

RETHINKING THE VERY ESSENCE OF SOCIAL INCLUSION AND THINGS PRIVATE

DANIEL DRACHE, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE ROBARTS CENTRE
AND PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, YORK UNIVERSITY

Skating Together Anyone?

Rethinking the Very Essence of Social Inclusion and Things Private

Goals and Values Inescapably Public

After the battle in Seattle and the Quebec summit, governments ought to have had second thoughts about the adequacy and compatibility of unregulated global markets as an organizing framework for governance (Drache 2001). In its most recent report, the World Bank confirms what many have long suspected that the unprecedented rise in poverty and inequality, the most powerful indicators of exclusion, have become hallmarks of our time. There are two billion people on the planet living on one dollar a day or less and this figure has worsened for Latin America and Africa in the 90s (World Bank 2002). Two billion or more do not have clean water sanitation or access to power. The question that speaks to this situation is, how, in an age of unprecedented affluence can society justify having so many on the outside looking in - homeless, hungry, poor, unemployed, without a voice, and struggling daily to hold things together? Politically it raises a second and equally vexing issue, in this era of globalization, how can societies develop the political will to remove the many complex structural obstacles to inclusion?

There is no ready made answer to both of these difficult questions, but there is an implicit relationship between building a strongly inclusive society and the way people define themselves in terms of their competing identities. What can be said with certainty is that new accountability structures arise when our practical notion of the public is defined, not around the state, but more in the needs of civil society. Inclusive practices require effective social protection to help people cope with the complex needs of a globalizing world. They need new policies and new initiatives from public authority. In this period of competitive labour markets, individuals require more resources to acquire the skills and knowledge to stay ahead of the economic curve.

Trends towards urbanization and immigration from peripheral to core economic areas put enormous demands on public services. Traditional family ties have been weakened by the movement from the extended to nuclear and non-traditional family units. The needs of women for personal autonomy and income security requires a different set of relationships between governments, citizens, markets and civil society than we have experienced in the past. Finally, much of the long-standing deference to authority, which characterized citizen-elite relations has been lost. The old clientelism of the welfare state is outmoded and citizens feel that they have much to add to public life but those who are elected to Parliament and Legislatures listen less and less (Nevitte 2000).

As we enter into a period of reflection and change, we have yet to rethink the role of the public in any systematic way. We do not understand the impact of globalization on it and what are the concrete changes that can be directly traced to the world market. As yet there is no convincing explanation of exclusion or the counter-movement against it. Nor have all the lessons been fully learned since the collapse of the old welfare model in the 1970s and 80s. Some things are known. We now know that the state should not be confused with the goals and values shared in common by all (Drache 2002). Beyond the state, there is a large and growing public presence which demands more from public authority not less. The pro-democracy, anti-globalization movement is the most dramatic example of the impressive growth and support for 'dissent industry' (Sassen 1999). These challenges from within as well as others from supranational organizations are forcing countries to rethink contemporary ideas around citizenship and democracy. These movements represent groups and constituencies who oppose the world financial market exercising discipline on governments. The spirit of global citizenship has given rise to the politics of desire, a largely normative perspective about the political choices that are necessary to create a better and more just world. The extension of citizenship

beyond the traditional boundaries of the nation state has produced an impressive dynamic and turning point in the relationship between the public and private as countries everywhere reexamine their decision-making activities(Falk 1995).

At this hinge moment, the search for soft concepts such as social inclusion are in large demand because they cross boundaries and address the complexities of modern existence in innovative ways. In a world that is increasingly interdependent, rights-focused, unpredictable and process-driven, a new kind of society is emerging with its own particular institutions, practices and beliefs. The reorganization of civil society creates fresh possibilities for rebuilding the networks of trust and reciprocity that figure so large in Putnam's world. (Putnam, 2002)All of these changes require a different policy narrative and framework to address fundamental concerns around human needs, collective resources and social rights.

This essay will look at the major adjustments to current practices and institutional arrangements, in what we call civil society, which are designed to strengthen social inclusion. Building strongly inclusive societies requires a fundamental shift at the most basic level of the citizen, particularly in attitudes among citizens towards one another. It requires a much stronger narrative thread. John Ralston Saul makes the valuable point that "[A]ll the lessons of psychiatry, psychology, social work, indeed culture, have taught us that it is the acceptance of differences not the search for similarities which enables people to relate to each other in their personal or family lives" (Saul 1997). It also requires a fundamental reorientation at the policy level. If there is a way to think creatively about what the fundamentals of social inclusion entails, surely this is the proper place to begin.

To date there has been much debate and discussion about social inclusion as a national and transnational imperative in the European Union as well as in North America. The question is how to move social inclusion to the forefront of the state policy agenda. Sharpening our ideas about it is a critical part of the exercise; the other is to operationalize these reflections if we are to build a strongly inclusive society in Canada and the hemisphere. First of all, we need to be clear about its goals and processes and second, how the process of reinforcing inclusivity leads to an understanding of the very essence of things public.

Why Build Socially Inclusive Societies?

Modern governance has had to focus increasingly on removing the obstacles and barriers to access and participation which many now face. This has always been a complex, daunting and frequently elusive task for decision-makers. The notion of social exclusion is generally discussed in relation to groups that tend to be under-represented among community leaders and over-represented among any group that experiences structural disadvantages that reduce their opportunities to participate in the labour force, in society or in government.

Exclusion has its origins in institutions of society such as labour markets, where those without literacy skills are disadvantaged in finding proper employment and those with minimal educational achievement earn only minimum wage. Kids from ethnic communities may find themselves bullied and targets of abuse in schools by other kids. This too is an aspect of exclusion. Individuals with special needs, such as a physical disability, cannot get around as readily as the able because society has not provided an infrastructure. They face a range of barriers from the attitudinal to the practical.

Race and religion have always been fertile grounds upon which to bar groups and individuals from full participation in society. Jews, Blacks, Muslims, Catholics and Protestants have all been targets of hate-mongers and have not been able to improve their socio-economic status without public programs and support. They have faced both visible and invisible barriers to access and participation. The list of society's excluded is long and new groups are added to it as others find ways to overcome the barriers which had made them outsiders. Others like Canada's First Nations have remained permanently on the outside of Canadian society facing a range of barriers that have not been successfully dismantled. If anything these barriers have multiplied

and deepened in the recent period.

The prevailing obstacle to inclusion is prejudice, or a lack of acceptance and recognition. Prejudice curtails life chances by reducing access to good jobs, adequate incomes, and to the community/ corporate leadership/ decision-making apparatus. This prejudice, or process of *pre-judging*, can be directly traced of racial and gender stereotypes. For example in the US, the view has long existed that blacks are naturally suited to physical labour. In Canada, Filipino nannies similarly stereotyped as having a talent for the caring professions, Their upper and middle class employers will say that they have “got a Filipino” in describing their employee. The prejudging of certain groups undermines the actual skills associated with their work and further reinforces a set of ascriptive characteristics based on ethnicity or race. This stereotyping also affects pay scales as talent is naturalized and skills are not properly valued (Jenson 1996).

Gender-based ascription of characteristics, roles and responsibilities is one of the most prevalent forms of exclusion impacting on 51% of the world's population and resulting in real differences in the discharge of the duties associated with social reproduction. Women spend more time doing household chores than men. Traditionally, women have stayed at home to care for their children or have made the arrangements for childcare. Either way, women were charged with managing the task. Women care for family members of all ages who are ill or have chronic health problems. These caring responsibilities have real consequences for the quality of their labour market participation and consequently on their earnings and access to first track social welfare benefits such as pensions, training and unemployment benefits.

