

# **BEYOND THE BALLOT BOX**

**Report from the Deepening and Sustaining Democracy in Asia  
Conference, 11-14 October 2009**



**The Centre for Bhutan Studies**

# Beyond the Ballot Box

Copyright © The Centre for Bhutan Studies 2010

First published: 2010

ISBN 978-99936-14-61-6



The Centre for Bhutan Studies  
Post Box No. 1111  
Thimphu, Bhutan

Telephone: 00975-2-321111, 321005

Facsimile: 00975-2- 321001

Email: [cbs@druknet.bt](mailto:cbs@druknet.bt)

[www.bhutanstudies.org.bt](http://www.bhutanstudies.org.bt)  
[www.grossnationalhappiness.com](http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com)

## CONTENTS

## CONTENTS

i. Foreword		vii
ii. Acknowledgements		ix
iii. Introduction		x
iv. Opening Remarks	<i>Dasho Karma Ura</i>	xxi
v. Keynote Address	<i>Mr Ajay Chhibber</i>	1
vi. Keynote Address	<i>HE Jigmi Y Thinley, Prime Minister of Bhutan</i>	10
<b>I. Foundations of Democracy</b>		
1. Public Opinion, Happiness, and the Will of the People: Policy-making in a Democracy	<i>Dr Henry S Richardson</i>	25
2. Democracy and Difference: Going beyond Liberal Freedoms and Illiberal Order	<i>Dr Peter Hershock</i>	60
3. Constitutional Values and Rule of Law	<i>Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi</i>	101
<b>II. Experiences in Democracy</b>		
4. Democracy in the Non-West: Facts, Fictions and Frictions	<i>Dr Nitasha Kaul</i>	115
5. Constitution - the King's Gift: Defiling and Sanctifying a Sacred Gift	<i>Dasho Sonam Kinga</i>	134
6. Experience of Indian Democracy	<i>Pavan K Verma</i>	181
7. Grass Roots Democracy and Decentralisation	<i>Dr George Mathew</i>	189

### **III. Civic Rights and Participation**

8. Women's Role in Politics - Quantity and Quality	<i>Sultana Kamal</i>	209
9. Civil liberties and Security	<i>Anthony Grayling</i>	229
10. Citizen's Assessment of Parliaments Performance	<i>Ahmed Mehboob</i>	237

### **IV. Election and Justice**

11. The Majority Judgement: A New Mechanism for Electing and Ranking	<i>Professor Michel Balinski</i>	257
12. Happiness and Punishment	<i>John Bronsteen</i>	269

### **V. Accountability and Freedom**

13. Voice, Accountability and Freedom	<i>Dr Sabina Marie Alkire</i>	292
14. Concluding Remarks	<i>HE Jigmi Y Thinley</i>	320
15 Biographies		373