-hectare site, and in 2009 it received an average of 195 tons of waste per day. This

was the biggest dumpsite in Mandaue, and it desperately needed the attention of the city

government for more than one reason. First, it was an ecological disaster. It was receiving

more waste than it could handle, and officials from the Department of Environment and

Natural Resources deemed the dumpsite "environmentally critical." Part of the dumpsite

was routinely overtaken by high tide, and the nearby airport complained about smoke from

the dumpsite impairing flight visibility. To comply with the Ecological Solid Waste

Management Act of 2000, the city would need to close the dumpsite. But where would the

city's waste go, and what about the scavenger families living on the dumpsite?

Scavengers lived on the dumpsite, making their livelihood by sifting through

garbage to look for anything of value. Not surprisingly, the conditions were not sanitary or

safe. "Scavengers reported that they come in contact with different waste such as medical

waste, fecal matter, needles, scrap metals, air particulates, and chemical fumes from

burning waste."[154] And yet, scavengers were making on average Php 387 per day, higher

than the legal minimum daily wage of Php 327 within the province of Cebu.[155] Not only

were they making a living, but they were inadvertently contributing to the city's waste

management through recycling, contributions that "remain[ed] unacknowledged."[156]

In 2009, Mayor Cortes' public support among that group and their advocates was

damaged when he closed the Umapad Dumpsite, relocating the scavenger families who

lived on the dumpsite to free government housing. He thought he was addressing at least

two of the three issues: the environmental concerns and the well-being of the scavenger

families. In reality, the situation pitted environmental concerns against infrastructure

(waste management) concerns and the interests of the individuals who made their

livelihoods living on the dumpsite.

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[154]   Jay A. Ejares, Kristina O. Paler, and Erian L. Aguilar, "Socio-Demographic Profile of
Scavenging Households in Umapad Dumpsite, Mandaue City Cebu, Philippines." *Journal of
Sustainable Development Studies* 6, no. 1 (2014): 175-192; see p. 184-185
[155]   Ejares *et al,* "Socio-Demographic Profile of Scavenging Households in Umapad Dumpsite,
Mandaue City Cebu, Philippines," p. 187-188
[156]   Ejares *et al,* "Socio-Demographic Profile of Scavenging Households in Umapad Dumpsite,
Mandaue City Cebu, Philippines," p. 189

Closing the dumpsite resulted in the piling up of garbage around the city, causing sanitation issues. In spite of the resulting sanitation issues in the city, one would think at least a single positive outcome would be the relocation of the scavenger families to free government housing. The scavenger families, however, were not involved in the search for a solution, and they disagreed with the city's course of action. The scavenger families were forcibly removed from an area they considered home and their source of livelihood. The closed dumpsite was not managed properly, and so some scavenger families returned to remake their homes and resume scavenging. Stakeholders were not sufficiently accounted for, interests were not aligned, and a plan to coordinate the efforts and anticipate effects was not in place. As a result, complications surrounding the Umapad dumpsite stretched on for several more years.

This was not the first attempt to address the well-being of the scavenger families, as mentioned earlier. Previous policies enacted by Mayor Cortes' predecessor in 2006 also made free housing available to scavenger families being relocated from the Umapad dumpsite. But the efforts did not yield the intended outcomes: Resistance was high, further fracturing the relations with that community; and families returned to the dumpsite to rebuild their homes illegally. Reflecting on these efforts, the error was not immediately obvious: better housing was needed, and so better housing was provided at no cost to the beneficiaries. Basic unmet needs (housing) and economic interests (free housing at no cost to beneficiaries) were satisfied by the policy design and implementation. And yet none of these efforts were successful. Those being relocated were not part of the design process; they were not persuaded to relocate, they were compelled; and they contributed nothing in

terms of design or cost sharing for their would-be new homes. As a result, opportunities to instill a sense of ownership and cultivate civic dignity were lost.

Eventually, the Umapad Dumpsite conundrum was addressed again by Mayor Cortes' administration. The dumpsite was closed permanently and converted to a waste segregation center where the scavenger families could work legitimately. Waste segregation projects were rolled out throughout Mandaue at the barangay level (smallest political unit in the Philippines) to address the volume of garbage produced in the city. Between August 2012 and February 2013, 40 households were relocated from living on the dumpsite to free housing.

Was the Umapad Dumpsite scavenger resettlement successful in the end because the policy design and implementation was more dignified or because it accounted for the individuals' livelihood (economic) interests? Supporting one explanation over the other with certainty is difficult since we cannot know what would have happened if livelihood opportunities were offered *without* any opportunities for the scavenger families to offer their suggestions and have their concerns addressed. Then again, that the livelihoods of the scavenger families were finally incorporated into the policy design and implementation was a result of the scavenger families having the opportunity to participate meaningfully. They were, in this sense, given the chance to be the authors of their own stories, to have some ownership over the project and thus their lives.

More to the point, we can easily acknowledge that individuals are driven in part by economic needs. But as individuals, we are not the mere sum of our economic needs; we have other needs that we want satisfied within the political community. Civic dignity

consists of having dignity (characterized by nonhumiliation and noninfantilization)[157] and being dignified (characterized by having an opportunity for meaningful political participation) in the political community.[158] Though we cannot know for sure, there is evidence suggesting that what ultimately mattered was not the free housing (otherwise they would have relocated permanently earlier) or the income, but it was being viewed and treated as a full and legitimate member of the political community. Viewing the scavengers as victims, charity cases, or would-be wards of government welfare is too easy, especially considering their living and working conditions—who would choose such a life? But the fact is, they chose that life—perhaps because they lacked other viable options on their own—but it was still a choice they made. And that choice ought to be respected. To do otherwise is to treat them as children, to infantilize them. Instead, the city and scavengers together were able to find a solution whereby some of the scavengers were able to work at the waste segregation center, making a living and finally being acknowledged for their contribution to the city's commitment to recycling.

C. Paknaan Relocation from Mahiga Creek

Elsewhere in Mandaue, Mahiga Creek was home to hundreds of families living along its danger zone. One section of the Mahiga Creek in particular divided Mandaue and neighboring Cebu City, which had its own share of informal settlers on the opposite side of the creek. The flooding in this area was dangerous, and Mahiga Creek, heavily polluted,

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[157]   Josiah Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 4 (2012): 827-846.
[158]   See chapters two and four for extended discussions of civic dignity in theoretical and conceptual terms.

emptied into the ocean. In 2011, flooding was especially destructive, bringing both cities to

a standstill and incurring high financial costs for emergency evacuations and temporary

shelter. Government documents note the flooding "inundated the entire low-lying areas of

the City thus endangering the life and limbs of the inhabitants therein."[159] As a result,

Mayor Cortes and the mayor of Cebu City started planning a joint effort to clear Mahiga

Creek. By 2013, the relocation efforts, still unfolding, became more urgent in response to

the national directive for city governments to relocate informal settlers from danger zones.

Relocation plans were accelerated by Memorandum Order 57, issued in 2013 by the

national government at the direction of President Benigno Aquino III. In light of the loss of

life caused by Typhoon Pablo in 2012, the Order directed "the Secretary of the Interior and

local governments to immediately spearhead the transfer of informal settler families living

in danger and high-risk areas."[160]

In spite of their decision to collaborate, the two mayors disagreed on the order and

mode of operations. Conflict between the two mayors started brewing almost as soon as

policy planning began in 2011, and it persisted at least through 2014. When the mayor of

Cebu City wanted to begin forcibly evicting the informal settlers from both sides of the

Mahiga Creek, Mayor Cortes requested a temporary halt to the eviction and demolition

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[159]   City of Mandaue, Housing and Urban Development Office, memo, "Resettlement Projects in the City of Mandaue," 16 December 2015
[160]   "Memorandum Circular No. 57 (2013)." *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines.* November 15, 2013. http://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/11/15/memorandum-circular-no-57-s-2013/ (accessed November 1, 2017). Bacani, Louis. *Noy tasks Roxas to lead relocation of informal settlers.* August 5, 2013. http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2013/08/05/1055071/noy-tasks-roxas-lead-relocation-informal-settlers (accessed September 1, 2015).

plans.[161] The informal settlers had nowhere to go; evicting them from the Mahiga Creek would only result in their squatting illegally somewhere else in the city, if not being eventually pushed out of the city altogether. Besides, Mayor Cortes was not convinced coercive means were necessary; he believed that those who were part of the problem needed the opportunity to be part of the solution too.

Slowing down the process to open up the dialogue between the city government and informal settlers, Mayor Cortes reasoned, would have political and economic benefits, in addition to being the just thing to do. Politically and economically, resettlement efforts would be smoother and more efficient if he could secure the buy-in of the informal settlers. Relying on coercion can be more costly and less efficient, and technocrats often lack valuable local knowledge and fail to mobilize local action. The informal settlers were members of the political community, whether officially or not (*i.e.,* not all were Mandaue citizens), by way of living in the city. Regardless of their official status, they were residing in Mandaue, and they and the city would be better off for their participation in the design and implementation phases of the project.

Mayor Cortes wanted to first secure and develop a relocation site for the informal settlers, where permanent homes could be built. In addition, Mayor Cortes wanted to give

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[161]   See *Cebu City mayor warned against clearing Mandaue side of Mahiga Creek.* November 9, 2011. http://balita.ph/2011/11/09/cebu-city-mayor-warned-against-clearing-mandaue-side-of-mahiga-creek/ (accessed September 1, 2015). See also: *Rama to Mandaue: Remove bridges fast.* October 9, 2014. http://www.philstar.com/cebu-news/2014/10/09/1378184/rama-mandaue-remove-bridges-fast (accessed September 1, 2015); and Anie M. Paujana*, Mayor Cortes tells Cebu City mayor to check his own 'violations' in Mahiga Creek,* October 14, 2014. http://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/44108/mayor-cortes-tells-cebu-city-mayor-to-check-his-own-violations-in-mahiga-creek (accessed September 1, 2015).

the informal settlers time to voluntarily demolish their homes, even if they chose not to relocate to the development site.

Mandaue's Housing and Urban Development Office and other City Hall employees were tasked with designing a policy that could both marshal the necessary resources for the resettlement and determine how to secure the buy-in of the beneficiaries. With hundreds of informal settlers living in an area that had been home for years, resettlement would be no small task. Due to the scope of the undertaking, it would rely heavily on partnerships among public, private, and civil society entities.

On the other side of Mandaue, in Barangay Paknaan, a 6.5-hectare lot was identified for the relocation of 1,200 families, including those hundreds of households living on Mahiga Creek.[162] Unlike the LTHAI resettlement site, which was originally on government-owned land, the Paknaan relocation site was owned by a private individual. The city government needed to raise funds to buy the site. Furthermore, the site was not yet developed; it needed roads, electricity, water, and a drainage system, in addition to being backfilled and secured against its own flooding vulnerabilities (as the site was on reclaimed land).

Back at Mahiga Creek, Mandaue's Community Affairs and Housing and Urban Development teams set to work, using LTHAI's success as an example by going directly to the people. In spite of the difficult living conditions along Mahiga Creek, the team discovered that many informal settlers living in the danger zone did not want to be

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[162]   City of Mandaue, Housing and Urban Development Office, memo, "Resettlement Projects in the City of Mandaue," 16 December 2015

relocated.[163] They were attached to their homes, were skeptical of the city government's

intentions, and were able to live paying very little if anything for their current housing.

How could informal settlers' feelings of mistrust be overcome? Members of the Housing

and Urban Development Office crafted their external communication strategy with

emotional and rational messages, acknowledging the felt attachment to their homes, asking

them to acknowledge the unsustainable nature of the current arrangement.

Ms. Cynthia Sucio, one of the lead members of the Community Affairs Division, and

her team members were tasked with meeting the informal settlers.[164] She recalled the

challenge of drumming up adequate attendance at the meetings and remarked that she and

her team "had to adjust [their] schedules [to ensure that] a majority of the affected families

[could be] duly represented."[165] So Sucio and her team showed up in the neighborhoods on

the weekends and in the evenings to meet with whoever was willing starting in 2011.

Sucio acknowledged that this phase was not short—countless weekends, from 2011 to

2014. But the team explained the situation to the informal settlers and listened to their

concerns and ideas. Unlike the LTHAI project, however, the informal settlers along Mahiga

Creek had to make a choice; waiting on the sidelines was not an option. They could accept

financial compensation from the city government to relocate to the Paknaan site across

town or find a new home elsewhere. For families that chose to relocate to the Paknaan site,

their financial assistance would be used as a down payment for a property lot on which

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[163]   The reader should recall the description of the Lower Tipolo neighborhood; conditions on
this stretch of Mahiga Creek were similar, with a higher threat of dangerous flooding.
[164]   With Ms. Sucio was a representative from the Presidential Commission on Urban Poor
(PCUP), staff from the Community Organizing Division of Mandaue's Housing and Urban
Development Office (HUDO), an elected barangay official, and a representative from the barangay.
[165]   Cynthia Sucio, "Follow Up Email Correspondance: Mandaue Resettlement Project Field
Interview with Cynthia Sucio." Mandaue, December 9, 2015.

they could build, provided they stayed at the relocation site. Families that did not want to

relocate to the Paknaan site were given P17,000 in financial assistance to find a new home

elsewhere. Regardless of the choice made, all of the homes in the danger zone along

Mahiga Creek were to be demolished.

Partnerships between Mandaue and private and non-profit entities were

indispensable. In 2013, private contractors donated materials to fill the Paknaan site,

ensuring it would be safe from flooding. The Philippine Alliance, again, brought architects

to the site to work with families in designing what would be their new community.

Mandaue city government again donated the ICEB machine that would be used by

beneficiaries to make the brick materials used to build the permanent houses.

In spite of the city government's efforts to incorporate civic dignity into the policy

design—principles that had yielded successful outcomes for the LTHAI resettlement

project— there were challenges associated with the Paknaan project that were not present

during the LTHAI project. First, the Paknaan relocation site was privately owned, so

Mandaue needed to raise the funds to purchase the site for development. The site lacked

basic amenities, such as electricity and water, and as a result building the new houses could

not begin at the time of purchase. Second, the Paknaan relocation timeline was accelerated,

due to serious flooding concerns and as a result of the 2013 national directive. Third, while

Mayor Cortes prioritized relocating the informal settlers somewhere *within* Mandaue, so as

not to force them out of the city and farther away from their livelihoods, they were still

relocated across the city (unlike LTHAI). Finally, because of the coordinated efforts with

Cebu City and the national directive, the informal settlers living in Mahiga Creek's danger

zone had to decide between relocating to the Paknaan site or somewhere else of their

choosing; deferring until a later relocation phase was not an option as it had been with the

LTHAI resettlement.

Mahiga Creek eviction letters were initially sent in May 2011, but demolition was

postponed several times at the request of the informal settlers. Success came slowly. In

June 2014, Mr. Leopoldo Chavez, president of one of the Mahiga Creek HOAs, was the first

to demolish his home voluntarily, in addition to demolishing the HOA's headquarters.

Several families followed Chavez's example, voluntarily relocating to Paknaan or taking the

financial assistance offered. By October 2014, 162 obstinate households remained, but

Mandaue had exhausted all means of cooperation and persuasion. The city government

eventually executed forced but legal demolition of the few remaining structures.[166]

Ultimately, the Mahiga Creek relocation to Paknaan was more challenging than

LTHAI, but the Mahiga outcomes were better than the 2006 and 2009 Umapad dumpsite

projects. Of those last holdouts on Mahiga Creek, 112 households chose to relocate to

Paknaan, taking advantage of Mandaue's housing program (whereas 50 households took

the financial compensation to live elsewhere).[167] Not only were these families able to

secure a lot to own and build upon, but also their sense of civic dignity benefitted as they

were given the opportunity to engage the political affairs impacting their lives. Of course,

participation does not necessarily result in the perfect reflection of one's will being

enacted. But the settlers were listened to and engaged as equals, which is what Jane

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[166]   Anie M. Paujana, *Creek settlers move to Paknaan relocation site,* October 9, 2014.
http://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/43833/creek-settlers-move-to-paknaan-relocation-site
(accessed September 1, 2015).
[167]   Anie M. Paujana, *Mahiga folk won't defy demolition.* October 26, 2014.
http://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/44931/mahiga-folk-wont-defy-demolition (accessed September
1, 2015).

Addams would call "socializing democracy," or teaching citizenship. Of the 1,200 lots at the

Paknaan site, 100 units have been constructed, with plans for more to follow in quick

succession.[168]

Mayor Cortes reflected, "We are not simply building houses; we are building

communities."[169] To continue building the relationship between the Paknaan site residents

and the city government, Mr. Tonypet Juanico, head of the Housing and Urban Development

Office, partnered with local medical providers to conduct a medical mission to the site in

May 2015. Over 1,200 people benefitted medical and dental services, ranging from

screenings, to treatments, and minor procedures.[170]

V.   RESULTS AND ANALYSIS: PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

In October 2015, Mandaue's Housing and Urban Development Office was awarded a

plaque by the Philippines' Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council. The city

was recognized for its "outstanding achievements in curtailing the activities of professional

squatters and squatting syndicates through sound legislative actions, pragmatic policies,

and innovative anti-professional squatting programs and projects."

And while Mandaue is celebrated for its outcomes, the larger development

community could benefit from uncovering not what Mandaue accomplished but how it was

done. This chapter explores why some resettlement projects were successful while others

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[168]   Tony Pet Juanico, "Follow Up Email Correspondance: Mandaue Resettlement Project Field Interview withTony Pet Juanico." Mandaue, January 26, 2016.
[169]   Jonah Cortes, interview by Melissa Mahoney Smith, *Mandaue Reform Journey Field Interview with Mayor Cortes* Mandaue, (October 23, 2015).
[170]   Norman V. Mendoza, *Free medical services brought to Mandaue relocation site.* June 2, 2015. http://cebudailynews.inquirer.net/58462/free-medical-services-brought-to-mandaue-relocation-site (accessed September 1, 2015).

failed or produced subpar results, with particular focus on the LTHAI project. The

hypothesis states that incorporating civic dignity into policy design and implementation is

the difference maker in realizing successful development outcomes. To support this

hypothesis, the causal mechanism needs to be revisited and two tests must be satisfied. In

revisiting the causal mechanism, we must ask: was it actually present in the LTHAI

resettlement project; and if it was present, did it function as predicted?

