Citizens at the centre of the globalizing world

Harry C. Boyte, SID Lecture February 6, 2014 redraft

I thank Renė Grotenhuis and the Society for International Development NL for this invitation.
Among other things, it creates an opportunity to develop themes treated in my short essay, "The
Politics of Civic Agency," in the SID journal *Development* in 2012.[1]

My argument is that we are on the cusp of a revolution in our paradigm of civic action, building
on civic developments over the last generation. At the end I summarize this shift with a chart.[2]

What does civic agency look like? Let me begin with the Night Watch from Rembrandt, an iconic
image at the heart of the Dutch tradition. This is the image of self-organizing citizen efforts across
differences – note the symbolism of both Protestant and Catholic. Such self-organizing citizen effort
calls up an even older tradition, conveyed by the quip, God created the world, the Dutch created
Holland. The quip, of course, points to poldering, the communal labor tradition in Holland with which I
begin my essay on civic agency and public work in the journal *Political Theory*. Here's how Wikipedia
describes polders and poldering.

> "The Dutch have a long history of reclamation of marshes and fenland, resulting in some
> 3,000 polders nationwide. The first polders were constructed in the 11th century. Due to
> flooding disasters water boards…were set up to maintain the integrity of the water
> defences around polders, maintain the waterways inside a polder and control the various
> water levels. Water bodies… are the oldest democratic institution in the country."

In recent history, a variety of civic groups have kept this tradition alive.

Civic agency is a political concept conveying self-organized citizen action across differences. It
conveys the capacities of people "to navigate and transform a world that is understood to be fluid and
open." Civic agency involves both civic learning and also enabling environments. The concept
suggests the capacities of citizens to work collaboratively across differences like partisan ideology, faith

traditions, income, geography and ethnicity to address common challenges, solves problem and create a shared way of life. It also conveys also "the practices, habits, norms, symbols, and ways of life that enhance or diminish capacities for collective action."[3] Finally, civic agency conveys a democratic public narrative of a people or a society, challenging the detachment of elites from a common story.[4] This is why the Dutch story of civic agency, so much a part of the people's narrative, is so powerfully relevant.

The concept of civic agency has been theorized over the past twenty years through a process of reflection on communal labor traditions around the world like poldering, research initiatives with the Kettering Foundation and others, and also initiatives which translate practices and concepts from community organizing into institutional change, organized by the Center for Democracy and Citizenship (CDC) and by partners in South Africa and in many sites in the US. Community organizing, especially as practiced by groups like London Citizens which bring together religious groups withcivic organizations, schools and others, is a strong case of civic agency. Concept-development highlights dynamics such as technocracy which operate invisibly to constrain self-organized collective action.

Civic agency can be described as a new civic politics, the title of the framing statement for what is called civic studies, an interdisciplinary field drawing on deliberative practices, research on governance of common pool resources, public work, and community based research, focused on agency and citizens as co-creators.[5] I'll use the term civic politics today because it accents the *political* dimension of civic agency. Civic politics is pluralistic and majoritarian, teaching the capacities to work across differences. Though it requires learning in many more sites than elections, elections are important, and show possibilities for civic politics on a large scale, as I later describe.[6] More generally, civic politics is learned in everyday practices which ground democratic visions and philosophy in anchoring civic sites in the life of communities where diverse people interact, get to know each other, and learn to undertake common work. In turn, these sites are sustained by public work in which professionals learn to think of themselves as *citizens,* working to better communities with other citizens of diverse interests.

The scenes of citizen protest, from Kiev to Cairo, remind us every night that the questions of "dispersed power" which SID addresses in this lecture series are of importance around the world. The protests also show diminished hopefulness for civic agency compared to the Arab Spring, the Velvet Revolutions of Eastern Europe, or Barack Obama's campaign theme in 2008, "Yes We Can." Obama's hope for a cross-partisan "different kind of politics" has turned into bitter partisan war in Washington.

