

# **John F. Kennedy School of Government**

## **PAL 218: Innovations in Democratic Governance: Solving Public Problems**

### **Course Syllabus Fall 2007**

Syllabus Version: 6.1 (Sept. 7, 2007)

Note: **Syllabus subject to revision. Please contact instructor via email for the most recent version!**

Updated versions will be posted here: <http://www.archonfung.net/class/pal218.html>

Time: Monday and Wednesday, 4:10 – 5:30 pm

Location: L140

Office Hours: Thursday, 3:00 – 5:00pm

Faculty: Archon Fung  
Taubman 356  
495-9846  
[archon\\_fung@harvard.edu](mailto:archon_fung@harvard.edu)

Teaching Assistant: TDB

Faculty Assistant: Linda Miklosko-Davis  
[Linda\\_Miklosko-Davis@ksg.harvard.edu](mailto:Linda_Miklosko-Davis@ksg.harvard.edu)

### **Course Description**

How much should ordinary people participate in contemporary societies? This course explores the proposition that there are myriad untapped opportunities for greater public participation in contemporary democracies, and that popular engagement can make governance more legitimate, fair, and effective. It is also a component of, and contributor to, human development.

We explore these propositions by examining many innovations in governance that range from neighborhood to national scale, in the United States, Latin America, Canada, and India. These real world cases of “deep democratic” reform range across many issues, including village governance and economic development, urban budgeting, public education and school

governance, environmental management, health care, social services, election rules, sweatshops, and worker participation. In each session, we will analyze a different policy area and empirical case at a high level of contextual and institutional detail. We will explore mechanisms that generate effective participation and deliberation, its contributions to group capacity and equity, the pitfalls of these reforms, and the political strategies associated with them. We will explore the potential of such participatory innovations to address deep and persistent problems in representative government such as the lack of coherent public judgement, tyranny of powerful minorities, political polarization, and limits of the administrative state that arise when information and problem-solving resources are widely distributed in society.

The course is aimed at students who are interested in gaining (1) familiarity with the shape of direct and empowered democratic reforms across a variety of public policy areas, (2) knowledge of the political strategies, policies, and institutional mechanisms that determine the success and failure of these reforms, and (3) a range of skills and recipes for designing effective public engagement mechanisms and institutions.

## Semester at a Glance

<b>Part I: Understanding Democracy</b>	
<b>Bringing Citizens Back In</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simulation: student deliberation about democracy</li> </ul>
<b>Democracy and Development Four Conceptions of Democracy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deliberative development?</li> <li>• Representative vs. participatory democracy</li> </ul>
<b>Part II: Where's the Public?</b>	
<b>What is the problem of the missing public, and how does it justify participation?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John Dewey: Back to the Future</li> <li>• Public judgement and public participation</li> </ul>
<b>Cases and Models</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participatory Rural Appraisal</li> <li>• Deliberative Polling in China &amp; America</li> <li>• Oregon Health Decisions</li> </ul>
<b>Framework: Institutional Designs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Designing participatory processes</li> <li>• Democracy Cube</li> </ul>
<b>Part III: Minority Tyranny</b>	
<b>Domination in Democracies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The economic analysis</li> <li>• The political analysis of interest groups</li> <li>• Participatory democratic solutions</li> </ul>
<b>Cases and Models</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre</li> <li>• British Columbia Citizens Assembly</li> <li>• Fair Elections in Mexico</li> <li>• Gender and Race at Work: Second Generation Discrimination</li> </ul>
<b>Framework: Advocacy or Cooperation?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The idea of collaborative countervailing power</li> </ul>
<b>Cases and Models</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Self-Employed Women's Association in India</li> <li>• Gacaca Courts in post-genocide Rwanda</li> <li>• Accountability &amp; Transparency in Rajasthan</li> </ul>
<b>Part IV: Distributed Information and Capacity</b>	
<b>Condorcet and the Penguin</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open Source, Wikipedia, and Democratic Institutions</li> </ul>
<b>Cases and Models</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic development in Kerala, India</li> <li>• Cops and Kids: Community control and engagement in public safety and education</li> <li>• The Commons and ecosystem management</li> </ul>
<b>Global Problems: Participation without a State</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sweatshops and multinational transparency</li> </ul>