For those excluded on the basis of a physical disability, there are many obstacles that impede participation including lack of wheel chair accessibility to buildings for those confined to a wheelchair, a reliance on visual aids and signage to communicate information in public places for the blind, and inhospitable work environments for both. Exclusion is further exacerbated by the lack of economic resources which results from reduced opportunities to participate in society and the labour market. When all these factors are present, they are overwhelming and can lead to a poverty trap and long-term or permanent kinds of exclusionary states. This has profound consequences for adult citizens and their children both immediately and in shaping their future life chances.

The Public: The Enlightenment Legacy

Building inclusive societies must begin in the public sphere, the place of *optimal inclusivity*, because this is the primary site of political life, democratic values, institutions and debate. It is often forgotten that the modern notion of the public was one of the great achievements and the lasting legacy of the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment revolutionized our way of defining the public because it was an unparalleled time when ordinary people were thrust into the stream of history, the printing press created the fourth estate and public opinion emerged as a force to be reckoned with. The presence of ordinary people at centre stage legitimated democratic politics for the first time. Out of all this emerged a shared sense of the ‘public’ (Friedman 1987; Manchester 1992). These ideas transformed modern liberal society and so when problems of any significance arose, there were by definition general concerns that had to be addressed by and through the public.

The public was one of those small ideas initially but quickly became much more complex and powerful as it evolved. ‘Rule by the people’ created the empowering principle of belonging to a particular community but the public needed to be conceived, created and organized by this ultimate normative principle. It did not appear spontaneously (Taylor 1996; Walter 1981). Things public required its own institutional foundation; resources and a presence separate from the administrative power and influence of the state as well the market, a feature that was never easy to achieve under the best of circumstances. At first the

public sphere was quite compact focused on security and other public goods like roads and proper sanitation facilities in cities. Its autonomy was precarious and often in question because things public were regarded as dangerous elements outside public authority and a challenge to it. Later the public became identified with the infrastructure of development schools, roads, railways, public housing and urban reform. Still later the public became indistinguishable from social welfare policies and programs.

These bonds were often believed to constitute a kind of 'quasi-organic' relationship between its members (Etzioni 1968). They would also create an autonomous sense of the public through the doctrine of equal status under the law, human rights, and freedom from discrimination. The idea of collective agency that would reside in the 'nation' and 'the people' – so necessary to our modern view of the public – transformed liberal democracy into a prototypical philosophy of inclusion and personal development. People acting together in public would be able to preserve their freedom. Collective agency would be defined as a people acting together under law to preserve their freedom and it became an essential component of those basic political rights that would eventually be codified as well as broadened and deepened. (Taylor, 1996: 267) The extension of voting entitlements and later, the provision of social entitlements added weight and authority to the modern notion of citizenship.

For social democrats, these shifting kinds of relationships never quite lived up to their promise in societies rent by antagonistic class cleavages. Citizenship entitlements were often regarded as kinds of formal promises not lived reality that had little effect when the social bond was often a risk. A stronger sense of belonging needed much stronger measures. The attitudes, relationships and expectations of citizenship required the helping hand of the welfare state, the central co-ordination of planning activities and a strong commitment to re-building the public through redistributive policies in health and education as well as the labour market. Later citizenship and community would be broadened to extend to such areas as immigration and multiculturalism where belonging to a democratic society became intimately connected with one's identity, gender, ethnicity culture, history, language and so on.

This shared sense of what is public and not private has never been fixed for all time but has changed as circumstances required. What was in the majority's interest involved a class of decision-making procedures that would draw lines, admit some, shunt others to the margins of society. Defining community was always a tricky business even for democracies. Things that could be decided by a show of hands might not respect the rights and freedoms of others. Those who comprised the collective agency might not feel a bond with all in society but only some. If law defines 'community as those whose freedom it realizes and defends together' (Taylor, 1995:266) it is not difficult to see that popular sovereignty might fail many sub-groups, national minorities and others who have not been able to see themselves as part of the larger sovereign people. Quebecers, Corsicans and Basques are contemporary examples of the failure of popular sovereignty to be inclusive. National minorities have been kept on the outside looking in excluded on the questionable grounds of nationalism, public security, linguistic needs and social cohesion.

In post-modern societies, the private worlds of gender, race and class are now more than ever linked to the public as the boundary lines between the two axes of modern life are more porous and inter-connected. States need to examine the interweaving of those values and processes that create the public and those that are needed to sustain the private world of identity. Etzioni exaggerates when he says that the master planning approach of the past is antiquated and unworkable. Rather it is more accurate to insist that new ways are needed to link public authority to the twin processes of consensus-building and democracy.

The Public Domain: The Very Essence of Things Private

The public domain is one of the prototypical connectors, which describes the large heterogeneous space between states and markets, where society is able to establish the goods and assets owned in common and not traded on the open market (Drache

2001). The public domain incorporates public interests, public space, public culture and public sanctuaries, all of which enhance the process of inclusivity. This way of thinking about the 'public' is not coterminous with government, rather the public is simply 'out there' for citizens to experience, grab a hold of, and push outward into areas encroached or monopolized by private interests or government. It is a privileged site where where social goods of all kinds from human security to the environment can override the entrenched property rights and practices. It speaks to the concern that building inclusive societies requires a sustained public interest and strong social bond in the generic sense of the term.

Surprisingly, our collective mentality is still rooted in TINA - there is no alternative to markets rather than TAPA - there are plenty of alternatives but the prevailing mindset rules out any prospect that they are within reach and hence are realizable. The public domain is a crucial idea to explain how society is motivated to reach out, at a time of intense globalization when it appears that markets are triumphant and dangerously pervasive, to delimit property rights, transform the social bond, rein in markets. Once our mental framework admits other possibilities, societies can take measures to reinforce the public domain and promote the goal of inclusion, either consciously in a systematic manner or, less effectively, in piecemeal fashion.

The Public Domain: A Benchmark Sphere

The public domain is a conceptual benchmark that enables the public and policy-makers alike to find a way out of the conceptual dilemma and policy predicament which flows from this most basic of questions - what properly should be a public responsibility and what clearly should be privately provided? If, in a triumphant world market, it is a relatively straightforward proposition to clarify where private goods come from, the expansion of investment rights at all levels, the infinitely more complex undertaking is to explain the processes and decisions that enable society to establish the goods and assets owned in common and not traded on the open market. Establishing measurable parameters of social inclusion makes tangible this framework principle

The traditional answer to this question, the one provided by the most rigorous economists is that public services, spaces and places are provided through public regulation and market failure. Social movement actors, on the other hand, are equally adamant that the necessities of existence also come from citizens' efforts to enlarge the not-for profit sector. From education through health, to parks and public places, these are goods that enhance the social bond rather than weaken it. In the potent words of Jacques Attali, the state and civil society require large state-constructed "sanctuaries outside market logic," outside the reach of the price system. (Drache, 2001)

To dismantle barriers to inclusion all people must share in the benefits of society, have access to them and participate to the fullest extent possible. If inclusivity is to become a priority, there has to be the political will to ensure that the process of inclusion is enhanced and the obstacles to inclusion are removed as effectively and deliberately as possible. This is always a difficult task because the processes of inclusion and exclusion occur simultaneously. There can never be total inclusion as this is to confuse inclusion with assimilation. Inclusion respects and encourages cultural diversity in its modern iteration when it is premised on the end goal of building a complex multicultural society. Getting to this goal is never automatic nor easy.