Yet the president still conveys the spirit of "yes we can" in some key speeches. For instance, Obama's speech about the civil rights movement's March on Washington last August spoke of "*those glorious patriots on that day [who understood] that change does not come from Washington, but to Washington; that change has always been built on our willingness, We The People, to take on the mantle of citizenship.*" What's going on?

In his speeches, Obama is drawing on an enormous resource for civic politics, *two successful citizen movements of the 20th century which advanced visions of a deepened democratic society*:

- Last year was the 50th anniversary of the American Civil Right Movement's great March on Washington and Martin Luther King's I Have a Dream speech;
- Last month commemorated the life of Nelson Mandela, who came to symbolize the South African anti-apartheid movement.

The freedom movements of both societies animate the argument I make today. Their main lesson is simple, named by Obama: everyday citizens are the most important agents and architects of democratic change and a richer public narrative of the society, when they develop the skills and confidence to be change agents. This lesson challenges conventional public narratives and politics.

In most public treatments, movement *leaders* take on gigantic, even superhuman proportions, while the people become radically diminished. Thus, the dominant story holds that Martin Luther King gave a speech and Congress abolished segregation. Nelson Mandela got out of jail and negotiated the end to apartheid. What is lost is the immense creativity, energy, and spirit of everyday citizens, as well as the molecular transformations in communities and institutions that made these movements

successful. The top-down public story of the movements has counterpart in the view that government, politicians, and experts are the drivers of change. Lost in both is the politics of civic agency.

Today, I briefly describe the presence of civic agency and civic politics in Dutch history and current practices. I treat technocratic creep, a major obstacle to civic politics. And I note three emerging dynamics which provide resources for civic politics. For more detail, let me refer you to several articles posted on the SID-NL website for this lecture.

Civic agency in the Netherlands

Dutch history and contemporary practices are rich with examples of civic agency and civic politics. I've mentioned poldering and the Night Watch.

Here, the philosophy of Johannes Althusius (1563 – 1638) is also worth recalling. Althusius was a political philosopher who developed the concept of consociationism and a vision of the consociational commonwealth.[7] The splendid forthcoming work, *Resurrecting Democracy,* by the British theologian and political philosopher Luke Bretherton, now at Duke, treats Althusius at length*:*

> "In contrast to Hobbes, Rousseau, and Hegel, Althusius allows for the pluralization of political order so as to accommodate and coordinate the diversity of associational life, whether economic, familial or religious. In his account, to be a political animal is not to be a citizen of a unitary, hierarchically determined political society…Rather, it is to be a participant in a plurality of interdependent, self-organized associations that together constitute a consociational polity. The singularity and specificity of each is constitutive of the commonwealth of all [and] a common life is pursued as a non-instrumental good."[8]

In my reading, the "neighborhood approach" introduced by in 2007 by the Dutch government in order to improve livability in disadvantaged areas resurfaces consociationalism, and the Dutch civic agency tradition. As Rik Habraken, Lucas Meijs, Lau Schulpen and Cristien Temmink describe in their article, "Dutch civil society at crossroads," the policy aspires to shift from a top down service approach to recognition of the resourcefulness of citizens and the immense diversity of forms of citizen self-

organization. In the Indonesian neighborhood Makassar, the policy has generated what the authors describe as "An enabling environment with government policies promoting active citizenship, self-reliance, participation, and integration of migrants." This involves change in the work of civil servants themselves. Thus, the participation mediator, whose function is to help stimulate citizen participation, describes the role in this way: "Participation mediator is a frontline position. I am part of the daily lives of the people in the neighbourhood and I am also part of the city's district's system."[9]

If there are signs of civic politics, there are also obstacles woven into the fabric of our world.

