

DUSP 11.950 (S07)
Citizen Participation, Community Development, and Urban Governance in the
Developing World
Spring 2007

Fridays, 12-2

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Course Description:

Citizen participation is everywhere. Invoking it has become de rigeur when discussing cities and regions in the developing world. From the World Bank to the World Social Forum, the virtues of participation are extolled: from its capacity to “deepen democracy” to its ability to improve governance, there is no shortage to the benefits it can bring. While it is clear that participation cannot possibly “do” all that is claimed, it is also clear that citizen participation cannot be dismissed, and that there must be *something* to it. Figuring out what that *something* is – whether it is identifying the types of participation or the contexts in which it happens that bring about desirable outcomes is the goal of the class.

In order to gain some purchase on that, however, it is also necessary to spend some time clarifying concepts and investigating theoretical debates on participation. Despite a proliferation of best practices and successful case studies in the literature, there is general theoretical confusion on what constitutes participation, community, or governance, let alone what the desirable goals are. And in order to do that, we will also spend some time situating the current discussion on participation in its context, because it also clear that invoking participation takes place at a particular moment in development discourse as well as a particular moment of transition in the nature of the global economy and of the institutions of global governance.

Course Requirements:

This is a reading-intensive course and you should plan on spending **several hours a week** in reading for this course, and you should realistically assess the workload of this course before deciding to take it. You are expected to come to class having done the all reading and ready to actively participate in discussion. It is not assumed that students have background in philosophy of science or qualitative methods, but but it is assumed that you have a basic working background in social theory.

The most important requirement of this course is that you read the materials each week closely, carefully, and thoughtfully, and that you attend class as an active participant. Some of the weeks have more reading than others – the reading load generally varies inversely with its difficulty. In addition to general attendance/participation you will be expected to write weekly memos, prepare presentation(s) to the class, and two small writing projects. My assumptions in making these papers smaller and of lesser

importance in the overall grade scheme is that you will devote your energies to careful reading (and thinking).

- **Memos (30 percent of final grade).** Before 6pm on Thursdays (that is, the day before the seminar meeting), submit to the seminar distribution list an analytical memo of no more than 600-1,000 words. Comment succinctly on what you found most interesting, important, puzzling, infuriating, fundamental, etc. about the readings. Distributed over email in a timely manner, these abstracts will not only help you organize your response to the readings but will also serve as a guide for discussions.
- **Critical reviews / class presentations (30 percent of final grade).** In groups of 2-3 you will write and distribute in class a discussion guide for the week's reading in which you briefly summarize some of the key ideas of the readings and offer some guiding questions for discussion. The discussion guide will also contain **a dictionary of key terms** used by the authors as well as a summary of questions submitted to the email list. I would like you to enter those terms on our class wiki. You will then briefly present some themes for discussion in the first **fifteen minutes** of class (this is a firm limit); you should **not** read your discussion guide, or feel each member of your group needs to present. Your presentation could consist of identifying particularly problematic passages in the text, contextualizing the debates implicit or explicit in the text, or preparing specific questions for discussion. I expect you to take some time preparing this presentation.
- **Final Project (40 percent of the grade).** Your final project, due at the last day of class, will be based on secondary (or primary) research on some aspect of participation/community/governance, preferably on a case or set of cases, and ideally closely connected to some aspect of your graduate education. If appropriate, I would gladly consider (and even encourage) group final projects. One of the expectations, to be explained in greater detail, is that your project will include a review of the experiences in at least one developing country that will add to our course wiki and contribute to one of the internet databases, such as participatorybudgeting.org. You will present these projects during the last class meetings.

Required Books:

- Participation--from tyranny to transformation?: Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development. Edited by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan
- Livable Cities. Edited by Peter Evans.
- Additional Readings will be made available by the instructor.

