

John F. Kennedy School of Government

PAL 218: Innovations in Democratic Governance: Solving Public Problems

Course Syllabus Fall 2008

Syllabus Version: 7.1 (September 15, 2008)

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, 1:10 – 2:30 pm

Location: L280

Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:00 – 4:00pm

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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

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

Evaluation

Class participation including online discussion:	15%
Reading facilitation:	15%
Mid-Term Paper:	30% (Due: Wednesday, October 22, 2008)
Final Paper:	40% (Due: Friday, December 19, 2008)

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: What Is Democracy's Value for Development?

Wednesday, September 10

Daniel Bell, "Is Liberal Democracy Suitable for Singapore" Chapter 3 in *East Meets West: Human Rights and Democracy in East Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 175-232.

2. Should the West Promote Democracy?

Monday, September 15

Thomas Carothers, "The Question of Strategy" in *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999):85-122.

Larry Diamond and L Morlino. "An Overview (The Quality of Democracy)" in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 15, No. 4 (October 2004): 20-31.

3. Democracy and Development — "Deliberative Development"

Wednesday, 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.

4. Four Conceptions of Democracy: Participation vs. Representation?

Monday, September 22

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

5. Where is the Public? What Does It Want?

Wednesday, 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).

6. Participatory Rural Appraisal

Monday, September 29

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.

7. Deliberative Polling in China and America

Wednesday, 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): 129-152.
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.

8. A Public for Health Policy

Monday, October 6

Paul Safier, "Rationing in Public: The Oregon Health Plan" in *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments, 4th 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.

9. Designing Participatory Institutions and Processes

Wednesday, October 8

Archon Fung. *Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance* (Manuscript, 2005).
Internet Packet: <http://www.archonfung.net/papers/FungVarietiesOfPart.pdf>

Monday, October 13 - NO CLASS — COLUMBUS DAY

Part III: Minority Tyranny

10. The Problem of Domination in Democracies

Wednesday, 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.

11. Participatory Budgeting and the Porto Alegre Experience **Monday, October 20**

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.

12. The British Columbia Citizen Assembly: Rewriting the Rules of the Game **Wednesday, 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

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>

13. Fair Elections: Fair Representative Democracy Through Participatory Governance

Monday, October 27

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)

14. Discrimination Old and New

Wednesday, 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.

15. Advocacy or Cooperation? Collaborative Countervailing Power

Monday, November 3

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.

16. Organizing the Informal Sector: The Self-Employed Women's Association of India

Wednesday, 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>

17. Justice Through Participation? Gacaca Courts and Reconciliation in Rwanda

Monday, November 10

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>

18. Transparency Through Participation: Accounts and Accountability in Rajasthan

Wednesday, November 12

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.

Besley, Tom, Rohini Pande, and V Rao. “Participatory Democracy in Action: Survey Evidence From South India,” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3.2-3 (2005): 648-57.

Part V: Distributed Information and Capacity

19. Condorcet and the Penguin

Monday, November 17

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/

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

20. Economic Development in Rurban Areas: Kerala, India

Wednesday, 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.

21. Bureaucracy or Democracy? Public Safety and Citizen Participation

Monday, November 24

Christina Rojas, "Decentralization and the Culture of Citizenship in Bogota, Columbia" in *Citizens in Charge: Managing Local Budgets in East Asia and Latin America*, ed. Isabel Licha (Inter-American Development Bank, 2004): 291-328.

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

Wednesday, November 26 - NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING BREAK

22. Problems of the Commons and Ecosystem Management

Monday, December 1

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.

23. Transparency, Sweatshops, and International Deliberation

Wednesday, December 3

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>.

24. Conclusion

Monday, December 8