The polar night of icy darkness

In 1902, Jane Addams, a leader in American settlement houses who worked with new immigrants and believed passionately in their potential contributions to the commonwealth, warned about the emerging class of professionals, "experts" as she described them, who saw themselves outside the people. In her view, detached expertise reinforced existing hierarchies based on wealth and power and created new forms of hierarchical power that threatened the everyday life of communities. [10]

Not long after, Max Weber wrote about what he saw as the inevitable spread of bureaucracy and rationalization through modern societies, "the iron cage" (or according to recent translators, the "steel carapace") of technical rationality which holds ends as constant and focuses on efficiency of means. Even more evocatively in his lecture, "The Profession and Vocation of Politics," Weber described this as "the polar night of icy darkness."[11]

Addams and Weber anticipated what the South African intellectual Xolela Mangcu, writing from the Black Consciousness perspective, calls "technocratic creep." This is the product of a group of architects of a new way of seeing the world who replaced "politics" with scientific administration of the state and the professions. Intellectuals came to write "about" politics, from a stance of detachment from the general citizenry, far more than they practiced politics directly with the people. Over time, expert claims to unique authority, based precisely on outsider ways of knowing, eroded the civic fabric of society and the civic agency of citizens. There is a long history of growing distance of institutions of all

kind from the civic culture embedded in this process, and also a dysfunctional skepticism or hostility from those who champion "the citizenry" or "the people" toward institutions of all kinds, which limits the organizing needed to change the patterns.

A famous speech by Donna Shalala (below) conveys technocratic creep. The picture below Shalala's quote is from the George Segal statue, "The Bread Line," at the Roosevelt Memorial in Washington, D.C. It shows how the message of mainstream progressive politics is that government (and by extension professionals and scientists) saves a needy, pitiful people. This has become the message woven into the fabric of contemporary institutions of all kinds, in South Africa as in the US.

"The ideal [is] a disinterested technocratic elite…society's best and brightest in service to its most needy [dedicated to] delivering the miracles of social science [on society's problems] just as doctors cured juvenile rickets in the past."

> Donna Shalala, Chancellor University of Wisconsin
> "Mandate for a New Century"
> David Dodds Henry Lecture, University of Illinois 1989

The knowledge war

Technocratic creep and its political translations in mass politics and its objectivist theory of knowledge – the assumption that sound knowledge is generated by credentialed and objective experts, outside a common civic culture -- devalue other kinds of knowledge. These include cultural and narrative, craft, local, experiential, spiritual and those whose lives and livelihoods are organized around such knowledge. Scientists "bring their message to citizens," as the world's leading science journal *Nature* put it in an editorial in 2012. They don't see themselves *as* citizens. In the SID piece, I described the "knowledge war" which results. Experts who see themselves as enlightened, liberal, rational, and scientific, seek to enlighten and inform the mass of citizens, seen as needy, passive and ignorant. In response, aggrieved movements of citizens feel their knowledge and their cultural identities are under siege. In the United States, the knowledge war takes the form of the Tea Party, an anti-professional,

anti-science movement. In the Netherlands, a movement with some striking parallels has appeared in the Party for Freedom and the pronouncements of Geert Wilders. Wilders resembles Sarah Palin, the vice presidential candidate of the Republic Party in the US election of 2008, and the general anti-science tendency in American politics. I will argue that many proponents can be engaged, with a different kind of knowledge politics.

Technocratic patterns are long standing. But I believe they are about to change.

Foundations for civic politics

I emphasize three resources for spreading civic politics in contemporary society. These include approaches to organizing which educate for political citizenship; a movement to rethink citizenship as public work, emphasizing public dimensions of work in in government, professions, and higher education; and examples of how civic agency, civic politics, can take shape on a large scale.

1.Broad based community organizing. Practices and methods of "broad-based community organizing" counter mass politics with a political view of citizenship, based on an understanding of each person as a unique, free agent. They cultivate a sense of "the public person" akin to what Margaret Canovan has called political sobriety, "an exceptional degree of political realism and common sense, together with a remarkable capacity to exercise self-restraint and put shared long-term interests above private interests and short-term impulses."[12]

Broad-based community organizations like London Citizen, involving all the major religious faiths, unions and also many other secular organizations, pursue social, racial and economic justice in ways highly attentive to political and civic education.[13]   Organizers often use the concept of citizens as co-creators and sometimes refer to their efforts across communities as "public work." As Gerald Taylor, an architect of this kind of organizing, put it, "thinking about organizing as public work helps people to understand themselves as builders of cities." [14]