	Part 1 of CM	Part 2 of CM	Part 3 of CM	
Conceptualize Causal Mechanism (CM) x = civic dignity through ownership	Activity$_1$ Consult on problem construction	Activity$_2$ Engage in design	Activity$_3$ Participate in implementation	y = successful policy
Operationalize Casual Mechanism Case-specific predicted observable manifestations	Meaningful discussion of problem as understood by local stakeholders	Collaborate with other actors to develop policy solution	Voluntarily leave old structures; help bring the new structures to fruition	Successful short and long term outcomes
Predicted CM manifestations observed?	Yes: residents were organized into legally recognizable entity (HOA) and consulted by City in their neighborhood	Yes: residents collaborated with NGOs, local architecture students to finance and design homes	Yes: Many (not all) residents opted to resettle; helped to build and own (through finance and sweat equity)	

Figure 3: Testing the presence and function of hypothesized causal mechanism in the LTHAI resettlement project
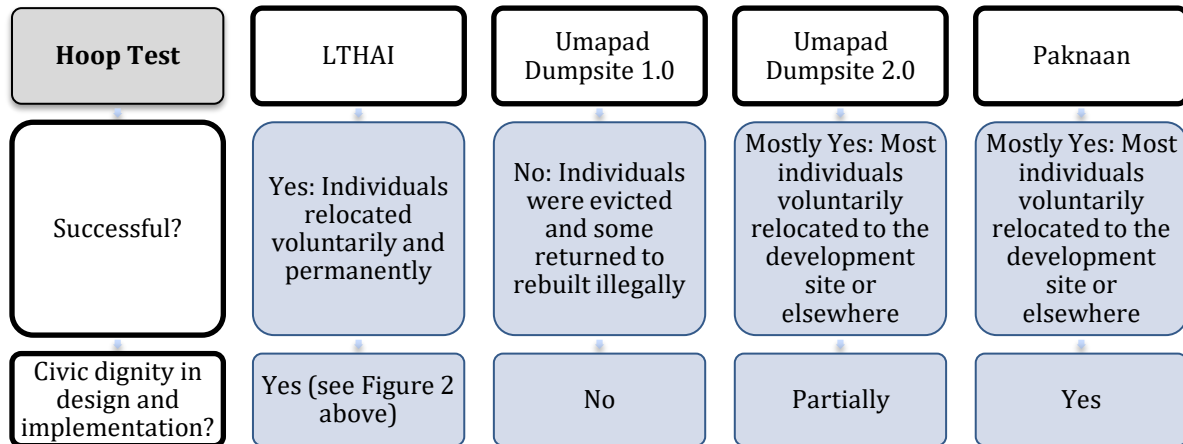
Figure 3 simulates the hoop *and* smoking gun tests by determining whether the

hypothesized causal mechanism was present (hoop) and whether it functioned as

predicted (smoking gun). From the findings above, the hypothesized causal mechanism, which was conceptualized and then operationalized into three pieces, was present and performed as predicted. These findings are significant because they support emerging literature in favor of citizen-driven initiatives. That said, the argument can be strengthened further by comparing the LTHAI resettlement project against the other projects discussed. The Van Evera tests are useful to that end.

For the Van Evera tests, the hypothesis must first satisfy the "hoop test," which is to say the successful LTHAI resettlement project must have had opportunities for ownership built in to the policy design and implementation. Again, the hoop test weighs whether the hypothesized explanation or causal mechanism (and its component parts) were even present. The hypothesis would fail to pass the hoop test if the LTHAI resettlement project did not have opportunities for ownership in the design and implementation but was successful nonetheless. This would critically weaken the viability of the hypothesis. The presence of civic dignity in LTHAI's design and implementation was already demonstrated above, but figure 4 below presents the findings again, this time comparing LTHAI to the other resettlement and relocation projects discussed to test alternative explanations.

Hoop Test	LTHAI	Umapad Dumpsite 1.0	Umapad Dumpsite 2.0	Paknaan
Successful?	Yes: Individuals relocated voluntarily and permanently	No: Individuals were evicted and some returned to rebuilt illegally	Mostly Yes: Most individuals voluntarily relocated to the development site or elsewhere	Mostly Yes: Most individuals voluntarily relocated to the development site or elsewhere
Civic dignity in design and implementation?	Yes (see Figure 2 above)	No	Partially	Yes

Figure 4: Hoop test to determine whether the hypothesized causal mechanism (civic dignity) was present in LTHAI compared to the other relocation projects

The hypothesis passes the hoop test: The successful LTHAI project had strong examples of civic dignity in the policy design and implementation, and to the extent that Paknaan and the second attempt at the Umapad Dumpsite were successful, civic dignity was present there also in the policy design and implementation. However, process tracing demands that alternative explanations be considered as well. Are there alternative explanations that could also pass the hoop test; are there factors outside of civic dignity that could be the causal mechanism resulting in successful outcomes?

Figure 5 takes into account alternative explanations and subjects them to the hoop test. The interview data and document review indicated that geographic distance and impact on livelihood were also factors that impacted some of projects. The question at hand is whether one or more of these factors were present consistently where there was a corresponding level of success and whether any of those factors could be the causal mechanism for success or failure. Alternative explanations are eliminated if their presence does not correspond to a consistent outcome. Since LTHAI is the only project deemed a full

success, consistent partial presence within partially successful projects would constitute

passing the hoop test, as would consistent presence across failed projects.

Hoop Test - Alternatives	LTHAI	Umapad Dumpsite 1.0	Umapad Dumpsite 2.0	Paknaan
Successful?	Yes	No	Mostly Yes	Mostly Yes
Civic dignity in design and implementation?	Yes	No	Partially	Yes
Geographic distance a factor?	No: on-site relocation	Yes: off-site	Yes: off-site	Yes: off-site
Livelihood accounted for?	N/A	No	Yes	N/A

Figure 5: Hoop test to weigh alternative explanations (*i.e.,* other potential causal mechanisms) that could have contributed to or precluded a successful outcome in the relocation projects

Civic dignity was already discussed and demonstrated to pass the hoop test in

Figures 3 and 4. Geographic distance, an alternative explanation, comes close to passing

the hoop test but ultimately it does not pass. Geographic distance was not a factor in the

LTHAI resettlement (a success) as participants were given the opportunity to build

permanent homes at the original site but at a safe distance from the creek. Geographic

distance was a factor in the first Umapad dumpsite attempt as beneficiaries were removed

from the dumpsite to free housing provided elsewhere in the city. However, geographic

distance cannot pass the hoop test because it is not consistently a causal mechanism across

corresponding project outcomes. For geographic distance to pass the hoop test, then we

would expect to see it as the roadblock to successful outcomes as it was during the first

Umapad dumpsite initiative. But the second Umapad dumpsite and the Paknaan initiatives-

- where geographic distance was a factor-- both yielded (mostly) successful outcomes, and so one cannot conclude that geographic distance is the "cause" or causal mechanism for successful (or failed) outcomes.

Impact on livelihood was cited in both Umapad project attempts. It was not accounted for the first time scavenger families were relocated, and the project failed. The second Umapad project did take impact on livelihood into account, and the project was (more) successful. (There was still resistance by advocacy groups.) Does this mean that livelihood as a factor passes the hoop test? Perhaps. To summarize the findings of this hoop test: where livelihood was an issue and not accounted for, the project failed; where it was an issue and it was accounted for, the project yielded more successful outcomes; where livelihood was not an issue, there is no obvious correlation between it the project outcome (i.e., with LTHAI and Paknaan). The interview data is critical here in providing needed clarification. The Housing and Urban Development Team recalled how the second attempt to relocate Umapad Dumpsite scavenger families involved consulting with the families to determine their needs and concerns. From these opportunities for meaningful political participation, the scavenger families and city officials were able to identify livelihood as an issue of concern for the scavenger families. By all accounts, the only reason Umapad 2.0 took livelihood into account as a critical factor was because of the presence and activity of the hypothesized causal mechanism: civic dignity through ownership. The opportunity for ownership (here, operationalized through consultation and collaboration) is actually what made the second Umapad project (more) successful. This observation supports the theory that problems need to be deconstructed and understood in the local context if one hopes to address and ameliorate them.

The second Van Evera test the hypothesis must satisfy is the "smoking gun test,"

which tests whether civic dignity performed as predicted as compared to the alternative

explanations (see Figure 6 below). This requires revisiting civic dignity's

operationalization in addition to any other factors discussed as alternative explanation that

passed the hoop test. (Geographic distance was eliminated, and livelihood was shown to be

a byproduct of ownership in these projects.) The presence of the three components of

ownership has been shown already in Figures 2 and 3. So the question for the smoking gun

test is whether all three components performed as predicted, whether they were active. In

the abstract, this is the difference between a gun and a smoking gun; the idea of a smoking

gun suggests that the gun was in fact used; it was not only present but also active.

Smoking Gun Test	LTHAI	Umapad Dumpsite 1.0	Umapad Dumpsite 2.0	Paknaan
Civic dignity in design and implementation?	Yes	N/A: was not present	Partially: to the extent it was present	Mostly Yes
Successful?	Yes	No	Mostly Yes	Mostly Yes

Figure 6: Smoking gun test to determine if the hypothesized causal mechanism (civic dignity) performed as predicted

Civic dignity was present *and* performed as predicted in successful projects. This

means that each of the component pieces of ownership lead into the next one, culminating

in a successful outcome. And in unsuccessful projects, it was not present. In satisfying the

hoop test and smoking gun test, the hypothesis distinguishes itself from competing or

alternative hypotheses as the explanation most supported by the evidence. However, the

findings for Paknaan demand further discussion.

The Paknaan project is characterized as "mostly successful," with ownership

performing as predicted throughout the design and implementation among the majority of

the informal settlers living along Mahiga Creek. For the majority, the component pieces of

ownership were present and performed as predicted, culminating in their voluntary

relocation away from Mahiga Creek (whether to the Paknaan development site or

elsewhere). For a small portion of the settlers, however, the component pieces of

ownership eventually broke down and did not yield the successful outcome (voluntary

relocation) that was predicted. Why is that-- why, if ownership is a critical factor for

success, was Paknaan only "mostly successful? Does Paknaan's qualified success weaken

the hypothesis that ownership produces more successful outcomes?

The hypothesized causal mechanism was present in Paknaan as much as it was in

LTHAI. In fact, the Paknaan initiative was modeled after the LTHAI initiative. But not all of

the component pieces performed as predicted. A small portion of the Mahiga Creek

residents who needed to be relocated from the danger zone remained extremely reluctant

to engage with the government. They protested through official and unofficial channels.

Despite repeated visits by Mandaue's Community Affairs and Housing and Urban

Development teams, and despite several postponements agreed to by the government,

some settlers simply refused to dismantle their old dwellings voluntarily and relocate.

They understood the problem, and they had many opportunities to collaborate with the

government, but for some an agreed upon outcome could not be reached. This reality does

not invalidate the argument in favor of civic dignity. Ownership is a potent ingredient in

development projects, but the Paknaan case is a reminder that it is not a magic bullet.

Ownership alone is not guaranteed to overcome other obstacles or limitations, such as time

constraints. The informal settlers living along the Mahiga Creek were consulted many times and the government tried to collaborate and persuade wherever possible. But some evictions and government demolitions were necessary as time for clearing the danger zone along Mahiga Creek ran out. Maybe given infinite time, Mandaue may have been able to achieve 100% buy-in among the settlers. Then again, maybe not.

The point is one should not solely rely on ownership, but rather it should be built into the design and implementation phases wherever possible for the sake of achieving more successful outcomes and for the sake of increasing civic dignity. Incorporating ownership into design and implementation sometimes requires creative thinking, such as enlisting local architecture students to collaborate with residents to design their new homes. Difficult circumstances, such as an accelerated timeline, should not be an excuse to forgo opportunities ownership. In the case of Paknaan, as has already been discussed, the city continued to seek opportunities to enhance the civic dignity among those who relocated through organizing medical missions and job fairs. Resistance and lack of capacity (perceived or otherwise) among a group of would-be beneficiaries and other obstacles should not be an excuse for heavy-handed or coercive government intervention. The preceding chapter demonstrated that coercion denies individuals a voice and participation in their own affairs, which is to deny their civic dignity. Not only is this damaging to their liberty, but it also undermines the learned ability to self-govern. This chapter demonstrates how collective knowledge and efforts of self-governing citizens can produce more successful outcomes for government-sponsored initiatives (and how a lack of collaboration can undermine the government's efforts).

VI.   INSTITUTIONALIZING CIVIC DIGNITY IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND CONTEXTS

The value of this case lies not in explaining the outcome of a resettlement project in Mandaue, but in exploring the role of civic dignity in project design and implementation and unpacking how incorporating civic dignity can improve public outcomes. In many ways, the theory laid out in this chapter may seem like common sense—and therefore, not a very valuable contribution. This is not the case; simple though it may be, the theory is not exactly standard practice. The overwhelming trend in development is to view citizens as beneficiaries, as individuals and communities in need of charity, who lack the know-how to help themselves and need to be rescued by experts and bureaucrats. Whether in America or abroad, big government and big development tend to produce a hammock state of continued dependence (or worse). The Mandaue case adds to the small but growing chorus of liberty- and market-based approaches to governance and development.

Sometimes the power of participatory governance is discovered through necessity, for example when a community's remote or rural location demands that citizens carry some of the burden of governing. This was true with at least one of the "social accountability initiatives" studied by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Integrity Action. In an effort named Project BULHON, rural citizens were needed to help fill the gap in monitoring agricultural services, specifically "rice subsidies and production."[171] For the sake of improving the delivery of an important public good *and* for

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[171]   See Claudia Baez-Camargo, "Participatory monitoring to improve performance of government services and promote citizen empowerment: a success story from the Philippines." Bayaniham Undertaking Living in a Healthy and Organised Neighborhood, or Project BULHON, is based in the Philippines as "a joint government-citizen initiative to monitor agricultural services, particularly the distribution of rice subsidies and production programmes," (p. 1-3). It was

the sake of increasing government transparency, citizens were connected with local

government officials "from the inception of the initiative, through the design, planning,

implementation, and evaluation phases." The original motivation for the project was to

curb corruption. The "constructive engagement" approach adopted during the social

accountability initiative, however, not only yielded improved delivery and accountability,

but it also "developed a more proactive attitude" among the citizens in their relation to the

local government.[172]

Similarly spirited efforts are afoot in India as well, where the Public Affairs Centre

(PAC) is pioneering a participatory outlet called Citizen Report Cards. Dr. Samuel Paul,

founder of PAC, succinctly identified the problem: "In most developing countries, the

provision of essential public services to the people is the responsibility of the government.

Monopoly in services often results in inefficiency and non-responsiveness, which in turn

causes much public dissatisfaction. In this context, consumers of the services have no

recourse to market alternatives."[173] Citizen Report Cards work as an innovative collective

action mechanism to give citizens leverage against unresponsive, unaccountable, and/or

unmotivated government service providers for the sake of improving the delivery of public

services and eliminating corruption. In practice, a trusted third-party group (here, the

Public Affairs Centre) approaches both a local branch of government service providers

(government workers and relevant officials) and the citizen service users. Both the service

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developed by and facilitated by the Government Watch program based in the Ateneo School of
Government in Manila.

[172]   Claudia Baez-Camargo, "Participatory monitoring to improve performance of government
services and promote citizen empowerment: a success story from the Philippines," p. 3-5

[173]   Samuel Paul, "Stimulating Activism through Champions of Change," in *Accountability
through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action*, ed. Sina Odugbemi and Taeku Lee, 347-358
(Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2011), p. 348

providers and the service consumers are asked to appraise the delivery of services in terms

of perceived quality, efficiency, availability, cost-effectiveness, ease of access, etc. The

results are shared publicly in media releases—this requires buy-in from local journalists,

newspapers in advance. Then, both demand and supply side influences work to drive

improvement and innovation.[174]

With civic dignity in mind, the virtue of the Citizen Report Card approach is that it

moves beyond voting and public opinion polls. Individuals are asked to draw on their

experiences and give directed feedback. They are asked about issues that are relevant to

their daily lives, and they are asked in a way that is accessible to them (*i.e.,* through an

outlet that does not carry high transaction costs). This and similar technologies are further

evidence of how improved governance and public services can be natural complements to

"[empowering] citizen groups to play a watch-dog role to monitor public services agencies

and local governments" and "[deepening] social capital by converging communities around

issues of shared experiences and concerns."[175]

Civic dignity "bright spots" exist in America, too, of course. Stand Together is a non-

profit dedicated to finding such examples in American communities across a variety of

sectors and issues, including employment, education, criminal justice, and city

revitalization. The theme driving Stand Together and the work they support is "helping

people help themselves." They take as their starting point that the people closest to the

problem likely have the most knowledge about how to fix it, and that "ownership" is key to

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[174]   The success of the Citizen Report Card initiative in India has led other organizations outside
of India, such as The World Bank, to promote and adopt the Public Affairs Centre's framework.
[175]   Public Affairs Centre & Asian Development Bank, *Citizen Report Card Learning Toolkit.* n.d.
http://www.citizenreportcard.com/crccom/index/html (accessed June 14, 2017).

meaningful participation. In this sense, the projects they mentor move beyond the older

two-dimensional public-private partnership model.[176]

  One such partner project is Root & Rebound, a California based non-profit, which

works to demystify the reentry process for inmates and their families. Lawyers and

advocates conduct "reentry readiness" trainings to help parolees navigate what can seem

like second-class citizenship. Facing over 44,000 legal barriers to ordinary life (across

federal, state, and local levels, impacting housing, family, employment, education, and

more), Root & Rebound seeks to disseminate knowledge and thus lower the transaction

costs to participation for this vulnerable population as they transition to life after prison.[177]

Another dynamic example is the Jubilee Project in Cincinnati, which leverages the power of

entrepreneurship, dignified employment opportunities, and home ownership to revitalize

decaying neighborhoods. The Jubilee Project "invests in dilapidated homes, trains

unemployed individuals, sells the home to a family in need, and reinvests the proceeds of

the sale back into another home."[178] (Many times the individuals employed are considered

"un-hirable," due to low skills, addiction, or criminal records.) The overall value of the

neighbor improves as the properties are gradually renovated and the workforce developed;

and families are able to escape high-rents and experience home ownership.