Societies are constructed with deep cleavages and differences in values and there will always be tension between insiders and outsiders. The challenge is to alter the balance of forces between inclusion and exclusion in favour of inclusion. Those who are kept out of the labour market need to be brought into it. Those whose citizenship rights are not recognized need to be treated fairly. The needs of those who are young or elderly who enjoy little security or well-being have to be addressed. Disability is a huge issue to be addressed in large urban cities as well as rural areas. Race and gender are other bases of exclusion. The common condition that all experience is the failure of society to organize itself so that all citizens have access to society's collective wealth

and the ability to participate to the maximum extent possible.

So do we think inclusion is primarily an economic agenda or a democratic one? Today it is, of course, neither wholly one nor the other. Inclusion requires civil society as well as government to think outside the box to address the social effects of markets when they over-perform and over-shoot. Public authority, with its arsenal of policy tools and large amounts of public resources, has to protect the social bond from corrosive pressures. What does this entail? (See figure 1, *The Challenge of Building Inclusive Societies: A Theoretical Model*)

Sorting Out What We Mean

Building inclusive societies requires a large angled multi-dimensional approach to attain specific ends that are part of an inclusion model of governance. Economic inclusion exists when citizens have the opportunity to participate in economic activity and governments make an effort to reduce or eliminate the structural barriers to this opportunity. These barriers include lack of access to higher education, job training, or safe, affordable child care. By removing barriers and opening access labour market participation is facilitated. Further, governments must ensure that basic workplace rights exist to provide for safety and fairness in economic activity: this includes the right to organize, to collective bargaining, to a safe workplace and a fair balance between the rights of employers and employees. Additionally, the existence of a distributional regime that ensures people's basic needs, in terms of access to health care, education and basic sustenance are met without personally devastating economic consequences is a necessary condition for economic inclusion.

Political inclusion exists when citizens feel that their voices are heard either through vibrant responsible government or other processes of participatory democracy. This does not mean that citizens will agree with every government policy or decision, but they must perceive that their viewpoint was considered fairly. Moreover, adult citizens should not be excluded from these processes on the bases of race, ethnicity, gender, territory, or sexual orientation. Today, many indicators such as voter turnout and trust in representation of interests reveal a marked decline in political inclusion.

Social inclusion speaks to quite a different human condition. It exists when societal processes incorporate dimensions of human security such as the "right to exercise choice safely and freely", irrespective of group membership or spatial location. This includes the opportunity to form networks and linkages with other citizens. For this there must be sufficient time free from market activities to participate in such activities.

THE CHALLENGE OF BUILDING INCLUSIVE SOCIETIES: A THEORETICAL MODEL

SOCIAL INCLUSION

The test of the fairness of the public processes and government policies that exist in the public domain to *all* citizens.

PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Building an inclusive society is facilitated by ensuring that all have voice in political decision-making processes and in defining the “good life”. Public processes can differentially impact gender, ethnicity/ race, age, education or space. Each society has to choose policy models and practices that are more successful than others in reducing these differences, strengthening democracy and securing rights for those at the >margins= of society.

SHARING AND REDISTRIBUTION

The establishment of social commitments to ensure that market institutions are designed to balance the needs of people with the needs of capital. The goal of social inclusion requires the reduction of structural barriers that limit participation and civic engagement. The >good life= is conceived in relation to each society=s wealth and social norms and consequently will be defined locally. Inclusion must reverberate in the public domain - the public places and spaces, public culture, public environment and in the allocation of public goods as well as private goods accessed through the market.

PROCESS OF INCLUSION

BROADENING ACCESS

The removal of all kinds of barriers to ensure that public authority supports the existence of a vibrant civil society, which will generate public discourse, social connections and social integration. Building inclusive societies is not solely a project of governments but must occur in the public sphere, those sites of political life, democratic values, institutions and debate that underpin a broad notion of citizenship entitlements and social rights.

Proactive Political Will

A focused commitment to enfranchise those at the margins of society to ensure that all have voice in political decision-making processes and in defining the “good life”. This requires leadership and commitment by government to support equality of opportunity measures and to remove structural barriers that disempower groups and individuals. Political will is the capacity to set expectations and establish standards of behaviour for society.

If inclusion is to mean anything it must reverberate in the public domain and in the allocation of public goods as well as private goods accessed through the market. It is one of the keys for building a strongly vibrant civil society where citizens are encouraged to organize to articulate their interests and satisfy their needs through co-operative endeavours. If this idea has any validity, we can expect to find a large interface called the public domain between the rights and obligations that we have for each other, the adequacy of the legal processes, the protection afforded by the state and other kinds of accountability mechanisms in markets. A strong and democratic public domain is the great facilitator of public debate and one of the constituent parts for developing the notion of the good life. Thus, the good life in any society reflects what its members believe and value, not what its elites tell them it is.

The idea of egg-shaped society composed of many mainstream constituencies is, of course, a rather recent phenomena. The egg of organic society was at first very small and fragile. Scarcely 100 yrs ago, ‘the excluded’ were by any account the majority with few entitlements and hardly any protection under the law. The proletarian classes were largest of the excluded. They were without property, legal status and political voice. First wave inclusion in the modern period was addressed through the extension of the franchise slowly, erratically but irreversibly as the men of the popular classes broke through the barrier first, followed later by women and much later First Nations peoples. It would take close to a century to extend political rights to all.

Outside of the private world of the family, improvement in agriculture, better diet for working people, compulsory vaccination against small pox, sewer-building in the second half of the nineteenth century transformed the life chances and the living standards of European and North American peoples. The practical idea of the public continued to trickle down due to the many different sources championing its cause but its spread always had an important push from below from the improvement in North American and European economies. Strong economies created the tax base for all kinds of public endeavors the most important was providing governments with the material for war. (Keegan, 1990) Importantly there was a long time lag between the initial act of enfranchisement and the political empowerment of popular classes that required the organization of political parties, electoral know-how and public interest mobilization. And each step of the way required political inventiveness and a challenging set of ideas that required society to negotiate a new bargain to strengthen the social bond. The organic egg of civil society began to take shape.

Second wave inclusion had its roots in the inter-war employment failure and was very different from earlier inclusionary conflicts. Largely a political movement that was primarily economic in intent, it was generated by the failure of the labour market to generate in Beveridge’s memorable words ‘enough jobs for all who sought work.’

Developing a strategy of empowerment and enfranchisement required a different set of tools in the post World War II era before a new bargain could be struck. Intrusive markets had to be regulated and the distributional needs of working class people addressed. New identities were formed and the large class of excluded measured either by their labour power or relationship to employment found themselves now part of the orbit of society with new rights and freedoms. So the new consensus required moving the public-private goal posts towards the public end of the spectrum. In the process it would also transform the regulatory

power of the state and the competitive practices of the market. The full employment revolution once again enlarged society's egg deepening and broadening the drive towards greater inclusivity.

For a 100 years the idea of inclusion in its different iterations has been at the forefront of society's agenda. National citizens, groups of all kinds, public authority and legislatures have needed to participate more fully and meaningfully in decision-making with the obligation to strengthen the social bond at all levels. Today's excluded are not a political movement for enfranchisement of the old kind nor are they part of a full employment claim as in the past. These diverse external constituencies have little power over social discourse. They are dispossessed of any effective voice and are true outsiders in so many respects. Globalisation has upped the ante because the pressure to compete, privatize and reduce the reach of public authority has fractured the egg-like shape of society into many competing entities. At the very time when popular sovereignty has been weakened from below and above the organic links that comprise the social bond are much more exposed now than at any time in the recent past.

