

Revised 09/21/2004

PUAF 698Q: Selected Topics in Public Affairs
GVPT 848: Current Problems in Political Theory

Democracy and Democratization: Theory and Practice
Fall 2004
Mondays, 1:30-4:00
Van Munching Hall 1203

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The course, offered on the 600 level, will be open to undergraduate seniors (with permission of instructors) and both M.A. and Ph.D. students throughout the university.

I. Aims of the Course: This course will focus on the theory and practice of democracy and democratization as well as related themes of civil society and civic engagement. In Part I, we will consider various theories that seek to understand and defend democratic governance. What is nature of democracy in contrast to other forms of government such as bureaucratic elitism, aristocracy, theocracy, and authoritarianism. What are the strengths and weaknesses of various forms of democratic theory, for example, democratic elitism, liberal-representative democracy (polyarchy), economic democracy, and deliberative democracy? What does each theory consider to be the causes, consequences, limits, and threats to democracy?

In Part II, the course will examine and evaluate past and present contours of American democracy, for instance, associational democracy (de Tocqueville), town meetings, polyarchy, workplace democracy, and deliberative democracy. What are the democratic challenges of Prince George's County, Maryland and Washington, DC? Part III will assess theories that explain and justify transitions from authoritarianism to democracy as well as various approaches to democracy promotion. Part IV will consider democracy and the global order. Can and should the global order and international institutions, such as the UN, the WTO, and the World Bank, be democratized? Part V will address the strategies and tactics for making democracy (at various levels) more inclusive and deeper. Each student will examine and evaluate some local or state-wide effort to improve democratic governance.

II. Audience: The course, offered on the 600 level, will be open to undergraduate seniors (with permission of instructors) and both M.A. and Ph.D. students throughout the university.

III. Recommended Books (University Book Store, Internet):

- Gar Alperowitz, *America Beyond Capitalism: Reclaiming Our Wealth, Our Liberty and Our Democracy* (forthcoming) Abbrev: **ABC**
- Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, 2nd ed (University of California Press, 2004). Abbrev. **BB** (ISBN: 0520242335)
- Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro, Jose Cheibub, eds. *The Democracy Sourcebook* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003) ISBN 0262541475. Abbrev: **DS** (ISBN: 0-262-54147-5)
- John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1954)
- Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (University of Chicago Press). (ISBN: 0226264017)
- Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds., *Deepening Democracy* (London: Verso, 2003). Abbrev. **DD** (ISBN: 1-85984-466-9)
- Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael Weinstein, *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace* (in press). Abbrev. **DA**
- David Held, *Democracy and the Global Order* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) Abbrev: **DGO** (ISBN: 0-8047-2687-6)

IV. Class Website: <http://www.wam.umd.edu/~dcrocker/Courses/PUAF698Q.html>

The syllabus, class roster, theoretical paper guidelines, and some readings (originally to be put on E-Reserve) are available on the website.

V. Requirements:

1. Consistent Attendance and Participation (Tie-breaker)

Students will come to class having read carefully the assigned reading. You should be prepared to summarize the reading's main arguments, raise at least one question of interpretation, identify at least one positive feature, and make at least one criticism of the reading.

2. Class Presentation (30 %)

(Indicate your first two preferences by Friday, Sept. 3).

Students will be paired, and each pair will be responsible for at least one class presentation that briefly (20 minutes) summarizes the day's readings, raises at least one question of interpretation, identifies at least one positive feature, and makes at least one criticism. Those who take Option II below may use one of their short papers for their class presentation (But only if their topic short paper topic addresses the reading for the week and not for the preceding week).

3. Papers (Due dates to be announced) (Submit hard copy to Prof. Barber and electronic copy to Prof. Crocker)

- **Theoretical Papers (40 %)**
 - **Option I: Long (20-25 page) Final Term Paper** (with option to revise) (40 %). All deadlines are 1:30 p.m.
 - Topic Proposal: A one-page sketch of proposed topic (10/18).
 - Detailed three-page outline of paper plus bibliography (11/8).
 - Paper due (12/6), if you choose to revise.