## **Evaluation**

Class participation including online discussion:	15%
Reading facilitation:	15%
Mid-Term Paper:	30% (Due: Wednesday, October 17, 2007)
Final Paper:	40% (Due: Friday, December 10, 2007)

## **Class Assignments**

1. On a rotating weekly basis, student teams will be expected to lead discussions by preparing questions, criticisms, and suggestions for improvement for each experiment under investigation.
2. Students will be expected to regularly contribute to the online class discussion.
3. Students will write one mid-term paper of approximately 10 pages that analyzes the basic concepts of participation and deliberation in an institutional context of their own choosing.
4. Students will write one final research paper of approximately 15 pages, due during reading period, that analyzes the feasibility of one of the participatory, deliberative reforms discussed in class or of their own choosing to determine its strengths and vulnerabilities in comparison to other potential reform strategies.

## **Materials**

Purchase from the Harvard Coop:

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003).

All other reading materials will be available for purchase at the Course Materials Office (CMO) or will be downloadable from the Internet via Harvard's proprietary databases (not at the Harvard Coop). Materials that are available online via the Internet (as noted by their URLs in the syllabus) will also be available as hardcopy in optional packets from the CMO. For these readings, students have the option either to purchase them or to download and read them online.

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### Part I: What is Democracy?

#### **1: Democracy's Challenge: Bringing Citizens Back In** **Wednesday, September 12**

The course begins with a facilitated discussion of the current challenges to American democracy and three alternative diagnoses and prescriptions. Please read this National Issues Forum discussion guide on the topic before coming to class:

*Democracy's Challenge: Reclaiming the Public's Role* (National Issues Forums, 2006):  
Internet Packet: [http://www.nifi.org/stream\\_document.aspx?  
rID=6047&catID=6&itemID=6041&typeID=8](http://www.nifi.org/stream_document.aspx?rID=6047&catID=6&itemID=6041&typeID=8)

To introduce this discussion, we will watch a short video summary of the discussion guide at the beginning of class:

[http://www.nifi.org/discussion\\_guides/nif\\_demchallenge\\_7.html](http://www.nifi.org/discussion_guides/nif_demchallenge_7.html)

#### **2. Democracy and Development — “Deliberative Development”** **Monday, September 17**

Peter Evans. “Development and Institutional Change: The Pitfalls of Monocropping and the Potentials of Deliberation” in *Studies in Comparative International Development*. Winter 2004 Vol. 38, No. 4: 30-52.

Amartya Sen. Chapter 6 “The Importance of Democracy” in *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 1999): 146-60.

#### **3. Four Conceptions of Democracy: Participation vs. Representation?** **Wednesday, September 19**

In this class, we will discuss four very different notions of what democracy is: minimal, pluralist, deliberative, and participatory democracy. We will use these four different conceptions throughout the rest of the course as lenses to understand various case studies.

Joseph Schumpeter. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), pp. 256-64 (“Human Nature in Politics”) and pp. 269-83 (“Another Theory of Democracy”).

Adam Przeworski. “The Minimal Conception of Democracy: A Defense” in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon ed. *Democracy’s Value* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 23-55.

Robert Dahl. “Chapter 8, A Theory of the Democratic Process” in *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): pp. 106-118.

Sherry R. Arnstein, “A Ladder of Citizen Participation,” *American Institute of Planning Journal* (July 1969): 216-224.

## **Part II: The Protean Public**

### **4. Where is the Public? What Does It Want?**

**Monday, September 24**

John Dewey. “The Eclipse of the Public” in *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1927).

Daniel Yankelovich. Chapter 12 and Chapter 13 in *The Magic of Dialogue: Transforming Conflict into Cooperation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999).

### **5. Participatory Rural Appraisal**

**Wednesday, September 26**

Robert Chambers. “What Works and Why?” and “Poor Peoples’ Reality” in *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* (Intermediate Technology Publications, London, 1997): pp. 130-187.