People don't want to live in a world where one size fits all and they are culturally and politically opposed to the harmonization that liberal globalization brings in its wake. Richard Falk has written much that is relevant to a modern understanding of citizenship, the most dynamic aspect of what the public has come to mean. He contends that citizenship in the larger sense of the term conveys membership in a political community but more than this, it is about the quality of that participation. How we participate is determined by a set of rules and procedures legally defined. He adds an important qualification; it is first and foremost about politics and the rigours of experience where we live and work and about the ability of public life to affect desired change faced with the appropriation of public interest for private gain. As a result the inclusion-citizenship link the new constituencies for inclusion are seeking to extend its ideas to environmental concerns, human rights, hostility to patriarchy, the end of poverty, oppression, humiliation and collective violence. The danger is that inclusion agenda has become so big and unwieldy that it may suffer from radical overreach and hence fail to reach many of its objectives. More significant is the fact that inclusion-from-below has begun to mount an effective campaign that has a powerful influence against the shrinking of the organic egg of society triggered by globalization-from-above.

The Interface between Inclusion and Things Public

Three sectors of the public domain have particular salience for promoting social inclusion and preventing social exclusion. These are: (1) human services, which represent the commitment of the state to provide a minimum of material resources to all citizens; (2) the human security sector, comprised of those institutions and practices that regulate markets and allow citizens to exercise choice safely and freely; and (3) public information and public space -- those arenas that facilitate free expression and public discourse.

Human Services

Human Services are the glue that reinforce our rights and obligations to each other. They are the connectors linking civil society to public authority. They strengthen the social bond, broaden points of entry into society, and remove structural obstacles to inclusion. Human services are an implicit social contract between public authority and its citizens and an ethical commitment to reducing social inequality. Increasingly, the responsibility for provision of human services does not rest solely with governments. When public authority does not do enough, or when it withdraws from primary responsibility for providing an adequate supply of collective goods, markets and civil society will try to fill the gaps. The ability of the private sector and civil society has been taxed to the limit by the unwillingness of governments to maintain an adequate supply of human services and to build socially

inclusive societies in the hemisphere.

To shift the balance of power towards inclusion requires that the largest number of people possible, if not everyone in society, have access to income security, health care, housing and education. However good this principle is in practice, it has always fallen short of transforming the life circumstances of those suffering urban poverty, the chronically unemployed, indigenous peoples and persons with disabilities. The fact remains that the future of the excluded, the worst-off, the most vulnerable and marginalized is tied to a renewed commitment to reinvesting in human service systems for everyone. From a social inclusion perspective, government has to gauge its capacity to create a society in which even the most disadvantaged can participate fully and share in the benefits society generates to the fullest possible extent. Despite the persistent efforts of governments to combat illiteracy, provide public housing, maintain and improve population health, and ensure minimum economic security, there is a very large deficit to address.

A social deficit can be defined as a sharp imbalance of resources that disadvantages the most vulnerable and needy in society. Some examples are in order. When rich people live in gated communities, they intuitively understand that there is a deficit that forces them to protect themselves from random acts of violence. At the other end of the spectrum, persons who lose secure jobs or fall seriously ill can experience first hand what it means to live in a society where there is a deficit of human services. In such circumstances, single mothers who live in makeshift housing have no opportunity to obtain health care for their children or develop skills that will enable them to rise out of their impoverished condition. They are excluded from the benefits of their society. They have no human capital; but know only human misery.

Social inclusion requires benchmarks to improve the basic necessities of life that are essential for full participation in social, political and economic processes. The most important areas include income security, health care, housing and education. For the informed public, social inclusion is not a new idea, but it is used here for a specific reason. It is a powerful concept that helps to focus attention on the plight of those who are at risk of being left farther behind by economic globalization's relentless drive for efficiency and labour market demands for increasingly sophisticated knowledge and skills.

Many barriers standing in the way of achieving this goal are economic, but without doubt, the most challenging ones are deeper-rooted attitudinal barriers which are fundamentally social in nature. Improving access to human services is one of most effective ways to tear down the walls of prejudice and indifference that have appeared in recent times. It is also the case that when human services are in short supply or non-existent, the under supply of collective goods supports an environment of racial intolerance and collective indifference to growing exclusion in all its many forms.

Human Security

In the public mind, *human security* is a difficult concept to define. No society is ever completely open, as there are always new groups or individuals attempting to be included. What we need to be sensitive to is how easily such groups through their own efforts receive an equitable share of benefits and exercise all their rights as citizens. When they do, this is an accurate reflection of an open and democratic society. Openness in turn should be considered a positive indicator of social inclusion. The real challenge for public authorities committed to achieving adequate levels of social inclusion is that this is easier said than done. Too often those in power are complacent with regards to the needs, wants, and desires of the marginalized, excluded, and dispossessed.

Nonetheless, human security represents a new type of political orientation,² it encompasses both objective and subjective elements and its root causes are complex and strikingly social. Objectively, human security should be seen as:

§ Policies and practices that do not put people at risk nor expose them to increased vulnerabilities while providing people with the means to be full and active citizens. Thus human security and social inclusion should be seen as connected and mutually reinforcing.

§ A renewed commitment to responsible governance, which places an emphasis on the crucial social regulatory role that must be played by the state.

§ A commitment to preventative measures to solve the roots of human security problems rather than relying on quick-fix solutions that only address surface effects.

These objective elements contribute to subjective perceptions, which are shared by a vast majority. The most important are that there must be freedom from fear including the fear of violence, crime, and arbitrary state authority. Beyond this, there must be freedom from the want or need of basic human necessities such as health care, food, or the means by which one can obtain these necessary items. No society has ever fully met this high standard but the point is that the subjective dimension of human security is as important as the objective environment.

Especially in the aftermath of September 11th, 2001, we can see how important that subjective element is. Under most conditions, human security can be defined as policies and practices that do not put people at risk or expose them to increasing vulnerability while providing them with the means to be full and active citizens. From this perspective, unemployment, social dumping and extreme income inequalities are as significant as high urban crime rates, kidnapping and terrorism to civilian populations

It is often said that public policy is always about trade-offs and defending human security is no exception. The idea of an equitable trade-off arises because of the democratic nature of contemporary politics when competing groups vie for a limited pool of resources or policies. Their hope is to achieve a greater voice in how these resources are to be distributed. In any society, it is virtually impossible to reach policy decisions that fully satisfy all citizens. Therefore, responsible public authorities will seek to design and implement policies that create a prudent balance between costs and benefits, which are equitably shared throughout society. While the groups involved often deride these solutions, they offer protection and benefits to offset the real costs that inevitably arise.

One of the biggest obstacles to a strong and effective human security agenda is that public authorities have not accurately weighed the benefits of increasingly open and efficient markets against the unmet social needs which arise from new competitive pressures. In this conceptual model, human security comprises public goods emphasizing health and education for all members of society, reasonable law enforcement practices, and low levels of militarization. All of these elements highlight the important role the state must play in meeting social needs including the mitigation of market trade-offs. If handled correctly it would result in an adequate balance between market reforms and social needs.

The Informational Commons

Only 5% of the world's population are online and almost half of that online community lives in Canada and the US alone. UNESCO emphasizes that the North-South divide is exacerbated when most of the world's population lacks access to a telephone, let alone a computer. Thus we need to be much clearer than we have been about the bold advances made in information and communications technologies. For some the benefits are real and tangible and have changed the way we see ourselves. These technologies have created new virtual public spaces that have the potential to increase social inclusion. Virtual public spaces such

as communicating by telephone, by Internet and email are becoming increasingly important to social inclusion as more people are gaining access to these technologies which provide a broad range of information.