- Paper due (12/20), if you do not choose to revise.
 - (Optional) revision of paper due (12/21). (If you choose to revise, the grade on the revision will replace the original paper's grade).
- **Option II: Four Short (5-6 page) Papers (10% each of final grade).** Each short paper should interpret and assess some narrow topic, position, problem, or argument in the reading assigned for the appropriate two-week period. Each paper may be revised on the basis of instructor's comments and criticisms. (If you choose to revise, the grade on the revision will replace the grade on the original paper). All deadlines are 1:30 p.m.
 - II#1: Due: 9/27 (optional revision due: 10/4)
 - II#2: Due: 10/18 (optional revision due: 10/25)
 - II#3: Due: 11/8 (optional revision due: 11/15)
 - II#4: Due: 11/29 (optional revision due: 12/6)
- **Practicum Paper (10-15 page) (30 %): Guidelines and Options TBA**

VI. Course Outline:

Part I: Theories of Democracy: In Part I, we will consider various theories that seek to understand and defend democratic governance. What is nature of democracy in contrast to other forms of government such as bureaucratic elitism, aristocracy, theocracy, and authoritarianism. What are the strengths and weaknesses of various forms of democratic theory, for example, democratic elitism, liberal-representative democracy (polyarchy), economic democracy, and deliberative democracy? What does each theory consider to be the causes, consequences, limits, and threats to democracy?

Week 1 (8/30) Introduction

- Course Aims, Books, Requirements, Outline
- Challenges to Democratic Theory and Practice
 1. Dahl, Shapiro, and Cheibub, **DS**, ix-xii.
 2. Types of Democratic Theory: Amy Gutmann, "Democracy," in Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, eds., *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (1993): 411-421. **Website**
 3. David Held, **DGO**, viii-xii, 3-72.

Week 2 (9/13): Democratic Elitism (Schumpeterian Democracy) and Madisonian Democracy (Crocker)

- Democratic Elitism
 1. Schumpeter's target: Rousseau, "The Social Contract," DS, 2-5
 2. Joseph Schumpeter, "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy," DS, 5-11.
 3. Adam Przeworski, "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense," DS 12-17
- Madisonian (Constitutional) Democracy
 1. Federalist Papers, DS 118-25, 192-206
 2. Robert Dahl, "Madisonian Democracy," DS, 207-16
 3. Ronald Dworkin, "A Bill of Rights for Britain," DS 217-220
 4. Jeremy Waldron, "A Rights-Based Critique of Constitutional Rights," DS 221-31.

- **Class Presentation: Bob Lamb and Jennifer Runnels**

Week 3 (9/20): Liberal Democracy and Libertarian Views (Barber)

- **Liberal Democracy**
 1. Larry Diamond, "Defining and Developing Democracy," DS, 29-39.
 2. Robert Dahl, "Polyarchal Democracy," DS, 48-53.
- **A Libertarian View**
 1. Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, TBA
- **Class Presentation: Erinn Mansour and Elizabeth Marvin**

Week 4 (9/27): Participatory Democracy I (Crocker)

1. Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (1991), ix-xviii, 537-52.
 2. John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (1954), TBA
 3. Carole Pateman, "Participation and Democratic Theory," DS, 40-47
- **Short Paper #1 Due**
 - **Class Presentation: Anamika Broomes and Chunli Shen**

Week 5 (10/4): Participatory Democracy II (Barber)

1. Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, 2nd ed (2004), TBA
- **Short Paper #1 Revision Due**
 - **Class Presentation: Myra Hamid**

Part II: Democracy in America: In Part II, the course will examine and evaluate past and present contours of American democracy, for instance, associational democracy (de Tocqueville), town meetings, polyarchy, workplace democracy, and deliberative democracy. What are the democratic challenges of Prince George's County, Maryland and Washington, DC?

