

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

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

### **Course Syllabus Fall 2005**

Syllabus Version: 4.0 (August 2, 2005)

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, 4:00 – 5:30 pm

Location: Taubman 401

Office Hours: Tuesday, 4:00pm – 6:00pm

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#### **Course Description**

At very large and very small scales, an array of public and private sector organizations are experimenting with participatory strategies to enhance both the effectiveness and the justice of their operations. These “democratic innovations” attempt to reap the benefits of citizen and public engagement by bringing together diverse parties—businesses with workers, officials with clients, politicians with citizens—to forge new solutions where more conventional strategies have failed.

In this course, students will examine a variety of such large and medium scale reform programs to understand how they function. We will examine real world cases of “deep democratic” reform in areas such as: village governance and economic development in India, urban budgeting in developing countries such as Brazil, innovative public education in the United States, environmental management in the U.S. and abroad, health care provision, social services, 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. Analyses will focus on the aims and

programs of these reforms; their accomplishments (or lack thereof) in terms of advancing the values of participation, fairness, deliberation, accountability, and effective governance; the roles and dispositions of various actors—politicians, administrators, interest groups, and activists with respect to these programs; and the relationship of these institutions to more traditional electoral-bureaucratic processes. 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.

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 drawn from both North American and international cases, and (2) knowledge of the political strategies, policies, and institutional mechanisms that determine the success and failure of these reforms.

### Semester at a Glance

<b>Part I: Basic Themes and Challenges</b>	
<b>Introduction and basic concepts</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New left and civic conceptions of participation</li> </ul>
<b>Participatory and Representative Democracy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New England town meetings</li> <li>• Direct participation in electoral processes</li> </ul>
<b>Part II: Legitimacy</b>	
<b>Citizen Assemblies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deliberative Polls</li> <li>• British Columbia Citizen Assembly</li> <li>• Rebuilding New York City</li> </ul>
<b>Community Deliberations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oregon's Health Care Policy</li> <li>• Community-Wide Study Circles</li> </ul>
<b>Part III: Effectiveness</b>	
<b>Metropolitan Problems</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neighborhood government</li> <li>• Democratizing bureaucracy</li> </ul>
<b>Managing Development and Environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Village planning</li> <li>• Ecosystem management</li> </ul>
<b>Part IV: Social Justice</b>	
<b>Participatory Accountability</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participatory budgeting</li> <li>• Environmental justice</li> <li>• Workplace discrimination</li> </ul>
<b>Knowledge and Power</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (De)constructing AIDS</li> <li>• Popular epidemiology and environmental risk</li> </ul>
<b>Worker Organization</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Immigrant workers and the Workplace Project</li> <li>• Organizing service workers</li> <li>• Informal workers in developing countries</li> </ul>
<b>Global Problems: Participation without a State</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sweatshops and multinational transparency</li> <li>• Human rights networks and the boomerang dynamic</li> </ul>

## Evaluation

Class participation including on-line discussion:	15%
Reading facilitation:	15%
Mid-Term Paper:	30% (Due: Wednesday, October 31, 2005)
Final Paper:	40% (Due: Friday, January 13, 2006)

## 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 on-line 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).

Steven Macedo et. al. *Democracy At Risk: Toward a Political Science of Citizenship* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

All other reading materials will be distributed via the Course Materials Office (CMO) or be downloadable from the Internet via Harvard's proprietary databases (not at the Harvard Coop). Materials that are available on-line 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 on-line.

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

### Part I: Basic Ideas and Challenges

#### 1: Introductory Discussion: What's Good About Participation?

Wednesday, September 14

I will introduce the main goals and cases in the class, and invite students to offer additional cases that fit the study and selection criteria. If the class size and disposition of students permit, later sessions will be revised to focus on topics of particular student interest.

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland. "Civic Innovation and American Politics" Chapter 1 of *Civic Innovation in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001): 1-34.