So far, many public authorities have been slow to grasp the importance of the need to broaden and deepen access to the informational commons, a term that has become synonymous with the skills and social capital that create economic, educational and social opportunities. Information is critical to modern society because it is not only a public good but also a public resource. Governments have to prepare their societies for the information age and public information and space are critical arenas that facilitate free expression and free association among citizens. Informational sites like these, both real and virtual, are important avenues within which individuals participate in all kinds of ways in society. They enable citizens to be informed, not only about their choices as consumers, but about everything from the personal to the political.

So far though the information commons is failing many. When assessing the informational environment of the new information economy, an analysis of key issues is required. Public information and space involves the issue of connectivity, *content*, and the *capability* of different groups to access and use ICTs (Information Computer Technologies). Connectivity refers to the ability to access the informational commons, the availability of technology, and the ease of use. Without the ability to access the informational environment, individuals and groups are excluded from the information society.

Content refers to the type and nature of information communicated and the way it can be used to facilitate social and economic processes. Content includes many variables including the relevance of information and literacy. Capability of different groups to have recourse to Information Technologies depends on many variables such as education, issues of disability, race, gender, age and level of income. Inclusion is dependent on one's ability to function comfortably and with confidence in the public arena. Public domain institutions such as libraries, schools and universities enable individuals to come and go and access information.

One of the most important barriers to connectivity is cost. Purchasing computers, cell phones and pagers is financially within reach of many in Canada and the US, but even in these fortunate societies, there are many low-income people who are not able to own or buy a computer. Outside the richest countries, many new technologies are beyond the means of the vast majority of people because they are too costly. In the past 10 years, more people, particularly in Latin America have been excluded from new social domains than have been included

Although the cost of network provision and hardware equipment continues to decrease, for many, cost remains a significant barrier to access and the gap between information 'haves' and 'have-nots' is creating a distance between citizens and nations rather than bringing all people together. This gap creates a barrier for those who cannot use ICT as a cultural, political and economic tool. The information 'haves' are increasing their access and use at such an exponential rate that, in effect, the division within countries is also actually growing as well.

Social inclusion in the information age depends on the degree of diffusion of information within the whole population. The challenge for public authority is to understand that there are ways in which diffusion is facilitate or impaired. Countries, such as Canada, which have invested in making the Internet available in schools, libraries and other arenas of public access, have broadened the point of entry for the least advantaged.

The major insight is that there is a growing divide between the *information rich* and the *information poor* all over North America, for marginal and low-income individuals, particularly at the urban level, civil society organizations are essential conduits for learning new skills and acquiring social capital. In Canada and the US, access to information technology is more

widely diffused but questions of literacy and the low educational achievement of large sections of the population are a major cause of concern.

Those who are information rich have acquired the skills, know-how, and confidence to use these new technologies to better themselves. The ability to access new information technologies, such as the Internet, is more prominent in populations that have a higher level of education and employment, and where there is government involvement in creating an information friendly environment. To be information poor means individuals and communities are being denied access to possibly the greatest information revolution since the invention of printing. Individuals and communities who are excluded from the informational commons are generally identified with low levels of education, low levels of income and lack of employment. Moreover, those who are excluded are groups, which potentially have the most to gain from access to and usage of information and communications technology as new technology offers the potential to level inequities.

The Polarities of Exclusion And Inclusion

Social inclusion requires precise benchmarks to ensure that public authority provides the basic necessities of life that are essential for full participation in society. What are adequate levels? Where should the standard be set? Precise benchmarks are needed such as the employment rate, pension coverage, urban poverty rate, public health spending, owner occupied housing, rent index, public education spending, adult illiteracy rate, teenage pregnant mother births. Used properly they are powerful reminders of how close or far society is to the goal of social inclusion. Most societies are in between 'shades of grey'. Why grey? In almost all situations, it is wrong to think that modern society is either 100% inclusive or 100% exclusive. Rather, inclusion and exclusion exist in continual tension in much the same way as various ideologies and political agendas compete for dominance and control over the centres of power. *Measuring the balance between exclusion and inclusion requires focus on the net effects of these two competing forces is the unique perspective adopted here.*

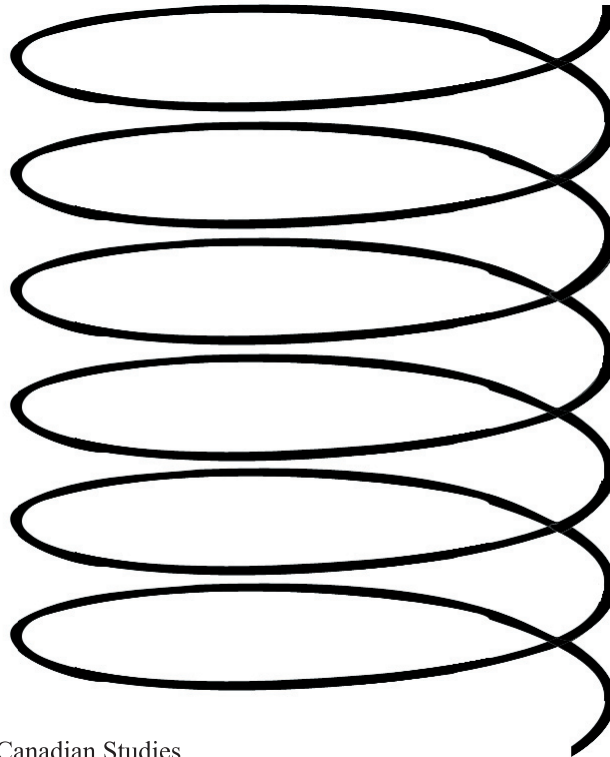
Indicators tell us much about the present state of social inclusion. Income security is a broad measure of the extent to which the population is able to support itself through paid employment. Pension coverage is a proxy for the level of development of a country's income security system. Urban poverty is a benchmark of serious population health problems and a potential cause of civil and political instability. GINI is a well established measure of income inequality in international comparative studies. Home ownership is an important indicator of economic well-being and social stability. A rent index can measure housing instability and homelessness in low-income population. The adult illiteracy rate is an indicator of limited access to formal educational services and exclusion from the labour market and economic opportunities.

For each human services sector it is important to select indicators to measure inclusion on one hand and exclusion on the other. 'Inclusion' indicators are considered positive measures of political will while 'exclusion' indicators are considered negative benchmarks. For instance, if the public is to be convinced about social inclusion, government needs to be held accountable for the consequences of its policies. Public debate requires a more precise set of measures if 'inclusionists' are to be in a position to convince the majority of the soundness of their views.

For many of the same reasons regional forums need powerful indicators about the social services deficit and its net effects of health care service so that people understand the magnitude of the problem and government can take preventive and corrective measures. For example public spending on health care is a gross measure of a society's commitment to population health. Suicides, health disease and cancer deaths are broad measures of overall mental and physical health, while births to teenage mothers is a

proxy for unwanted births, an important public education and health indicator. As the optimal conditions are approached, and the balance shifts in favour of inclusiveness, the values of these ‘negative’ benchmark indicators will decline. Conversely, when political will is weak we can expect to see a strong downward spiral in the provision of social services and a rise in public bads. In the studies published by the Robarts Centre they demonstrate the importance of the causal link between political will and negative outcomes such as income security, health care, housing and education. (See figure 1.2 The Downward Spiral of Social Exclusion)

Figure 1.2
THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION



Source: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies

Local and global competitive pressures
New political consensus: “less state,
less taxes framework of macro management
Human services funding cuts
to meet zero inflation targets
Entry points narrowed and
redistribution much diminished
Increased poverty, disease,
homelessness and illiteracy
Growth of social exclusion
and the human services deficit

In many jurisdictions income disparity and falling incomes has become the key issue for public authority. Deteriorating labour markets and lack of affordable housing as well as the absence of retirement income continues to be a major and growing problem in the middle income countries of Latin America. In the area of population health, there is an acute shortage of resources and a lack of high quality and comprehensive health care services for all citizens. Some public authorities recognize that deteriorating social conditions are responsible for poor population health and urban poverty. Faced with the need to balance budgets, governments are now inclined to rely on private markets and civil society to clean environments. This strategy has failed, as local governments and charities have been unable to adequately fund emergency shelters for homeless persons. A disturbing trend is that many large cities in the North and South are surrounded by densely populated shanty-towns where large numbers live in unsafe and unsanitary conditions.