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[176] Stand Together and the projects with which they partner echo some of the animating
principles of Problem-Driven Iterative Adaption (PDIA) discussed earlier in the chapter. See
www.stand-together.com
[177] See Root & Rebound Reentry Advocates, *The Need [for Reentry Readiness].* n.d.
http://www.rootandrebound.org/the-need (accessed August 1, 2017). See also
http://www.rootandrebound.org/model-for-change
[178] Stand Together, *What Does Sustainable Community Development Look Like?* May 24, 2017.
http://www.stand-together.org/sustainable-community-development-look-like/ (accessed August
1, 2017).

The previous chapter focused on the individual and the demand-side virtues of civic dignity. This chapter highlighted more of a supply-side approach to the argument, focusing on how one city incorporated civic dignity as it pursued its strategic objectives. But whether the argument for civic dignity is made in terms of demand- or supply-side benefits is potentially irrelevant as long as opportunities for meaningful participation (or ownership) are incorporated into policy design and implementation. Doing so should be mutually beneficial for individuals and the health of the self-governing political community alike, something Mayor Cortes of Mandaue took to be true. Toward the end of the interview, the mayor mused, "We have to teach them, and they have to be a part of it. [This is the] same as the #iamMandaue [campaign]. We are sending a strong message to all the Mandauehanons. They are all part of the team; we can't do it [alone]."[179]

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[179]   Jonah Cortes, interview by Melissa Mahoney Smith, *Mandaue Reform Journey Field Interview with Mayor Cortes* Mandaue, (October 23, 2015).

CHAPTER FOUR:

MEASURING CIVIC DIGNITY

I.   INTRODUCTION

The success of Addams' work in Chicago's 19th ward could be measured several

ways; consider a few possibilities: the soaring attendance at Hull House's various social

clubs, the increased trash citations given as a result of her mobilization of neighborhood

mothers, or by the new skills that people wielded as a result of the class offerings. But none

of these metrics gets at perhaps the most important improvement, and indeed the very

impetus for her efforts: socializing democracy through fellowship, education, and

connecting people to meaningful participatory outlets. Her efforts at Hull House shaped

how citizens understood their role in the political community and how they viewed their

interactions with fellow citizens and the government apparatus. A civic dignity scale could

have been enormously helpful in translating her efforts to measurable progress. A similar

point could be made about Mandaue, the Philippines, where the Performance Governance

System helped institutionalize a more dignified approach to relocating vulnerable

populations. The success of the policy is measured by the number of households moved,

which is critical to be sure, but what about including increased civic dignity as a measure of

success? Addams and Mayor Cortes, separated by time and space, both understood that

how citizens are treated matters; how citizens are treated by each other and by their

government matters to individual liberty and to the health of the political community.

The aim of this chapter is deepening our understanding of civic dignity by taking

what we know about it theoretically and qualitatively to construct a scale that we can use

to measure civic dignity quantitatively. In a data driven world, reliable and valid

measurement is key, and if the concept of civic dignity is going to gain currency, then

validating a scale to capture it is essential. Moreover, efforts like that of Addams or Mayor

Cortes could be further legitimized if progress made could be captured in a meaningful

way. First, civic dignity needs to be conceptualized, building directly on the work done in

chapter two. Second, civic dignity needs to be operationalized, building on the work done

in chapter three: what indicators, taken together, can move us closer to measuring civic

dignity? Third, the scale needs to be validated by seeing how it correlates with related

instruments in the literature. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential

applications of the civic dignity scale in future research.

A. Conceptualizing Civic Dignity

The previous chapters explored the contours of civic dignity, seeking to understand

what it is theoretically, why it matters to individual freedom and to the liberal democratic

regime, and how it can be incorporated into effective policy design and implementation.

This chapter revisits and deepens that conceptualization, in addition to investigating useful

points of overlap and departure from related concepts and measures in the political science

and psychology literatures.

Civic dignity goes beyond the mere act of political participation or civic

membership. The extent to which someone has civic dignity answers the question of

whether a citizen has a sense of ownership in the political community. Conceptually, civic

dignity is about the citizen's individual experience, encompassing one's perceptions of

political participation and of being a citizen. The external dimension of civic dignity, that is,

the treatment a citizen experiences in interacting with fellow citizens and the political

community (*i.e.,* noninfantilization and nonhumiliation), we can refer to as "citizen interpersonal perception." The internal dimension we can refer to as "citizen self-understanding."

As much as civic dignity is reflective and inward facing, it is also practical and outward facing. It is not exclusively an individual perception, psychological state, or "feeling." We can best understand civic dignity as *having* dignity and of *being* dignified in the political community as a citizen. "Having dignity" reminds us of the helpful starting point established by Ober, in which having civic dignity is defined by non-infantilization and non-humiliation.[180] But this is a rather thin definition for something of such import, which is why I argued for expanding the definition in chapter two. "Being dignified," as demonstrated through the political thought and example of Jane Addams, is anchored in the sense of ownership a citizen experiences in the political community. Putting these pieces together, civic dignity (having and being dignified as a citizen in the political community) is nonhumiliation, noninfantilization, and having a sense of ownership in the affairs of the political community, particularly in the affairs most relevant to one's own life. Phenomenologically, it is how a citizen experiences his/her place in the political community and his/her perceptions of that experience.

Given the vastness of political science and psychology literature, there are concepts and measures that are related to civic dignity, even overlapping in some instances. Active citizenship, social capital, and political efficacy are a few examples in political science.[181]

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180   See: Ober, "Democracy's Dignity"
181   Within development literature, there are established and ongoing efforts to measure participation, empowerment, and dignity. These measures may also overlap with civic dignity depending on who designed the measures and for what purpose. For a useful discussion on this

Within psychology, self-determination theory (SDT) and the basic psychological needs

theory (part of SDT) are two concepts that while not political in nature, speak to ideas of

autonomy, motivation, and relatedness– all of which underpin civic dignity.

Active Citizenship, a term that emerged from Europe in 1998 has a similar spirit to

civic dignity, at least conceptually. Initially articulated by Edith Cresson, then European

Commissioner on Education, Research and Sciences, active citizenship is the condition in

which citizens could be "the architects and actors of their own lives."[182] This is evocative of

language used to describe civic dignity, particularly the role played by one's sense of

ownership in being dignified in the political community. Hoskin translated the concept of

active citizenship into a definition and then operationalized it into a composite measure.

While the spirit of "active citizenship" is similar to civic dignity, the actual definition of

active citizenship diverges from civic dignity in notable ways: "Participation in civil society,

community and/or political life, characterized by mutual respect and non-violence and in

accordance with human rights and democracy."[183]

The working definition of active citizenship seems to fall short of its rich conceptual

spirit as originally articulated by Cresson. The emphasis on the individual's "sense of

belonging" and "having a stake in the community" seems absent or muted in the definition.

This need not be viewed as an accident or shortcoming, however; it was an intentional

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point, see: Dee Jupp and Sohel Ibn Ali, *Measuring Empowerment? Ask Them Quantifying qualitative
outcomes from people's own analysis,* Sida Studies in Evaluation, 2010. Rather than using measures
developed by economist or sociologist, for instances, the authors remark, "We therefore argue, that
by relying on the participants themselves to explain the changes experienced, it is likely that these
explanations will be unencumbered by any of these professional biases" (p 28).
[182]   Hoskins and Mascherini, "Measuring Active Citizenship through the Development of a
Composite Indicator," p. 460
[183]   Hoskins, "Measuring Active Citizenship: A Comparison of Current Developments in
International Surveys," p. 2

shift. Hoskin clarifies: "Although active citizenship is specified on the individual level, the emphasis lies on what these activities contribute to the wider society in terms of ensuring the continuation of democracy, good governance and social cohesion."[184] Civic dignity, like active citizenship, relates to both the individual citizen and the political community writ large, but the emphasis for civic dignity is individual liberty and the experience of exercising that liberty in a self-governing political community. The extent to which civic dignity is present impacts the health of the political community, but the primary point of focus is the individual citizen and his/her liberty. The definition and measurement for active citizenship, by contrast, has as its primary concern good governance.

Both civic dignity and active citizenship are reminiscent of Putnam's social capital. As was established in chapter two, civic dignity considers the relationship between citizen and state and the relationship among citizens. Social capital also focuses on the relationships among citizens. The interactions with which civic dignity is concerned, however, are not personal but political. Unlike social capital, civic dignity's presence does not depend upon social or personal interactions; rather, civic dignity depends upon the tone and experience of interactions that are political or take place in a political setting.[185]

Political efficacy provides another lens to measure a citizen's political impressions. Like civic dignity, political efficacy is reflective in nature. Defined by Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, political efficacy is the "feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact on the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties."

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[184]   Hoskin, "Measuring Active Citizenship: A Comparison of Current Developments in International Surveys," p. 2
[185]   Recall from Chapter Two: "Many citizens, while enjoying and defending civic dignity, (can) remain strangers to each other." See also Ober, "Democracy's Dignity," p. 837

The one-dimensional political efficacy concept was later expanded to two dimensions (internal and external), but its focus remained unchanged: political efficacy is about the sense of control a citizen has, the ability to impact the political process.[186] Craig, Niemi, and Silver further flushed out political efficacy's two dimensions. Internally, political efficacy focuses on a citizen's feeling of competence to understand and participate; and externally, political efficacy refers to a citizen's "beliefs about the responsiveness of government authorities."[187]

Conceptually, there are important areas of comparability between civic dignity and political efficacy with both being citizen-focused and reflective. Political efficacy's focus on whether the citizen has a sense of *control* over the political process differs from civic dignity's focus on whether the citizen has a sense of *ownership* and access. Control and ownership are closer together than they are apart, but they are distinct. *Control* has its roots in "ability to impact" and "government responsiveness" (corresponding to internal and external political efficacy, respectively). In a representative democracy, however, the notion of control seems a little out of place. Control implies a delegate approach to representation (or even a direct approach) as opposed to a trustee approach, for one. But more to the point, living in a pluralistic self-governing political community makes the expectation that one's particular outcome preference should win out over all others unreasonable and unrealistic. If one's preferred outcome does not materialize in the political community, then the government may seem unresponsive and/or a citizen may

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[186]   Agnus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), p. 187
[187]   Stephen C. Craig, Richard G. Niemi, and Glenn E. Silver, "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items," *Political Behavior* 12, no. 3 (September 1990): 289-314. See p. 290.

have a lower appraisal of one's ability to impact the political process, resulting in lower

political efficacy levels. But does this necessarily mean that the government is not

functioning as it should? This issue does not mean that political efficacy is not a useful

concept or measure— it is. This means, however, that focusing on control is not the only

way (nor perhaps the best way) to discuss a citizen's view of his/her place in the political

community. Instead of focusing on control and ability to impact, civic dignity focuses on

ownership and ability to participate and contribute.

Even though control and ownership can be distinguished by their aims (outcome

versus process), they are more related than they are different. One cannot arrive at an

outcome without some kind of process preceding it. If an individual citizen is satisfied with

an outcome (high political efficacy), then we can reason that the same citizen would likely

have few complaints about the process (high civic dignity from the citizen's views and

ideas being heard and treated with respect). Where the distinction may emerge is in the

scenario where a citizen disagrees with the outcome (lower political efficacy) but found the

process accessible and had the opportunity to contribute or participate meaningfully (high

civic dignity).

Beyond the issue of control versus ownership, civic dignity and political efficacy

differ in terms of scope. Civic dignity involves citizen self-reflection and citizen reflection

on one's relationship with the government apparatus (similar to political efficacy), but it

also involves a citizen's reflection on interactions with fellow citizens.

From psychology, self-determination theory (SDT) and basic psychological needs

theory (BPNT) are two concepts useful for deepening our understanding of civic dignity.

Self-determination theory explores and codifies why individuals are driven to do things

they do. SDT scholars differentiate intrinsic motivation from external factors, and then look at how intrinsic and external factors combine to impact human behavior and satisfaction.[188] If an individual's decision to do or not to do "x" is the outcome of a combination of intrinsic and external forces, the combination of which can be categorized into motivation types, then understanding where civic dignity factors into the calculation could yield additional insight into civic dignity's relationship with political participation. In other words, investigating civic dignity alongside SDT may reveal that certain motivation types are more or less resilient to changes in civic dignity. And if so, then increasing (or suppressing) civic dignity within certain motivation types may increase (or decrease) the likelihood of political participation.

Basic psychological needs theory, nested within SDT, argues that autonomy, competence, and relatedness underpin "psychological well-being and optimal functioning." It reasons that if those three components are necessary for "optimal functioning," conditions that undermine any one of those components may likewise undermine the potential for individual well-being.[189] In the same way that autonomy, competence, and relatedness are necessary for an individual's "optimal functioning," we can imagine the political version of those three components being necessary for a citizen's optimal functioning.

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[188]   For a quick overview, see: *Self-Determination Theory: Theory.* n.d. www.selfdeterminationtheory.org/theory (accessed August 1, 2017).   See also Deci, E. L., and R. M. Ryan. "The "What" and "Why" of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-Determination of Behavior." *Psychological Inquiry*, 2000: 227-268.
[189]   *Self-Determination Theory: Theory.* n.d. www.selfdeterminationtheory.org/theory (accessed August 1, 2017), p. 3

Additional comparisons between civic dignity and related concepts will become clearer when we move from conceptualization to operationalization. To summarize the conceptual discussion, civic dignity is defined as a political condition where the citizen is free from infantilizing and humiliating treatment, either at the hands of the government or fellow citizens, where the citizen understands that s/he has a seat at the proverbial table in the self-governing political community, and where the citizen has a sense of ownership over issues that impact one's daily life.

B. Moving from Concept to Operationalization

The next step in validating a scale for civic dignity is moving from concept to operationalization. First, given the multifaceted nature of civic dignity conceptually, we can expect the operationalization of a civic dignity scale to be similarly multifaceted. Second, given the relatedness of concepts discussed in the previous section, we can expect the operationalization of civic dignity to bear some resemblance to already validated instruments yet still be distinct in important ways. Finally, regardless of how thoughtfully civic dignity is translated from concept to operationalization, we must acknowledge that measuring latent concepts is tricky business, and that this study is exploratory in nature.

1. Components of civic dignity

Operationally, civic dignity has two main components, with both components containing two more sub-components. The first component is citizen self-understanding, which breaks down further into "full legitimate member" and "sense of ownership." The

second component of civic dignity is citizen interpersonal perception, which breaks down

further into "-with the government" and "-with fellow citizens."

Citizen self-understanding is inwardly reflective, and the operationalization of this

component is recorded through self-reported answers as opposed to behavioral output.[190]

Citizen self-understanding drives at how a citizen views his/her place within the political

community. Does a citizen understand that in a self-governing political community one can

and ought to participate in the work of self-government? Taking a different perspective,

does a citizen think s/he should have a voice in the community, a seat at the table? What

does that participation look like according to each citizen? Does a citizen's ideal match

his/her reality? Several perspectives are possible: a citizen could conceive of his/her role

as a watchdog holding officials accountable, a participant offering ideas or feedback about

relevant issues, or perhaps a passive consumer opting out of the process as much as

possible. The citizen self-understanding component consists of not only how a citizen

views his/her role within the political community but also takes into account the ease with

which a citizen is able to use the appropriate channels to share an idea or voice a concern.

As an aside, conceiving of a citizen who is both free and does not participate is

complicated. In a self-governing political community such as ours, liberty and participation

are intrinsically linked. In a practical sense, citizens are free not to participate. But this

begs the larger philosophical question of whether "citizens" are ever truly free to abstain

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[190]   Citizen self-understanding might more succinctly be called citizen "identity," but "self-understanding" is more faithful to the concept intended. "Identity" calls to mind identity politics, which is not the intent. Moreover, identity seems to require external validation, particularly in contemporary use. In other words, the external validation is what legitimizes (or not) an identity claim. Self-understanding, on the other hand, is self-contained and self-referential. It refers to how the individual views one's self, regardless and sometimes in spite of what others would say on the matter.

from participating in a self-governing political community, or if the very definition of

"citizen" in our regime type implies one who participates in the work of self-governing.

Finding the balance between practical and philosophical concerns, Tocqueville's soft

despotism demonstrates that opting out of the democratic process may begin as a free

rider issue but can deteriorate into an atrophied herd-like existence. In other words, yes,

individuals can choose to opt out of participating, and their official status as a citizen is not

challenged or revoked, but in opting-out they risk becoming less free over time.

Tocqueville points out that where soft despotism takes root, the citizenry is reduced to a

flock of sheep— hardly worthy of the word "free."[191] For our immediate purpose, the

operationalization of citizen self-understanding acknowledges these philosophical

questions, but pushes forward nonetheless adopting a more literal definition of "citizen."

Here, a citizen refers to someone who is a member of the political community eligible to

vote (or who was once eligible to vote in the case of ex-felons who are disenfranchised by

their state), regardless of whether they choose to participate politically.

In contrast, the citizen interpersonal perception dimension is outwardly reflective.

The operationalization of this component is broken down into two sub-components dealing

with fellow citizens and the government or public officials. Like the citizen self-

understanding component, citizen interpersonal perception is operationalized through

self-reported answers and measured on a scale. Citizen interpersonal perception engages

the citizen on how s/he thinks other citizens or public officials view and treat his/her ideas.

For example, to what extent does a citizen think his/her ideas, if offered, would be treated

with respect? This component of civic dignity involves a citizen's perceived experience at

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[191]   See Chapter Two for a longer discussion of this point.

the hands of others, and it refers back to the tenets of noninfantilization and nonhumiliation.

