Civic journeys: a national metanarrative to foster democratic resilience?

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Acknowledgement and series note

In early 2024, the Resilient Democracy Data and Research Network was established as a collaboration between Australian researchers, civil society leaders and government agencies. The network is designed to encourage interdisciplinary, collaborative and actionable research seeking policy-relevant insights that measure, diagnose and assess pathways strengthening Australia's democratic resilience. The network is dedicated to making research findings and insights widely available. This paper has been written to prompt ideas for future collaborative research of the network.

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Abstract

National surveys are reporting a steady decline in democratic participation, public trust and civic engagement in Australia. At the same time, there has been an abundance of civic initiatives and community programs that seek to increase access to opportunities to participate. Many initiatives cite evidence of impact, but there remains a gap in integrated, long-term and systemic insight on what works collectively and cumulatively across a person's life course. In this paper, we outline 'civic journeys', both as a conceptual and practical tool to better understand how, where and when life-long active citizenship can be best supported and enabled. We start with a focus on connecting data collection and disaggregating initiative interventions at key points across a life course. We illustrate the policy relevance of this for government and communities as a way to understand how compounding experiences shape levels of engagement, as well as a means to design programs that maximise opportunities to engage in democratic processes and be prepared to navigate multiple pressures and shocks. We conclude with discussion on this concept's potential to inform future policy, research, and practice in Australia.

1 Introduction

Australia's democracy is strong, but like many other western nations, it is vulnerable to a range of complex global and local challenges.¹ On a global scale, there is a growing body of evidence that draws attention to multiple threats to democratic systems, which appear to be similar in nature, but differ in national contexts. In Australia, there is a well-documented decline in civics education,² diverse forms of civic participation³ and public trust,⁴ which for many presents a crisis in both social and political capital.⁵ Locally, volunteering has declined, highlighting differing capacity and distribution of social infrastructure opportunities, and also ability, resources and willingness of Australians to participate.⁶ Together, the decline in trust and participation in democracy has resulted in both political concern and an expansion of civic initiatives in response. Broadly, these initiatives fall into those focusing on civics education, volunteering, social cohesion, and most recently in Australia, democratic resilience.⁷ While limited overview of this activity in Australia has been undertaken, there is, however, no comprehensive inventory.⁸

A common theme that runs through current initiatives is an emphasis on risk, threats, and deficit. Put in data terms, it can be easier to find variables to measure dysfunction and disaffection, than it is to identify potential and opportunity. Or in another way, to suggest that there is a democratic deficit amongst individuals is not new, but what would be new is to shift focus of debate and data collection onto different forms of civic learning, engagement, participation, and connection.

How such work might connect to issues of democratic resilience is in its early stages. Though democratic resilience is a contested area,⁹ it draws on a strong psychological and social tradition of preparedness to 'bounce back better' in response to times of crisis.¹⁰ Research indicates that fostering democratic resilience is an ongoing process, requiring democratic systems and actors not only to build and sustain capacities to respond to and recover from crises, but seek to continually transform and innovate¹¹ as response to polycrises in increasingly turbulent times.¹² How to capture, reflect, and react to data linked to these diverse and emergent forms of civic education, engagement, and participation is key to better preparation and education of society in an age of rolling democratic crises.¹³ It is this realisation that is at the core of the 'civic journey' concept.

2 About civic journeys

2.1 What are civic journeys?

The notion of journeys in human experience is not new. It is common amongst academic work in the social sciences, including within immigration. For example, the UK Government policy framework for migrants becoming UK citizens is framed as 'a journey to citizenship'. Meanwhile, education, health and social sectors often seek to map client service journeys as part of effectiveness and equity analyses. In the civic context, the notion of journey is about civic momentum, transformative action and lifelong democratic engagement.

¹ See, for example: International Institute for Democracy Assistance (2024); Dunleavy, P., and Evans. M, (2024); Economist Intelligence Unit (2024).

² See: Mycock, A. and Prosser, B. (2025). URL: https://theconversation.com/civics-education-is-at-an-all-time-low-in-australia-mapping-our-civic-journeys-may-help-250138

³ Cameron, S., (2024) 'Trends in Civic Engagement in Australia' Australian Resilient Democracy Research and Data Network Discussion Paper 4, Australian National University.

