

MPP-E1078: Democratic Innovations and Participatory Governance

Thamy Pogrebinschi

1. General Information

Class hours	Wednesdays, 16-18 h
Class room	R 2.32
Instructor	Thamy Pogrebinschi
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Office Hours	On appointment

Adjunct Information

Thamy Pogrebinschi is Professor of Political Science at the State University of Rio de Janeiro and Senior Researcher at the Social Sciences Research Center Berlin (WZB). Currently she also holds the Alfred Grosser-Gastprofessur für Bürgergesellschaftsforschung at the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main. Her areas of specialization are democratic theory and comparative politics, with focus on democratic innovations and participatory governance in Latin America.

2. Course Contents and Learning Objectives

→ *Outline of course contents:*

In recent years a vast body of literature has been devoted to trying to explain the growth of political disaffection and distrust in the representative institutions of liberal democracy. Even if the public support for the political system cannot be said to have eroded consistently in established democracies, public opinion surveys have been long indicating decreasing levels of satisfaction with democracy. Citizens' expectations towards democracy seem today to be higher than the current ability of traditional political institutions to fulfill them. "Democratic deficits" arise as a result of the imbalance between the higher demands for more democracy and the perceived lower supply of democracy. It is not clear whether the new demands put forward by "critical citizens" can ever be matched by the same old, political institutions of liberal democracy.

As citizens expect more responsiveness, better performance and more accountability, states seek ways of devolving decision making into society, and the political landscape becomes more favorable to participatory ideals. Aware of representative democracy's limit to deliver those now highly demanded political values, scholars and practitioners propose participatory and deliberative models of democracy as alternatives capable of correcting the purported flaws of the representative institutions of liberal democracy. Various governments around the world started to implement democratic innovations aiming at reforming political institutions, formulating more legitimate and inclusive policies, and expanding citizen participation beyond the right to vote.

Democratic innovations allow citizens to become directly involved in public administration and governance, particularly in the design, implementation, and control over public policy. While citizens are empowered and enabled to express their preferences directly without the mediation of political parties and elected politicians, participatory governance emerges as a way of deepening democracy. However, the 'participatory wave' and the 'deliberative turn' are not exempt from theoretical challenges and empirical limits, and the concrete ability of democratic innovations to present themselves as feasible alternative to electoral and representative institutions is yet to be unfolded.

This course deals with current transformations of liberal democracy and the challenges posed by participatory models of governance and democratic innovations. It is divided in three parts. The first one introduces the basic features of the minimalist model of democracy and assesses its limits and challenges, in addition to conceptualizing participatory governance and defining the theoretical questions behind the design of democratic innovations. The second part of the course focuses on case studies of democratic innovations that have been implemented around the world. Here a balance between normative discussions and empirical evidence is sought, as well as a combination of more recent and already "classic" examples. Finally, the third and last part will deal with problems of effectiveness and evaluation of democratic innovations, engaging students in the question of whether the latter can improve the quality of democracy.

→ **Learning objectives & target group & teaching format:**

The course combines elements of democratic theory and comparative politics. It introduces some of the normative debates on participatory and deliberative democracy, and it draws on comparative analysis of democratic innovations implemented in different countries. Students will learn to identify normative arguments and assess the limits of their practical implementation, dealing for example with questions of institutional design and policy impact. No previous knowledge is necessary, and the level of discussions and volume of the literature may be adapted according to the profile of students attending the course. The sessions will typically begin with a short lecture during which a set of questions will be proposed to start the discussion, in which students are expected to actively participate.

3. Course Requirements and Grading

Grading will comprise the following items:

- **Short Paper 1.** This paper should comment on the *Report Flash Eurobarometer 373 Europeans' Engagement in Participatory Democracy* (European Commission, 2013) in light of the literature assigned for the seminar's first five sessions. Of course not all of the reading assignments for those sessions must be covered. The paper should be approximately 1200 words length and should be handed in class on the date of session 6.
- **Group Presentation.** Students should divide in small groups and prepare a presentation to take place on an assigned date between sessions 6 and 10. The presentations should focus on a specific democratic innovation, and should address its procedure, implementation and impact. Suggested topics are: the Participatory Budgeting Project in New York, the European Citizens' Initiative, the Irish Constitutional Convention, the Icelandic National Forum and Constitutional Council, Crowdsourcing in Policy and Law making in Finland, Health Councils in Brazil, *Consultas Previas* in the Andean countries in Latin America. Students can also suggest other democratic innovation, but this must be done until Session 2, when groups and their respective topics and presentation dates will be defined.