In dealing with perceptions, there may be a disconnect between a citizen's own perception and the external perceptions held by others. For instance, a citizen may feel undermined or degraded by fellow citizens or public officials, when those external actors-- or even outside observes-- may disagree. However, if a given citizen has a strong sense of being humiliated or infantilized, then is that not the point, particularly if the perception serves as a barrier or obstacle to political participation? The citizen's perception, whether validated by external actors or not, may be enough to silence or discourage free participation of the citizen, which would constitute a lack of civic dignity.[192]

In summary, citizen self-understanding and citizen interpersonal perception are the two operationalized components of civic dignity, to be measured from self-reported participant data. The responses are captured using 5-point Likert-type scales, and they are expected to load onto multiple factors[193] reflecting the component parts of civic dignity. Table 1 (below) lists the items that make up the battery, broken down by components and sub-components of civic dignity.

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[192]   This issue is particularly salient at the time of this writing, as large-scale political protests in our streets and on college campuses seem to be occurring weekly. To the extent that some of these events have deteriorated from the exercise of free speech and peaceful assembly to mob rule where dissenting views are silenced through intimidation should be of serious concern to us all. Being "offended" is not the same as being "humiliated"-- there is something in the nature of being humiliated that presents an obstacle to further participation, whereas those who claim offense are, at least recently, among the most active.

[193]   Not all of the items listed here are retained in the final civic dignity scale. The exploratory factor analysis, discussed in further detail later in the chapter, determines which items to retain and which to drop from the scale.

Item Pool for Civic Dignity Scale Development	
I. Citizen Self-Understanding[194]	
A. Full legitimate citizen	1. As a citizen, I think that I should have a voice in my community (at any/ all levels).
	2. I have just as much a right as everyone else to speak up about political issues that matter to me.
	3. I should have the right to attend community meetings about issues that are important to me or my family.
	4. I do not have a right to speak up about political issues that matter to me or my family.
	5. I should have the right to have my opinions and ideas heard at community meetings about issues that are important to me or my family.
B. Sense of ownership	6. I feel disconnected from the political process.
	7. I couldn't bring about change in my community even if I tried.
	8. There are lots of opportunities for me to contribute meaningfully to issues I care about.
	9. Sometimes I want to participate, but it seems too challenging (e.g., too hard, costly, or time consuming).
	10. There aren't any opportunities for me to contribute meaningfully to issues I care about.
	11. If I wanted to, I could impact my community.
	12. I have some ideas about issues that matter to me, but I don't have any outlets to have my ideas really heard.
	13. I regularly contribute my ideas or skills to political issues or projects that matter to me or my family.
	14. I follow issues that matter to me or my family closely.
	15. I have opinions or ideas about the challenges facing my community.
	16. I should keep my opinions and ideas about challenges facing my community to myself.
	17. I participate as a citizen.
	18. I should contribute my opinions or ideas about challenges facing my community.
II. Citizen Interpersonal Perception[195]	
A. Fellow citizens	19. I think other people in the community treat my opinions or ideas with respect.
	20. I think my opinions or ideas are/ would be dismissed as childish by other people in the community.

[194] Recall that the Citizen Self-Understanding component of civic dignity refers to the citizen's sense of ownership and recognizing one's self as a full and legitimate member of the self-governing political community.
[195] Recall that the Citizen Interpersonal Perception component of civic dignity refers to Ober's idea of non-humiliation and non-infantilization and being recognized by fellow citizens or government officials as a full and legitimate member of the self-governing political community.

	21. I think my opinions or ideas are/ would be listened to by other people in the community, even if we disagree.
	22. I think my opinions and ideas are / would be mocked by other people in the community.
	23. I think my opinions or ideas would be treated with respect by other people in the community, even if we disagree.
	24. I would not share my opinions about an issue that matters to me or my family in front of other people because of how those people might react.
B. Government officials	25. I think government officials treat my opinions or ideas with respect.
	26. I think my opinions or ideas are/ would be dismissed as childish by government officials.
	27. I think my opinions or ideas are/ would be listened to by government officials, even if we disagree.
	28. I think my opinions or ideas are / would be mocked by government officials.
	29. I think my opinions or ideas would be treated with respect by government officials, even if we disagree.
	30. I would not share my opinions about an issue that matters to me or my family in front of government officials because of how those government officials might react.

Table 1. Civic Dignity Scale (CDS) Item Pool for Scale Construction Process

2. Comparisons to other measures

Given the connection between civic dignity and related concepts, one can expect similar points of comparison between the operationalization of civic dignity and related measures. Those measures most relevant to civic dignity's operationalization are the Active Citizenship Composite Index (ACCI), the political efficacy scale from the American National Election Survey (ANES), and the Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation (SDSPM) and Basic Psychological Needs Satisfaction (BPNS) scale, both from self-determination theory.

The Active Citizenship Composite Index (ACCI), based on the active citizenship definition discussed earlier, is composed of "four measurable and distinct dimensions of Protest and social change, Community life, Representative democracy, and Democratic

values." Each of the four dimensions is composed further of components and corresponding indicators. In total, the ACCI has 61 indicators, with the European Social Survey (ESS) as the primary source of data.[196] The data captured by the ACCI focuses on organized and institutional participation, leaving the authors to concede, "many types of alternative forms of participation are not covered in particular new forms of engagement and less formal types of participation."[197] This is one point of departure between the Civic Dignity Scale and the ACCI: the Civic Dignity Scale pertains to traditional forms of participation *and* less institutionalized or even ad-hoc participation opportunities. Indeed, civic dignity assumes the political experience is a combination of the few formal and the potential myriad informal participation opportunities.

A second (related) point of departure between the Civic Dignity Scale and ACCI concerns their points of focus. Hoskins and Mascherini note that in developing a composite index for active citizenship, the intended focus was to measure country-level data, with "much less of a focus on the benefit to the individual."[198] But despite the differences between ACCI and the Civic Dignity Scale, the two overlap enough in spirit such that one would expect the two be positively correlated. Specifically, the Democratic values dimension in the ACCI should be positively correlated with the Civic Dignity Scale in the validation study. The European Social Survey questions pertaining to democratic values ask, for instance, "how important is it for a citizen to vote, to obey laws, develop an

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[196]   Hoskins and Mascherini, "Measuring Active Citizenship through the Development of a Composite Indicator," p. 470
[197]   Hoskins and Mascherini, "Measuring Active Citizenship through the Development of a Composite Indicator," p. 460
[198]   Hoskins and Mascherini, "Measuring Active Citizenship through the Development of a Composite Indicator," p. 463

independent opinion, to be active in a voluntary organization, and to be active in

politics."[199]

The Political Efficacy measure used by the American National Election Survey

(ANES) is also related to civic dignity. Broadly speaking, items in the Political Efficacy scale

ask respondents whether they have a "say" in political affairs, and if elected officials care

about "what people like me think."[200] That line of inquiry is relevant since civic dignity's

ownership tenet also has roots in the idea of having a "say."

Political efficacy's internal efficacy dimension overlaps partially with civic dignity's

citizen self-understanding component.[201] Consider the following internal efficacy items: "I

consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics," and "I often don't feel sure of

myself when talking with other people about politics and government."[202] But the overlap

is only partial because political efficacy's internal efficacy begins and ends with a citizen's

perceived competence in politics. Civic dignity's citizen self-understanding delves deeper

into the citizen experience by focusing on the citizen's reported sense of ownership over

issues impacting the citizen's daily life. This "ownership" takes into account not only a

citizen's reported competence and confidence but also the citizen's willingness and ability

to participate. The areas of overlap, however, should be strong enough to produce a

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[199]   Hoskins and Mascherini, "Measuring Active Citizenship through the Development of a Composite Indicator," p. 467
[200]   See: American National Election Studies. *The ANES Guide to Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior.* University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies. n.d. www.electionstudies.org (accessed 1 2017, August).
[201]   For a discussion of further developing the political efficacy measure to include internal and external efficacy components, see: Craig *et al,* "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items."
[202]   See: Craig *et al*, "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items"

positive correlation between political efficacy's internal efficacy and the Civic Dignity Scale, specifically the sense of ownership component.

The external dimension of political efficacy is also relevant, overlapping with civic dignity's citizen interpersonal perception component. Both external political efficacy and civic dignity's citizen interpersonal perception ask participants to reflect on their place in the political community. The similarities between the two should contribute to the overall correlation between political efficacy and civic dignity, but the two will not be identical. Besides the difference between control and ownership, there is also a difference between the two measures in terms of scope. Where the regime-based external political efficacy items stop at questions of citizen and "government" or citizen and "public official"-- evocative of more institutional or formal interactions with government-- civic dignity assumes a more expansive view of the political experience.[203] Civic dignity's focus on a sense of ownership considers politics not only at the national level, but also, and perhaps more importantly, at the local and regional levels and concerning issue-specific policies. In addition, political efficacy does not include a citizen's perceived interpersonal experiences with fellow citizens. This dimension of civic dignity is critical because one's experiences with fellow citizens can shape much of an individual's day-to-day experience in the political community, for good or bad.

At least two scales from psychology literature can contribute to validating the civic dignity scale. The Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction (BPNS) scale was developed by Deci and Ryan and Gangé, which grew out of earlier efforts by Deci *et al* that studied

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[203]   Craig *et al*, "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items," p. 299

satisfaction in the work environment.[204] In addition to the general BPNS scale, there are

domain specific versions, including those aimed at the work place, education, and personal

relationships. Items in the BPNS scale ask participants to respond to statements such as: "I

generally feel free to express my ideas and opinions;" "I often do not feel very capable;" and

"In my life I do not get much of a chance to show how capable I am." The work place

specific version of the BPNT scale has similar items but with an emphasis on work

environment and co-workers. For example, where the BPNS general scale features

statements like, "There is not much opportunity for me to decide for myself how to do

things in my life," and "People are generally friendly towards me," the work place specific

BPNS reads, "There is not much opportunity for me to decide for myself how to go about

my work," and "People at work are pretty friendly towards me." This suggests that a

simple tweak in the statement's aim is all that is needed to pivot the focus of the participant

to the various validated domains.

A connection can be drawn between BPNT and civic dignity. The argument that

autonomy, competence, and relatedness are needed for optimal functioning echoes some of

the same ideas underpinning the relationship between civic dignity and political

participation. The Civic Dignity Scale validation study presents an opportunity to explore

the relationship between autonomy, competence, and relatedness on one hand and the

sense of ownership and interpersonal perceptions in civic dignity.

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[204]   Deci and Ryan, "The "What" and "Why" of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-
Determination of Behavior."   M. Gangé, "The Role of Autonomy Support and Autonomy Orientation
in Prosocial Behavior Engagement," *Motivation and Emotion* 27, no. 3 (2003): 199-223.   E. L. Deci,
R. M. Ryan, M. Gagné, D. R. Leone, J. Usunov, and B. P. Kornazheva, "Need Satisfaction, Motivation,
and Well-Being in the Work Organizations of a Former Eastern Bloc Country," *Personality and Social
Psychology Bulletin* 27, no. 8 (August 2001): 930-942.

Participants who score high on the BPNS may or may not also score high on the civic

dignity scale. Individuals who rate themselves highly on autonomy, competence, and

relatedness may or may not opt-in to political participation activities. We can assume this

because psychological well-being and optimal functioning do necessarily not depend on

political engagement, particularly if the issues do not seem relevant to one's daily life.

Moreover, one of the virtues of a representative democracy is the opportunity it facilitates

for its citizens to deepen their own interests and pursue livelihoods with the heavy work of

governing lifted from their shoulders. But what about the reverse; what about participants

who report low levels on the BPNS scale? If individuals report low levels of autonomy,

competence, and/or relatedness on the BPNS scale, then we should expect to see similarly

low levels on the civic dignity scale. Autonomy, competence, and relatedness would seem

to provide part of the foundation for the experiences of ownership and dignity among one's

fellow citizens. If nothing else, imagining an individual reporting low levels of self-

determination in a personal or work domain but scoring high in civic dignity seems

unlikely. In general, these two scales should be positively correlated.

Finally, the Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation (SDSPM) adds additional

context to the civic dignity scale validation study.[205] Building on Deci and Ryan's seminal

works on SDT, Vallerand, O'Connor, and Hamel developed four subscales that measure the

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[205]   G. F. Losier, S. Perreault, R. Koestner, and R. J. Vallerand, "Examining Individual Differences in the internalization of Political Values: Validation of the Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation," *Journal of Research in Personality* 35, no. 1 (2001): 41-61.
The SDSPM is a 12-item battery, with items scored on a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 7. See Losier *et al,* p. 44.

regulatory styles pertaining to human motivation.[206] The four subscales can be

summarized as follows: "intrinsic motivation ('For the pleasure of doing it'), identification

('I choose to do it for my own good'), introjection ('Because I am supposed to do it'), and a

motivation ('I don't know, I don't see what it does for me')."[207] Koestner *et al* then took

Vallerand's four subscales, which had already been used successfully "to measure

motivational orientations across six separate domains," and adapted the subscales to yet

another domain: motivation for following political events.[208] Losier *et al*'s work provided

further validation of the SDSPM.

Losier *et al* conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to investigate the

structural stability of SDSPM's four-factor model. Their findings supported the four-factor

model, further validating the instrument, which is "intended to assess different types of

reasons for [following politics]" or participating politically.[209] What this and earlier work

demonstrated was "the successful internalization of values toward politics seems to be at

the core of people's active and conscientious commitment toward democratic ideals."[210] In

other words, the individual's belief that following politics is important, more so than

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[206]   R. J. Vallerand, B. P. O'Connor, and M. Hamel, "Motivation in Later Life: Theory and Assessment," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 41 (1995): 221–238. R. J. Vallerand and B. P. O'Connor, "Motivation in the Elderly: A Theoretical Framework and Some Promising Findings," *Canadian Psychology* 30 (1989): 538-550.
Vallerand, O'Connor, and Hamel (1995) were responsible for developing and validating the scales in English, while Vallerand and O'Connor (1989) are credited for doing the same in French. See also Losier *et al*, p. 44.
[207]   Losier *et al*, "Examining Individual Differences in the Internalization of Political Values," p. 44
[208]   Losier *et al*, "Examining Individual Differences in the Internalization of Political Values," p. 44. See also Koestner *et al*, "Identified and Introjected Forms of Political Internalization"
[209]   Losier *et al*, "Examining Individual Differences in the Internalization of Political Values," p. 45 (fn), 47-50.
[210]   Losier *et al*, "Examining Individual Differences in the Internalization of Political Values," p. 59

individual's intrinsic interest in politics, is the larger predictor of voting. Losier *et al*

mused, "This would suggest that it is important for citizens to see not only that politics can

be interesting" (*i.e.*, intrinsic motivation), "but that what happens is personally important

to them" (*i.e.*, relevant, salient).[211]

The idea that citizens are more likely to thrive when they understand the

importance of political participation was not lost on Jane Addams. Her idea of civic

housekeeping was based on this simple premise. To illustrate the point, consider her

efforts surrounding garbage collection. Garbage collection, she contended, ought to be

important to the otherwise apolitical housewife-- how could the housewife hope to keep

her home clean and children safe from disease if immediately outside of her door lay waste

and contaminants? Increased engagement would need to be preceded by a shift from an

amotivated to an identified or introjected motivational orientation. But how can that shift

be realized? She addressed the garbage collection issue by discussing the challenge with

individuals in terms they could understand (nonhumiliation) and by suggesting outlets to

take on the issue (noninfantilization and a sense of ownership). Once Addams was able to

persuade individuals that the issue should matter to them, and that they could do

something productive, she was able to organize a band of women to use the political

channels to address their neighborhood's problem. Like the resettlement project in

Mandaue, the spirit of civic dignity was very much a part of Addams' approach to project

design and implementation.

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[211]   Losier *et al,* "Examining Individual Differences in the Internalization of Political Values," p.
45 (parentheses added). See also Koestner *et al*, "Identified and Introjected Forms of Political
Internalization."

What does this Addams example suggest about the relationship between civic dignity and meaningful political participation? We can expect that those who have high levels of civic dignity also participate politically. Similarly, we should expect that lower levels of civic dignity would be linked to less participation and an "amotivated" motivation orientation, per the SDSPM scale. This much we can test in the present study, along with a handful of other hypotheses to validate the civic dignity scale. For future research, we can draw on the insights from Koestner *et al* that identification and introjection motivational orientations are predictors of political participation, and run an experiment to test the role of civic dignity in shifting individuals from an amotivated orientation to an a more engaged orientation such as identified or introjection orientation.

3. The trouble with latent measures

The proposed civic dignity scale, like the other measures discussed above, must contend with the challenge inherent in latent measures. "The problem of measurement stems from the fact that the most (and perhaps all important social science concepts are not directly observable. They are *latent*. All abstract concepts fall into this category."[212] Civic dignity is no exception. We cannot "see" civic dignity as it is not tangible. Though we may be able to observe tangible manifestations indicating the extent of its presence. Gerring continues, "We may be able to define them in a general way, but we have immense difficulty locating their referents in empirical space." This reality should temper any hopes that a perfect measure for civic dignity could be found or established.

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[212]   John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A Unified Framework (Strategies for Social Inquiry),* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; p. 157

Not only is civic dignity not tangible, but also individuals may interpret civic dignity

differently. It is not yet a term that has a lot of currency. If asked, "How would you rate

your sense of civic dignity," a reply from an ordinary individual could very likely be,

"What's civic dignity?" Alternatively, asking the question, "Do you have the sense that you

are treated with dignity by your fellow citizens?" could be a useful starting point, but

reported responses could still vary widely depending on interpretations of "civic

dignity."[213] This is why moving from definition to conceptualization and then

operationalization, all while looking for overlap or similarities with other concepts and

measures, is critical to the process of validation.

In summary, the civic dignity scale helps translate an important concept to a

concrete measure. Not only does this further our understanding of civic dignity and the

everyday citizen experience, but it allows the additional insight of exploring how civic

dignity interacts with other related measures. Furthermore, with the civic dignity scale we

can deepen our understanding of the relationship between civic dignity and various

political participation mechanisms and outlets.