⁴ Dunleavy, P., and Evans. M, (2024); Stoker et al (2018).

⁵ O'Donnell, J. et al. (2024), OECD (2024a); Wilson et al. (2024).

⁶ Zhu, R. (2022); de Vries, M., et al. (2024).

⁷ Australian Government (2024).

⁸ OECD (2024b)

⁹ Holloway, J. and Manwaring, R. (2023).

¹⁰ Prosser, B and Peters, C. (2010).

¹¹ Shein, E., et al. (2023).

¹² Ansell et al (2024).

¹³ Croissant, A. and Lott, L. (2024).

Australia, like many countries, already has an identifiable civic journey. Some aspects of this are universal to all citizens, such as the formal registration (and certification) of birth and death, electoral registration and voting. Most people also experience formal civic events such as securing qualifications at school and getting a driver's licence and a passport. Less common formal civic events might include jury service, taking part in an Australian citizenship ceremony, or standing for public office.

The civic journey concept originated in the UK.¹⁴ It reflects the ways in which individuals civically connect, develop, mature, and change as they move through life. The civic journey provides a novel, agile, and inclusive way of thinking about the relationship between individuals and society across different life stages, accommodating the common and diverse, formal and informal civic experiences of every citizen.

The diagram below illustrates how this might be achieved, outlining a framework for young people as they transition to adulthood and beyond (as characterised by key developmental, social and educational milestones).

¹⁴ The term 'civic journeys' was first coined in this context as part of the 2018 House of Lords Select Committee review of Citizenship and Civic Participation.

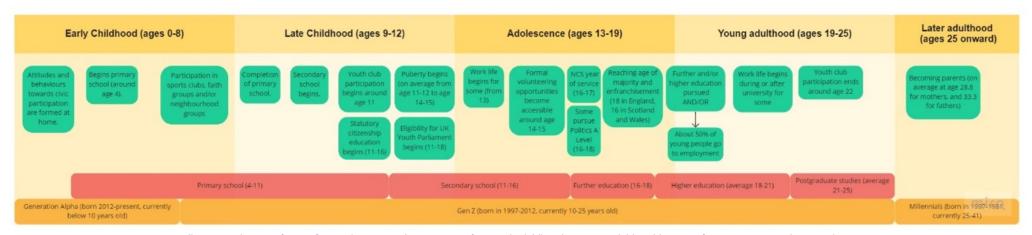


Figure 1 Illustrative changing forms of civic education and engagement from early childhood to young adulthood (Institute for Community Studies, 2022).

At the core of civic journeys is an intention to establish 'an integrated and high-quality, seamless tapestry of opportunities', rather than 'a patchwork of short-lived interventions with little appreciation of how any single policy, investment or grant might connect with another'. It is important to understand that within this concept is a focus on how the specific combination of initiatives enhance engagement in collective, cumulative or exponential ways. Hence, one benefit of civic journeys is that it provides a systemic, synthesised and systematic perspective to inform policy work.

2.2 What do we know about civic journeys?

Much of past research on civic engagement has undertaken the important work of identifying and measuring the extent of democratic disengagement, disaffection, disillusionment, and decline. While some initiatives have presented evidence as advocacy (and in some cases evidence of impact), this has not been in a comprehensive, integrated, longitudinal, transferable, and scalable way. As a result, neither federal nor state policymakers have the requisite information to be sure if any claimed impact from an initiative is real, influenced by other factors, or sustained.

Current monitoring of civic engagement and civic participation focuses on several key areas, particularly the civic socialisation of young people, election participation data, and levels of volunteering. For example, the long-running Australian Election Study (AES) provides longitudinal data on the views and satisfaction of Australians with their democracy. Volunteering Australia provides key statistics about volunteering to assist program development, funding, and advocacy. Australia is an established participant in the International Civic and Citizenship Study, which runs international comparisons of student knowledge, conceptual understanding, and competencies. Meanwhile, ACARA and NAPLAN also supply regular reporting on civics education and knowledge.