Week 6 (10/11): De Tocqueville and Putnam (Barber)

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, "*Democracy in America*, DS, 455-58
 2. Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, DS, 157-67.
 3. Jennifer L. Hochschild, "Facing Up to the American Dream: Race, Class, and the Soul of the Nation," DS, 463-79.
 4. Rogers M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," DS, 480-88.
- **Class Presentation: Shanti Gonzales and Becca Thorpe**

Week 7 (10/18): Deliberative Democracy (Crocker)

1. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Tompson, "Democracy and Disagreement," DS, 18-24.
2. Ian Shapiro, "Enough of Deliberation: Politics is About Interests and Power" in Stephen Macedo, ed., *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*, pp. 28-38, website.
3. Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, "Thinking about Empowered. Participatory Governance," DD, 3-43.

4. Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, "Power and Reason," *DD*, 237-55.
5. David A. Crocker, "Tolerance and Deliberative Democracy" (email)

- **Short Paper # 2 Due**
- **Long Paper Topic Proposal**
- **Class Presentation: Yan Liu and Mike Spivey**

Week 8 (10/25): The Pluralist Commonwealth and the Democratization of Wealth (Barber and Alperovitz)

1. Gar Alperovitz, *America Beyond Capitalism: Reclaiming Our Wealth, Our Liberty and Our Democracy*, Parts I, II, V

- **Short Paper # 2 Revision Due**
- **Class Presentation: Bill Varettoni**

Part III: Democratic Transitions: Part III will assess theories that explain and justify transitions from authoritarianism to democracy as well as various approaches to democracy promotion.

Week 9 (11/1): Sources of and Transitions to Democracy (Crocker)

1. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics," *DS*, 56-64.
2. Theda Skocpol, "Social Revolutions in the Modern World," *DS*, 65-70.
3. Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Economic Development of Democracy," *DS*, 71-75.
4. Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *DS*, 93-98.
5. Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, "Economic Development and Political Regimes," *DS*, 108-115.
6. Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13, 1 (2002): 5-21, [website](#)

- **Class Presentation: Laryssa Chomiak and David Garcia**

Week 10 (11/8): Democracy's Effects (Barber, Siegle)

1. Karl de Schweinitz, "The Economics and Politics of Growth," *DS*, 420-27.
2. Ronald Wintrobe, "Rent Seeking and Redistribution under Democracy versus Dictatorship," *DS*, 427-36.
3. Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *DS*, 436-43.
4. Amartya Sen, "Freedom Favors Development," *DS*, 444-46.
5. Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *DS*, 447-54.
6. John E. Roemer, "Does Democracy Engender Justice?," *DS*, 459-62.
7. Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael Weinstein, *DA*, Chapters 1-2.

- **Short Paper # 3 Due**
- **Long Paper Outline and Bibliography**
- **Class Presentation: Guillermo Cantor and Mary Marchal**

Part IV: Democracy and the Global Order: Part IV will consider democracy and the global order. What are the effects of democracies on international relations and vice-versa? Can and should the global order and international institutions, such as the UN, the WTO, and the World Bank, be democratized? What is global civil society and what role can and should it play in global governance?

Week 11 (11/15): Democracy, Peace, and Security (Crocker)

1. David Held, DGO, 73-136
2. Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," DS, 490-91.
3. Bruce Russett, "How Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations Create a System for Peace," DS, 492-97.
4. Donald P. Green, Soo Yeon Kim, and David H. Yoon, "Dirty Pool," DS, 497-503.
5. Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael Weinstein, DA, Chapters 3-4

- **Short Paper # 3 Revision Due**
- **Class Presentation: Jeremy Boss and Tony Fleming**

Week 12 (11/22): Cosmopolitan Democracy I (Crocker)

1. Russell Hardin, "Democracy and Collective Bads," DS, 504-509.
2. David A. Crocker, "Development Ethics and Globalization" (email)
3. David Held, "The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization," DS, 515-26.
4. David Held, DGO, 141-218.