II. **METHODOLOGY**

  A. **Design and Justification**

    1. **Data collection**

For this validation study, the sample was drawn from participants on Amazon's

Mechanical Turk ("MTurk"), an online sample sourcing platform. Participants needed a

lifetime task approval rate of at least 95%. Participants interested in taking the survey

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[213]   See Gerring, *Social Science Methodology*, p. 158, 161. Gerring offers the useful example of measuring corruption and the difficulty in interpreting "corrupt behavior."

clicked a link that redirected their internet browser to Qualtrics, the website used for hosting the survey and recording the responses. The participants were presented with an informed consent form, approved by Claremont Graduate University's Institutional Review Board. The informed consent specified that participants must be US citizens, at least 18 years old, and eligible to vote in order to qualify for the study.

The stipulation that the sample comes from eligible voters begs a theoretical question not yet addressed, which is whether civic dignity is exclusive to liberal democratic regimes. Like liberty and equality, civic dignity can only flourish in liberal democratic regimes, but it is not necessarily exclusive to our regime type. Civic dignity could exist in a degraded form under a dictatorship at local levels, for instance; but where there is a lack of freedom and equality, there will also be a lack of civic dignity. This point is revisited later in the discussion.

Embedded in the survey items were four Instructional Manipulation Checks (IMCs) that participants had to answer correctly. The ease and availability of participants makes MTurk an attractive platform for researchers, but this option is not without limits and potential hazards. MTurk can lack important quality control measures, making one's sample vulnerable to acquiescence bias and lack of engagement. Including IMCs in the survey can provide the researcher with an objective measure to determine which participants have read and answered the questions and which participants merely skimmed or worse.[214] For this validation survey, four IMCs were embedded in the survey

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[214] Adam J. Berinsky., Michele F. Margolis, and Michael W. Sances, "Separating the Shirkers from the Workers? Making Sure Respondents Pay Attention on Self-Administered Surveys," *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 3 (2014): 739-753.

items, with the expectation that participants answer three out of four items correctly to be retained in the sample.[215]

A total of 359 participants were surveyed, with 291 participants answering at least 3 out of 4 IMCs correctly.[216] An inspection of the short answer responses revealed that one participant (case 15) indicated that she was not a citizen, which rendered her ineligible for the study. Case 15 was then excluded from subsequent analysis. Of the 290 retained participants, 58.6% were female, and 76.9% were white (8.3% were black, 7,6% were Asian, 4.1% were Hispanic, and 2.8% indicated "Other"). The average age was roughly 39 years., and 53.8% had at least a college degree. When asked about party identification, 44.8% indicated Democrat, 27.9% indicated Republican, 18.3% indicated Independent, 3.4% indicated Libertarian, and a combined 5.5% indicated "Other" or "No Party." The sample was, on average, younger, more educated, and more Democratic than the national population.

2. Items

Each item from the civic dignity item pool falls into one of two main components: citizen self-understanding and citizen interpersonal perception, with both breaking down further into two sub-components. The two sub-components of civic self-understanding are "full legitimate member" and "sense of ownership." The two sub-components of citizen interpersonal perception are "citizen interpersonal perception - fellow citizens" and "citizen interpersonal perception - public officials and the government writ large."

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[215]   Only passing two out of four IMCs would be a success rate of 50%, hardly a passing grade.
[216]   The IMCs, along with the text of the entire survey, can be found in the Appendix.

Because of the exploratory nature of this study, the item pool is comprised of items that may sound redundant or repetitive. This is done to cast a wide net to determine exactly which items should be retained and which items should be dropped during the scale construction process.[217] In total, the item pool contained 30 civic dignity items. All items are scored on 5-point Likert-type scales, ranging from (1) "Agree strongly," to (5) "Disagree Strongly," with (3) representing "Neither Agree nor Disagree."

Items from related measures were also included in the survey, though are not themselves part of the civic dignity scale item pool. The complete list of items can be found in the Appendix. They include political efficacy, democratic values (from the European Social Survey as used by the Active Citizenship Composite Index), the Basic Psychological Needs Satisfaction Scale, and the Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation. Items were measured on 5, 7, and 10 point Likert-type scales. In addition, items to capture demographic information and political participation were included at the end of the survey.[218]

3. Objectives and hypotheses

The Civic Dignity Scale validation study has three analytical pieces: scale development, scale reliability, and construct validity.

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[217] Lee Anna Clark and David Watson, "Constructing Validity: Basic Issues in Objective Scale Development," *Psychological Assessment* 7, no. 3 (1995): 309-319. See p. 314: "Analyses can identify weak, unrelated items that should be dropped from the emerging scale but are powerless to detect content that should have been included but was not. Accordingly, in creating the item pool one always should err on the side of overinclusiveness."
[218] See Appendix for complete list of items, including demographic, political participation, and IMCs.

The scale development began with the conceptualization and operationalization of civic dignity. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) is then used to "identify a set of latent constructs underlying a battery of measured variables."[219] In other words, no one item from the item pool can directly measure civic dignity; but through EFA one can determine which items are correlated in such a way to reveal an underlying structure. For example, since the conceptual definition of civic dignity is comprised of four components, and since the item pool was generated with those components in mind, the EFA may reveal some number of items from the pool converging on factors representing those very components. The belief that four factors may emerge begs the question of whether an exploratory or a confirmatory factor analysis is most appropriate.[220] In spite of *a priori* conceptual understanding of civic dignity, EFA is the appropriate choice because the items have yet to be tested, the constructs have yet to be investigated, and the model is not specified—nor is there data to set these restrictions. At this initial stage, the data needs to be free to indicate which items to retain and drop along however many factors emerge.[221]

Once the scale is constructed via EFA, then the scale's internal reliability needs to be assessed. Finally, analyses are conducted to investigate construct validity. This last piece has two components: First, correlations between CDS and theoretically related constructs are examined to determine if the posited theoretical relationships are corroborated by the

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[219] L. R. Fabrigar, D. T. Wegener, R. C. MacCallum, and E. J. Strahan, "Evaluating the Use of Exploratory Factor Analysis in Psychological Research," *Psychological Methods* 4, no. 3 (1999): 272-299. See p. 275. See also Stanley A. Mulaik, "A Brief History of the Philosophical Foundations of Exploratory Factor Analysis," *Multivariate Behavioral Research* 22 (1987): 267-305

[220] CFA is appropriate when the researcher has prior theoretical knowledge and the expectation of how many factors should emerge.

[221] A CFA would be an appropriate (and necessary) next step for future research. See Fabrigar *et al* (1999) for a discussion on the differences between EFA and CFA

data. Second, the ability of civic dignity to predict political participation activities is

analyzed. The specifics are discussed in the "Analysis and Results" section later in the

chapter.

After the scale development and reliability analyses, we should find evidence (for

construct validity) to support the following hypotheses to validate the Civic Dignity Scale:

- **H₁**: CDS scores are positively correlated with Political Efficacy scores.

  H₂: CDS scores are positively correlated with Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation's (SDSPM) Identified classification.

  H₃: CDS scores are positively correlated with SDSPM's Intrinsic classification.

  H₄: High CDS scores are negatively correlated with high scores in SDSPM's Amotivated classification.

  H₅: High CDS scores are positively correlated with high scores on the Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction (BPNS) scale.

  H₆: CDS scores are positively correlated with the Active Citizen Composite Index's Democratic Values dimension.

- **H₇**: Increases in civic dignity increase the likelihood of political participation activities.

The first six hypotheses correspond to the Spearman correlations between civic dignity and

related measures, and the last hypothesis (H7) corresponds to the Poisson regression

model.

B. Limitations

There are two key limitations of this validation study that ought to be highlighted.

First, while the language of the hypotheses is far-reaching, the objective of the study is

much more modest and limited. Because this is a validation study, the nature of the inquiry

is exploratory. Findings are oriented toward scale development and construct validity,

rather than generalizable statements about civic dignity levels in the population and its

impact on political participation.

Second, a sample collected via MTurk has inherent limitations. The biggest hazard

of using an MTurk sample is the potential for "shirking" among participants (*i.e.*,

participants rushing through survey instruments without carefully reading items or

instructions), which was mentioned earlier in this section. The other issue with MTurk

concerns sampling—is the MTurk population representative enough of the larger

population to make generalizable conclusions? The debate is ongoing, but recent

replication studies suggest that MTurk samples are reliable if appropriate care is taken by

the researcher (*e.g.*, IMCs and other selection and data screening best practices).[222] While

there are concerns about using a convenience sample that may not be representative of the

population, this chapter represents the first step (exploratory phase) in developing the

civic dignity scale.

III.   ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

After the screening process, survey items were reverse coded as needed to ensure

consistent directionality. For the civic dignity items, this meant recoding the positively

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[222]   Scott Clifford, Ryan M. Jewell, and Philip D. Waggoner. "Are samples drawn from Mechanical Turk valid for research on political ideology?" *Research & Politics*, 2015: 1-9.
Neil Steward *et al*, "The Average Laboratory Samples a Population of 7,300 Amazon Mechanical Turk Workers," *Judgment and Decision Making* 10, no. 5 (2015): 479-491.
Adam J. Berinsky, Gregory A. Huber, and Gabriel S. Lenz, "Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Experimental Research: Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk," *Political Analysis* 20 (2012): 351-368.

worded items since the response scale ranged from (1) "Strongly Agree" to (5) "Strongly

Disagree." Then, 29 of the 30 civic dignity items were selected for an initial Principal Axis

Factoring (PAF) analysis.[223]

A. Scale Development through Exploratory Factor Analysis

Principal axis factoring (EFA) was conducted to investigate whether and the extent

to which the civic dignity items converge on underlying factors to comprise a civic dignity

scale. Four PAF iterations with oblique (Oblimin) rotations were executed via SPSS. An

oblimin rotation was selected due to the belief that the factors are related to each other

conceptually.

1st PAF iteration

Prior to working through the analysis, the sampling adequacy was assured. In

general, 5-10 cases per items is considered sufficient, and this dataset had 29 items across

290 cases. For a more precise assessment of "factorability," the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO)

and Bartlett's test of sphericity were also consulted. The first iteration yielded a KMO value

of .908, which Kaiser's classification considers "marvelous."[224] The anti-image correlation

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[223]   Item no. 17 ("I participate as a citizen") was removed prior to beginning the analysis. The item was included in the battery initially under the "sense of ownership" sub-component with the thought that the item would help get at whether a citizen has the sense of being engaged in the political process or the activity of self-governance without narrowly defining what political participation means. In other words, item 17 would allow the participant to interpret what participating as a citizen looks like to them and answer accordingly. However, the decision was made to exclude item 17 prior to conducting any analysis because civic dignity is related to but is distinct from participating politically, and item 17 was determined to lean closer to measuring political participation rather than having a sense of ownership.

[224]   Kaiser, H. F., "An Index of Factorial Simplicity," *Psychometrika* 39, no. 1 (1974): 31-36.

matrix revealed that all items were well above the minimum .6 for sampling adequacy.

(The lowest value for an individual item was .853). Bartlett's test was statistically

significant (p-value < .0005), indicating that the correlation matrix is *not* an identity

matrix.[225] With the requirements of sampling adequacy satisfied, the analysis continued.

Factor analysis assumes a linear relationship among the variables, and the

correlation matrix indicated that all items were correlated with at least one other item

(with a value greater than .3). Item 9 had only one correlation greater than .4 (.404) and

had a low extraction value (.293). Item 13 did not have any correlations above .4. Because

of their low correlations with the rest of the items, both items 9 and 13 were flagged as

potentially problematic but were not omitted at this stage.

Using Kaiser's criteria[226], factors with eigenvalues greater than one were retained,

with six factors accounting for 61.702% of the variance. The scree plot suggested either

four or six factors be retained. The pattern matrix indicated that items 13 and 30 were not

loading highly onto any factors, and item 16 was loading onto a factor by itself (measuring

something, but likely not within the construct); all three items were excluded from

subsequent analysis.[227] The pattern matrix showed four, possibly five, factors.

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[225]   If the items have no relationship among themselves, then factor analysis would not be appropriate since there would be no way for the items to converge on factors.
[226]   Kaiser, "An Index of Factorial Simplicity"
[227]   The threshold used for factor loadings in the pattern matrix was .4.

2nd PAF iteration: having dropped items 13, 16, 30[228]

Five factors were retained with eigenvalues greater than one, accounting for 61.279% of the variance. The scree plot, more so than earlier, suggested four factors, though this was not definitive; the possibility of a fifth factor remained. Turning to the pattern matrix, four factors with "simple structures" were emerging. Item 14 failed to load highly on a factor. And the fifth factor remained ambiguous: two items (nos. 15 and 18) had moderate loadings (.570 and .541, respectively), with a majority of the other items loading only slightly (~ .122 - .240) onto the fifth factor. Item 14 was excluded from subsequent analysis, and a forced 4-factor extraction was used to determine if items 15 and 18 could load elsewhere.

3rd PAF iteration: having dropped item 14, forced 4-factor extraction[229]

The forced four factor extraction accounted for 59.13% of the variance. The scree plot remains unchanged from the last iteration, suggesting four factors but not definitively. The pattern matrix revealed weak loadings for items 9, 15, and 18 (.444, .404, and .423, respectively). Items 15 and 18 loaded across three and two other factors, and items 9 and 15 both had extraction values less than .3. For these reasons, items 9, 15, and 18 were excluded from subsequent analysis.

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[228] For the second PAF iteration, sampling adequacy was still sufficient with a KMO level of .903 and a statistically significant Bartlett's test (p-value < .0005).
[229] For the third PAF iteration, Sampling adequacy is still satisfied with a KMO level of .900 and a statistically significant Bartlett's test (p-value < .0005).

4th (and final) PAF iteration: having dropped items 9, 15, 18

Sampling adequacy was still sufficient with a KMO level of .896 ("meritorious"), a statistically significant Bartlett's test (p-value < .0005), and a determinant value of 3.549E-8. The factors converged on a 4-factor solution accounting for 63.318% of the variance. The scree plot also indicated a 4-factor solution, as did the loadings in the pattern matrix table (reproduced below with significant loadings in bold).

The final scale consisted of 22 items, and the factors reflected the theoretical construct of civic dignity as follows:

- Citizen Self-Understanding – Full, Legitimate Citizen (5 items)
- Citizen Self-Understanding – Sense of Ownership (6 items)
- Citizen Interpersonal Perception – Other People (6 items)
- Citizen Interpersonal Perception – Government Officials (5 items)

See Table 2 (below) for final pattern matrix.

B. Sub-Scale Scores, Internal Reliability, and Normality

Sub-scale scores were constructed by calculating the mean across the corresponding items. All items were weighted equally. The four sub-scale scores were then averaged together to form a composite civic dignity scale score for each of the participants. The decision was made to take the mean of the four sub-scale scores to form a single scale score for two reasons: First, by using one (mean) scale score, the unit is consistent across survey items, sub-scales, and the composite score. This allows an easier, more intuitive interpretation, which is useful for research as well as practical application. Second, civic dignity thus far has been treated as a cohesive phenomenon, and scoring civic dignity as a composite scale is aligned with our theoretical understanding of the concept.

That said, future research is needed to conduct additional reliability analysis to address the

scoring question empirically (rather than relying on the theoretical justification and

practicality alone). In light of the need for additional analysis to determine the most

appropriate way to score the scale, analysis is conducted on the composite score as well as

the sub-scales.

Civic Dignity Scale Factor Loadings							
Items	**F1**	**F2**	**F3**	**F4**	h^2	**M**	**SD**
CD6 Disconnected from political process	**.546**	.105			.36	3.05	1.23
CD7 Can't bring about change in community	**.830**				.64	3.38	1.12
CD8 Opportunities to contribute meaningfully	**.663**			-.156	.56	3.48	
CD10 No opportunities to contribute meaningfully	**.743**				.56	3.59	1.09
CD11 Can impact community	**.736**					3.61	1.04
CD12 Have ideas, but no outlets to be heard	**.580**				.41	3.24	1.14
CD1 Should have a voice in community		**.871**			.78	4.41	1.00
CD2 Have a right to speak up about issues		**.966**			.93	4.59	.96
CD3 Have a right to attend meetings		**.975**			.93	4.61	.94
CD4 No right to speak up about issues		**.578**			.34	4.53	1.1
CD5 Have right to have ideas heard at meetings		**.965**			.93	4.53	.97
CD25 Gov't officials treat with respect	.151		**-.763**		.70	2.9	1.13
CD26 Gov't officials dismiss as childish			**-.795**		.68	3.37	1.18
CD27 Gov't officials listen even if disagree			**-.774**		.63	3.06	1.21
CD28 Gov't officials mock ideas	-.115		**-.750**	-.155	.60	3.60	1.15
CD29 Gov't officials treat with respect even if disagree			**-.886**		.79	3.16	1.12
CD19 Other people treat with respect	.104			**-.721**	.56	3.68	.90
CD20 Other people dismiss as childish			-.142	**-.646**	.51	3.15	.72
CD21 Other people listen even if disagree				**-.818**	.70	3.68	.99
CD22 Other people mock ideas	-.102		-.121	**-.800**	.66	3.79	1.13
CD23 Other people treat with respect even if disagree				**-.839**	.68	3.65	1.03
CD24 Won't share ideas because of reaction	.167			**-.526**	.40	3.76	1.15
Cronbach's alpha:	*.857*	*.934*	*.910*	*.880*			
% of variance:	33.26	16.36	7.21	6.48			

Table 2. Exploratory Factor Analysis Results. Factor 1- Ownership; Factor 2- Full legitimate citizen; Factor 3- Government officials; Factor 4- Other people

All four sub-scales had high internal reliability, as indicated by the Cronbach's alpha values (Table 2, above).[230] The internal reliability of the scale itself was analyzed across all 22 items, which yielded a Cronbach's alpha value of .890.[231]

With the scale construction and reliability analysis completed, the interquartile range rule was applied to identify potential outliers.[232] Four Civic Dignity Scale (CDS) composite values less than 2.06 were flagged, and those cases (141, 54, 57, 217) were excluded from subsequent analysis.[233] This reduced the sample to n= 286. A histogram was then consulted to inspect skewness and kurtosis: kurtosis appeared to be normal, and skew was slightly negative. The mean score was 3.68945.