Other sources of exclusion are tied to political culture, business cycles, bureaucratic failure, stereotyping of and insensitivity to the excluded, all of which change very slowly. Hence, what our model tells us is that public authority has to be proactive, taking initiative to allocate resources to strengthen inclusive practices. Building more inclusive societies is not the sole responsibility of government but requires the support of public opinion and civil society actors. Democracy is the front line institution in this process; a weak democracy leads to exclusionary processes and attitudes. So far there is no effective strategy of how to move social inclusion to the forefront of the public policy agenda. What is not in doubt is that civil society is growing impatient about the erosion of popular sovereignty.

The Reconfiguration of Public Interest and Private Gain

Civil society has evolved greatly over the past fifty years in terms of protection and social entitlements in Canada and elsewhere. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms, universal health care, social policy protection, the partial regulation of labour markets, and multiculturalism as lived experience all speak to the impulse and values of inclusivity. Canadians are by habit and reflex partial and open to collective engagements of difference. Like any other country, the Canadian record is uneven and there are large traces of embarrassing failure.

Many ideas about Canadian inclusiveness are symbolic – the skating rink, parks, nature and free swimming lessons. These have special significance for the life of the nation. These symbols function as national metaphors and sustain a political culture in which the collective ‘we’ of the Northern Federation remains stronger than the individual ‘I’ of the Great Republic in many sensitive areas. But pragmatism of the Canadian bent has not provided much insurance against a new paradigm of efficiency which requires the public to be privatized, sold off or underfunded. The public domain is always a precarious entity when it is not embedded in the institutional fabric of the country and protected against erosion from above or neglect from below. Even if Canada’s sense of the civic remains stronger than in the US, its ability to protect its social capital and welfare entitlements has been increasingly constrained by powerful market pressures.

From the perspective of inclusion, in the recent period public authority has been charged with developing institutions, values and practices that created public sanctuaries, no-go areas, where the price mechanism could not reach. If one were to construct a history of social inclusion in the hemisphere, the growth of the public domain in all its different aspects – services, space, place- would figure predominantly. The events in Canada are typical of the modernization of the state that occurred in all jurisdictions in the second half of the twentieth century.

In order to protect Canadians against the worst consequences of unemployment and old age, the Government of Canada

was required to introduce the Unemployment Insurance Act Amendments (1941) and the Old Age Pension Act and Old Age Assistance Act (1927). Parallel measures including the Family Allowances Act (1944) assisted families with the costs of raising children. Other legislation followed to broaden and enhance public authority. The National Housing Act (1945) assisted young families to purchase their first homes; Old Age Security (1952) provided a guaranteed base of income to all Canadians age 70 and over (later reduced to age 65 and over). The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (1966) provided replacement income to retired labour force participants and supported families in the event of the disability or premature death of a breadwinner. The Guaranteed Income Supplement (1967) and Spouse's Allowance (1975) supported low-income elderly. The Medical Services Act (1967), later reinforced by the Canada Health Act (1984) provided a comprehensive range of publicly administered accessible health services to all Canadians. Major strides were taken to stabilize federal-provincial cost-sharing for human services through the Canada Assistance Plan (1967) and the Established Programs Financing Act. If this short history proves anything, it is that removing structural barriers to inclusion requires effective social regulation. Broadening points of access for those who are left out of society requires constant institutional innovation and legal protection (Banting 199?).

In this respect, of course, Canada is not unique. Similar stories of a growing sense of the public, reflecting new pressures, hopes and expectations may be found in other member countries of NAFTA and MERCOSUR. However, it is significant that among the members of both trading blocs, public authority has been under sharp attack, with the claim that 'less state, less taxes' is a preferable alternative. So far Canada has rejected the US model outright, but in recent years Ottawa has begun to question its somewhat higher tax burden compared to the US and has adopted a much smaller welfare state. With fewer resources to spend on human services, urban poverty, homelessness and the numbers homeless street kids have increased markedly in all major urban centres. (Drache and Stewart, 2002).

The New Imperative of Inclusion

The fact is new barriers to inclusion have arisen in Canada even though it has a large social market with a declining re-distributional bite. Many conventional assumptions have proven inadequate to protect citizenship rights against injustice, inequality and discrimination. That is why new analytical tools are required to benchmark how well or poorly society is doing with respects to inclusion. These new tools to be comparative as well as normative and have the capacity to capture the many different aspects of political will and removing the obstacles to inclusion.

The goal and vision of building strongly inclusive societies marches to a different imperative today, one where people are judged by their character, not their visible differences. This requires that regardless of one's race or economic status all should participate in society based on recognition, acceptance and belonging. We are still very far from this goal.

The best evidence gathered from experts paints a disturbing picture of the growth of exclusion from the mainstream. Those who are excluded are the most isolated and without support. They are the insecure, the vulnerable and often the most desperate. Inclusion, in a primary sense, is about broadening the points of entry into human communities and establishing human relationships in a qualitatively different way. An inclusion agenda requires extending rights to the most vulnerable and strengthening the processes and outcomes that lead to equality of opportunity and condition. It entails the removal of structural barriers which have created obstacles for individuals and groups to participate in political, social and economic processes. Inclusion involves a redefining of the relationships among people that is linked to the human rights agenda as well as relates to the struggles around pluralism and identity politics in all of its many forms (Held 1995).

The challenge of building inclusive societies requires a proactive political will to ensure that all have a voice in political decision-making processes and in defining the 'good life'. Public policies have marked differential impacts on gender, ethnicity/ race, age, and education. Each society has to choose the policy models and practices that will be most successful in reducing these differences and in securing rights for those at the margin of society. As Ignatieff states, "Thanks to these struggles [for human rights]- many of them won only in the last generation - Western liberal societies have arrived at a new moment in their history. For the first time, they are trying to make democracy work on the conditions of total inclusion" (Ignatieff 2000). The learning curve is necessarily steep.

Developing this community of shared values, shared challenges and equality of opportunity within Canada is based not only on trust and reciprocity among Canadians but also on a strongly developed sense of what is shared in common as a collective engagement of responsibility. People who don't connect in a basic sense, literally and figuratively, are the chosen candidates to swell the ranks of the excluded. Without social protection and a place in the public, their needs and wants go unmet and they become an inactive part of society lacking the capacity to act in unison. The excluded are without exception trapped psychologically in a world without voice and exit; the micro-dynamics are unrelentingly harsh and debilitating. They are victims of the market for a very specific reason.

Market intrusiveness occurs when private actors appropriate the public interest and its collective goods that should be shared in common, for private gain. Market intrusiveness is also about unregulated market forces and their capacity to redefine the line between the state and the market, moving it towards the market-end of the public spectrum. Market forces can also be said to interfere with the normal functioning of civil society, such as when corporate merger and takeover activity become ends in themselves, ends so alarmingly predatory that they put social stability at risk, weakening the redistributive bite of public authority.