These and other longitudinal studies provide insightful snapshots of general trends of different aspects of civic life in Australia. However, a challenge for existing and established tools (such as HILDA) is that while, importantly, they measure economic/educational participation (and have included items on health, mental health and wellbeing), they track widespread trends, rather than provide ideas on what works and how best to respond. Such surveys have not been designed to access variables that can describe the experiences or levels of engagement of groups and individuals at different stages in their life. This is highlighted by the call in the first paper in this series, which reinforces the importance of expanding survey data collection on attitudes to democracy to include diverse groups, particularly younger people and those from low-income households.¹⁸

Meanwhile, long-term work that focuses on persistent disadvantage (such as that from the <u>Life Course Centre</u>) is yet to focus on the connections with democratic resilience, while long term work on youth (such as the <u>Longitudinal Surveys of Australian Youth</u> and the <u>Australian Youth Barometer</u>) have provided useful insights into trust and participation, but only relate to specific age bands. Hence, there is a need for better national data around civic engagement and democratic resilience across childhood, adolescence and young adult stages. This insight is supported by another paper in this series, which highlights the need to better track over time and in comparison with other countries.¹⁹ It is in the spirit of this call that the civic journeys approach responds.

In short, current data sets are neither comprehensive nor connected in providing an overview of patterns of civic engagement and participation, either over the life course or at different age points. Moreover, they are not able to connect data of individual programs ('what works') with a broader picture of how different aspects of civic engagement and participation inform the civic life journeys of Australian society. This lack of longitudinal oversight limits the potential to adopt a more proactive, programmatic and practical approach to support democratic resilience in Australia.

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¹⁵ House of Lords Select Committee on Citizenship and Civic Engagement (2018).

¹⁶ See, for example: Australian Government (2023b); Biddle, N. and Gray, M. (2024a); Stoker, G., Evans, M., and Halupka, M. (2018).

¹⁷ Biddle, N. and Gray, M. (2024b).

¹⁸ Biddle, N., and Gray, M., (2024a).

¹⁹ Cameron, S., (2024).

3 Applying civic journeys to policy and practice

3.1 The practical value from UK civic journey learning

In the UK, research linked to the 'civic journey' has revealed that, historically, there had been no clear coordination of civic learning, engagement, and participation initiatives across national and local government. There is also an assumption that civic education ends in secondary school, rather than a process across the life course. The UK approach also revealed gaps in civic opportunities - disaggregated across life stages, geographies and forms of participation. Moreover, the UK work found that there was no long-term commitment to civic initiatives, with many only having the longevity of the relevant Government or minister who initiated them. This created a lack of coherence about the collective purpose or impact of successive civic policy initiatives and compromised the evidence base to enhance future policy and decision-making. There is little to suggest a different situation in Australia.

Further, a supply side model has dominated advancement of past civic initiatives, with a focus on experts, advocates and practitioners designing programs, finding funding, and then delivering them independently. Meanwhile, civic journeys encourage the consideration of demand side factors. Civic journeys can open up space to identify emerging forms of collective engagement and activity that may not be measured by current variables or may not be identified via existing institutional lenses.²⁰ Such ideas are explored through policy concepts, such as 'everyday makers'²¹, and can also embrace new forms of online engagement and digital democratic literacy.²² By examining activity through educational approaches that emphasise the positive role of life resources, such as learner 'funds of knowledge'²³, a civic journey approach can uncover the alternative democratic pedagogies that are effective in and outside the classroom.²⁴

Interestingly, the UK initiative focused on youth as the fundamental life stage in citizens' life-long civic journeys. It noted that the attitudes, behaviours, and aptitudes that support and shape life-long democratic literacy and participation (or not) were associated with civic socialisation experiences during transitions to adulthood. It recognised that many young people were involved in formal, informal and online civic activities, but often adopted fluid and diverse civic identities within each. This civic agility and adaptability reflected their status both as being and becoming democratic citizens.²⁵ The consistency and coherence of civic socialisation experiences at these early stages in the life course were thus critical in shaping a positive view of democracy and participation.

Further, this examination of UK life course transition found the importance of entry, exit and re-entry into political and civic activity at different points and in responses to changing life circumstances and environments. Put another way, it found that 'hot spots' of high engagement, 'cold spots' of disengagement and 'black spot' openings to extremism all coalesced around major transition points in the youth life course. When taken collectively and at larger scale, such insights can identify points of risk or opportunity for different groups. Once recognised by policy makers, these points can be prioritised with predictive and proactive policy initiatives that present the potential for cost-efficient and effective allocation of public resources.