C. Construct Validity

The third pillar of this validation study was investigating construct validity, addressing the question of whether CDS actually measures what is claimed. A two-part analysis was done to assess CDS construct validity. First, Spearman correlations between

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[230] Kline, Paul, *Handbook of Psychological Testing,* London: Routledge, 1999. Cronbach's alpha values greater than 0.9 are considered "excellent," and values greater than 0.8 are considered "good."

[231] Recent psychology methodology literature debates the appropriateness and validity of the Cronbach's alpha value for reporting composite reliability. At the same time, it is still widely cited as an indicator of reliability, sometimes with a caveat referencing the ongoing methodological debate. Among the reasons for its continued use are ease of calculation through the popular software packages and familiarity among readers. For the purpose of this study, Cronbach's alpha is used to establish sub-scale and composite internal reliability. This is done, however, with the acknowledgement that internal reliability does not equate a unidimensional scale, and so additional analysis to address the question of dimensionality is needed. See Clark and Watson, "Constructing Validity," p. 316. See also: Daniel McNeish, "Thanks Coefficient Alpha, We'll Take it From Here." *Psychological Methods*, 2017.

[232] Interquartile range rule identifies outliers outside of the following parameters: Q1-[1.5(IQR)] and Q3+[1.5(IQR)]. Here: 3.2750-[1.5(.8083)] and 4.0833+[1.5(.8083)]

[233] CDS Composite values greater than 5.296 would be considered outliers, but the scale does not go beyond 5.

CDS and theoretically-related constructs were examined. Second, a Poisson model was used to examine the relationship between political participation activities and the CDS.

1. Spearman correlations

Spearman correlations between CDS and theoretically related constructs were examined to determine if the posited theoretically relationships could be corroborated by the data. The constructs should be positively correlated (except the amotivated political motivation orientation, which should be negatively correlated) but should *not* be perfectly correlated since civic dignity is distinct from the other constructs.[234]

Political Efficacy

An initial scatterplot revealed a monotonic relationship between civic dignity and political efficacy. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and political efficacy were positively related with a correlation coefficient of .640. Further, the relationship was statistically significant (p-value < .0005), allowing the rejection of the null hypothesis (no relationship) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis H_5.

Of all the civic dignity relationships examined during this phase of the analysis, the relationship between civic dignity and political efficacy was the strongest (as indicated by the correlation coefficient). This was expected to be the case given the close theoretical relationship between civic dignity and political efficacy. Importantly, the correlation was far from 1, indicating that the measures are related but distinct from each other.

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[234]   Sample size n=286 unless otherwise noted. Additional Spearman correlation analysis on the CDS sub-scales and theoretically related concepts is reported at the end of this section.
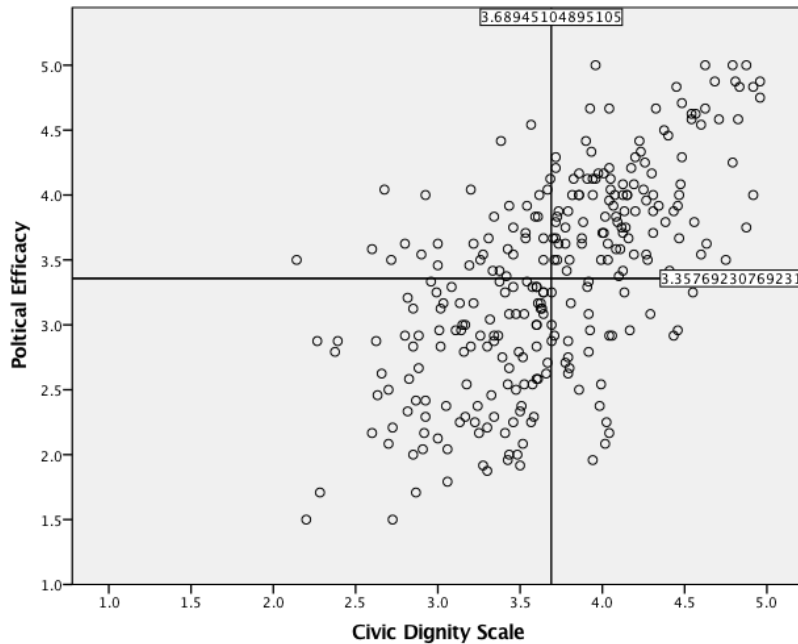
Additional analysis was conducted on CDS as it correlates to *external* and *internal* political efficacy separately. Scatterplots for both combinations revealed monotonic relationships between civic dignity and external political efficacy and civic dignity and internal political efficacy. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and external political efficacy were positively related with a correlation coefficient of .663 (p-value < .0005). A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and internal political efficacy were positively related with a correlation coefficient of .358 (p-value < .0005).

Self-Determination Scale of Political Motivation (SDSPM)

SDSPM has four motivation classifications to capture why people participate politically, and three of those motivations were studied with regard to their relationship with civic dignity. Participants who scored highly on the "intrinsic" motivation scale reported that political engagement activities were important to them and they chose to do

them "for the pleasure of doing it." Participants who scored highly on the "identified"

motivation scale reported that political engagement activities were important to them and

they chose to do them "for [their] own good." When asked the same questions about the

importance of political engagement activities, participants who scored highly on the

"amotivated" motivation scale reported, "I don't know, I don't see what it does for me."

An initial scatterplot revealed a monotonic relationship between civic dignity and

the "identified" motivation. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and

SDSPM "identified" were positively related with a correlation coefficient of .407. Further,

the relationship was statistically significant (p-value < .0005) allowing the rejection of the

null hypothesis (no relationships) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis H_6.
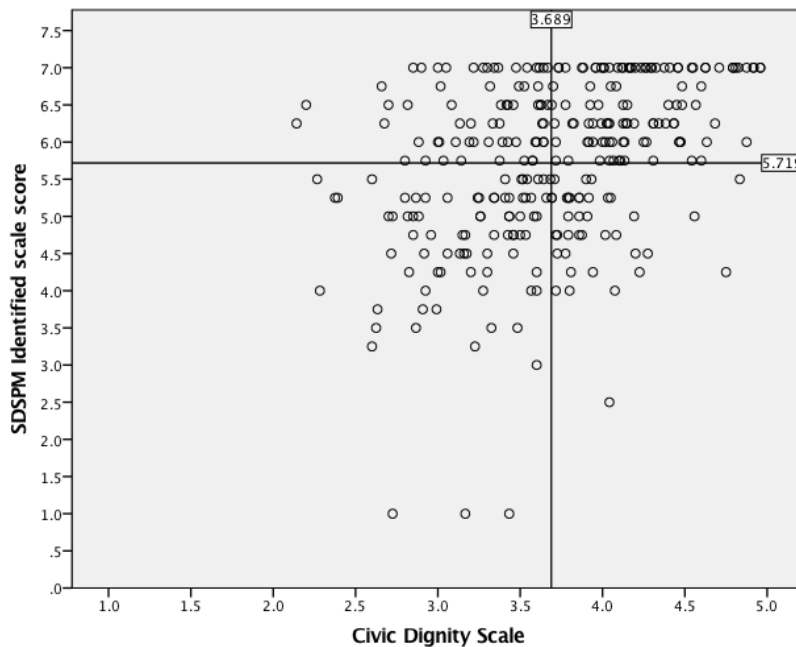
An initial scatterplot revealed a weak monotonic relationship between civic dignity

and the "intrinsic" motivation. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and

SDSPM "intrinsic" were positively related, albeit weakly, with a correlation coefficient of

.154. Further, the relationship was statistically significant (p-value = .009), allowing the rejection of the null hypothesis (no relationships) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis **H₇**.
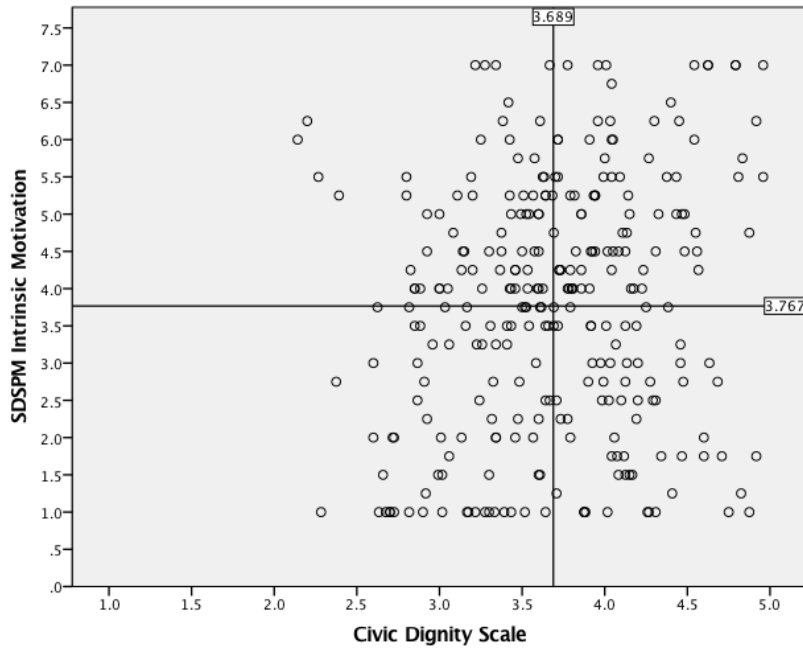
An initial scatterplot revealed a monotonic relationship between civic dignity and the "Amotivated" motivation. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and "amotivated" were negatively related with a correlation coefficient of -.373. Further, the relationship was statistically significant (p-value < .0005), allowing the rejection of the null hypothesis (no relationships) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis **H₈.**
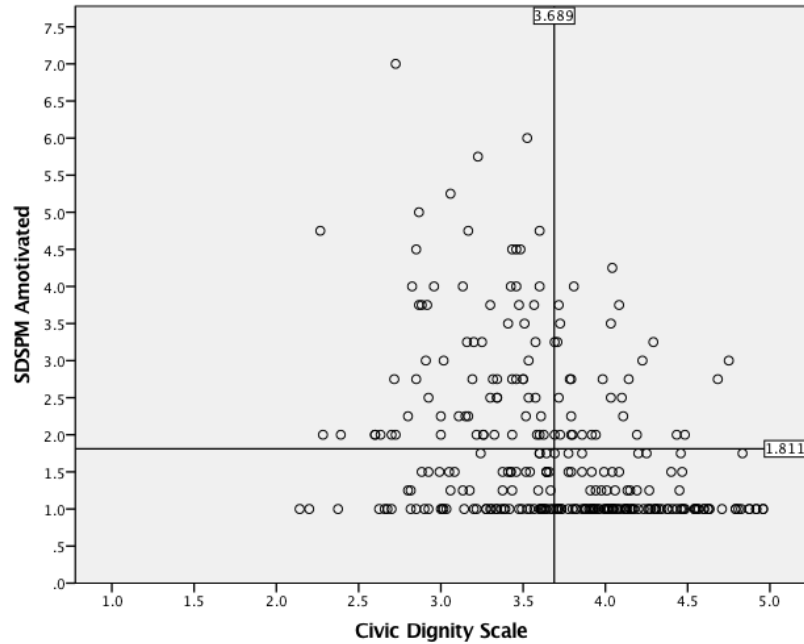
Identified and intrinsic motivations were expected to correlate positively with civic dignity, and while were found to do so, identified motivation (*i.e.*, choosing to do something because doing so is in one's self-interest) had a stronger relationship with civic dignity. Theoretically, intrinsic motivation is self-satisfying; individuals who report being intrinsically motivated pursue the action or behavior for its own sake.   Because they are the source of their own motivation to engage in political activities, they may have high civic dignity scores but maybe not: they may take pleasure in participating political irrespective of their sense of ownership or how others treat them. In fact, the scatterplot for intrinsic motivation and civic dignity had a few outliers to that effect.

Identified motivation, while based on self-interest, which is internal to the person, is more externally-facing than intrinsic motivation. With this in mind, identified motivation ought to have the stronger relationship with civic dignity, which the analysis demonstrated.

Finally, for those participants who reported not being motivated to participate politically, low civic dignity levels were evident. Whether low civic dignity levels caused

the amotivation or vice versa was not investigated, but theoretically one could imagine the causal relationship could go both ways.

Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction (BPNS)

An initial scatterplot revealed a monotonic relationship between civic dignity and BPNS. A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and BPNS were positively related with a correlation coefficient of .531. Further, the relationship was statistically significant (p-value < .0005) allowing the rejection of the null hypothesis (no relationships) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis **H₉**.

A small pocket of outliers was visible on the scatterplot, representing participants who scored highly on the BPNS scale but low on the CDS scale. One possible explanation: While BPNS may underpin CDS, the reverse does not be true. In other words, one could lead a fulfilling life while at the same time being disconnected from the political experience if that individual does not place much emphasis or importance on politics or civic affairs.
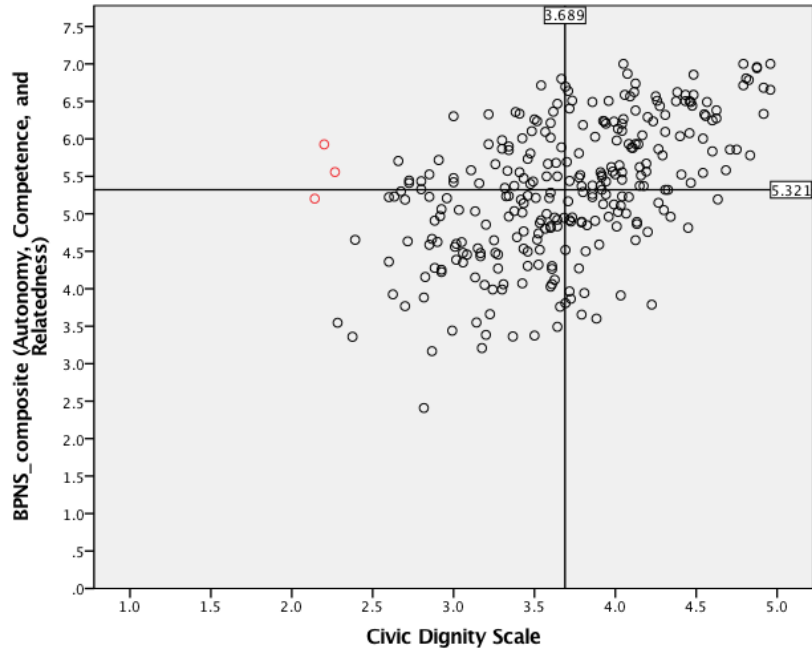
An investigation into the relationship between political efficacy and BPNS was also

conducted. Political efficacy was also found to have a monotonic relationship with BPNS, as

indicated by a scatterplot. While the relationship between political efficacy and BPNS was

also statistically significant (p-value < .0005), the correlation coefficient was smaller (.389)

than the correlation coefficient for BPNS and civic dignity (.531). While civic dignity has

been demonstrated to capture something of the same phenomenon as political efficacy,

civic dignity has also been shown to capture the holistic citizen experience beyond the

institutional relationship between citizen and state.

Democratic Values

An initial scatterplot revealed a monotonic relationship between civic dignity and

the ACCI's democratic values. However, there were a few outliers.

A Spearman's correlation revealed that civic dignity and "democratic values" were

positively related with a correlation coefficient of .334. Further, the relationship was

statistically significant (p-value < .0005) allowing the rejection of the null hypothesis (no

relationships) and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis **H₁₀**.
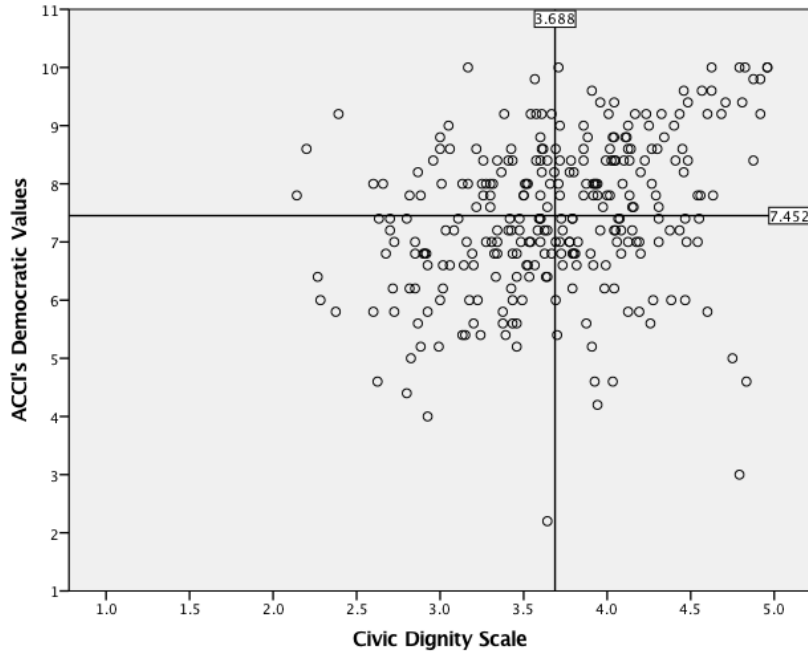
A summary table of the Spearman correlation results based on the sub-scale scores

is below:

Spearman Correlations

		Civic Dignity Scale	CDS – CSU – Full, legitimate citizen	CDS – CSU – Ownership	CDS – CIP – Other people	CDS – CIP – Government Official
Political Efficacy (n=286)	Correlation Coefficient	.640	.156	.611	.494	.511
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.008	.000	.000	.000
Political Efficacy – External	Correlation Coefficient	.663	.104	.603	.469	.659
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.078	.000	.000	.000
Political Efficacy – Internal	Correlation Coefficient	.358	.190	.368	.343	.135
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.001	.000	.000	.023
SDSPM – Intrinsic (n=286)	Correlation Coefficient	.154	.067	.132	.128	.087
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.009	.262	.026	.030	.142
SDSPM – Identified	Correlation Coefficient	.407	.319	.382	.371	.223
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
SDSPM – Amotivated	Correlation Coefficient	−.373	−.225	−.392	−.333	−.191
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001
BPNS (n=286)	Correlation Coefficient	.531	.213	.521	.549	.341
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
BPNS – Autonomy	Correlation Coefficient	.504	.228	.483	.530	.323
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
BPNS – Competence	Correlation Coefficient	.448	.115	.475	.469	.277
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.052	.000	.000	.000
BPNS – Relatedness	Correlation Coefficient	.465	.242	.410	.472	.307
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Democratic Values (n=285)	Correlation Coefficient	.334	.188	.326	.277	.192
	Sig. (2–tailed)	.000	.001	.000	.000	.001

Table 3. Spearman Correlations for CDS Sub-Scale Scores

The correlations are as expected. Civic dignity and its component sub-scales are positively correlated as predicted for political efficacy (internal and external), intrinsic and identified political motivation orientations, and basic psychological need satisfaction. Importantly, none of the correlations are close to 1, which indicates the measures are related but still distinct. Finally, civic dignity and its component sub-scales are negatively correlated as expected with the amotivated political motivation orientation.