Presentations should last around 15-20 minutes and the Power Point's slides should be sent by email two days in advance.

- **Short Paper 2.** Each student should individually write a paper about his/her topic of presentation articulating it with (some of) the literature assigned for sessions 6 to 10. The paper should be approximately 1200 words length and should be handed in class on the date of session 11.
- **Panel Discussion and Overall Class Participation.** A panel discussion around the question "Can democratic innovations improve the quality of democracy" will take place on session 12, the seminar's last day. Students should get ready for that, preparing arguments and bringing materials (any sort of data or evidence). Details on the Panel Discussion's procedure will be given in due time, but students can start preparing at any time. Participation in the Panel Discussion will be evaluated together with overall class participation throughout the semester.
- **Short Paper 3.** This paper should answer the Panel Discussion's question, preferably engaging with the examples discussed throughout the semester and other empirical evidence. The paper should be approximately 1200 words length and should be sent by email in a date to be arranged.

Composition of Final Grade:

Short Paper 1	20%
Short Paper 2	20%
Short Paper 3	20%
Group Presentation	20%
Course Participation and Panel Discussion	20%

Examination Requirement: Weighted average grade of all course assignment must be 50% or higher on numerical scale.

Students Attendance: Students are expected to be **present and prepared** for every class session. Active participation during lectures and seminar discussions is essential. If unavoidable circumstances arise which prevent attendance or preparation, the instructor should be advised by email with as much advance notice as possible. Please note that students cannot miss more than two sessions. For further information please consult the examination rules §5.

4. General Readings

- 1) Smith, Graham. 2009. *Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- 2) Fung, Archon and Wright, Erik Olin (eds.). 2003. *Deepening Democracy. Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London: Verso.
- 3) Geissel, Brigitte and Newton, Kenneth. (eds). 2012. *Evaluating Democratic Innovations: Curing the Democratic Malaise?* London: Routledge.

5. Course Sessions and Readings

Part I - From Liberal Democracy to Participatory Governance		
1	5 Feb.	<p>Introduction: Changes and Reforms of Democracy</p> <p>Dalton, Russell, Scarrow Susan and Cain Bruce. 2003. "New Forms of Democracy? Reform and Transformation of Democratic Institution". In: Cain, B.E., Dalton, R.J. and Scarrow, S.E. eds. <i>Democracy transformed? Expanding political opportunities in advanced industrial democracies</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p>
2	12 Feb.	<p>Liberal Democracy: The Minimalist Model</p> <p>Przeworski, Adam. 2011. <i>Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.</p> <p>Della Porta, Donatela. 2013. <i>Can Democracy be Saved?</i> Cambridge: Polity Press, Chapter 2.</p>
3	19 Feb.	<p>Liberal Democracy: Limits and Challenges</p> <p>Offe, Claus. 2011. "Crisis and innovation of liberal democracy: Can deliberation be institutionalized?" <i>Czech Sociological Review</i>, 47 (3), 447-472.</p> <p>Goodin, Robert. 2008. <i>Innovating Democracy. Democratic Theory and Practice After the Deliberative Turn</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.</p>
4	26 Feb.	<p>Participatory Governance</p> <p>Fung, Archon and Wright, Erik Olin. 2003. "Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance". In: Fung, Archon and Wright, Erik Olin (eds.). <i>Deepening Democracy. Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance</i>. London: Verso.</p> <p>Fischer, Frank. 2012. "Participatory Governance: From Theory To Practice". In: <i>The Oxford Handbook of Governance</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press.</p>
5	5 Mar.	<p>Democratic Innovations</p> <p>Newton, Ken. 2012. "Curing the Democratic malaise with Democratic Innovations" In: Geissel, Brigitte and Newton, Kenneth. eds., <i>Evaluating Democratic Innovations: Curing the Democratic Malaise?</i> London: Routledge.</p> <p>Smith, Graham. 2009. <i>Democratic Innovations: Designing Institutions for Citizen Participation</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.</p> <p>Fung, Archon. 2003. "Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences." <i>Journal of Political Philosophy</i> 11 (3): 338–367.</p>