Course Schedule:

02/09 – Introduction to the Course

02/16 – Setting the Context: Globalization and Development
02/23 – Setting the Context (2): Globalization and Cities
03/02 – Setting the Context (3): Decentralization
03/09 – Normative Approaches (1) : Civil Society
03/16 – Normative Approaches (2): Social Capital
03/23 – Normative Approaches (3): Deliberation and the Public Sphere
04/06 – Case Studies and Debates (1): EPG
04/13 – Case Studies and Debates (2) : NGOs
04/20 – Case Studies and Debates (3): Political Concatenates
04/27 – Latin American Cases
05/04 – South Asian Cases
05/11 – African Cases

Course Readings:

PART I: CONCEPTS AND CONTEXT

02/09 **Introducing the Course.** No Required Reading.

02/16 **Opening Questions:** What is at stake in discussing participation and urban governance in the Global South?

What are some of the benefits thought to be associated with participation? What are some of the different positions on it? What is the conceptual vocabulary different authors employ? Why is participation apparent now?

- 1) Hariss, Stokke, and Tornquist. "Introduction: The New Local Politics of Democratization." In Harris, Stokke, and Tornquist, eds. (Politicizing Democracy)
- 2) Peter Evans, *Livable Cities*, Chapter 1.
- 3) Baiocchi, G. and Melo, M. (2006). *Deliberative Democracy and Urban Governance: Toward a New Agenda*. IJURR August
- 4) Michael Carley, "Top-Down and Bottom-Up: The Challenge of Cities in the New Century," in Michael Carley, et al, eds. *Urban Development and Civil Society*, Chapter 1, 2.
- 5) Jon Pierre. "Comparative Urban Governance: Uncovering Complex Causalities." In *Urban Affairs Review* 40:4 446-462. *

02/23 **Setting the Context:** Globalization and Cities in the Global South

What are the current changes and how do they affect cities in the Global South in particular? What are some of the dilemmas posed by globalization? Are there opportunities presented by it?

- 1) Robert Dahl (1994) “A democratic dilemma: system effectiveness versus citizen participation”. *Political Science Quarterly*, 109, 1.
- 2) T.G. McGee. “Globalization and the rural-urban relations in the developing world.” In Lo and Yeoung, eds. *Globalization and the World of Large Cities*.
- 3) Ponte, de Giulia. (2002). *The Changing Urban Discourse of the Multilateral Aid Institutions*. ISSJ 172: 205-216
- 4) *Disjunctures, Divides, and Disconnects: The Promise of Local Government in Development*. Patricia McCarney. Isandla Institute Dark Roast Occasional Paper Series, Volume 2 (1) September 2000
- 5) *Cities in a globalizing world: from engines of growth to agents of change*. Willem van Vliet. *Environment&Urbanization* Vol 14 No 1 April 2002
- 6) Marris, P(1998), “Planning and civil society in the twenty-first century” in *Cities for Citizens: Planning and The Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, Douglass, M and J Friedmann (editors), John Wiley, New York, pages 9-18.
- 7) Stren, Richard. 2001. “Local Governance and Social Diversity in the Developing World: New Challenges for Globalizing City-Regions” In *Global City Regions. Trends, Theory, and Policy*. Edited by Allan Scott. Oxford University Press.

Recommended Readings:

Held, D. (1995). *Democracy and the global order: from the modern state to cosmopolitan governance*. Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press.

Pierre, J (1999) (1999) “Models of urban governance: the institutional dimension of urban politics”. *urban Affairs Review*, 34,

Rhodes, R. (2000) “Governance in Public Administration”, in J. Pierre ed, *Debating governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Cities in a Globalizing World*, Global Report on Human Settlements 2002, "Framing Normative Policy Platforms," chapter 3.

Zanetta, Cecilia. 2001 "The Evolution of the World Bank's Urban Lending in Latin America." Habitat International, 25, pp513-533.

Richard Stren with Judith Kjellberg (eds.), *Urban Research in Developing Countries: Perspectives on the City*, vol. 4 (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1995), Chapters 5.