There is no shortage of contemporary examples of the newfound power these frequently 'stateless corporations' exert to enhance the rights of business at any price. Many experts believe that they now overpower the regulatory authority of states. Take just one measure, Infosys of the Bombay Stock Exchange. Its assets are larger than Pakistan's GDP and the share value of the Bombay Stock Exchange is larger than the foreign currency earnings of India in 1999.

While none of these figures tell us very much about 'the private use of public interest,' they are worrying and psychologically damaging for the public everywhere because they give credence to the idea that the battle for an autonomous and vigorous notion of the public is in full retreat. It is hardly a breathtaking conclusion to repeat again that we need new vocabulary, ideas and strategies of action to take us into the 21st century. What kind of public authority will make a difference to the quality of life in cities, neighbourhoods and protect citizens from an array of corrosive economic forces? A hopeful answer needs to look at the inclusion policy idea and its vision of society.

The issue of governance takes us in new directions and creates the possibility of new political forms at the local as well as the supra-national level. The old idea of the state-centered public is being increasingly challenged and refashioned. If an important part of 'the public' is increasingly identified with outside state authority and hierarchy, these latest developments suggest that the interface between strongly inclusive practices and powerfully articulated norm of the public is again being altered in a fundamental way. New analytical and practical ways are needed to link the macro public domain with its micro aspects so that the private and public worlds meet in intense enterprises of all kinds. In his important book, *Has Globalization Gone too Far*, Rodrik asks the crucial question, why do open economies have bigger governments with public services that buffer

individuals from the volatility of markets? This essay poses the corollary, why do societies with larger public domains have less social fragmentation, exclusion and inequality?

The general and blunt answer is that inclusion has been much stronger policy imperative in Europe than in the Anglo-American world. Europe with its fundamental dichotomy between the public and the private has kept a very large part of its public sphere intact, compared to the US and UK. Social Europe has given the market much smaller scope to grow in new directions. It has provided for more non-negotiable goods and mixed goods. It has been highly cautious in making itself over-dependent on the neo-liberal principles of privatization, de-regulation and down-sizing of the state.

From The Global Disconnect to The Policy Reconnect

The predilection for market fundamentals, tough zero-inflation targets, an unstoppable political dynamic of one worldism and silence on the need for an expansive notion of the public sphere in all of its parts will remain the watershed event of our times. Many will be left behind by economic globalization's relentless drive for efficiency and labour market demands for increasingly sophisticated knowledge and skills. In all countries these diverse and vulnerable groups from the urban poor to the homeless constitute the *nouveaux exclus* of the twenty-first century.

To cut state deficits, governments regularly engage in economic trade-offs that are inequitable because the most vulnerable are hit the hardest by these spending cuts. Poverty rates for the poor have increased almost tenfold in the last decade. While public authority continues to spend vast sums of taxpayer's money each year, public goods of good quality in areas such education and health care are in short supply. More women work and have broader rights in many areas than a decade ago but in the world of politics men predominate and women have fewer legislative champions to advance their concerns in policy-making.

If economic macro-management imperatives are no longer the only or most reliable guide to collective need, there is still a host of unanswered questions about why the public has become sceptical of markets and often critical of public authority's ability to address effectively the hard concerns of our times of how to optimize inclusion and enable all to participate in society's benefits. Public authority, with its arsenal of policy tools and large amounts of public resources, has to protect the social bond and defend the public interest.

There will always be strongly exclusionary practices that occur through ill-will, intolerance and ignorance. Fear of the other is not an ingrained but a learned response. A society that wants to be inclusionary can take many practical measures to end systemic and episodic exclusion but this will never be easy if dismantling barriers to inclusion is not a top priority. Often government and civil society fail to meet the challenge because the excluded live in such different circumstances that they have no natural affinity for each other. They inhabit such totally separate universes that without power and influence society finds it convenient to ignore their existence and dismay.

It is always problematic for those on the inside to believe that admittance to the mainstream is a dangerous option on the way to assimilation and conformity. When you are an outsider you do not want to end your life on the margins. Your most fervent hope is to have the same formal and substantive rights as everyone else. Inclusion is never absolute, but it is a compelling and frequently elusive goal. Society has three choices: it can ignore the politics of inclusion and be indifferent to the *nouveaux exclus*; it can let individuals cope the best that they are able and take many small gestures to admit one group into society while ignoring the deteriorating conditions of the others; or in a self-conscious way it can address the many multi-layered dimensions of inclusion forthrightly and effectively for all.

Canada is a strongly inclusionary society not by conscious intent but due to its political culture of multiculturalism and pragmatic egalitarianism. Both these qualities provide a powerful incentive and a strong environment to build on. By choice we are not a society where we 'bowl alone', Putnam's evocative term to describe the decline in social capital and the eclipse of community. What best captures our notion of civic engagement and holds a special place in Canada's public consciousness is the skating rink.

Almost every kid from an immigrant family will try to learn to skate. It is the initiation badge of belonging to the larger society. Visit any rink, frozen pond or river-side which has been cleared of snow and individuals from the four corners earth are likely to be found struggling to master the swoosh and glide of the newly formed skater. Here is the quintessential multicultural experience of acceptance and belonging at least the beginning of it. When you glide across the ice, play ice tag or skate along with the canned music, you skate most often together with others. It is this collectivist impulse that is so strongly part of our sense of community. It may fade and weaken but it is there as part of the social order and a building block of sorts. It is necessary to add the words 'of sorts' because it is not enough and does not address the political economy of building a stronger inclusive Canada.³

Selecting the appropriate mix of policy tools to operationalize political could provide modern decision-makers with a powerful framework to develop a strategy of collective action. To take this step brings us to the heart of the matter. Soft but compelling concepts of social inclusion require a hard multi-dimensional edge. Lining up the ducks calls for finding optimal ways to enhance the process of inclusion as a public good. Public authority has to make a significant investment to make the goal of inclusivity a state priority. It has to develop strategic targets and positive benchmarks. There has to be a tangible commitment to build and implement a new consensus on inclusion. Citizen engagement needs to be broadened in the policy sphere. Equity-based outreach programs are another key element. Communities and civil society with limited resources cannot be expected to reduce significantly social inequality as measured by the GINI coefficient. Best practice outcomes designed to remove structural barriers to access have to reinforce inclusion-based processes all up and down the line.

Citizenship expresses membership and, more importantly, emphasizes the quality of participation in a political community. Richard Falk reminds us that it is not law but politics and the adversity of experience that more adequately captures the experiences of individuals and groups. The goal and process of inclusion rests on strengthening over time a better way of organizing life on the planet. It speaks to the 'politics of aspiration and desire' and of mounting a challenge to globalization-from-above. Inclusion wants to move the goal posts of community and to hold public authority, the market and the media accountable. It is also expressive of a very different kind of dynamic of contemporary state/market relations that political choice and dedicated action can make a difference to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged.

Why should social inclusion edge its way back from the margin? No one can say with total certainty that it is likely to become more prominent not less. In most societies today developing countervailing power is a matter initially of acquiring public voice and information. Those who are force to be reckoned with are those who have the tools, the capacity and the motivation to challenge the existing public policy framework of market-based fundamentals. Acquiring an empowered voice means being fully informed and having the capacity to raise issues in a way that can effectively shift the centre of gravity beyond the narrow rules-based discourse of the Washington Consensus. This is why developing powerful analytical tools like benchmarks and indicators are so important for civil society actors and social movements. They raise the content of public discourse to a level to that is lacking. They also provide an alternative to the metaphysics of universal models that are so pervasive on the right and left.