2. Poisson regression

In the last analysis, relationships between civic dignity and other measures were examined to test for construct validity. Another aspect of construct validity is the

relationship between civic dignity and political participation. Given the theoretical

argument, civic dignity should be positively related to political participation. Here, a

Poisson regression model (subset of generalized linear models) was used to analyze the

ability of the CDS to predict political participation.

Poisson regression models use count data, and a new count variable

("PP_TotalCount") was computed to provide a richer picture of political participation. It

was computed by summing the following counts: whether a participant reported voting in

the last 12 months (0 or 1), contacted a public official in the last 12 months (0 or 1), and

how many political events the participant attended in the last 12 months, if any (0, 1, 2, 3,

4).[235] The range spanned from 0-6, and captured a more dynamic account of participant

reported political activity over the last 12 months.

The sample mean and sample variance were checked prior to running the analysis

to ensure the data had the necessary Poisson distribution, where the ideal ratio would be

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[235]   In addition to providing a more holistic account of participant political participation, the
new count variable helped address two issues related to the political participation data collected.
First, the political participation survey items were institutionally-driven measures. Civic dignity,
however, concerns institutional opportunities *and* the everyday citizen experience with self-
government. The standard political participation measures, particularly when looked at one at a
time, are not the same as meaningful opportunities accessed without prohibitive transaction costs,
to engage issues that matter to the individual.
        Second, the survey asked participants about their "political community," and in the
directions, participants were told they were free to interpret "community" at whatever level(s) was
most salient to them—whether local, state, and/or federal—and to answer the civic dignity
questions with that same community in mind. The very last civic dignity question was a short
answer that asked participants what level of community they had had in mind. Unsurprisingly, the
responses to that question varied across participants, which is fine for an exploratory study where
the primary objective is to analyze how items hang together and coalesce on factors. But if a
participant CD score is based on one's experience at the local level, for instance, and then the
political participation items are more state- or federally-oriented, then there may not be a
relationship between CD and any one of the political participation items in isolation. By
aggregating the political participation data into a count variable, we can get a sense for how
participatory participants truly are, abstracting somewhat from the potential disconnect between
local, state, and federal silos.

1:1. The ratio calculated was 1.028 (mean = 1.6748; variance = 1.722), which indicated

near equidispersion. This finding was further supported by a one-sample Kolmogorov-

Smirnov test (p-value = .224) and the Pearson chi-square statistic (value/df = .991).

In addition to CDS, control variables for demographic data were also included in the

model. This was done to ensure that civic dignity could be measured as distinct from other

attributes of the participants (such as age, income, gender, and education). The model as a

whole was statistically significant, as determined by the omnibus (p-value = .002),

indicating that the inclusion of the independent variables was an improvement over the

dependent-only model.

CDS had an exponentiated coefficient of 1.234, which was statistically significant (p-

value = .008). As civic dignity increases one point on the CDS (with control variables held

constant[236]), the number of political participation activities should increase 23.4% (95% CI

1.056 - 1.440).

The control variable for education was statically significant (p-value = .001) with an

exponentiated coefficient of 1.146. Control variables for gender, age, and income were not
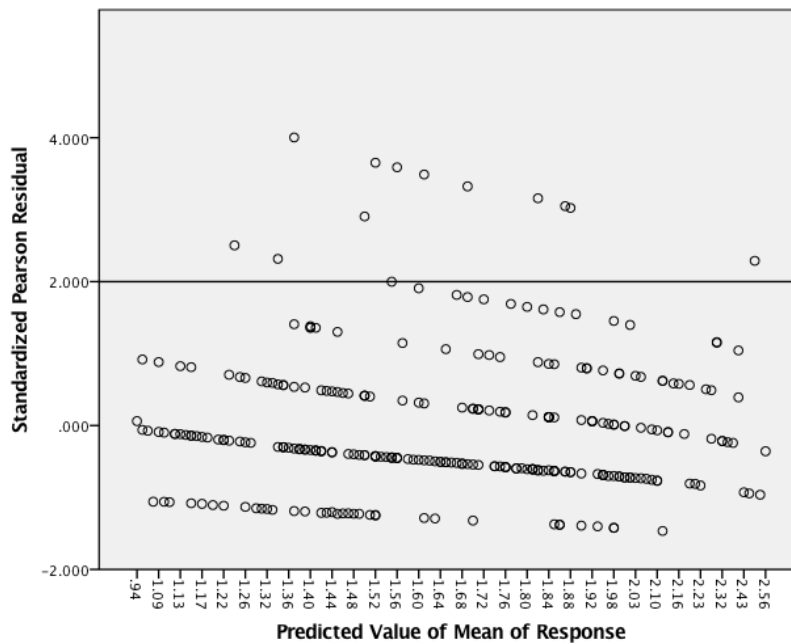
statistically significant.

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[236]   A Poisson regression model run without the control variable produced similar results: CDS
had an exponentiated coefficient of 1.228 and was statistically significant (p = .009).

Parameter Estimates										
			95% Wald Confidence Interval		Hypothesis Test				95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
Parameter	B	Std. Error	Lower	Upper	Wald Chi–Square	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	−.706	.3531	−1.398	−.014	3.998	1	.046	.494	.247	.986
[Demo2 What is your gender?=1]	−.009	.0939	−.193	.175	.010	1	.920	.991	.824	1.191
[Demo2 What is your gender?=2]	0[a]	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Demo7 Education	.136	.0402	.057	.215	11.437	1	.001	1.146	1.059	1.239
Demo1 Age	−.001	.0037	−.009	.006	.157	1	.692	.999	.991	1.006
Demo6 Income	−.026	.0235	−.073	.020	1.261	1	.261	.974	.930	1.020
CDS Score	.210	.0791	.055	.365	7.046	1	.008	1.234	1.056	1.440
(Scale)	1[b]									

Dependent Variable: PP_TOTALCOUNT total across voting, contacting, and attending events
Model: (Intercept), Demo2 What is your gender?, Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, Demo1 How old are you?, Demo6 What was the total income of all the members of your household, CDS_Composite

a. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.
b. Fixed at the displayed value.

A scatterplot of the residuals (standardized Pearson) was inspected after the analysis to ensure model fit. There were 12 residuals with absolute values greater than 2, which represented less than 5% of the data (n=285).

Additional analyses were run on each of the CDS sub-scale scores. Only the sub-scale Ownership was statistically significant (p-value < .0005), with an exponentiated

coefficient of 1.299 (95% CI 1.165 - 1.448). Recalling chapter two, having a "sense of

ownership" was the component missing from Ober's definition of civic dignity. Discussions

of Tocqueville and Jane Addams supported the expansion of civic dignity's definition to

include "sense of ownership" as a vital component. Here, the statistical significance of the

"ownership" sub-scale underscores further the importance of the "sense of ownership"

component of civic dignity.[237]

Parameter Estimates

Parameter	B	Std. Error	95% Wald Confidence Interval		Hypothesis Test			Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.		Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	-.786	.2727	-1.320	-.252	8.309	1	.004	.456	.267	.778
CDS Ownership	.261	.0556	.152	.371	22.075	1	**.000**	**1.299**	1.165	1.448
[Demo2 What is your gender?=1]	.004	.0938	-.180	.187	.002	1	.969	1.004	.835	1.206
[Demo2 What is your gender?=2]	0ᵃ	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Demo7 Education	.134	.0403	.055	.213	11.020	1	.001	1.143	1.056	1.237
Demo1 Age	-.002	.0036	-.009	.005	.282	1	.595	.998	.991	1.005
Demo6 Income	-.034	.0237	-.081	.012	2.076	1	.150	.966	.923	1.012
(Scale)	1ᵇ									

Dependent Variable: PP_TOTALCOUNT
Model: (Intercept), CD_CSU_Ownership composite mean of items CD8_recode, CD11_recode, CD7, CD6, CD10, CD12, Demo2 What is your gender?, Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, Demo1 How old are you?, Demo6 What was the total income of all the members of your household

a. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.
b. Fixed at the displayed value.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter was to deepen our understanding of civic dignity by

translating what we know about it theoretically and practically into a reliable and valid

measure. To do this, a scale validation study was conducted. After conceptualizing civic

dignity, it needed to be operationalized. This needed to be done in tandem with similar

concepts to highlight theoretical commonalities and differences between civic dignity and

related conditions. Then, the item pool was examined through exploratory factor analysis

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[237]   See Appendix for complete Poisson regression sub-scale score results.

to determine which items were worth retaining, how the items loaded on factors, and whether those items and factors converged on a solution that made sense theoretically while also being supported quantitatively. Twenty-two items converged on a 4-four solution, reflecting the (theoretical) conceptualization of civic dignity. The newly minted civic dignity scale was subjected to internal reliability and construct validity analyses. For the latter, all seven of the alternative hypotheses were statistically significant and accepted.[238]

Looking ahead, *confirming* the validation study results would need a second sample to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis. Ideally, this would be done with the level of community specified in the survey directions and consistent across all participants. Different political participation items that reflect institutional *and* non-institutional outlets would add the richness of the analysis as well. Another worthy analysis would be an experiment in which combinations of outcome satisfaction and process satisfaction are tested to explore further the relationship between political efficacy and civic dignity.

In addition, the important technical question of whether CDS is best scored as a single scale or as four subscale scores remains unsettled. For the purpose of this study, a mean score for the entire scale was the primary measurement, which implies that the four subscales are pieces of a cohesive phenomenon. Analysis at the subscale level was also conducted for validation purposes and reported here in the chapter and in the Appendix. To be clear, more reliability and validity tests should be pursued in future research to address this question directly.

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[238]   The results among the sub-scale scores varied. See Appendix for results tables.

Finally, while the Poisson regressions were useful for assessing the construct validity, using the CDS in an evaluation context would be a powerful way to demonstrate the added value of the CDS as a performance metric.

The CDS could be a powerful tool for community organizations and NGOs looking to close the gap between government and citizens, particularly among underrepresented or politically weak or otherwise disconnected populations. In situations where institutional outlets are technically open to all but work for only a few, the *idea* of civic dignity could inspire innovation in political participation mechanisms, and the CDS could be the tool to measure the baseline levels of civic dignity and track subsequent increases. Consider how Jane Addams could have used CDS to evaluate programming at Hull House, providing insight into gaps and growth among the many visitors. In that same vein, what if Mayor Cortes of Mandaue had been able to make a data-driven argument to his counterpart in Cebu City that involving the informal settlers in the policy design and implementation was more than a "feel good" decision. Of course, Mayor Cortes knew without any data on civic dignity that involving the informal settlers was the right thing to do—and that speaks to Mayor Cortes' imagination and character. But where imagination is not enough, the civic dignity scale could be a useful addition to the conversation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Just as Ober provided a useful starting place for understanding civic dignity, the same could be said of this project. In deepening our knowledge of civic dignity, some important questions were addressed, but many more questions worthy of our study emerged.

Ober characterized civic dignity as the condition of noninfantilization, nonhumiliation, and equal high standing among citizens. He underscored the importance of civic dignity as the "third core value of democracy," buttressing liberty and equality by mediating the conflict between them.[239] And yet, Ober's definition was too thin; he characterized civic dignity in a negative sense, that is, telling us what civic dignity is *not* (*i.e.,* not being humiliated or infantilized by fellow citizens and politicians), but leaving unanswered what it *is*, what it looks like, and what to do to experience it.

We turned to Tocqueville to consult his wisdom on soft despotism, the corrosive ailment unique to free people, and we found that the remedy he proposed to cure soft despotism shed light on what civic dignity might be in a positive sense. Soft despotism manifests itself through the gradual atrophy of civic muscle. To avoid or reverse the degenerative effects of soft despotism, Tocqueville prescribed seizing "opportunit[ies] to practice and become accustomed to self-governance."[240] He highlighted America's many "schools" of freedom, outlets through which ordinary citizens can connect with and have need of each other. Tocqueville cited voluntary associations, local town governments,

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[239]   See: Ober, "Democracy's Dignity"
[240]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I.1.v, p. 57-58, 63

newspapers (free press), and the jury system as such "schools" that provide meaningful

outlets for citizens to have a sense of ownership over the work of self-government.[241]

Tocqueville's "schools" of freedom demonstrate how a sense of ownership can be

experienced through meaningful political participation outlets. But the availability of those

outlets in a technical sense does not mean that those outlets are truly accessible, a

distinction elucidated through the political thought and example of Jane Addams. Through

Addams we were afforded the most dynamic insights into civic dignity and its innate

connection to individual liberty and flourishing. In "settling" among Chicago's overlooked

and exploited, she understood that the difference between having political participation

mechanisms *technically* available and *actually accessible* often meant the difference

between the promise of liberty yet to be fulfilled and the actual enjoyment of individual

liberty. For many, often the most in need, the schools of freedom celebrated by Tocqueville

remained out of reach—they were "far away and inaccessible"[242]— meaning that for those

individuals the promise of civic dignity was unfilled. Through her efforts at Hull-House,

Addams worked to demystify government processes and serve as an advocate and liaison;

or to use today's political economy language, she worked to lower the transaction costs of

participation. Eschewing charitable models, Addams' believed that dignity, and thus

liberty, could be attained through fellowship, and that the lessons of socializing democracy

best learned through diffusion.[243]

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[241]   Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, II,2.iv, p. 487; I.2.xiii, p. 262
[242]   Addams, "Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader,* p. 43. See also Elshtain, *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy,* p. 99-100
[243]   Addams asserted that most people "require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated, and the means of attaining them put at their disposal." She continued, "Hull House makes a constant effort to secure these means for its neighbors, but to call that effort philanthropy

Civic dignity, we concluded, is characterized by having a sense of ownership in the

self-governing political community, in addition to being free from infantilization and

humiliation by fellow citizens and government officials. Furthermore, we learned that

accessible and meaningful opportunities for political participation are critical to that sense

of ownership. The extent to which an individual is free depends in large part on the extent

to which the individual has civic dignity.

In light of understanding that civic dignity underpins one's exercise and enjoyment

of liberty, the discussion thus far had been focused on the individual. But what about the

political community; could the political community at large benefit by taking civic dignity

into account during policy design and implementation? To that question, a case study

about the relocation of informal settlers in Mandaue, the Philippines was instructive.

Through process tracing methodology, we discovered that not only does taking civic

dignity seriously yield individual benefits, but it can play a pivotal role in public sector

reforms in the form of improved governance and anti-corruption efforts. While this finding

(that enlisting the buy-in and support of individuals closest to the problem yields better

policy outcomes) is not entirely novel, it is far from standard practice. Domestically and

internationally, the coercive force of government and/or the tyranny of experts is too often

the default approach for policy design and implementation.

Finally, in an effort to codify further what we learned about civic dignity

theoretically and practically, a scale validation study was conducted to translate the

concept into a measure. Through exploratory factor analysis, a 22-item four-factor solution

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is to use the word unfairly and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship." See Addams,
"Objective Value," in *Jane Addams Reader*, p. 45

was found, which mapped onto the four component pieces of civic dignity. Construct

validity analysis, both comparing correlations between civic dignity and related measures

and investigating the relationship between civic dignity and political participation, had

promising results. A Poisson regression model showed that as an individual's civic dignity

increased, so too did the likelihood that one would participate in political activities. In

addition to deepening our understanding of civic dignity, the newly-minted civic dignity

scale would also allow reformers like Addams and Mayor Cortes to legitimize and track

their efforts empirically.

For all we learned about civic dignity and the role of meaningful and accessible

political participation, many more questions remain. To address some of those questions,

the following future research is suggested, some specific and some general. First, the

Mandaue case study was enlightening and adds to the small but growing chorus of

academics, policy analysts, and development experts who argue in favor of "free

development" and participatory governance as a way to improve outcomes. Now that civic

dignity has been studied in this context, a more systemic study of its role in deepening

democracy and public sector reforms would be beneficial. Future research should look at

Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) and "accountable autonomy" case studies in

particular. EDD literature is distinct from the bulk of the deliberative democracy literature

for its emphasis on actual feasible reform efforts (contrasted with "conceptually focused"

deliberative democracy literature). EDD case studies "evaluate institutional designs" that

yield public reforms and rely "on the participation and capacities of ordinary people."[244] As civic dignity research looks ahead to build on the Mandaue case study findings (that is, that incorporating civic dignity can help yield successful policy outcomes), the EDD literature will undoubtedly have valuable insights and lessons from which to draw.

Second, the scale validation study was successful but it was *exploratory* in nature. *Confirming* the findings is an indispensable next step for the civic dignity scale. To do so, representative samples of the U.S. population are needed, and a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) should be run. Future civic dignity surveys should refine the instructions and definition of "community" so that the connection between the responses to civic dignity items and the political participation questions is consistent. Subsequently, the CDS should be tested in other countries to ensure it translates to other settings where the scale could be a useful tool.