3.2 The policy and program value proposition of civic journeys in Australia

Capturing data on the sustained impact of current initiatives is a challenge identified by Australian Government.²⁷ While many inspirational initiatives have been identified,²⁸ these tend to be siloed, small and difficult to assess at scale. This limits the ability to understand how civic learning and participation

²⁰ Institute for Community Studies (2022).

²¹ Bang, H., and Halupka, M. (2019).

²² See, for example, Porrebinschi, T. (2023); Vromen, A. (2018).

²³ Moll, L. C., (2023).

²⁴ Pickard, S. (2019).

²⁵ Gifford, C. Mycock, A. and Murakami, J. (2013).

²⁶ Institute for Community Studies (2022).

²⁷ Fisher, A. (2024).

²⁸ Australian Government (2024).

initiatives delivered at different life stages and in diverse locations cohere to strengthen Australian democracy.

In response, the adaptation of the civic journeys project into Australia provides an important opportunity to develop a pioneering approach to fostering and sustaining democratic resilience. Put simply, no democratic country or government has adopted a full life-course lens to better understand the impact of policy and practice in shaping the civic lives of its citizens and communities. With its focus around collecting data on outcomes, the civic journey provides an innovative evidence-based means to identify what works in the lived democratic experiences of citizens at different stages of their civic lives. We suggest that policy makers would also welcome the ability to synthesise and assess the impact of different combinations of initiatives and programs across different and diverse groups in different places.

Further, we suggest that the civic journey metaphor has considerable utility to integrate different research methodologies and trajectories into a coherent conceptual framework and immediately understandable tool to guide future policy work in this space. Such an approach could support the Australian Government with its interest in better coordination, design and funding of long-term data to inform strategic policymaking and provide a unifying narrative around which to improve civics education outcomes (vital in becoming citizens) and develop constructive, collaborative and cumulative policy work to enhance genuine democratic experience (to be citizens). This could take a number of forms (such as school, local or place-based initiatives) and involve multiple sectors in partnerships (private, public, NFP and for purpose). It could also contribute to public funding design, due to its focus on opportunity and outcomes.

Pragmatically, we recognise the challenge for policy leaders of grappling with the breadth of emerging civic education, engagement and participation activity. This raises a key question about how these can be better coordinated, aggregated, assessed, and researched in a coherent way that supports strategic and effective investment, and future policymaking. We put forward civic journeys as one possible answer to this question.

3.3 A uniquely Australian adaptation

Beyond the general value of a civic journey perspective for policy leaders described above, there are several distinctions and potential advantages from the reimagining of the approach across the life course in multicultural Australia.

First, although primarily applied with youth in the UK, we contend that a uniquely Australia adaptation of the concept would explore civic momentum and transitions from youth to old age. This would enable the exploration of all key transition points. Here, the civic journey could help capture and encapsulate life-long perspectives to support and empower active, informed, and engaged citizens. More specifically, Australian Government initiatives could identify a starting point in the younger years where baseline data is collected (and repeated annually with new cohorts) and foster the potential for longer term data capture and tracking at key transition points across the lifecourse to support people to remain engaged in ways meaningful to them. This offers significant potential, not just in terms of improved data and knowledge, but in a deeper understanding of what initiatives sustain impact, rather than just had immediate and short-term influence.

Secondly, when viewed in the light of Australia's history as a multicultural nation, a uniquely Australian adaptation could apply the civic journey concept to socio-economic and cultural contexts. It could be used as a lens to examine the diverse civic journeys in and between different cultural and social groups to help build a collective democratic journey. It could also be used to identify the 'black spots' for established or newer groups of Australians to identify and intervene to reduce the exposure to extremism. This could help mitigate social disruption, alienation, polarisation and hate crime. Still further, by collectively focusing on the reduction in social disconnection and championing the diversity of social forms of connectivity across the life course, this can provide a foundation to build stronger cohesion and senses of belonging. This would align with the Australian Government's focus on social cohesion.