- **Class Presentation: Carlos Cano and Paul Lord**

Week 13 (11/29): Cosmopolitan Democracy II (Barber)

1. David Held, DGO, 218-86.

- **Short Paper # 4 Due**
- **Class Presentation: Karla Lopez and Gabriela Schwarz**

Part V: Improving Democratic Governance: Part V will address the strategies and tactics for making democracy (at various levels) more inclusive and deeper. Each student will examine and evaluate some local, state-wide, national, or international effort to improve democratic governance.

Week 14 (12/6): US (Barber)

1. James S. Fishkin, "The Voice of the People," DS, 25-29.
2. Archon Fung, "Deliberative Democracy, Chicago Style: Grass-roots Governance in Policing and Public Education," DD, 111-43.
3. Craig W. Thomas, "Habitat Conservation Planning," DD, 144-72.
4. Bradley C. Karkkainen, "Toward Ecologically Sustainable Democracy?," DD, 208-24.

- **Short Paper # 4 Revision Due**
- **Long Paper Due (with option to revise)**
- **Class Presentation: Natasha Sacouman and Ying Zhang**

Week 15 (12/13): Abroad (Barber/Crocker)

1. The Bush Approach to Democracy Promotion

2. Courtney Jung and Ian Shapiro, "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order," DS, 99-107.
3. Case Studies on Kerala, India and Porto Alegre, Brazil, DD, 45-110.
4. Rebecca Neaera Abers, "Reflections on What Makes Empowered Governance Happen," DD, 200-207.
5. Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael Weinstein, DA, Chapters 5-8.

- **Practicum Paper Due**
- **Class Presentation: Ana Luiza Farias and Ghafoor Liwal**

December 21

- **Optional Revision of Long Paper Due**
- **Long Paper Due (with no option to revise)**

V. Practicum Paper Options:

Early in the course (date TBA) you will be asked to give your professors preferences for two of the following (or an agency or government structure with which you are familiar or with which you would like to work). Stay tuned for more information. Due Date for Practicum Paper: December 13.

Agencies that partner with the Engaged University Initiative of the Democracy Collaborative:

1. Prince George's County Council

Tony Knotts, Chair
301.952.3860

tknotts@co.pg.md.us

All legislative powers of the County are vested in the County Council. In addition, the County Council sits as the District Council on zoning and land use matters, and as the Board of Health on health policy matters. The County Council meets as a legislative body at 10:00 a.m. every Tuesday in the Council Hearing Room on the main floor of the County Administration Building in Upper Marlboro. The District Council meets at 10:00 a.m. on second and fourth Mondays. The Board of Health meets as required. The Council recesses in August and December. All County Council sessions are open to the public, and citizens are encouraged to attend.

2. Multicultural Alliance of Prince George's County

Edwin Udenkwo, President
9402 Pennsylvania Avenue
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
301 - 459 - 3115
301 - 839 - 3739

udenkwo@yahoo.com

info@mcapgc.org

The Multi-Cultural Alliance of Prince George County is a coalition of culturally diverse groups and individuals from community of African, Caribbean, Pacific, Latin American Nationals and others that affirm multiculturalism.

3. Gateway Community Development Corporation

Nick Francis

4102 Webster Street
North Brentwood, MD 20722
Phone (301) 864-3860
www.gateway-cdc.org/

Gateway Community Development Corporation (CDC) seeks to revitalize the three municipalities of Mount Rainier, Brentwood and North Brentwood to create a safe, attractive, vibrant and well-educated community enriched by the presence of artists and arts organizations, where diversity is embraced as an asset. Gateway CDC uses civic engagement, arts resources and leveraged partnerships to advance commercial and residential development and expand programs and services to residents and business owners in our communities. Formed in 1997.

4. Mosi Harrington

Housing Initiative Partnership
6525 Belcrest Road
Suite 555
Hyattsville, MD 20782
www.hiphomes.org
301/699-5875
sproestel@hiphomes.org

Housing Initiative Partnership (HIP) is a nonprofit housing corporation founded in 1988 to create housing opportunities for the low- and moderate-income residents of Prince George's County, Maryland; to remove blight from neglected inner beltway communities; and to improve the quality of life in the neighborhoods HIP serves.