Drawing out the different meanings of "public" in "public work," one can detail work *of* publics; work *in* public; and work *for* public purposes. Broad-based organizing efforts are vivid illustrations of the first two dimensions. They involve politics, in the older sense of the concept, work *of* a public, a diverse people who learn to work together. These groups teach members to understand the motivations and stories of others of different income, religious, cultural, or partisan backgrounds through what are called "one-on-ones." Their efforts also generate work *in* public, making visible different, sometimes conflicting interests, teaching how to use these conflicts for public purposes. Arendt is widely read in these groups partly because their action is informed by the concept of a public arena based on difference, akin to her public space of plurality. In a public arena, people operate on principles such as respect, recognition, and mutual accountability, not on the basis of "private principles" like loyalty, intimacy, and hope for nurturance. Citizens learn to work together on public issues out of diverse "self-interests" (not narrow selfishness but core passions and relationships). They solve problems, win victories for disadvantaged groups, and create public things with those with whom they may disagree, or whom they may even dislike. Such activity often broadens people's interests toward "standing for the whole."[15] The agent in organizing combines a strategic assessment of social and political power with attention to building public relationships across differences. [16] Taylor calls this a shift from "protest to governance." Governance, in these terms, "means learning how to be accountable," he says. "It means being able to negotiate and compromise. It means understanding that people are not necessarily evil because they have different interests or ways of looking at the world." [17] Similarly, Rom Coles, a political theorist long active in such organizations, argues that organizing "inflects [diverse] traditions in light of a radical democratic ethos that accents inclusion, dialogue, receptivity, equality, difference, a taste for ambiguity, patient discernment, and an affirmation that political relationships centrally involve ongoing tension, some compromise, and humility in the face of disagreement."[18]

2) **Deliberative public work.** A second resource for civic politics is a spreading movement for deliberative public work, sometimes described as "turning jobs into public work." Public work can be

defined as the sustained effort of a mix of people which creates goods, cultural or material, of civic value, whose value is determined by ongoing deliberation. It is civic agency in motion. Public work is crucial for growing the power of communities and societies to address our challenges. Let me tell a short story.

In January, 2013, the Center for Democracy and Citizenship (CDC) at Augsburg College partnered with the mayor of the City of Falcon Heights, Minnesota, to organize a deliberative "citizen town hall" exploring citizen-based approaches to gun violence after the terrible shooting in Newtown, Connecticut, in December, 2012. I had written a letter which the *New York Times* used as the basis for a Readers Forum, arguing that government laws alone couldn't fix the problem. Lay citizens need to help quell violence. The audience of 25 or so in the citizen town hall included the mayor, the police chief, the city manager, teachers, a local principal, social agency workers, a university professor from the College of Architecture and Design, four students, IT business entrepreneurs —and two elderly residents. The residents expressed regret that "there are so few citizens." No one from any of the worksites in the community raised any questions about their definition of citizen as volunteer. When CDC staff did raise questions it prompted a lively conversation about how much power there might be in the community to address gun violence if people see their work in civic terms, and their work sites as civic sites. And I imagined the multiplication of civic powers and energies in the United States – and around the world -- on questions like climate change and poverty that can occur if higher education educates its students to think of themselves as citizens through their work, and equips them to turn their workplaces into empowering civic sites.