Mark R. Montgomery, Richard Stren, Marney Cohen, and Holle Reed, (eds.) *Cities Transformed: Demographic Change and Its Implications in the Developing World* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 2003), Chapter 3.

World Bank, *Equity and Development, World Development Report: 2006* (Oxford University Press, 2005), Overview, pp. 1-17.

World Bank, *Entering the 21st Century: World Development, 1999-2000* (Oxford University Press, 2000)

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, *Cities in a Globalizing World*, Global Report on Human Settlements 2002, "Development Contrasts in Human Settlement," and "Urban Impacts of Globalization," chapters 1 and 2.

03/02 **Setting the Context (2):** Decentralization

What is decentralization and what are its dimensions? When has this emerged in the developing world and why? Why do multilateral agencies promote decentralization? What benefits is it thought to provide? What are different positions on decentralization?

- 1) Bardhan, P. and D. Mookerjee. "The rise of local governments: an overview" Chapter 1 in *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries*.
- 2) Bardhan, P. "Decentralization of Government and Development." JEP 16:4 185-205.*
- 3) Schonwalder, G. (1997). "New Democratic Spaces at the Grassroots? Popular Participation in Latin American Local Governments." *Development and Change* 28: 753-770.

- 4) Bergh, Silvia. (2004). "Democratic Decentralization and local participation: a review of recent research." In *Development in Practice*, 14:6 780-789
- 5) Crook, R.C., 2003, 'Decentralisation and poverty reduction in Africa: The politics of local-central relations', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 23, pp.77-88.
- 6) Prud'Homme, Remy. 1995. "Dangers of Decentralization". *World Bank Research Observer*. Vol 10, No 2. Pp 201-20
- 7) United Nations Development Programme. 2004. "Decentralized Governance for Development: A Combined Practice Note on Decentralization, Local Governance and Urban/Rural Development". In UNDP Publications, April. (Skim)

Recommended:

Akin L. Mabogunje, "Local Institutions and an Urban Agenda for the 1990s," in Stren (ed.), *Perspectives on the City*, Chapter 2.

Decentralization And Democratic Governance In Latin America. Woodrow Wilson Center Report on the Americas. Edited by Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew Selee. Chapter 1, Introduction by Seele.

Richard Stren. Local Governance and the Development of Associational Life: An Exploration. Richard Stren. Chapter 1 in *Democratic Governance and Urban Sustainability* Edited by Joseph S. Tulchin Diana H. Varat Blair A. Ruble.

PART II: NORMATIVE VISIONS

03/09. Civil Society: What's All the Fuss About?

One of the central concepts evoked in any discussion of participation or community is that of "civil society." Here we do not necessarily revisit its long genesis, but rather consider its different uses in the context of participation. What is civil society for different authors? Why is it so central to the discussion on participation?

- 1) Chalmers, D.A, Martin, S.B., and Piester, K, (1997) "Associative Networks: New Structures of Representation for the Popular Sectors", in Chalmers, Vilas, Hite, Martin, Piester and Segarra (eds) *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 543-583.

- 2) Hoebel Rudolph, S. (2004): Is Civil Society the Answer?, in Sanjeev, P. and Selle, P. (eds) Investigating Social Capital. Comparative Perspective on Civil Society, Participation and Governance. New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage, pp 64-87
- 3) Migdal, J. (1994): "The State in society: an approach to struggles for domination" In: Migdal, J. S., Kohli, A, and Shue, V. (eds): State Power and Social Forces, Domination and Transformation in the Third World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 7-34
- 4) Migdal, J. S., Kohli, A, and Shue, V. (eds) 1994): *State Power and Social Forces, Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 293-323.
- 5) Törnquist, Olle (2004): *The Political Deficit of Substantial Democratisation*, in Harriss, J.; K. Stokke & O. Törnquist (eds.): *Politicising Democracy. : Local Politics and Democratisation in Developing Countries*. (Ch. 1). Houndmills and New York: Palgrave.
- 6) James Ferguson: Beyond a Topography, Chapter 9 in *Global Shadows*.
- 7) Lewis, David, "Civil Society in African Contexts: Reflections on the usefulness of a concept?" *Development and Change*, 2002, 33 (4), pp. 569-586.