Ilan Kapoor. “The devil’s in the theory: a critical assessment of Robert Chambers’ work on participatory development” in *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 101-117.

### **6. Deliberative Polling in China and America**

**Monday, October 1**

James S. Fishkin, Baogang He, and Alice Siu. “Public Consultation through Deliberation in China: The First Chinese Deliberative Poll” in Ethan Leib and Baogang He ed. *The*

*Search for Deliberative Democracy in China* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006): 229-244.

Internet Link: <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/papers/2006/china-unlikely.pdf>

Bruce Ackerman and James S. Fishkin. "Deliberation Day," in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 10, No 2 (2002): 129-132.

Internet Packet: Available on Hollis, Academic Search Premier.

Optional:

James Fishkin. *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press): 161-203.

## **7. A Public for Health Policy**

**Wednesday, October 3**

Paul Safier, "Rationing in Public: The Oregon Health Plan" in *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition*, ed. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006): 332-355.

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland. "Community Health and Civic Organizing" Chapter 4 of *Civic Innovation in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001): 138-185.

**Monday, October 8 - NO CLASS — COLUMBUS DAY**

## **8. Designing Participatory Institutions and Processes**

**Wednesday, October 10**

Archon Fung. *Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance* (Manuscript, 2005).

Internet Packet: <http://www.archonfung.net/papers/FungVarietiesOfPart.pdf>

James Creighton. Chapter 3 & 4 in *The Public Participation Handbook* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2005): 27-83.

### Part III: Minority Tyranny

#### 9. The Problem of Domination in Democracies

Monday, October 15

Stigler, George. 1971. "The Theory of Economic Regulation." *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2 (Spring): 3 - 21.  
Internet Packet: Available on JSTOR.

Theodore Lowi. "The New Public Philosophy: Interest Group Liberalism" in *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1979): 42-63

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright. "Thinking About Empowered Participatory Governance," in *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 3-44.

#### 10. Participatory Budgeting and the Porto Alegre Experience

Wednesday, October 17

Gianpaolo Baiocchi. "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory," in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 45-76.

Optional:

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy," *Politics and Society* 26, no. 4 (Dec. 1998), pp. 461-510.  
Internet Packet: Available on Hollis, Illumina database.

#### 11. The British Columbia Citizen Assembly: Rewriting the Rules of the Game

Monday, October 22

Elena Fagotto and Archon Fung. "The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly (teaching case)" Draft, April 2006.

Internet Packet: <http://archonfung.net/docs/cases/BCCitizensAssembly0604.pdf>

British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. *Making Every Vote Count: The Case for Electoral Reform in British Columbia, Final Report* (Vancouver, B.C., December 2004).

Internet Packet: [http://www.citizensassembly.bc.ca/resources/final\\_report.pdf](http://www.citizensassembly.bc.ca/resources/final_report.pdf)

Editorial Board, Vancouver Sun "Strong Support for STV Proves It's Worthy of a Second Chance," in *Vancouver Sun* (May 19, 2005): p. A12.

For more background information, see URL: <http://www.citizensassembly.bc.ca/public>

## **12. Fair Elections: Fair Representative Democracy Through Participatory Governance Wednesday, October 24**

Leonardo Avritzer. "Participatory Publics in Brazil and Mexico" in *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002): 135-64 (selected pages on IFE only).

Jose Woldenberg Karakowsky. "Lessons from Mexico" in *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 12, No. 2 (2001): 151-6.

Todd A. Eisenstadt. "Off the Streets and Into the Courtrooms: Resolving Postelectoral Conflicts in Mexico" in A. Schedler, L. Diamond, and M. Plattner eds. *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999): 83-104.

World Bank Institute. "Box 4: Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute" in *Social Accountability in the Public Sector* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank): 21. (one page)

## **13. Discrimination Old and New Monday, October 29**

Sturm, Susan. 2001. "Second Generation Employment Discrimination: A Structural Approach," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 101 (April): 458-568.