Public work highlights the citizen as a co-creator of communities and society, more than a volunteer, voter, protestor, or consumer. It challenges the fatalism of many about the "polar night of icy darkness," the idea that institutions are inevitably, immutably in the iron grip of bureaucracy and instrumental rationality. Carmen Sirianni details initiatives within government, from local levels to

federal agencies, which integrate themes of broad-based organizing in order to generate more productive, collaborative work with citizens.[19]

Addressing public problems effectively also prompts attention to the civic dimensions of professions, where professionals learn to work *with* other citizens, rather *on* them or *for* them and develop the identity of citizens first, with their knowledge "on tap not on top." Albert Dzur details how professionals' work can be catalytic and energizing when they "step back" and practice what Forester called diplomatic recognition. He chronicles democratic trends in the areas of medicine, law, the movement against domestic violence and elsewhere that enhance the authority and efficacy of lay citizens, adding multiple cases of what I call public work. [20] William Doherty and his colleagues at the Citizen Professional Center have pioneered in the practices and theory of such citizen professionalism. Adapting broad-based organizing practices and public work concepts to family and health professions, their citizen professional model begins with the premise that solving complex problems requires many sources of knowledge, and "the greatest untapped resource for improving health and social well being is the knowledge, wisdom, and energy of individuals, families, and communities who face challenging issues in their everyday lives."[21]

A higher education movement for civic engagement offers an expanding terrain for public work.[22] Higher education is an "upstream institution," shaping civic identities and career plans of students and influencing the practices and frameworks of a myriad of professions. In recent decades conventional views and practices in higher education have come to take *work* off the map, locating citizenship largely in voting, in off-hours voluntarism, and in civil society. As citizen teachers, civic business owners, citizen clergy, citizen librarians, citizen nurses, even "civil" servants have been replaced by service providers, Americans have become a nation of consumers not producers of democracy. But in a time of enormous change, higher education also has a strong interest in reclaiming the "jobs" debate, helping to lead in the redefinition of work, the meaning of citizenship, and the nature of knowledge in ways that create new alliances with communities and broader public. We can discuss

more examples of what this looks like, and the forthcoming symposium, *Democracy's Education* has many examples.

3.Civic politics on a large scale. Finally, to deal with a world in crisis we need strategies to spread civic politics on a large scale. There are rich recent histories in the civil rights movement and the anti-apartheid movements both of which schooled tens of thousands of people to be civic agents of change, both of which spread civic politics approaches in the mainstream of society, and both of which advanced a strong democratic narrative of peoplehood, against the grain of the detached identities of professional classes. For instance, the Congress of the People (CoP), the South African movement which produced the Freedom Charter of 1955, the anti-apartheid movement's manifesto, organized a national deliberation aimed at a national awakening instilling freedom consciousness. In the view of its organizers, the people, not the African National Congress or other political parties, were the driving force of change. It challenged vanguardism. As one leader, Rusty Bernstein put it, the ideas of the Charter needed to be "an exercise in getting the people to tell the leadership and self-regarding elites what THEY ought to work for in the name of the people." [23] The Congress of the People also challenged anti-apartheid whites to organize in their own communities. The challenge of the Congress of the People was at last taken up, and parallel efforts began to appear among whites on a large scale. In 1986, Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, leaders of the white opposition party in the South African Parliament, resigned in frustration at the Parliament's inability to address the country's growing crisis. They founded the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), to generate discussion and work across the deepening racial divide. Slabbert, drawing on Crick's view of politics, called this "the politics of negotiation."

For most whites in South Africa in the 1980s, the everyday lives, concerns, talents, and oppressive conditions of blacks were invisible. Idasa's work closely paralleled Mandela's efforts. In 1987 in Dakar, Senegal, the organization brought together white moderates among politicians, labor unionists, journalists, religious and business leaders with exile leaders of the African National Congress for the first time. The meeting reverberated around the world. Over the next seven years, Idasa

organized hundreds of meetings which brought whites together with blacks, colored and Indians. This

played a crucial, if now largely invisible role in the peaceful transition. After the 1994 election, Idasa,

retaining its roots in South Africa, also became the leading force on the African continent emphasizing

the idea that democracy is a society, not simply a state. Its grassroots popular education efforts taught

community organizing methods and nonpartisan empowering citizen politics to thousands of people.

This history is largely unknown to the world, but it suggests powerful lessons. What will it mean in the

Netherlands, for instance, for those who dispute the anti-immigrant views of Wilders and the Party of

Freedom to work in the communities which are the party's base, creating new alliances about everyday

issues and also recalling the rich traditions of the Dutch as a tolerant and civic people, central to Dutch

civic identity? I hope we discuss this question.

Another large omission from the public record relevant to such work is the vast process of civic

learning which took place among South African blacks as they developed new capacities for collective

problem-solving and a new pride in black culture. In the recent movie "Mandela," blacks appear as

victims or as defiant protestors. Here, it is useful to recall a distinction from the American civil rights

movement between "organizing" and "mobilizing." Mobilizing, which uses a good versus evil language,

is best known. It involves protests, civil disobedience, defiance campaigns and the like. These play a

role in any successful struggle against injustice. But they also produce polarizing techniques.

Organizing -- the patient, community-level, molecular work of developing new skills, resiliency,

pride, and confidence -- creates the foundations for lasting democratic change. Xolela Mangcu, the

Black Consciousness public intellectual at the University of Cape Town, describes the scale and

significance of organizing in the Black Consciousness Movement. Steve Biko and other BCM leaders

built on a rich, if largely invisible tradition of "radical modernizers" such as W.B. Rubusana, Sol Plaatje,

SEK Mqhayi and others, who affirmed African traditions and culture. Biko differed from racialistic

appeals about "driving whites to the sea." "He drew Africans, Coloureds and Indians together in a

collective movement for liberation," describes Mangcu. "[But] he always made the point that the

struggle was for a non-racial democracy based on what he called the 'joint culture' of black and white people, constructed out of the hybridity of their respective cultures."[24]

In the BCM perspective, blacks also must assume the leadership of their own liberation struggle. To this end, BCM linked community organizing about people's practical issues – health, working conditions, housing, schools, home industries and others – with a philosophy that "infused the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion, their outlook to life."   The BCM philosophy educated a generation of leaders in what were called "formation schools," as well as through publications like *Creativity and Development, Essays on Black Theology, Black Viewpoint,* and *Black Perspectives.* Today, this legacy also can constitute a philosophical resource for civic science, challenging the insufficiency of a triumphalist view of science and technology descending from the Enlightenment.

In the United States, the Obama campaign of 2008 showed possibilities for integrating civic agency themes and practices into presidential campaigns and also advancing a far more pluralist, democratic understanding of America's history and future. Finally, we believe that the concept of civic science, a rethinking of the nature of science and the role of scientists which uses civic agency as the core idea, holds potential also to be a game changer. Our concept paper on civic science is on the SID web site.

Hubs for civic politics

Empowering civic politics has rich roots in the Netherlands. We need "hubs," connected to and connecting many other centres and efforts to spread such politics. This will also require a "democratic internationalism", borrowing from old traditions of socialist internationalism without the ideological baggage, if we are to learn from democratic experiences of different societies, and develop deeper theories of power than is common in distributive politics. The overall task is about building resilient, sustainable democratic societies in a time of dramatic change. In a world with mounting challenges and deepening divisions, the politics of "yes we can" has never been more crucially important.

Three frameworks of citizenship

	Government-centered	Community-centered	Work-centered
What is democracy?	Free elections	Moral order based on civic responsibility	Way of life built through civic labors
What is the citizen?	Voter, consumer	Volunteer	Co-creator
What is citizenship?	Voting, obeying the law, respecting rights	Helping others, participating	Public work*
What is justice?	Fair distribution of resources, distributed through government	Creating community	Building civic agency
Key methods?	Voting, mobilization, advocacy and lobbying	Service, volunteering	Turning jobs into public work, deliberation, organizing
What is higher education's role?	Training experts and providing services	Civic education, character building	Civic meeting ground, educating citizen professionals
What is mindset?	Scarcity	Common good	Abundance

*Public work is sustained, visible effort by a diverse mix of people that creates things of lasting civic or public significance.

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[1] Harry C. Boyte, "The Politics of Civic Agency," *Development* (2012) 55(2): 205-207.

[2] Harry C. Boyte, "Civic Driven Change and Developmental Democracy," in Alan Fowler and Kees Biekart, *Civic Driven Change: Citizen's Imagination in Action* (The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 2008).

[3] Harry C. Boyte, "Against the Current: Developing the Civic Agency of Students" *Change* (2008) 40(3): 10; see also American Democracy Project. 2008. "Civic Agency Defined." At http://civicagency.pbworks.com/w/page/28487011/Civic%20Agency

[4] See Boyte, "A Challenging Patriotism," *Change* http://www.changemag.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2012/July-August%202012/perspectives-abstract.html

[5] See http://activecitizen.tufts.edu/civic-studies/summer-institute/summer-institute-of-civic-studies-framing-statement/ ; for a first collection of essays on civic studies, see Peter Levine and Karol Soltan, Eds., *Civic Studies* (Washington: Bringing Theory to Practice/Association of American Colleges & Universities, 2014), http://www.aacu.org/bringing_theory/CivicSeries.cfm#CS

[6] See Boyte, *Civic Agency and the Cult of the Expert* (Dayton: Kettering Foundation, 2009); and also Boyte and Hunter Gordon, "Citizen Politics – a New Minnesota Miracle," *Huffington Post* August 9, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/harry-boyte/citizen-politics-a-new-mi_b_1756538.html

[7] See Johannes Althusius, Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_Althusius

[8] Luke Bretherton, *Resurrecting Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2015). Bretherton draws on James Skillen, "The Development of Calvinistic Political Theory in the Netherlands, with Special Reference to the Thought of Herman Dooyeweerd" (PhD, Duke University, 1973), pp. 191–217; and also Robert Latham, who notes, "While commentators since the seventeenth century have read Althusius as an early formulator of ideas about popular sovereignty, they have generally overlooked how he was actually vesting sovereignty or supreme power in the webs of relations that shape the possibilities for agency across a body politic . . . rather than a collective of persons" (Robert Latham, "Social Sovereignty," *Theory, Culture and Society* 17.4 [2000], p. 6).

[9] Rik Habraken, Lucas Meijs, Lau Schulpen and Cristien Temmink, "Dutch civil society at crossroads," *Development in Practice* published on line 11 October 2013, p. 747.

[10] Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 270.

[11] Weber in Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs, *Weber: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 368.

[12] Margaret Canovan, "The people, the masses, and the mobilization of power: the paradox of Hannah Arendt's 'populism,'" *Social Research* 69, No. 2 (2002): 403-422, at 418.

[13] On organizing, Mark R. Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling: Community-Building to Revitalize American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), Richard L. Wood, *Faith in Action: Religion, Race, and Democratic Organizing in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[14] Boyte, interview with Gerald Taylor, Chapel Hill, N.C. April 26, 2002

[15] Boyte, *CommonWealth,* chapter eight.

[16] Edward T. D. Chambers and Michael A. Cowan, *Roots for Radicals* (New York: Continuum, 2003).

[17] Taylor quoted in Boyte, *Civic Agency,* 22.

[18] Rom Coles, "Of Tensions and Tricksters: Grassroots Democracy Between Theory and Practice," *Perspectives on Politics* 4, No. 3 (Fall, 2006): 547-561, at 550.

[19] Carmen Sirianni, *Investing in Democracy: Engaging Citizens in Collaborative Governance* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).

[21] William J. Doherty, Tai J. Mendenhall, and Jerica M. Berge, "The Families and Democracy and Citizen Health Care Project," *Journal of Marital & Family Therapy* (October, 2010), http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3658/is_201010/ai_n56230125/?tag=content;col1 accessed December 8, 2010.

[22] John Saltmarsh and Matt Hartley, Eds., *To Serve a Larger Purpose: Engagement for Democracy and the Transformation of Higher Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, forthcoming 2011).

[36] David Everatt, *The Origins of Non-Racialism: White Opposition to Apartheid in the 1950s* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), p. 181.

[24] Xolela Mangcu, "African Modernity and the Struggle for People's Power: From Protest and Mobilization to Community Organizing," *The Good Society* (2012) 21(1): 279-299.