Recommended:

Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*. (CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 25-40.

Schalk, David C. and Wayne Hudson, (eds.) *Civil Society in Asia* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate, 2003), Chapter 2

Nancy Rosenblum and Robert Post (eds.), *Civil Society and Government*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). pp. 1-25, 370-399.

Peter P. Houtzager, Adrián Gurza Lavallo and Graziela Castello (2005): States and Citizens in Urban Brazil and Mexico. What Surveys on Political Participation Can Tell Us. Paper. 19 p.

03/16. Social Capital. Is there such a thing?

One of the most used, and most controversial, concepts in policy and social science discussions on participation and development is that of "social capital."

What is social capital? How is it different than “civil society”? What is gained by using it? What, according to its critics, is lost?

- 1) Putnam, Robert D. 1993. “Social Capital and Institutional Success”. In *Making Democracy*
- 2) Fukuyama, Francis 2000. “Social Capital and Civil Society,” IMF Working Paper WP/00/74, April
- 3) Peter Evans. 1996. *Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy*. *World development* [0305-750X] Evans yr: 1996 vol: 24 iss: 6 pg: 1119
- 4) Jonathan Fox. 1996. *How Does Civil Society Thicken? The Political Construction of Social Capital in Rural Mexico*. *World development* [0305-750X] Fox yr: 1996 vol: 24 iss: 6 pg: 1089
- 5) Michael Woolcock. 1998. *Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework*. *Theory and society* [0304-2421] Woolcock yr: 1998 vol: 27 iss: 2 pg: 151
- 6) Harris, J. *Missing link or analytically missing?: The concept of social capital*. Edited by John Harriss. An introductory bibliographic essay *Journal of International Development* Volume 9, Issue 7, Date: November 1997, Pages: 919-937

Recommended:

Wellman, Barry. 1979. "The Community Question." *American Journal of Sociology* 84:1201- 31

Harriss, J. (2002). *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital*. London: Anthem. (pp. 140)

03/23. Normative visions (3): Deliberative Democracy/ Public Sphere

A final normative perspective on participation and community comes from democratic theory, and concerns the quality of public participation. We briefly consider a few different takes on deliberation and the public sphere: Habermassian and post-Habermassian positions; deliberative democracy; and agonistic (or radical) democracy? How do each of these visions gain us some purchase on questions of participation and community?

- 1) Fraser, Nancy. *Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy*. *Social Text*, No. 25/26. (1990),b pp.

- 56-80. (online, pls get)
- 2) Calhoun, Craig. 1992. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press. Introduction by Calhoun.
 - 3) Cohen, J. (1996). Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy. Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political. S. Benhabib. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press: 95-109.
 - 4) Cohen, J. (1998). Democracy and Liberty. Deliberative Democracy. J. Elster. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 185-232.*
 - 5) Mansbridge, J. (1990). "Democracy and Common Interests." Social Alternatives 8(4): 20-25.
 - 6) Elster, J. (1998). Deliberation and Constitution Making. In J. Elster ed. Deliberative Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*
 - 7) Chantal Mouffe. For an Agonistic Model of Democracy. Chapter 4 in The Democratic Paradox. *
 - 8) P. Healey. 1992. "Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory." Reprinted in S. Campbell and S. Fainstein (eds.), *Readings in Planning Theory*, pp. 234-64.

Recommended:

Bohman, J. (1999). "Citizenship and Norms of Publicity." Political Theory 27(2): 176-203.

Hajer, M. A. and H. Wagenaar (2003). Deliberative policy analysis : understanding governance in the network society. Cambridge, UK ; New York, USA, Cambridge University Press.

Christens, Brian & Speer, Paul W. (2006, March). Tyranny/Transformation: Power and Paradox in Participatory Development. Review Essay: Bill Cooke & Uma Kothari (Eds.) (2001). Participation: The New Tyranny? / Samuel Hickey & Giles Mohan (Eds.) (2004). Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? [33 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [On-line Journal], 7(2), Art. 22. Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-06/06-2-22-e.htm>

PART III: CASES AND DEBATES

04/06 EPG as Institutional Design: Can it Work?

04/13 NGOs: Society- Side Reforms, but Who do they represent?

Invariably, any practitioner on questions of participation and community will eventually have dealings with NGOs of one kind or another. Often, it is NGOs who promote and make possible participation. But NGOs themselves are not often object of critical inquiry. What do we gain by critically interrogating the role of NGOs?

- 1) Eade, Deborah, (ed)., *Development, NGOs, and Civil Society*: Preface, Intro, Chapters by *Christopher Collier, Alan Whaites, Sarah C. White*
- 2) Mercer, Claire, “NGOs, civil society and democratization: a critical review of the literature,” *Progress in Development Studies*, Jan2002, Vol. 2 Issue 1, p5-22.
- 3) Obiyan, A. Sat, “A Critical Examination of the State versus Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the Policy Sphere in the Global South: Will the State Die as the NGOs Thrive in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia?” *African & Asian Studies*, 2005, Vol. 4 Issue 3, p301, 25p-325.
- 4) Kamat, Sangeeta, “NGOs and the New Democracy: The False Saviors of International Development,” *Harvard International Review*, Spring2003, Vol. 25 Issue 1, p65.

04/20: Moving the State: Political Concatenates – When do they Work?

Here we consider a number of cases of successful participation where analysts foreground the question of political context. What are propitious conditions, according to the authors?

- 1) Selections from Evans, *Livable Cities*.
- 2) Heller, P. (2001): “Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa and Porto Alegre”, in *Politics and Society*, 29(1), pp 131-163. (pp.32)
- 3) Baiocchi, Heller, and Silva. ‘Making Space for Civil Society’. Available Online at: http://www.people.umass.edu/baiocchi/papers/Making_Spaces_Dec_2005.pdf

4/27 Presentations and the Latin American Context:

- 1) "The Making of Citizens" by Brian Roberts. *
- 2) Avritzer, Chapters 3 and 4 *
- 3) Carley, et al, (eds.) *Urban Development and Civil Society*, chapter 11.
- 4) Mark Montgomery, et al, eds., *Cities Transformed*, "The Challenge of Urban Governance," Chapter 9.
- 5) Grindle, M (2000) *Audacious reforms: institutional invention and democracy in Latin America*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. Introduction and Chapter 1
- 6) Re-read Tulchin and Seele from Above.
- 7) Santín, Leticia. forthcoming. "Decentralization and Civil Society in Mexico." Pp. 75-114 in *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, edited by Joseph S. Tulchin Philip Oxhorn, and Andrew D. Selee. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press

Plus, Additional Cases, as required:

Avritzer, L.(2002): *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (additional readings)

Baiocchi, G.P. (2005): *Militants and Citizens. The politics of participatory democracy in Porto Alegre*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Melo, M. and F. Rezende (2004) "Decentralization and Governance". In: Tulchin and A Seele (eds.) *Democratization and democratic governance in Latin America*, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington, DC.

