

# John F. Kennedy School of Government

## **PAL 218: Designing Democratic Innovation: Strategies for Civic Engagement and Effective Governance**

### **Course Syllabus Fall 2002**

Syllabus Version: 3.2 (August 19, 2002)

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

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

Time: Monday and Wednesday, 11:30am – 1:00 pm

Location: Taubman 301

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

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

Faculty Assistant: TBA

### **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 and proposals 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 U.S. (Chicago, Texas, Kentucky), environmental management in the U.S. and abroad, health care provision, social “services,” and worker participation. Each week, 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 generated by 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>Introduction and basic concepts</b>               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New left and civic conceptions of participation</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Neighborhood governance</b>                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New England town meetings</li> <li>• Participatory Budgeting in Brazil</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Framework: Empowered Participatory Governance</b> |  |
| <b>Environmental regulation</b>                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Civic environmentalism</li> <li>• Habitat Conservation Planning</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Deliberate deliberation: contemporary methods</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tech-ed up town meetings: Listening to New York</li> <li>• Study Circles</li> <li>• Deliberative Polling</li> <li>• Microdemocracy and The Right Question</li> <li>• Public Journalism</li> </ul> |
| <b>Framework: comparing minipublics</b>              |  |
| <b>Is there a “Public” for public schools?</b>       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Industrial Areas Foundation organizing in Texas</li> <li>• Chicago local school councils</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Citizen co-production and monitoring</b>          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chicago community policing</li> <li>• Environmental monitoring in fence-line communities</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Health policy and social services</b>             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community Health and the Oregon Health Plan</li> <li>• AIDS, Science, and bureaucratizing the movement</li> <li>• Drug courts: solution or co-optation?</li> </ul>                                |
| <b>Participation in the workplace</b>                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second generation discrimination</li> <li>• Organizing at Harvard University</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Participation and development</b>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social movements for basic transparency</li> <li>• The People’s Campaign in Kerala, India</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Framework: collaboration or co-optation?</b>      |  |
| <b>Participation where there is no state</b>         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sweatshops, labor standards, and participation</li> </ul>   |

## Evaluation

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Class participation including on-line discussion: | 15%                                    |
| Reading facilitation:                             | 15%                                    |
| Mid-Term Paper:                                   | 30% (Due: Wednesday, October 30, 2002) |
| Final Paper:                                      | 40% (Due: Friday, January 17, 2003)    |

## 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 10-15 pages, that analyzes the basic concepts of empowered deliberation in an institutional context of their own choosing.
4. Students will write one final research paper, of approximately 15-20 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, Dara O'Rourke, and Charles Sabel. Forward by Medea Benjamin. *Can We Put an End to Sweatshops?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001).

[Note: if you don't want to buy this book, you may also download the relevant articles from the Interest as indicated on syllabus].

All other reading materials will be distributed via the Course Materials Office (CMO) or be available for purchase in class (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

### **1: Introductory Discussion: What's Good About Participation? Wednesday, September 11**

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.

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

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.

### **2. Back to Basics: The New England Town Meeting Monday, September 16**

Frank M. Bryan. "Direct Democracy and Civic Competence: The Case of the Town Meeting" in Stephen Elkin and Karol Edwards Soltan eds. *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

### **3. Urban Governance: Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Redistribution and Participation Wednesday, September 18**

Gianpaolo Baiocchi. "Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory" in *Politics and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March 2001): 43-72.

Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Deepening020411.pdf>  
Print relevant pages only – see table of contents.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy," *Politics and Society* 26, no. 4 (Dec. 1998), pp. 461-510.  
URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/papers/santos.html>  
Internet Packet: Available on ProQuest.

### **4. A Framework: Empowered Participatory Governance Monday, September 23**

Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright. "Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance" in *Politics and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March 2001): 5-42.

Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Deepening020411.pdf>  
Print relevant pages only – see table of contents.

## **5. Environment 1: Civic Environmentalism**

### **Wednesday, September 25**

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.

## **6. Environment 2: Habitat Conservation Planning**

### **Monday, September 30**

Craig W. Thomas. “Habitat Conservation Plans: Certainly Empowered, Somewhat Deliberative, Questionably Democratic” in *Politics and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (March 2001): 105-130.

Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Deepening020411.pdf>  
Print relevant pages only – see table of contents.

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, forthcoming)

Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Deepening020411.pdf>  
Print relevant pages only – see table of contents.

## **7. Deliberation 1: Listening to the City**

### **Wednesday, October 2**

Final report from July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002 “Listening to the City” event at the following Internet site: <http://www.listeningtothecity.org/>.

Supplemental documents to be distributed prior to class.

## **8. Deliberation 2: Study Circles**

### **Monday, October 7**

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)

Roberts and Kay, Incorporated. *Toward Competent Communities: Best Practices for Producing Community-Wide Study Circles*. (Report for the Topsfield Foundation, Inc./Study Circles Resource Center): 1-36.

**9. Deliberation 3: Deliberative Polling**  
**Wednesday, October 9**

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

**Monday, October 14 — No Class, Columbus Day**

**10. Deliberation 4: The Right Question Project**  
**Wednesday, October 16**

Readings to be distributed prior to this class meeting.

**11. Deliberation 5: Public Journalism**  
**Monday, October 21**

Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland. “Public Journalism” Chapter 5 of *Civic Innovation in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001): 186-233.

**12. Comparative Framework: Minipublics**  
**Wednesday, October 23**

Archon Fung. “Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences” in *Journal of Political Philosophy* (forthcoming).  
Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Public2.pdf>

**13. Education 1: School Organizing in Texas**  
**Monday, October 28**

Dennis Shirley. Chapters 1 and 2 of *Valley Interfaith and School Reform: Organizing for Power in South Texas*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002): 1-42.

**14. Education 2: Chicago Local School Councils**  
**Wednesday, October 30**

Mary O’Connell, *School Reform Chicago Style: How Citizens Organized to Change Public Policy* (Chicago: Center for Neighborhood Technology, Spring 1991).

*Optional Background Readings (for reference only – not distributed in class):*

Anthony S. Bryk et. al. *Charting Chicago School Reform: Democratic Localism As A Lever For Change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998).

Anthony S. Bryk et. al. *Academic Productivity of the Chicago Public Elementary Schools: A Technical Report Sponsored by the Consortium on Chicago School Research* (Chicago: Chicago Consortium on School Research, March 1998): 17-39.  
URL: <http://www.consortium-chicago.org/acrobat/Technical%20Report.pdf>

John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1990).

Marilyn Gittell, "School Reform in New York and Chicago: Revisiting the Ecology of Local Games," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (Sept 1994): 136-51.

Bruno V. Manno, Chester E. Finn, and Greg G. Vanourek. "Charter School Accountability: Problems and Prospects" (Paper Presented to APSA, September 1999).

Deborah Meier. *The Power of Their Ideas: Lessons for America from a Small School in Harlem*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

Deborah Meier. *Will Standards Save Public Education?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

## **15. Chicago Community Policing**

### **Monday, November 4**

Wesley Skogan et. al. "Chapter 2: Chicago's Model for Problem Solving" in *On the Beat* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999): 33-56.

Archon Fung "6.1. Bridges Across Race and Class in Traxton Beat" from *Empowered Participatory Governance: Reinventing Urban Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

## **16. