CITIZENSHIP AND THE POLITICS OF CIVIC DRIVEN CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Nation states are premised on the legitimizing presence of a polity comprised of citizens. The politics of this relationship is central to discourse on how societies evolve. Yet in the discipline of international development studies the topic remains peripheral. Reasons can be found in conceptual confusion, in selectivity in donor thinking and policies towards civil society and in the growth-driven political economy of NGO-ism. Remedies for the political lacunae are being sought through a concerted focus on people's rights, citizenship and qualities of leadership that all show valuable progress. This chapter will examine a comprehensive complement to such efforts referred to as civic driven change (CDC). Originating in a grounded empirical approach, the constituent principles and elements of CDC offer a lens that can both sharpen and deepen insights and advance analysis of civic agency in socio-political processes. As an ontologically grounded normative proposition, CDC allows exposure and examination of 'uncivil' forces stemming from contending claims on citizenship. These factors are typically ignored or denied in an historical harmony model of societal change. A CDC narrative is illustrated by reference to contemporary examples of citizen action that play out at multiple sites of governance.

INTRODUCTION

For many people in the world 'citizenship' is an aspiration, a 'work in progress'. Rooted in distinct histories, citizenship's meanings, rights and obligations towards a state and towards others in society are continually evolving. Citizenship everywhere exhibits varying degrees of emergence, consolidation and stability. As a political concept and category, a

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polity premised on citizenship is seldom challenged as a normative legitimizing condition for recognition as a state within the global family of nations. Be that as it may, in interpretation and practice, citizenship does not enjoy an unequivocal place in a society's functioning and configurations of accountability and power relations between rulers and the ruled. Informed by the setting and perspectives of international aid and development cooperation, dedicated research across the world has helped to expose substantial variation in how citizenship is understood and gained, more through collective effort than legal statute. In fact, the substance of citizenship everywhere is more something that has to be actively claimed and vigilantly protected than assuredly gained as and ascribed status at birth.[2]

Results of such studies on citizenship indicate that successful engagement in public affairs and governance must contend with six challenging factors: existing capabilities; the institutional and political context; the strength of internal champions; the history and style of engagement; the location of power and decision making; and their nature of the issue at hand (DRC, 2010. This groundwork invites a broader view that is not premised on international relations with its concerns for security, poverty reduction, inequality and similar agendas. This chapter therefore extends this rich body of knowledge in two ways. As a first step, the following section delves deeper into a more fundamental aspect of politics that citizenship relies on: this is the concept of civic agency. The third section reports on a novel comprehensive lens – civic driven change (CDC) - through which the social-political processes expressions and challenges of citizenship can be better understood as grounds for activism, development practice, strategy and policy making. A concluding section is reflective in considering where, as a work in progress, the notion of civic driven change needs more effort.

FROM CITIZENSHIP TO CIVIC AGENCY

Citizenship is a long term outcome of path-dependent historical processes that never come to closure: the politics of a society's structuration is an open process and enduring force through which - often in fits and starts - relations between governed and governors continue to evolve. Further, identity as a citizen is part of a complex mosaic of self-realisation and ascription by others. Consequently, a legal-political label is too narrow a view of what makes citizenship real, as is the notion that spaces for engagement between citizens and states are simply defined by those with power (Gaventa, 2010). Deepening the concept calls for a review of its location within a family of foundational theories of human pre-disposition expressed through sociological and political agency. From here, a body of theories connect challenges of citizenship with the notion of civic agency and civic energy. That is, the driver's of people's efforts to change the world they live in, for example, an imagined future personal or collective condition worth striving for. Two 'families' of theory – foundational and actionable - are particularly relevant.

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2 For a rich series of publications on global citizenship research see www.drc-citizenship.org

Foundational Theories

Human agency: In a comprehensive treatment of the topic, Emirbayer and Mische (1998:963) argue that, in sociology, human agency has not been adequately addressed as an analytic category in its own right. This shortcoming is attributed to theorists' preoccupation to demonstrate and explain the interpenetration of structure and agency. Their analysis to redress this lacuna posits an iterative, temporal process of reflection through which people gain and apply a responsive capacity to (problematic) situations as they arise.

In their view, agency is an interplay between: (1) past routine, experience and learning, energised by (2) images of a desired future situation, which is then (3) situationally-judged for achievability and risk, from which action may or may not be taken. The recent political upheavals of the Arab Spring in North Africa show how people's risk calculus can change quickly and radically. In this reflexive sense, inaction is also an action. Results of (in)action feed into capabilities and future decision processes leading to a constantly self-developing and updated condition of capability, appraisal and decision choice. At a given moment, any one of the three elements determining agency dominate, but all are present in agentic processes. For these authors, agency is thus defined as:

> "…the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations". (Emirbayer and Mishe 1998:970)

Thus, agency is one category in a total repertoire of human behaviour. It is co-defined by orientation of personal or group action towards the stabilizing, enabling and constraining forces of social norms and values embedded in institutions (Walker and Ostrom, 2007). Agency can thus be interpreted as an *investment in a future that people care about.* Human development relates directly to the energising property of agency towards a future that can only be 'imagined'. This is an appreciative position in terms of solving problems (Srivasta and Cooperrider, 1999).

However, agency itself is subject to human pre-dispositions towards others, themselves moderated by theories of the person. In terms of the former, an ontology of 'civicness' is described in the essay by Evelina Dagnino (Fowler and Biekart, 2008:28).

> "… a critical task would be "to interrogate the ontological essence of civicness in relation to contending political projects, their actors and the material base from which they emerge and subsist. This assumes that there is an ontological essence of civicness. One challenge here is to think about what ideas could deserve this position without incurring in the reductive risks pointed out above. One possibility is to resort to ideas that share a conception of a basis for life *in society*. They run from Hannah Arendt's *common world*, to Marshall's "participation in the social heritage"; "a sort of basic human equality"; "the claim for recognition as full members of society". They may include Patrick Pharo's notion of an "ordinary civility", a set of rules (formalized or not, written or not) that make social relations and life in society possible: rules for co-existence, built-in in the intersubjective dimensions of social life, that only exist to the extent in which they are mutually recognized. What seems to be common in these views is a sort of a first basic preliminary layer of meaning in the civic: a disposition to

live together in society, which sounds reasonable, largely shared and thus difficult to dismiss."[3]

She goes on to caution against any homogenous view on what this means (ibid:29):

> "Nevertheless, while equality establishes a connection between civicness, social justice, citizenship and democracy, it introduces grounds for differentiation and divergence.[4] Thus, different understandings of these ideas, associated to different political projects, imply different directions to civic agency. It should be clear that this connection is one possibility among many others (such as religion, for instance). But all these different links - historically and contextually produced - shape the meanings of civic and civic agency: its contents, its subjects, its concrete forms, its locations. Recognizing this diversity, and the dispute that pervades it, is a crucial preliminary task."

The inter-subjectivity she speaks of in social relations is interpreted in terms of a 'culturalist' paradigm of the person. This is counterpoised to a dominant paradigm of the person:

> "… which infuses public policy, politics, institutional practice, and much of civic and democratic theory and civic action is largely derived from positivist social science and science, conceiving the human person in relatively static fashion as an aggregation of consumer needs, wants, and appetites. …."The contending culturalist framework conceives of the person in narrative terms, as immensely complex, dynamic, generative and "emergent," full of differing and often contested impulses and interests. It is attentive to *civic capacity building,* cultivation of skills, habits, orientations, and environments which enhance people's abilities for co-creation, or the ability to address common differences and to shape their circumstances across lines of bitter difference."[5]

Of particular concern is what it means to be 'civic' within theories of citizenship and governance. We start with a brief review of citizenship.

Citizenship: Historical analysis shows citizenship transforming from exclusive power with normative prescriptions of virtue and probity towards a legal status. Today, state legitimacy requires recognition of a polity as citizens. This legal identity is both individual and collective. Sovereign statehood as the unit of geo-political organisation established a pre-condition from which arose a formalised link between citizenship and rights (Codified by the United Nations in 1948).

> "And so we come to citizenship. This defines the relationship between an individual not to another individual (as is the case with feudal, monarchical and tyrannical systems) or a group (as with nationhood), but essentially to the idea of the state. The civic identity is enshrined in the rights conveyed by the state and the duties performed by individual citizens, who are all autonomous persons, equal in status. Good citizens are those who feel allegiance

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3This underlies an increasingly recurrent category in Brazil and other countries: the distinction between a civil and a non-civil society, referring, for instance, to drugs trafficking and criminal organized groups for whom the physical elimination of others is seen as a current element of social life.

4Differentiation and divergence may also be present in the definition of equality itself.

5Clarificatory contribution of Harry Boyte to a review of a CDC research proposal, 10, May 2010, mimeo.

to the state and have a sense of responsibility in discharging their duties. As a consequence they need the skills appropriate for this civic participation." (Heater, 2004: 1)

The interface between citizens to each other and towards the state plays out through political systems and the instruments of public administration. The former have been categorised in many ways, for example as authoritarian, semi-democratic or democratic, or full, hybrid or flawed (EIU, 2010). Each case incorporates an implicit statement about relations between the governed and those who govern. Such interaction is itself formative in terms of identity, self awareness and strength as a citizen confirmed by IDS studies (e.g., DRC, 2010).

> "For many democratic theorists, such as Mansbridge (1997) and Pateman (1970), one important function of citizen participation is that it helps to create and strengthen citizens themselves, increasing their feelings of political efficacy and their political knowledge. In turn, the assumption is that more informed and efficacious citizens will 'ultimately benefit the larger society by anchoring it in a citizenry clearer about its interests and responsive to the claims of justice and the common weal' (Mansbridge 1997: 423, cited in Merrifield 2001: 10).

The notion of *co-production* of socio-political outcomes implied in this quotation connects citizenship and civic agency.

Civic agency: Adopting a geo-historical reading locates the notion of 'civic' as a status-bound normative behaviour tied to the rights and responsibilities of those governing city states. In Heater's account (2004) the earliest references to 'civic' are allied to the concept of citizenship associated with a socio-political status accorded within Spartan communities and the governance of Athens. The corresponding tasks, authority and accountability of citizenship were accorded to selected individuals – propertied elites exhibiting valour, virtue and commanding influence. Women, slaves, labourers and craftsmen were excluded from this rank. Exclusion was the norm and remains so in many authoritarian-ruled societies.

Citizens were recognised as political beings with rights to wield the power required to protect and 'justly' oversee and govern the affairs of rural communities and of urban city-states. There was stringent attention to citizens properly discharging their mutual duties which called for particular 'civil' behaviour in terms of constrained self-interest for the overall good. That which emerged as 'civic' – a normative property of citizenship - included responsibility for the proper servicing and management of public areas and of investments and resources derived from the functioning of the whole populace.

With an intervening history of western universalism, Hauguaard is at pains to remind us that 'civic' conceived - concern for the whole and respect for difference - is not to be confused by or conflated with 'civilisation'. He cautions against comparing 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' societies because of the impossibility of appreciating the constraints under which they operate over time (Haugaard, 1997:200). From a socio-psychological angle, being civic implies a state of self-awareness or mindfulness about humanity and its place in nature. This condition may involve spirituality, theology, rationality and other frames of reference in a *habitus* of schemata and dispositions which co-inform attitudes towards others and towards power (Mwaura, 2008). For example, taking to heart the idea of being a global citizen with corresponding responsibilities:

> "… this could encompass a global citizenship outlook, which can be translated into civic actions such as ethical consumerism (consume less, buy fair trade, biological, seasonal and local produce), ethical producer-ism (corporate social responsibility and social business approaches), active citizenship (vote, be involved and engaged), ethical employee-ism (relate, take up responsibility)." (Berkhout, et al, 2011:14)

While this quotation is global in perspective, it actually involves civic agency confronted by many places where power within and over socio-political change plays out and need to be mediated and governed in one way or another. As described later, civic driven change CDC as conceived is sensitive to this dimension of societal change and the distribution of power and authority across institutional actors found in state, market and civil society.

Power: The IDS programme researching citizenship provides an accessible categorization and analytic entry point to power (Gaventa, 2007:2).

> *"Power 'within'* often refers to gaining the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a pre-condition for action. *Power 'with'* refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building. *Power 'over'* refers to the ability of the powerful to affect the actions and thought of the powerless. The *power 'to'* is important for the exercise of civic agency and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice."

From a civic agency point of view, this formulation is helpful but incomplete. Applying a power lens to socio-political processes needs to include theory that interrogates power as both individually socialised and embedded and actively constructed by interaction. This type of analysis spans from covert or hidden power to its more overt, institutionalised and transactional dimensions. For example, Bourdieu exposes power deeply hidden with acculturated world views and resulting predispositions towards and interpretations of identity and life's experiences (Navarro, 2007). The work of Lukes (2005) and others point to additional, progressively overt, expressions of power. One is the function of language to define the parameters of thought and nature of knowledge. Language also dictates public and private discussion, communications and messages, typically favouring existing systems of dominance. A further influence of language is to label 'reality' in ways that manipulate or mislead peoples' predispositions or cause them to misrecognise their 'objective' interests (Lukes, 2005:149). Further, Haugaard (1997) demonstrates how structuration of power co-determines processes of (political) inclusion and exclusion and the rules of the game in socio-political arrangements and engagement. Finally, many authors treat physical coercion and force as, often, the most visible manifestation of power upon which – in the Weberian sense – states enjoy a defining monopoly.

Action Theories

From a civic agency perspective, action theories tend to cluster around empowerment and its interface with public and private demands on political society.

Empowerment: Drawing on the renewed interest for empowerment by liberation theology and feminism in the 1970s, CDC has been inspired by the work of Friedmann (1992) who has criticised the neo-liberal use of empowerment. He theorised poverty as the lack of access to

social power, and pointed out that constraints were put on collective self-empowerment by tendencies to personalise empowerment strategies and reduce the attention for tackling structural conditions causing poverty. Despite this weakened use of 'empowerment', the concept remains very relevant, especially when the meaning of power is further unpacked in ways described above.

The central idea is to counter the disempowering effect of 'internalised powerlessness', which had been flagged by Fanon (1986), Foucault (1989), and Freire's (1972) 'critical consciousness', as well as several feminist authors (Rowlands, 1995; Mies,1999). They point at the danger of stripping power from its transformative quality. Indeed, (civic) agency is a tool for targeting disempowering structures. In this vein, a CDC narrative combines toward a theory of empowerment beyond 'participation' to a developmental democracy emerging though active engagement of the polity which reinforces both citizenship and the state as an accountable and effective bearer of legitimate authority.

Collective action: public and private goods and benefits: In civic agency, theories of collective action (Olson, Tilley) are important. A particularly critical theoretical angle - signalled in Chapter 10 of the CDC book (Fowler and Biekart, 2008:177) - is a potential guiding philosophy of co-responsibility for the world as a global commons. Here the work of Eleanor Ostrom on the complexity of public action theory (Ostrom, 2005) and the contrary historical lessons for collective versus private ownership (Harvey, 2011) are likely to be pertinent to approaching wicked problems that often appear as social dilemmas:

> "The term "social dilemma" refers to a setting in which individuals choose actions in an interdependent situation. If each individual in such situations selects strategies based on a calculus that maximizes short-term benefits to self, individuals will take actions that generate lower joint outcomes than could have been achieved." (Ostrom, 2005:4)

> "…. until we gain a better conception of the individual actor within these settings, which is likely to be a much more complex theory of the individual, we cannot move ahead as rapidly as we need to. The entire theoretical structure is likely to be one of complexity starting with complex models of individual behavior through complex models of structural interaction." (ibid:2)

A potentially strong theoretical link of her work is to the normative proposition of civic as opposed to uncivil agency. In particular are empirical findings that pro-social behaviours can generate positive collective outcomes.

> And, when more individuals use reciprocity, gaining a reputation for being trustworthy is a good investment as well as an intrinsic value. Thus, reputations for being trustworthy, levels of trust, and reciprocity are positively re-enforcing. This also means that a decrease in any one of these can generate a downward cascade leading to little or no cooperation. (ibid:29)

Olson's proposition that individuals will act collectively to provide private goods, but not if it concerns public goods, was elaborated by zooming in on the community level, where these differences are less articulated (Boyte, 2008). The private role of citizens often seems to be linked to economic roles when it also can be broadened to include social and political 'responsibility'. This in itself is an important debate about the line between 'civic-driven' and 'profit-driven', which relates to interfaces between civil society and markets. Such a

discussion is also linked to the problematic use of the notion 'of 'social capital' in relation to empowerment (Harriss, 2002; Fine, 1999) which can shed light on the subtle shift in interpretation of 'private' and 'public' to focus on the real meanings of what 'civic' and 'civic agency' can imply for political change. This would include discussions about personal 'risk', strategies in the form of 'political projects' and public service-delivery aimed at 'co-production' at the local level in order to stimulate citizens' capacity to engage.

In a connected strand, civic agency has the potential to understand and appraise power games of public and private logics in social structuration. These dynamics are seen in the emergence of mega-philanthropy as well as social entrepreneurship and social enterprise illustrated previously. The general point is that CDC provides a potential connection between institutional forms and logics while, in applying civic agency theory, not having to subscribe to any of them. This being said, to defend and enhance their positions, institutions engage with political society. CDC needs to have a theoretical angle into this interplay.

The political interface: As argued earlier, civic-driven change can be analysed at various socio-political levels, from local to global. However, it is the local level where civic agency generally manifests itself most clearly and apparently least complex. It is this level where individuals, as citizens, consumers, clients, or co-producers take initiatives with public aims which shapes civic action. Goldfarb (2006) describes such processes as the 'politics of small things' that is routine, mundane practices led by ground-level social actors. When combined, aligned and energised, micro-politics can act as a fundamental political force which redefines the situation against prevailing interpretations championed by the powerful. The tenacity of protestors from all walks of life to recast and politically redefine Tunisia and Egypt is a potent example.

Micro initiatives can be of a very different nature, from engaging in a debate on climate change around the kitchen-table, to putting a smart phone-filmed video of a Teheran oppositional demonstration on *You tube*, to actually taking risk as a civic actor on the streets. Benford and Snow (2000) have argued how 'collective action frames' are generated when this initial initiatives come together and merge towards becoming movements with shared understandings of what needs to be changed. These are serious negotiations, often without mediation of formal groups or political parties. It is this breeding ground of negotiated civic action which needs more concrete underpinning.

CIVIC DRIVEN CHANGE

In deepening an understanding of citizenship through civic agency in action, what has emerged as a Civic Driven Change narrative is the product of strategy discussions with leading members of a number of Dutch development NGOs. The debate was driven by a shared frustration at the lack of a self-determined and robust story with which to proactively shape how the Netherlands' government was shifting its policy and practice of funding towards these private aid agencies. Over several political cycles Dutch NGOs, working for 75 per cent or more with government subsidies, had come to question the state-crafted understandings and positions on what was proposed as funding priorities, criteria and measures. This was generally based on the prevailing regime's and the ministry's sector-informed view of NGO identity and functions in a society. Investing in the search for a

NGO/CSO narrative that would stand in its own right with its own ontology would be a valuable but risky effort. The method employed relied on grounded approach to multi-disciplinary empirical enquiry. This section of the chapter takes the theoretical discussion into CDC as an analytic lens.

The Substance

The previous discussion illuminates civic driven change as a composite of pre-existing ideas and theories that have been connected in a novel way. To fill in the substance, CDC first needs to be described in terms of major propositions which translate into core elements. In order to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding and misappropriation of meaning at this stage of exploration we try to avoid using vocabulary commonly deployed in aided-development discourse. For example, in CDC terms, a *participant* is a *citizen*; *participation* is understood as *civic agency*; *partnership* is understood as a type of *collaboration*; and a *project* is treated as a *case* of civic agency. Bearing language in mind, the essence of CDC can be summarised in four basic propositions and eight elements that form a composite lens that can be applied to illuminate and understand processes of socio-political change.

CDC propositions and constituent elements: The individual and comparative case analysis underpinning CDC pointed towards four critical perspectives on how society can be conceived and its trajectories understood within the framework provided by a nation state and its foundation on the concepts of citizenship and rights – both of which have been problematized.

For CDC, the first proposition is that societies are regarded as 'political projects' where all walks of life contain power, political forces and players. All people act politically in what they do or don't do with their lives. Second, civic agency is the principle, normative unit of concern where history, context and power to define the situation matter. Being 'civic' is understood to mean pro-social behaviours that respect difference between people and show concern for the whole of society and not just for self. Uncivil behaviour – intolerance, discrimination, exploitation - is part and parcel of social processes and struggles. A third proposition of CDC advances an appreciative position on social realities and (wicked) problems which are understood as the unfulfilled imagination of a preferred situation. Living together inevitably generates dilemmas of collective action. Solutions call for imagination which co-defines a desired future situation attracting action – for example a sustainable ecology or a world without hunger. Fourthly, development is an uncertain, indeterminate process involving societal co-production for good or ill which involves contention as well as collaboration. Change in society is driven by both civic and uncivil agency.

These propositions translate into a set of elements that are connected in different ways by existing bodies of theory and practice discussed in subsequent sections. The constituent elements of civic driven change have the following eight characteristics. In a sense they compositely 'define' what can be understood as civic driven change in their combination rather than in their singularities.

    i.   CDC relies on a rights-based understanding of political agency tied to citizenship that is simultaneously an individual and a collective identity. It is a defining

relationship between a state and the polity. Legitimacy of the former calls for active, informed involvement by the latter. Where citizenship is not in play and the right to have rights is not honoured by a state - and there are quite a number of such situations - this latter condition needs first to be fulfilled.

ii. CDC is not sector-bound. A CDC lens focuses on civic action for good or ill throughout all realms of society rather than a pre-occupation with civil society that has been uncritically conceived as only working for public benefit. Put another way, CDC is not located in institutionally specific ways – it does not 'belong' to civil society.

iii. CDC is open and scalable. Civic agency can be observed at any (aggregate) level of socio-political arrangements as well as horizontally through, for example, self-organised network relationships. It incorporates links from local to global change and back again as an iterative process.

iv. CDC takes as a maxim the requirement for equity of political agency rather than equity of economic opportunity that informs dominant sector-based theories of change. Equity of political agency exhibits strong gender differences.

v. CDC looks beyond political structures and mechanisms, such as voting, to the historical processes and fundamentals of power accumulation and reproduction in a country and internationally.

vi. CDC is sensitive to contention between endogenous and exogenous values, measures and processes. It distinguishes between aided and unaided change in society which heightens attention to the role and power of outsiders in influencing socio-political and other processes, including how risks are distributed.

vii. CDC recognises multiple knowledges, with information sources and communication routes that inform agency. It places trust in people's own sites of knowledge-making which does not necessarily make them right, but is the well-spring for learning and self-capacitation.

viii. CDC recognises multiple types and locations of authority and governance and reactions to them.

For any given context and socio-political process each of these elements has its own scales, time lines, metrics and relative weights that are not static or immutable. Illustrations are shown below. Crudely framed, the CDC narrative is about the politics of people moving *From Clients to Citizens* (Mathie and Cunningham, 2008).

CDC relies on the concept of socio-political *domain* centred on an imagined future of a 'solved' wicked problem. This concept has a strong affinity with Bourdieu's (1977) concept of 'social field'. These are understood as social arenas governed by distinctive values and approaches which emphasise their contested nature and the role of power in resolving contests, which are inherent to solving wicked problems and social dilemmas. *The significance of social fields is their detachment from any particular actor* because they also exist as internalised mental elements or frames of reference or norms and cultural rules that co-inhabit a person's psycho-social construct, their *habitus.* Prejudice against non-heterosexual predispositions in the case below illustrates the ubiquity of such mental

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constructs. In practical terms, a domain can be viewed as a substantive theme or desired future condition which holds society's attention and attracts civic agency from any quarter.

Figure 1. Illustrates the centrality of civic agency in the CDC narrative, the notion of domains that super cede sectors and recognition of transnationalism, particularly accelerated by the internet, cell phone technology as well as social networks and media.

There are many ways of discerning and empirically exploring socio-political processes. Mathie and Cunningham (2008) examine cases that reflect many characteristics of CDC but are not expressed directly in these terms. To help do so, as brief illustrations, we select diverse examples of a CDC take on socio-politics through four contextualised domains of change. These are: the recent political upheavals in countries of North Africa; political engagement of social movements in Central America; gaining rights for gays and lesbians; and the phenomenon of mega-philanthropy alongside a 'shared value' business proposition. They manifest various combinations of a composite CDC lens.
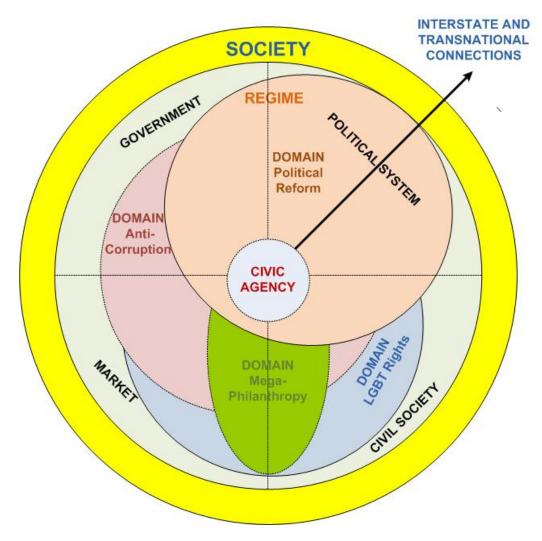

Figure 1. CDC: Illustrative domains of change.

A first example is the unanticipated success of citizen's to change their regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, which can be interpreted as an accumulation of individual micro-grievances described in a novel by Egyptian writer Alaa Al Aswany (2004). A trigger of self-immolation in Tunisia and its knock-on effects in other countries spur a spontaneous, self-organised demand for political equity to redress economic inequity, corruption and authoritarianism that looked set to follow a dynastic path of father to son. Decades of political disaffection and micro-discontents scaled dramatically in a short time frame with outcomes still uncertain in terms of the new eventual dispensation. Peoples' risk calculus underwent a dramatic shift. Internal forces for change involved paid little heed to the warnings of regional conflagration due to the Israeli factor or an al Qu'aida take over through the Muslim brotherhood. Endogenous historical self-regard and rejection of 'pharaoh-ism' in an imagined future proved more powerful as a compelling metaphor and psycho-social driver of being Egyptian in a regional order that takes social justice and democracy seriously. The power of 'leaderless' self-organisation reflected in CDC stands out, even when internet and cell phone services were cut. What also stands out is the urban, middle class nature of the revolt. This was not a mass upheaval of the poor and marginalised, but one of a sophisticated and educated polity both employed and unemployed. A 'sectored' civil society labelling of mass action misses the crux of collective civic agency towards a newly imagined Egypt as the driver for people's energy and risk-taking.

A second example in which CDC has been useful as a framework for analysis is the struggle of indigenous movements in Guatemala and Mexico against mining companies and against efforts to undermine their local livelihoods. This struggle was preceded by decades of denial of citizenship rights, providing also a political dimension to this resistance that predominantly operated at a local level. The Zapatista communities in Southern Mexico introduced a system of autonomous self-government in their 'caracoles' (snail houses) (Olesen, 2005). These were developed as a result of resistance by indigenous communities against neo-liberal free-trade agreements, which, it was feared, would endanger their local governance autonomy as well as directly affect the rich biodiversity of the Lacondo forest, the livelihood of the Zapatista communities. The Guatemalan communities were confronted by the invasion of Canadian mining companies that had been allowed access to communal lands due to free-trade agreements. What the two contexts had in common was the absent articulation of their struggle in political society, as political parties were either corrupt or simply not interested. Instead, virtual networks were used to transmit and articulate their community demands towards national and global levels. This multi-level struggle combined with non-partisan politics transcends regular civil society frameworks: a CDC lens is helpful to zooming in on the various dimensions of these struggles, building on dynamic setting of political society (Chatterjee, 2004). In addition, an interesting feature is the largely non-aided character of the Zapatista struggle, versus a predominantly 'aided' process in Guatemala.

A third example is the struggle for the recognition of sexual diversity rights. The assertions of gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, and transsexual (LGBT) citizens to gain recognition of their rights on a par with heterosexuals no doubt belong to the realm of civic activism. Gay parades are the more visible assertions of civic agency towards 'excluding' norms embedded in legislation and manifest in intolerant social behaviour to those who are different. But the more invisible networking among and within LGBT groups point at innovative and very dynamic forms of civic action, which is reshaping the traditional perception of how social

movements are generally organised. One of the particular features is that LGBT groups by definition operate in private as well as public spheres simultaneously, but in addition transcend several traditional sectors. This is for example apparent in the emergence activism for sexual diversity rights at ministries and governmental institutions as well as in the business community. After all, prejudicial cultures and mindsets are independent from sectoral boundaries and therefore there is a typical 'domain' dimension emerging. Hivos is now supporting "… the Company Pride Platform, a global network of LGBT communities within large multinationals, including Shell, Cisco ABN AMRO and IBM working towards better environments for LGBTs. This is a clear example of civic action in corporate environments." (Berkhout, et al, 2011:10).

A fourth example is related to philanthropy and 'shared value' business. A 'new' socio-political domain has opened in many societies, christened by the term 'philanthro-capitalism' (Bishop and Green, 2008). Its characteristics speak to the emergence is more than an efficient 'blend' of self-serving business and pro-social logics of 'gifting' and generosity. The unprecedented scale of private accumulation of capital has a living owner who decides to re-distribute personal wealth to solve social dilemmas, or for other purposes that typically attract tax relief. A CDC angle into this domain focuses on: issues associated with individualised expressions of civic agency which can distort social policy premised on equity in public decision making; the ambiguity in moral philosophy and accumulation of power involved in remedying the effects of corporate externalisation of costs that cause social dysfunctions; the ability of governance to actually oversee and regulate this concessional financial arrangement (Edwards, 2008, 2009). CDC would include in this domain the emergence of arguments for significant revision in capitalist performance metrics towards 'shared value' between corporations and society (Porter and Kramer, 2006). This amounts to a plaidoyer for a 'deep' form of corporate social responsibility that, by its very nature, simultaneously generates economic and social returns at all locations in a value chain. This arrangement would, in theory, render philanthro-capitalism unnecessary. This expression of CDC exhibits a very different moral and practical take on fixing wicked problems: one which problematizes and surpasses a sector analysis.

Together, these illustrations point towards the potential value that a CDC lens has to offer, with the primacy of imagination and socio-political processes before examining citizens as actors among many others.

CONCLUSION

Citizenship is far from a problem-free topic. This chapter argues that understanding why this is the case and what can be done about will benefit from deepening by taking a more ontological perspective on the relationship between human agency and the politics of power. Civic driven change is one way of doing so.

As a work in progress, more effort will be needed to delineate where a CDC perspective provides a worthwhile complement or alternative to existing analytic frameworks applied to citizenship. This would, for example, involve re-interpreting existing cases of citizen action and applying CDC analysis to current and future examples that offer the potential for testing proposition that arise as more empirical evidence is gathered.

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