Philip Oxhorn, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Andrew D. Selee, eds., *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004). Part I

05/04. Presentations and the Asia and South Asia Context

- 1) Philip Oxhorn, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Andrew D. Selee, eds., *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson

Center Press, 2004). Part III

- 2) Carley, et al, (eds.) *Urban Development and Civil Society*, chapter 6.
- 3) McCarney (ed.), *Cities and Governance*, sec III.
- 4) Nordholt, H.S. (2004) : *Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?* in Harriss, J.; K. Stokke & O. Törnquist (eds.): *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave,*
- 5) Sidel, J, T (2004).: *Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia: Towards an Alternative Framework for the Study of 'Local Strongmen'*, in Harriss, J.;K. Stokke & O. Törnquist (eds.): *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave.*
- 6) Nazrul Islam, *Urban Governance in Asia: Sub-regional and City Perspectives*. (Dhaka, Bangladesh: Pathak Shamabesh and Centre for Urban Studies and, 2000), Chapters 1, 2, 4.
- 7) Harriss, John (2005a):"Political Participation, representation and the Urban Poor. Findings from a Research in Delhi" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 12: 1041-1054.

Recommended:

Harriss, John (2005b)'Politics is a dirty river': but is there a 'new politics' of civil society? Perspectives from global cities of India and Latin America. Paper. 16p.

Harriss, John (2005c): The 'New Politics' of the Urban Poor in Contemporary India. Paper. 14 p.

Case, W. (2002): *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*, Richmond: Curzon.

Harriss, S. and Corbridge, S. (2000): *Reinventing India: Liberalisation, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*, Oxford and Malden: Polity. (Selected pages 150 pp.)

Priyono, Subono, Törnquist et.al. (2005). *Making Democracy Meaningful. Problems and Options in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Demos. (Selected pages. 50 pp.)

Robison, Richard and Hadiz, Vedi R. (2004): *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*, London and New York: Routledge.

05/11 Presentations and the African Context

- 1) Mamdani, M. (1996) : *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 1 and Conclusion, pp. 3-34 and 285-301.*
- 2) Olowu and Wunsch, *Local Governance in Africa*, chapters 2, 3, and 10.
- 3) Carley, et al, (eds.) *Urban Development and Civil Society*, chapter 3.
- 4) Heinrich, Volkhart Finn, "The Role of NGOs in Strengthening the Foundations of South African Democracy." *Voluntas*, Mar2001, Vol. 12 Issue 1, p1-15.
- 5) McCarney and Stren (eds.), *Governance on the Ground*, chapter 8.
- 6) McCarney (ed.), *Cities and Governance*, sec IV
- 7) Pearce, ed., *Development, NGOs, and Civil Society*, pp. 109-114, 175-188.
- 8) Friedman, Steven and Caroline Kihato. forthcoming. "South Africa's Double Reform: Decentralization and the Transition from Apartheid." in *Decentralization, Democratic Governance, and Civil Society in Comparative Perspective: Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, edited by Joseph S. Tulchin Philip Oxhorn, and Andrew D. Selee. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press

Recommended:

Dele Olowu and James S. Wunsch, *Local Governance in Africa: The Challenges of Democratic Decentralization* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), Chapter 1.

Steinar Askvik and Nelleke Bak (eds.), *Trust in Public Institutions in South Africa*. Burlington, (VT: Ashgate, 2005), chapter 5, 6.

Carley, et al, (eds.) *Urban Development and Civil Society*, chapter 11.

Jones, P. and Stokke, K. (forthcoming, 2005). "Democratising Development: The Politics of Socio-Economic Rights in South Africa", ch. 1 in Jones, P. and Stokke, K. *Democratising development: The politics of socio-economic rights*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff. 43 p.

Chabal, Patrick & Daloz, Jean-Pascal , 1999, *Africa Works. Disorder as political instrument*. James Currey: Oxford. Pp 1-93 and 139-163 (117 pages)

Braathen, Einar & Orre, Aslak, 2001, "Can a Patrimonial Democracy Survive? The Case of Mozambique", *Forum for Development Studies*, No. 2-2001 (38 pages).

13. Bringing it all Together: Participation – Tyranny or Transformation?