As civil society and social movements try to find their way forward, they are often the first to experience the under-supply of human services, the absence of the basic needs of human security and the closure of the benefits of the information commons. The rigid organizational culture of the WTO trade agenda and globalization have an in-built imperative to overreach into all kinds of non-trade issues from public health to human rights. As the WTO has enlarged its ambit, this sends a red-light warning to civil society to dig in and begin the long historical task of pushing back markets to where they belong. The reasoning is sound; markets can not be allowed to threaten indefinitely the inclusionary practices of the egg-shaped social bond of society.

A Final Word

The margin is once again filling up as the centre shrinks in ways, and to a degree, few could have predicted even a decade ago. With middle class society more open to the need for effective social protection and practices, it is only natural that a commitment to inclusionary practices and goals are slowly edging their way back onto the agenda pushed to the fore by social activists. Time and social need are on their side in this global age. An active localism, the need for strong and vibrant communities and an inclusive public domain in all of its parts matter more than ever. Or do they? Skating together anyone?

Bibliography

- Arthurs, H. (2001). The re-constitution of the public domain. *The Market or the Public Domain: Global Governance and the Asymmetry of Power*. D. Drache. London and New York, Routledge: 85-110.
- Banting, K. (1999). Social Citizenship and the Multicultural Welfare State. *Citizenship, Diversity and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives*. A. Cairns, John C. Courtney, Peter MacKinnon, Hans J. Michelmann, and David E. Smith. Montreal & Kingston - London - Ithaca, McGill - Queen's University Press: 108-137.
- Bezruchka, S. (2001). "Societal hierarchy and the health Olympics." *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 164(12): 1701-3.
- Boyer, R. (1996). State and Market: A New Engagement for the Twenty-first Century? *States against Markets*. Robert Boyer and Daniel Drache eds. London and New York, Routledge: 84-114.
- Cappe, M., Clerk of the Privy Council. (1999). "Building A New Relationship with the Voluntary Sector", Ottawa: Third Canadian Leaders' Forum on the Voluntary Sector.
- Cohen, J. (1997). Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. J. a. W. R. Bohman. Cambridge MA, MIT Press: 67-91.
- Drache, D. (2001). *The Market or the Public Domain: Global Governance and the Asymmetry of Power*. London and New York, Routledge.
- Dryzek, J. S. (1990). *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy and Political Science*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Esping-Anderson, G. (1996). *Welfare States in Transition*. London and Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Etzioni, Amitai. (1968). *The Active Society: A theory of Societal and Political Processes*. New York: Free Press
- Freiler, C. (2001). *What needs to change?: Social Inclusion as a Focus of Well Being for Children, Families and Communities*. Biannual Conference on Social Policy, Calgary, Alberta.
- Fries, R. (1999). "Charity and The Charity Commission." *International Journal of Not-For-Profit Law* 2(1).
- Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. New York, Free Press Paperbacks.
- Gough, I. (2000). *Global Capital, Human Needs and Social Policies: Selected Essays 1994-99*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave.
- Grayson, K. (2001). Human Security in the Global Era. *The Market or the Public Domain*. D. Drache. London and New York, Routledge: 229-253.
- Ignatieff, M. (2000). *The Rights Revolution*. Toronto, Anasi.

- Jenson, J. (1996). The talents of women, the skills of men: flexible specialization and women. *The Transformation of Work*. S. Wood. Halifax, Fernwood Publishing: 130-150.
- Jenson, J. (1998). Mapping Social Cohesion. Montreal, CPRN.
- Keegan, J. (1990). *The Second World War*. Toronto: Penquin.
- Kriesi, H. (1999). Movements of the Left, Movements of the Right: Putting the Mobilization of Two new Types of Social Movements into Political Context. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. H. Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks, John D. Stephens. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 398-426.
- Kymlicka, W. a. W. N. (2000). *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Manchester, William. (1992). *A World Only Lit by Fire. The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance*. New York: Little Brown.
- Mansbridge, J. (2000). *What does a representative do? Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. W. a. W. N. Kymlicka. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 99-123.
- Mendelsohn, M. (2000). "Public Brokerage: Constitutional Reform and the Accommodation of Mass Publics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* XXXIII(2): 245-272.
- Mustard, F. (1999). The Early Years. Toronto, Founders Network.
- Nevitte, N. (2000). "Value Change and Reorientations in Citizen-State Relations." *Canadian Public Policy Special Supplement on the Trends Project XXVIS*: S73-S94.
- OECD (1994). OECD Jobs Study. Paris, OECD: 50.
- Patten, S. (2001). "Democratizing the Institutions of Policy-making: Democratic Consultation and Participatory Administration." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35(4): 221-239.
- Percy-Smith, J. (2000). "Introduction: The Contours of Social Exclusion". *Policy Responses to Social Exclusion: towards inclusion?* J. Percy-Smith. Buckingham, Philadelphia, Open University Press.: 1-21.
- Phillips, S. D. (1992). New Social Movements and Unequal Representation. *Democracy with Justice*. A. G. G. a. A. B. T. (eds.). Ottawa, Carleton University Press: chapter 5.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Schuster
- Raphael, D. (2001). Inequality is Bad for Our Hearts: Why Low Income and Social Exclusion are Major Causes of Heart Disease in Canada. Toronto, North York Heart Health Network.
- Saul, J. R. (1997). *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the end of the Twentieth Century*. Toronto, Viking.

Stanford, J. (1999). *Paper boom : why real prosperity requires a new approach to Canada's economy*. Ottawa, The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives ; Toronto : Lorimer, 1999.

Taylor, Charles. (1999). Democratic Exclusion (and its Remedies?) In Alain Cairns ed. *Citizenship, Diversity, Pluralism*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP.

(Footnotes)

¹ This paper draws on an ongoing research project of the Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies to monitor, analyze and deepen our understanding of the complex issue of social inclusion in the hemisphere. Special thanks to Anthony Hutchinson, Denise O'Connor, Malcom Stewart, Kyle Grayson and Nirmala Singh whose background studies, reports and insights have been integrated into this essay. The views presented here are my own. Laura Taman helped improve the paper with her sharp editorial eye and her assistance is much appreciated. Four studies have been completed on human security, human services, the informational environment and the physical environment: The Information Commons or the Digital Divide? Taking Hold of the Future: Measuring Inclusion in Public Information and Space in the Western Hemisphere; The Human Services Deficit and What Can Be Done About It: Benchmarking Human Services in the Hemisphere; Do Open Markets Create Open Societies? Measuring Human Security in the Western Hemisphere: An Analysis of Trends in Social Inclusion in the Provision of Human Services in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Canada, Mexico and the United State, 1985 – 2000; Measuring Environmental Inclusion in the Western Hemisphere: Does Economic Growth Foster a Sustainable Environment They will shortly be available on our website and copies can be obtained by writing directly to Daniel Drache, Director. We are also appreciative that the project received funds from the SSHRC and the Laidlaw Foundation to assist the research.

² During the Cold War security conceptions concentrated on hard issues like nuclear weapons or communist containment. By contrast, issues such as child soldiers, land mines, drug trafficking, and human rights abuses were mistakenly characterized as soft issues by some experts. Practically there is a significant overlap between many of the concerns labelled soft with more traditional security approaches.

³ Every kid wishing to learn to swim goes to the municipal swimming pool for lessons that were usually offered for free or for a nominal fee. You don't swim alone or shouldn't. Society has an obligation to instruct everyone to swim but now many municipal authorities are closing swimming pools because of the fiscal cuts imposed by neo-liberal de-taxing practices. The Greater Toronto Authority is threatening to close 22 pools faced with a \$22 million short-fall in its educational budget due largely to provincial transfers to the city.