Part II - Democratic Innovations: Case Studies		
6	12 Mar.	<p>Participatory Budgeting</p> <p>Sousa Santos, Boaventura. 1998. "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy" In: <i>Politics & Society</i>, Vol. 26, No.4 .</p> <p>Baiocchi, Gianpaolo. 2003. "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory", In: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): <i>Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance</i>, London: Verso Press: 45-76.</p> <p>Sintomer, Yves, Herzberg, Carsten, Röcke, Anja and Allegretti, Giovanni. 2012. "Transnational Models of Citizen Participation: the Case of Participatory Budgeting" In: <i>Journal of Public Deliberation</i>, Volume 8, Issue 2.</p>
7	19 Mar.	<p>Citizens Juries, Planning Cells, Consensus Conferences and other Minipublics</p> <p>Brown, Mark. 2006. "Survey Article: Citizen Panels and the Concept of Representation" In: <i>The Journal of Political Philosophy</i>, 14/2, 2006: 203-225</p> <p>Smith, G. and Wales, C. 2000. "Citizens' Juries and Deliberative Democracy". <i>Political Studies</i>, 48: 51–65.</p> <p>Carson, Lyn and Janette Hartz-Karp. 2005. "Adapting and Combining Deliberative Designs: Juries, Polls, and Forums" In: Gastil, John and Peter Levine, (eds.) <i>The Deliberative Democracy Handbook: strategies for effective civic engagement in the twenty-first century</i>. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.</p> <p>Hendriks, Carolyn M. 2005. "Consensus Conferences and Planning Cells. Lay Citizen Deliberations". In: Gastil, John and Peter Levine, (eds.) <i>The Deliberative Democracy Handbook: strategies for effective civic engagement in the twenty-first century</i>. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.</p>
8	26 Mar.	<p>Deliberative Polling</p> <p>Luskin, Robert, Fishkin, James and Jowell, Roger. 2002. "Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain". <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 32, 455-487.</p> <p>Fishkin, J.S., 2012. "Deliberative polling: reflections on an ideal made practical". In: Geissel, B. and Newton, K. eds., 2012. <i>Evaluating Democratic Innovations: curing the democratic malaise?</i> London; New York, NY: Routledge, pp.71-89.</p> <p>Mansbridge, Jane. 2010. "Deliberative Polling as the Gold Standard" In: <i>The Good Society</i>, 19 (1), pp. 55-62.</p>
<i>Reading/Exam Week</i>		
9	9 Apr.	<p>Citizens' Assemblies</p> <p>Warren, Mark e Pearse, H. 2008. "Introduction: Democratic Renewal and Deliberative Democracy" In: Warren, Mark e Pearse, H. (eds.). <i>Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p>British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. 2004. <i>Making every vote count: The case for electoral reform in British Columbia. The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform Final Report</i>. Vancouver: British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform</p> <p>Farrell, David. 2013. "The 2013 Irish Constitutional Convention: a bold step or a damp squib?" In: <i>O'Dowd, John and Ferrari, Giuseppe (eds). Comparative Reflections on 75 Years of the Irish Constitution</i>. Dublin: Clarus Press</p>

		Bergmann, Eirikur. 2013. "Reconstituting Iceland: constitutional reform caught in a new critical order in the wake of crisis". Paper presented in the Conference Political Legitimacy and the Paradox of Regulation, Leiden University, 2013.
10	16 Apr.	<p>Community-Managed Schools</p> <p>Altschuler, Daniel and Corrales, Javier. "The Spillover Effects of Participatory Governance: Evidence From Community-Managed Schools in Honduras and Guatemala". <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>, May 2012, 45: 636-666</p> <p>Altschuler, Daniel and Corrales, Javier. 2013. "The Promise of Participation: Experiments in Participatory Governance in Honduras and Guatemala". London: Palgrave, 2013.</p>
Part III - Enhancing the Quality of Democracy?		
11	23 Apr.	<p>Effectiveness and Evaluation of Democratic Innovations</p> <p>Donaghy, Maureen M. 2011. "Do Participatory Governance Institutions Matter? Municipal Councils and Social Housing Programs in Brazil". In: <i>Comparative Politics</i>, 44, 1, pp. 83-102.</p> <p>Geissel, Brigitte. 2012. "Impacts of Democratic Innovations in Europe. Findings and Desiderata" and "Democratic Innovations. Theoretical and Empirical Challenges of Evaluation". In: Geissel, Brigitte and Newton, Kenneth. (Eds.), <i>Evaluating Democratic Innovations: Curing the Democratic Malaise?</i> London: Routledge.</p> <p>Pogrebinschi, Thamy and Samuels, David. 2014. "The Impact of Participatory Democracy: Evidence from Brazil's National Public Policy Conferences". In: <i>Comparative Politics</i>, Vol. 46, No. 3, April 2014.</p>
12	30 Apr.	Panel Discussion: Can Democratic Innovations Improve the Quality of Democracy?