Third, after confirming the CDS findings, the CDS can be used to gather additional insights into the nature of civic dignity. For instance, which political participation mechanisms and experiences are best suited to increasing individual civic dignity? How long do the effects last? Does civic dignity have any transitive qualities: that is, perhaps *you* do not attend the meetings, but someone close to you does; does this proximity have an impact on *your* sense of civic dignity by association?

Apart from these specific avenues for future research, there are general research inquiries that would be worthwhile pertaining to specific populations. What is the state of

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[244]   Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, "Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance," *Politics &* Society 29, No. 1 (March 2001):5-41; p. 7. See also Archon Fung, "Accountable Autonomy: Toward Empowered Deliberation in Chicago Schools and Policing," *Politics &* Society 29, No. 1 (March 2001), p. 73-103.

civic dignity among incarcerated and formerly incarcerated individuals in America? That

population is intimately acquainted with the social contract as evidenced by having

violated and subsequently held accountable to its dictates. However, though they are more

acquainted than most with the social contract of our political community, they are more

excluded than most from participating politically.[245] How does this impact their civic

dignity? With their access to political participation limited, do they nonetheless find ways

to have a sense of ownership? If so, how and to what extent?

Similar inquiries could be made into welfare policy reform and poverty alleviation.

If we take as our starting place that those closest to the challenge have the most valuable

insights, then we ought to be enlisting the efforts of welfare beneficiaries to improve

assistance programs. But like prisoner-led prison reform efforts, welfare beneficiaries

today are trapped in a passive state, unable to provide feedback, largely separated from the

means to shape their future success stories. Could principles of civic dignity be used to

inform welfare reform efforts, both making welfare policy more effective while

simultaneously making it more dignified for those who have unmet needs and are in want

of temporary assistance?

If we take seriously the promise enshrined in our Declaration of Independence that

all are endowed with the unalienable right to liberty, then we ought to take seriously the

role played by civic dignity in supporting individual liberty. Indeed, this project was

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[245]   For an overview of felon voting rights, how those rights vary by state, and some of the
issues that arise in reinstating those rights upon release from prison, see: *Felon Voting Rights.*
September 29, 2016. http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/felon-voting-
rights.aspx (accessed November 6, 2017).

motivated by that concern above all others. Alternatively, for researchers and practitioners who are motivated by supply side concerns, such as improved governance and anti-corruption efforts, civic dignity is likewise worthy of their attention for the role civic dignity can play in those undertakings. In bolstering individual civic dignity, one can begin to shift how citizens understand themselves, and in turn reinvigorate the notion of "government for the people, by the people, and of the people," fortifying not only our individual liberty but also the institutions dedicated to the preservation and protection of that liberty.

APPENDIX A:

CIVIC DIGNITY SCALE VALIDATION STUDY SURVEY TEXT

We check responses carefully in order to make sure that people have read the instructions for the task and responded carefully. **We will only accept participants who clearly demonstrate that they have read and answered the questions.** Again, there will be some very simple questions in what follows that test whether you are reading the instructions. If you get these wrong, we may not be able to use your data. Do you understand?

CD0 The following questions ask about what being an American citizen means to you. Some questions refer to your "community," which here means your political community-- as in, your local voting district, your city, your state, or your country.

Please read the statements below carefully, and slide the marker to indicate whether you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer truthfully.

CD1 As a citizen, I should have a voice in my community (at any/ all levels).

CD2 I have just as much a right as everyone else to speak up about political issues that matter to me.

CD3 I should have the right to attend meetings about political issues that are important to me or my family.

CD4 I do not have a right to speak up about political issues that matter to me or my family.

CD5 I should have the right to have my opinions and ideas heard at meetings about political issues that are important to me or my family.

IMC1 We want to know about how you think about being a citizen. Attitudes can range among reasonable people. We also want to ensure you are taking the time to read each of the questions. For this question, select other below and type roger that. Thank you for your participation.

How often do you discuss politics or political issues with those around you?

○ Never, if I can help it (1)

○ Seldom, but I'll respond to avoid being rude (2)

○ Occasionally (3)

○ Frequently, and I'm often the one initiating the conversation (4)

○ Other (5) _____

CD6 I feel disconnected from the political process.

CD7 I couldn't bring about change in my community even if I tried.

CD8 There are lots of opportunities for me to participate meaningfully in issues I care about.

CD9 Sometimes, I want to participate (beyond voting), but it seems too challenging (e.g., too hard, costly, or time consuming).

CD10 There aren't any opportunities for me to participate meaningfully in issues I care about.

CD11 If I wanted to, I could impact my community.

CD12 I have some ideas about issues that matter to me, but I don't have any outlets to have my ideas really heard.

CD13 I regularly contribute my ideas or skills to political issues or projects that matter to me or my family.

CD14 I follow issues that matter to me or my family closely.

CD15 I have opinions or ideas about the challenges facing my community.

CD16 I should keep my opinions and ideas about challenges facing my community to myself.

CD17 I participate as a citizen.

CD18 I should contribute my opinions or ideas about challenges facing my community.

The following questions are about how other citizens view you, and about your comfort level engaging in political discussions or activities with them. **By "other people" we mean people who you come into daily contact with outside of your close friends. For example, other people could be co-workers, neighbors, people you interact with on social media, etc.** There are no right or wrong answers. Please read the questions carefully and answer truthfully.

CD19 I think other people in the community treat my opinions and ideas with respect.

CD20 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be dismissed as childish by other people in the community.

CD21 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be listened to by other people in the community, even if we disagree.

CD22 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be mocked by other people in the community.

CD23 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be treated with respect by other people in the community, even if we disagree.

CD24 I would not share my opinions about an issue that matters to me or my family in front of other people because of how those other people might react.

The following questions are about how government officials view you, and about your comfort level engaging in political discussions or activities with them. By "government officials," we simply mean elected and/or un-elected government employees at the local, state, or national levels. There are no right or wrong answers. Please read the questions carefully and answer truthfully.

CD25 I think government officials treat my opinions and ideas with respect.

CD26 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be dismissed as childish by government officials.

CD27 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be listened to by government officials, even if we disagree.

CD28 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be mocked by government officials.

CD29 I think my opinions or ideas are/would be treated with respect by government officials, even if we disagree.

CD30 I would not share my opinions about an issue that matters to me or my family in front of government officials because of how those government officials might react.

CD31 In interpreting the word "community" as your political community in the previous questions, what level(s) of community did you have in mind? (By "levels," we mean local, state, federal, etc.)

Now we will show you a few statements about public life. Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them. Please read the questions carefully and answer truthfully.

PE1e People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

PE2e Public officials don't care much what people like me think.

PE3e Having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think.

PE4i Sometimes, politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

PE5i I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important issues facing our country.

PE6i I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.

IMC2 Politics can be messy, but for this question select somewhat disagree.

PE7i I think I am better informed about politics and government than most people.

ESS0 Now you will see a few questions about what you think being a "good citizen" entails. Please tell us how unimportant or important the following activities are, using the scales provided.

ESS1 To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to vote in elections?

ESS2 To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to always obey laws and regulations?

ESS3 To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to form their own opinion, independently of others?

ESS4 To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to be active in voluntary organizations?

ESS5 To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to be active in politics?

Admin2 You are roughly halfway through the survey. We're so grateful for your attention and effort! Thank you

BPNS0 Please read each of the following items carefully, thinking about how it relates to your life, and then indicate how true it is for you. Use the scale to respond.

BPNS1 I feel like I am free to decide for myself how to live my life.

BPNS2 I really like the people I interact with.

BPNS3 Often, I do not feel very competent.

BPNS4 I feel pressured in my life.

BPNS5 People I know tell me I am good at what I do.

BPNS6 I get along with people I come into contact with.

BPNS7 I pretty much keep to myself and don't have a lot of social contacts.

BPNS8 I generally feel free to express my ideas and opinions.

BPNS9 I consider the people I regularly interact with to be my friends.

BPNS10 I have been able to learn interesting new skills recently.

BPNS11 In my daily life, I frequently have to do what I am told.

BPNS12 People in my life care about me.

BPNS13 Most days I feel a sense of accomplishment from what I do.

BPNS14 People I interact with on a daily basis tend to take my feelings into consideration.

BPNS15 In my life, I do not get much of a chance to show how capable I am.

BPNS16 There are not many people that I am close to.

IMC3 I have a personal relationship with the researcher.

BPNS17 I feel like I can pretty much be myself in my daily situations.

BPNS18 The people I interact with regularly do not seem to like me much.

BPNS19 I often do not feel very capable.

BPNS20 There is not much opportunity for me to decide for myself how to do things in my daily life.

BPNS21 People are generally pretty friendly towards me.

SDS0 The following four questions ask about why you follow politics. For each question there are four phrases for you to assess. Please indicate how closely the provided answers correspond to you.

SDSPM1 Why is it important that you get information about political issues that impact you or your family?

For the pleasure of doing it.	
I choose to do it for my own good.	
Because I am supposed to do it / sense of duty.	
I don't know, I don't see what it does for me.	

SDSPM2 Why is it important that you weigh all the angles concerning political issues that impact you or your family?

For the pleasure of doing it.	
I choose to do it for my own good)	
Because I am supposed to do it / sense of duty.	
I don't know, I don't see what it does for me.	

SDSPM3 Why is it important to vote?

For the pleasure of doing it.	
I choose to do it for my own good.	
Because I am supposed to do it / sense of duty.	
IMC4 Choose does not correspond to me at all	
I don't know, I don't see what it does for me.	

SDSPM4 Why is it important to contribute your ideas or feedback about political issues that impact you or your family?

For the pleasure of doing it.	
I choose to do it for my own good.	
Because I am supposed to do it / sense of duty	
I don't know, I don't see what it does for me.	

PP0 The following questions ask about your political participation. There are no right or wrong answers. Please answer truthfully.

PP1 Are you registered to vote?

PP2 With what political party, if any, do you most closely identify? (You do not need to be registered with the party.)

PP3 Did you vote in the last presidential election (2016)?

PP4 In the last 12 months, have you attended a political event (e.g., town hall meeting, campaign rally, political fundraiser, march, other political meeting about an issue or candidate)?

PP4a If you have attended a political event(s) in the last 12 months, how many (e.g., town hall meeting, campaign rally, political fundraiser, other political meeting about an issue or candidate)?

PP6 In the last 12 months, have you called, written, or otherwise contacted a political official? The official could be elected or unelected. Contact could be via phone, email, social media, or in person.

PP6a If you have contacted a political official (via phone, email, social media, in person), did you receive a reply in response to your contact?

PP6b If you received a response, how satisfied were you with the response you received?

PP7 In the past or currently, what is the biggest reason you do not participate or participate more? (Participation can come in many forms, such as voting, offering ideas or feedback, working on a community project, etc.)

PP8 What would make you more likely to participate politically? (Participation can come in many forms, such as voting, offering ideas or feedback, working on a community project, etc.)

Admin3 Thank you for answering the survey questions. This is the last page of questions.

Now, we would like to know a little bit more about you. Please read the following questions, and answer truthfully.

Demo1 How old are you?

Demo2 What is your gender?

Demo3 What is your race? (Pick the category that fits best.)

Demo4 How many people live in your household, including you?

Demo5 What is your current employment status?

Demo6 Information about income is very important to understand how people are doing financially these days. Your answers are confidential. Please give your best guess for the following questions. **What was the total income of all the members of your household in 2016, before taxes?** (This figure should include income from all sources, including salaries, wages, pensions, Social Security, dividends, interest, and all other incomes.)

Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

Admin4 Thank you for completing this survey. Were there any questions or sections of the survey that were unclear or confusing

APPENDIX B:

CHAPTER FOUR ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS

- **Poisson Regression:**
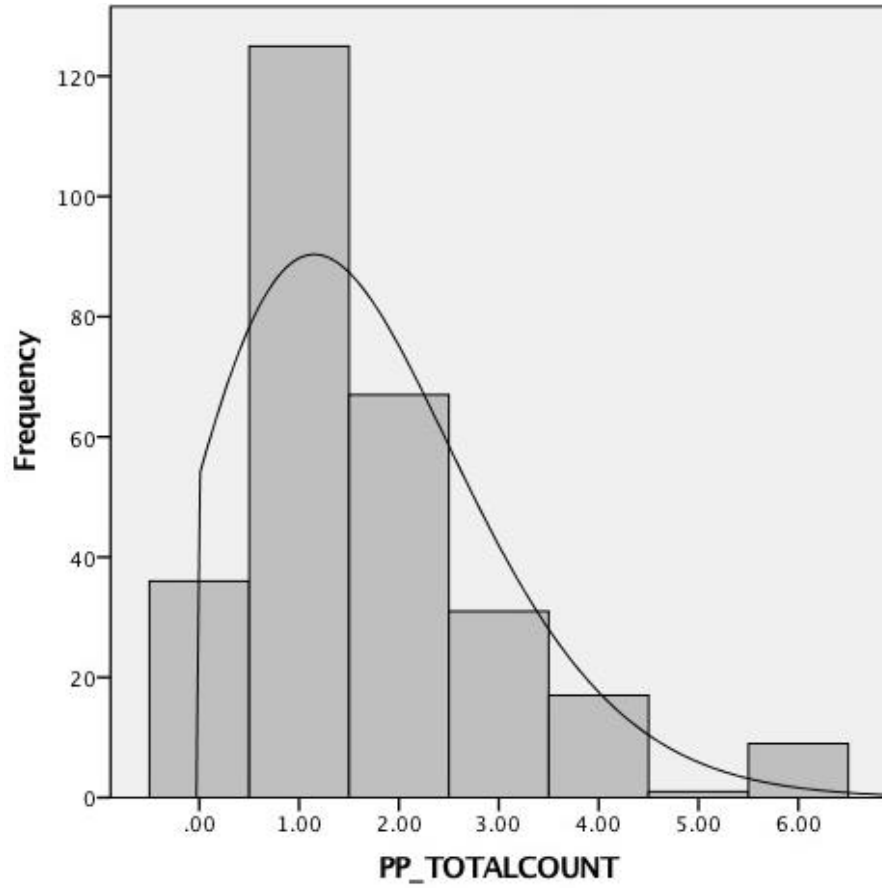
Poisson Regression Parameter Estimates

Parameter	B	Std. Error	95% Wald Confidence Interval		Hypothesis Test			Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.		Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	−.046	.3240	−.681	.589	.020	1	.888	.955	.506	1.803
[Demo2 What is your gender?=1]	−.024	.0945	−.209	.161	.063	1	.801	.977	.811	1.175
[Demo2 What is your gender?=2]	0[a]	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Demo7 Education	.135	.0400	.057	.214	11.448	1	.001	1.145	1.059	1.238
Demo1 Age	−.001	.0036	−.008	.007	.025	1	.874	.999	.992	1.007
Demo6 Income	−.023	.0234	−.069	.023	.964	1	.326	.977	.934	1.023
CDS Full Legitimate Citizen	.021	.0541	−.085	.127	.149	1	.699	1.021	.918	1.135
(Scale)	1[b]									

Dependent Variable: PP_TOTALCOUNT
Model: (Intercept), Demo2 What is your gender?, Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, Demo1 How old are you?, Demo6 What was the total income of all the members of your household, CD_CSU_FullLegitCitizen composite mean of items CD1_recode, CD2_recode, CD3_recode, CD5_recode, CD4

a. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.

b. Fixed at the displayed value.

Appendix Table 1. Poisson Regression Results for CDS Full Legitimate Citizen Sub-Scale

Poisson Regression Parameter Estimates

Parameter	B	Std. Error	95% Wald Confidence Interval		Hypothesis Test			Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.		Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	−.094	.2872	−.657	.469	.106	1	.745	.911	.519	1.599
[Demo2 What is your gender?=1]	−.033	.0938	−.216	.151	.120	1	.729	.968	.805	1.163
[Demo2 What is your gender?=2]	0[a]	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Demo7 Education	.134	.0400	.056	.213	11.278	1	.001	1.144	1.058	1.237
Demo1 Age	−.001	.0037	−.008	.006	.041	1	.839	.999	.992	1.006
Demo6 Income	−.024	.0234	−.070	.022	1.039	1	.308	.976	.933	1.022
CDS Other People	.044	.0605	−.075	.162	.518	1	.472	1.044	.928	1.176
(Scale)	1[b]									

Dependent Variable: PP_TOTALCOUNT
Model: (Intercept), Demo2 What is your gender?, Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, Demo1 How old are you?, Demo6 What was the total income of all the members of your household, CIP_OtherPeople CD19R, CD21R, CD23R, CD20, CD22, CD24

a. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.

b. Fixed at the displayed value.

Appendix Table 2. Poisson Regression Results for CDS Other People Sub-Scale

Poisson Regression Parameter Estimates

Parameter	B	Std. Error	95% Wald Confidence Interval		Hypothesis Test			Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.		Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	−.158	.2538	−.656	.339	.390	1	.532	.853	.519	1.403
[Demo2 What is your gender?=1]	−.024	.0937	−.208	.160	.065	1	.799	.976	.813	1.173
[Demo2 What is your gender?=2]	0ᵃ	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.
Demo7 Education	.137	.0401	.058	.215	11.623	1	.001	1.146	1.060	1.240
Demo1 Age	−.001	.0037	−.008	.006	.075	1	.784	.999	.992	1.006
Demo6 Income	−.023	.0234	−.069	.023	.986	1	.321	.977	.933	1.023
CDS Government Officials	.066	.0470	−.026	.158	1.954	1	.162	1.068	.974	1.171
(Scale)	1ᵇ									

Dependent Variable: PP_TOTALCOUNT
Model: (Intercept), Demo2 What is your gender?, Demo7 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, Demo1 How old are you?, Demo6 What was the total income of all the members of your household, CD_CIP_GovtOfficial composite mean of items CD25_recode, CD27_recode, CD29_recode, CD26, CD28

a. Set to zero because this parameter is redundant.

b. Fixed at the displayed value.

Appendix Table 3. Poisson Regression Results for CDS Government Officials Sub-Scale

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