4. Desiree Griffin Moore

Executive Director
cfncrdgriffin@erols.com
Prince George's Community Foundation
P.O. Box 3418
Capital Heights, MD 20791-3418
301-464-6706
www.pgcf.org

Our community foundation is the Prince George's Community Foundation. It was founded in 1994 to enhance the quality of life in the county by building and sustaining philanthropic capital. In 1999, it became a regional affiliate of the [Community Foundation for the National Capital Region](#). This partnership gave the Prince George's Community Foundation an entirely new platform to maximize its programmatic and financial resources. The partnership leverages an investment portfolio of more than \$200 million and grants millions to charitable organizations throughout the Washington Metropolitan area. A board of local citizens representing business, government and the community set the strategic direction of the Foundation and oversees its operations. Foundation programs are run by a small professional and knowledgeable staff.

5. CASA of Maryland

310 Tulip Ave.
Takoma Park, MD 20912
Gustavo Torres, Executive Director
301-270-3609
www.casademaryland.org
info@casamd.org

CASA of Maryland is a community organization that was founded in 1985 by Central American refugees and North Americans. CASA was created in response to the human needs of the

thousands of Central Americans arriving to the D.C. area after fleeing wars and civil strife in their countries of origin. While CASA was established to meet the special needs of the Central American population, we serve immigrants from virtually every country in Latin America, as well as Africans, Asians and U.S. citizens, as needed.

6. Prince George's Advocates for Community Transit (ACT)

7. Advocacy Institute

1629 K St., NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20006-1629
Phone: 202-777-7575

www.advocacy.org

Founded in 1985, the Advocacy Institute works to make social justice leadership strategic, effective, and sustainable in pursuit of a just world.

8. Glut food coop

Founded in 1969, Glut is a not-for-profit charitable trust. Glut is a worker managed cooperative which seeks to provide quality nutritious foods at a reasonable price.

Glut food coop
4005 34th St.
Mt. Rainier, MD 20712
301 779-1978

www.glut.org

9. UMd Student food coop

301-314-8089
Maryland Food Collective
since 1975

<http://www.studentorg.umd.edu/ffc/>

Food for People, Not for Profit

Other agencies (not yet in partnership with the University of Maryland), some of which have been suggested by class members

1. Innovations in Civic Participation

1776 Massachusetts Ave, NW
Suite 201
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-775-0290

www.icicp.org

Susan Stroud, Executive Director

Founded in 2001, Innovations in Civic Participation (ICP) is a non-profit social change organization that provides expertise, ideas, information and advocacy support in the United States and around the world to develop and strengthen policies and programs that promote political and civic engagement through service.

2. Advancement Project

1730 M Street, NW #910
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 728-9557
Email: ap@advancementproject.org
www.advancementproject.org

Advancement Project is a democracy and justice action group that works with communities seeking to build a fair and just multi-racial democracy in America. Using law, public policy and strategic communications, Advancement Project acts in partnership with local communities to advance universal opportunity, equity and access for those left behind in America.

3. Town of University Park

Mayor, John L. Brunner
Phone: 301-927-4262
Mayor Brunner's home phone: 301-277-5234

4. Inter-American Development Bank

Edmundo Jarquin, 202-623-2067

Bernardo Kliksberg, Latin American Initiative on Social Capital, Ethics, and Development, 202-623-3765

5. World Bank

Anna Amato, Friday Morning Group (Values for Development Group)
E-mail: aamato@worldbank.org
Website: www.worldbank.org/fmg

Katherine Marshall

Director and Counselor to the President
Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics
202-473-6923 (tel)
202-522-7524 (fax)
202-438-5093 (cell)

6. Inter-American Foundation

Ramon Daubon, 703-306-45301

7. "Participation and Civic Engagement Team" under Social Development Department in the World Bank. They are working on civic empowerment issues including civic engagement in public expenditure management. You can know more about them from their website: <http://www.worldbank.org/participation/web/index.htm>

8. Park and Planning Commission (MNCP&PC)

9. Washington Area American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)