Internet packet: Available on Hollis, Lexis-Nexis Academic database.

## **14. Advocacy or Cooperation? Collaborative Countervailing Power Wednesday, October 31**

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright. "Countervailing Power in Empowered Participatory Governance," in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy:*

*Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 259-289.

Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers. "Power and Reason," in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 237-255.

## **15. Organizing the Informal Sector: The Self-Employed Women's Association of India Monday, November 5**

John Blaxall. *India's Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) — Empowerment Through Mobilization of Women on a Large Scale* (World Bank, 2004).

Internet Packet: <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/reducingpoverty/case/79/fullcase/India%20SEWA%20Full%20Case.pdf>

## **16. Justice Through Participation? Gacaca Courts and Reconciliation in Rwanda**

Richard Sezibera. "The Only Way to Bring Justice to Rwanda" in *Washington Post* (April 7, 2002) (2 pages)

Urusaro Alice Karekezi, Alphonse Nshimiyimana, and Beth Mutamba. "Localizing Justice: Gacaca Courts in Post-Genocide Rwanda" in Eric Stover and Harvey Weinstein eds, *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 69-84.

Radha Webley. Selections from "Report on Rwanda" (Berkeley, CA: War Crimes Study Center, 2004): 39-40, 47-75.

Internet Packet: <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~warcrime/Papers/webley-thesis.pdf>

## **17. Transparency Through Participation: Accounts and Accountability in Rajasthan Wednesday, November 7**

Rob Jenkins and Anne Marie Goetz. "Accounts and Accountability: Theoretical Implications of the Right-to-Information Movement in India" in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1999): 603-22.

Shenkar Singh. "India: Grassroots Initiatives" in Ann Fiorini ed. *The Right to Know: Transparency for an Open World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 19-53.

## **Monday, November 12 — No Class, Veteran's Day**

## Part V: Distributed Information and Capacity

### 18. Condorcet and the Penguin

Wednesday, November 14

Cass Sunstein. "Group Judgments: Deliberation, Statistical Means, and Information Markets" in *New York University Law Review* Vol. 80, No. 3 (June 2005): 962-1049. Internet Packet: Available on Lexis-Nexis database.

Eric Raymond. "The Cathedral and the Bazaar" in *First Monday*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1999). Internet Packet: [http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue3\\_3/raymond/](http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue3_3/raymond/)

Optional:

Stacy Schiff. "Can Wikipedia Conquer Expertise" in the *New Yorker* (July 31, 2006). Internet Packet: [http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/060731fa\\_fact](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/060731fa_fact)

### 19. Economic Development in Rurban Areas: Kerala, India

Monday, November 19

Patrick Heller and T.M. Thomas Isaac. "The Campaign for Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, India," in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 77-110.

Wednesday, November 21 - NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING BREAK

### 20. Bureaucracy or Democracy? Public Services and Citizen Participation

Monday, November 26

Archon Fung. "Deliberative Democracy, Chicago Style," in *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 111-143.

### 21. Problems of the Commons and Ecosystem Management

Wednesday, November 28

Arun Agrawal and Krishna Gupta. "Decentralization and Participation: The Governance of Common Pool Resources in Nepal's Terai" in *World Development*, Vol. 33, No. 7 (2005): 1101-1114.

Craig W. Thomas. "Habitat Conservation Plans: Certainly Empowered, Somewhat Deliberative, Questionably Democratic," in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 144-172.

## **22. Transparency, Sweatshops, and International Deliberation**

### **Wednesday, December 5**

Archon Fung, Dara O'Rourke, and Charles Sabel. "Realizing Labor Standards," in *Can We Put an End to Sweatshops?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001): 3-42.

Mark Levinson. "Wishful Thinking," in *Can We Put an End to Sweatshops?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001): 54-8.

Kaushik Basu. "The View from the Tropics," in *Can We Put an End to Sweatshops?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001): 59-64.

Internet Packet: all readings from for this session are available on the Internet:  
URL: <http://bostonreview.mit.edu/ndf.html#Standards>.

## **23. Conclusion**

### **Monday, December 10**