

John F. Kennedy School of Government

PAL 218: Putting the Public Back Into Public Policy: Civic Engagement and Effective Governance

Course Syllabus Fall 2006

Syllabus Version: 5.0 (July 26, 2006)

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: L332

Office Hours: Thursday, 3:00 – 5:00pm

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Course Description

How much should ordinary people participate in modern, complex, large scale democracies? What should their participation look like? 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.

We explore this proposition 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	
Bringing Citizens Back In	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simulated student deliberation about democracy
Four Conceptions of Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New England town meetings • Minimalism, Pluralism, Deliberation, and Participation
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"> • Deliberative Polling • Community Wide Study Circles • 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"> • British Columbia Citizens Assembly • Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre • Rebuilding New York: Listening to the City • Gender and Race at Work: Second Generation Discrimination
Framework: Advocacy or Cooperation?	
Part IV: Political Polarization	
What Culture War?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are we more divided? Too divided? Why?
Cases and Models	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Habitat Conservation Planning • Abortion: Anything to talk about?
Part V: 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"> • Community Development and the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program • Cops and Kids: Community control and engagement in public safety and education • Environmental justice and community monitoring
Global Problems: Participation without a State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sweatshops and multinational transparency • Human rights networks and the boomerang dynamic

Evaluation

Class participation including online discussion:	15%
Reading facilitation:	15%
Mid-Term Paper:	30% (Due: Wednesday, October 25, 2006)
Final Paper:	40% (Due: Friday, January 12, 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:

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland. *Civic Innovation in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

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

James L. Creighton. *The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions Through Citizen Involvement* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2005)

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 13

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

2. The New England Town Meeting Monday, September 18

Frank M. Bryan. "Democracy as Public Presence: Walking the Bounds" in *Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How It Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004): 56-81.

Jane Mansbridge. Chapters 4-6 (re: Selby, VT) of *Beyond Adversary Democracy* (New York: Basic Books, 1980): 39-76.

3. Four Conceptions of Democracy Wednesday, September 20

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”).

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.

Joshua Cohen and Archon Fung. “Radical Democracy” in *Swiss Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2004).

Internet Packet: http://www.archonfung.net/papers/Cohen_Fung_Debate_SPSR2004.pdf

Part II: The Protean Public

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

Monday, September 25

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).

James Creighton. “Chapter 2, The Rationale for Public Participation” in *The Public Participation Handbook* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2005): 14-26.

5. Deliberative Polling

Wednesday, September 27

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

Optional:

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.

6. Community Study Circles in Kuna, Idaho **Monday, October 2**

Joseph Goldman. "The Case of Kuna, Idaho" (Manuscript 2004)
Internet Packet: <http://www.archonfung.net/docs/pal218/kunacase.pdf>

Fainselow, Julie. "What Democracy Feels Like: Philanthropist Paul Aicher and the Study Circles Resource Center Bring People Together for Creative Community Problem Solving" (Manuscript, 2002).

Study Circles Resource Center. "How Does Your Community Talk About Public Problems and Find Solutions?" (pamphlet mimeo 5 pages)

7. A Public for Health Policy **Wednesday, October 4**

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.

Monday, October 9 - NO CLASS — COLUMBUS DAY

8. Design Participatory Institutions and Processes **Wednesday, October 11**

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

James Creighton. Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 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 16

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

Wednesday, October 18

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>

11. Participatory Budgeting and the Porto Alegre Experience

Monday, October 23

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. Rebuilding New York City **Wednesday, October 25**

Archon Fung and Susan Rosegrant, "Listening to the City: What Should Be Built at Ground Zero," in *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments, 4th Edition*, ed. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006): 303-310.

Martin Filler. "Filling the Hole," in *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (February 24, 2005).

Internet Packet: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/17751>

13. Discrimination Old and New **Monday, October 30**

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? **Wednesday, November 1**

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.

Part IV: Political Polarization

15. Culture War?

Monday, November 6

Fiorina, Morris P. Chapter 2 and Chapter 8 of *Culture War? The Myth of A Polarized America* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005): 11-32, 137-71.

Daniel Kemmis. "Stalemate" in *Community and the Politics of Place* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1990): 44-63.

Roger Fisher and William Ury. "Don't Bargain Over Positions" in *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (New York: Penguin Books 1983): 3-16.

16. Breaking the Environmental Impasse: Habitat Conservation Planning

Wednesday, November 8

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.

Bradley Karkkainen. "Toward Ecologically Sustainable Democracy", in Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, eds. *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso Press, 2003): 208-224.

17. The Abortion Debate — Intractable Conflict?

Monday, November 13

Anne Fowler, Nicki Nichols Gamble, Frances X. Hogan, Melissa Kogut, Madeline McCommish, Barbara Thorp. "Talking with the Enemy" in the Boston Globe (Focus section, Sunday, January 28, 2001).

Internet Packet: http://www.publicconversations.org/pcp/resources/resource_detail.asp?ref_id=102

Michelle LeBaron and Nike Carstarphen. "Finding Common Ground on Abortion" in *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement*. ed. Larry Susskind, Sarah McKearnan, and Jennifer Thomas-Larmar (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999): 1031-1050.

Optional:

Margot Adler's National Public Radio interview with Public Conversations Project participants on the 30th Anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision:

URL: <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/roevwade/conversations.html>

Part V: Distributed Information and Capacity

18. Condorcet and the Penguin

Wednesday, November 15

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

19. Revitalizing Minneapolis

Monday, November 20

Elena Fagotto. "The Minneapolis Revitalization Program" (Manuscript, 2005). Internet Packet: <http://www.archonfung.net/docs/pal218/NRPcase.pdf>

James Creighton. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 in *The Public Participation Handbook* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2005): 85-138.

Wednesday, November 22 - NO CLASS - THANKSGIVING BREAK

20. Bureaucracy or Democracy? Public Services and Citizen Participation

Monday, November 27

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

James Creighton. "Part 4: Public Meeting Tools" in *The Public Participation Handbook* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2005): 139-79.

21. Environmental Justice and Community Monitoring

Wednesday, November 29

Dara O'Rourke and Gregg P. Macey. "Community Environmental Policing: Assessing New Strategies of Public Participation in Environmental Regulation," in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2003).

Internet Packet: Available on ProQuest.

Phil Brown. "Popular Epidemiology and Toxic Waste Contamination: Lay and Professional Ways of Knowing," in *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 33 (September 1992): 267-81.

Internet Packet: Available on JSTOR.

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland. "Civic Environmentalism" Chapter 3 of *Civic Innovation in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001): 85-137.

22. Transparency, Sweatshops, and International Deliberation

Monday, December 4

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. Toward Global Civil Society?

Wednesday, December 6

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. "Introduction" and "Chapter 3: Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," in *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998): 1-38, 79-120.

Optional:

Paul Wapner. "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics," in *World Politics*. Vol. 47, No. 3 (April 1995): 311-40.

Internet Packet: Available on Hollis, project MUSE.

Ann Marie Clark, Elisabeth J. Friedman, and Kathryn Hochstetler. "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women," in *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1998): 1-35.

Internet Packet: Available on Hollis, Project MUSE.

24. Conclusion

Monday, December 11