"National Electoral Processes" in Steven Macedo et. al. *Democracy At Risk: Toward a Political Science of Citizenship* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

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

#### 2. The New England Town Meeting

Monday, September 19

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. Direct Participation in a Representative Democracy

Wednesday, September 21

"Toward a Political Science of Citizenship" in Steven Macedo et. al. *Democracy At Risk: Toward a Political Science of Citizenship* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

Benjamin Barber. "The Real Present: Institutionalizing Strong Democracy in the Modern World" Chapter 10 of *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (New York: Basic Books, 1984): 261-311.

## **Part II: Democratic Legitimacy**

### **4. Framework: The Democracy Cube**

**Monday, September 26**

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

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

Joshua Cohen. "Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy" in A. Hamlin and P. Petit eds. *The Good Polity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989): 17-34.

### **5. Deliberative Polls and Random Selection**

**Wednesday, September 28**

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

**Monday, October 3**

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 Its 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>

### **7. Rebuilding New York**

**Wednesday, October 5**

Archon Fung and Susan Reosegrant “Listening to the City: What Should Be Built at Ground Zero” in *Ethics and Politics: Cases and Comments 4<sup>th</sup> Edition*, ed. Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2005): 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>

**Monday, October 10, 2005 — No Class, Columbus Day**

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

**Wednesday, October 12**

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, 2005): 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. Community Study Circles**

**Monday, October 7**

Joseph Goldman. “The Case of Kuna, Idaho” (Manuscript 2004)

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)

## **Part III: Effective Governance**

## **10. Framework: Empowered Participation**

**Wednesday, October 19**

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. Urban and Metropolitan Problem Solving**

### **Monday, October 24**

Elena Fagotto. “The Minneapolis Revitalization Program” (Manuscript, 2005).  
Internet Packet: **link to be provided**.

“The American Metropolis” in Steven Macedo et. al. *Democracy At Risk: Toward a Political Science of Citizenship* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

## **12. Bureaucracy or Democracy? Public Services and Citizen Participation**

### **Wednesday, October 26**

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

## **13. Economic Development in Rurban Areas: Kerala, India**

### **Monday, October 31**

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.

## **14. Breaking the Environmental Impasse: Habitat Conservation Planning**

### **Wednesday, November 2**

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.

## **Part IV: Social Justice**

## **15. Framework: Protest and Countervailing Power**

### **Monday, November 7**

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. Participatory Budgeting and the Porto Alegre Experience** **Wednesday, November 9**

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 Link: Available on Hollis, Illumina database.

## **17. Environmental Justice** **Monday, November 14**

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 Link: Available on Hollis.

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.

## **18. Discrimination Old and New** **Wednesday, November 16**

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.

## **19. Knowledge, Power, and Participation** **Monday, November 21**

Steven Epstein. *Impure Science: Aids, Activism, and the Politics of Knowledge*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996): 1-26, 31-8, 295-353.

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.

## **Wednesday, November 23 — No Class, Thanksgiving Holiday**

### **20. Unions: Justice at Work**

#### **Monday, November 28**

Jennifer Gordon. "The Workplace Project Story" in *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005): 67-111.

David Weil "Case 602 Organizing at Harvard University: Two Approaches" in *Turning the Tide: Strategic Planning for Labor Unions* (New York: Lexington Books, 1994): 143-49.

Susan Eaton "'The Customer is Always Interesting': Unionized Harvard Clericals Renegotiate Working Relationships" in Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Carmen Sirianni eds. *Working in the Service Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996): 291-333.

### **21. Women and the Informal Sector**

#### **Wednesday, November 30**

World Bank. "Chapter 12: The Role of Unions" in *World Development Report 1995: Workers in an Integrating World* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1995): 79-86.  
Internet Packet: [http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/04/28/000009265\\_3961219103803/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/04/28/000009265_3961219103803/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf)

Rekha Mehra. "Women, Empowerment, and Economic Development" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*. Vol. 554 (November 1997): 136-49.

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

#### **Monday, 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. Toward Global Civil Society?** **Wednesday, December 7**

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 12**