Third, we believe the civic journey concept might be used uniquely as a national metanarrative to underpin the ongoing work to further strengthen Australia's democracy. The civic journey provides a new lens to consider both the organic development of Australian democracy AND the individual and collective civic journeys of Australia's current and future citizens and communities. Both as a metanarrative and a connected evidence-based 'living laboratory' approach to policymaking, it offers an agile and adaptable way of thinking about Australian democracy and how it responds to existing and emergent challenges and

opportunities.

4 Where to from here? Conclusion and Next Steps

4.1 Future benefit

Australian communities and government are asking questions about what it means to strengthen and maintain a resilient democracy. Literature has long advocated that civic knowledge and awareness are key factors that ensures participation and engagement. However, forms of civic engagement are changing for all stages of life, while participation in civic organisations and activities is declining. Meanwhile, there is a lack of coordinated, integrated, coherent, and practical approaches to gathering evidence on the impact of efforts to renew and strengthen democracy. In short, there is a wealth of data measuring what is going wrong, but a dearth of longitudinal and descriptive data on what to do about it.

The civic journey offers at least three significant benefits in strengthening democratic resilience in Australia:

- (1) Diagnosing and differentiating the motivating factors and barriers driving cohesion, engagement, political trust, democratic satisfaction and resilience across diverse Australian communities.
- (2) Prioritising when, how and where civic initiatives are needed for diverse groups, aiding proactive policy and program design, delivery, and funding.
- (3) Providing an accessible and coherent conceptual resource (and meta-narrative) to support integrated data and disaggregated measurement and tracking of democratic resilience across the life course and social diversity.

4.2 The Value of Civic Journeys

The value of the civic journey concept to the Australian Government's practical, evidenced-based approach to strengthening democratic resilience is founded on four interconnected themes:

- Conceptual provides a coherent, accessible and flexible tool to enhance understanding of civic engagement in multicultural Australia.
- Mapping assesses the different gaps in experience for diverse groups and develops predictive/preventative/promotional policy, programs and action.
- Integration brings together different research efforts and data to enhance understanding and coordinate new long-term research.
- Strategic sets a framework and descriptors for future maturity in research policy, programs, research and practice.

4.3 Next steps

This paper has presented the origins, key ideas and potential future application of civic journeys as a research and policy agenda in Australia. Finally, we suggest the following five steps for its development as an overarching framework and longitudinal focus to drive future research, policy, and practice.

- 1) Scoping we suggest conducting a sprint analysis (potentially a data hack-a-thon with researchers and community members), to map out existing data on civic education and participation across the civic life journey in Australia. While the analysis will be scoping and inevitably be incomplete, it will be our first attempt at mapping what we know. This can draw data from HILDA, ACARA, Volunteer Australia, the Melbourne Institute's Shared Data Environment, and the ABS General Social Survey, among others. The output will be an early synthesis of our current knowledge and provide immediate insights to support policymakers in identifying which programs, age brackets, and purposes might be most impactful.
- 2) Host roundtable conduct a foundational roundtable to consolidate the civic journey concept, identify collaborative research, policy, practice and partners, as well as develop a Charter for the Australian Civic Journeys Project (outlining key concepts, value propositions, scope and success

- indicators), to provide a common, consistent, and developmental foundation for ongoing activities of network members (as identified below).
- 3) Establish age strands form three expert groups charged with the leadership of activities by youth (0-25 years), mid (26-55) and older (56-) strands. Each group would conduct a data system mapping exercise focusing on the scale and scope of content and types of methodology. Each group will analyse points of evidence strength and gaps within their strand. They will also connect with other strands across life course to produce comprehensive longitudinal data, as well as produce matrix of data across different forms of diversity (such as cultural, socio-economic, migrant, disability, spatial etc).
- 4) Establish data collaborations- form partnership with key data collection sources, including longitudinal survey or administrative data to consistently monitor civic life course from youth to adult ages.
- 5) Establish policy group form a policy subgroup including Australian Resilient Democracy Research Data Network members and representatives from relevant key partner institutions to identify key practical initiatives and longer-term policy research questions and match data mapping of current research, practice, and policy programs (particularly with available evaluation data), to identify knowledge gaps and evidence of cumulative impact.

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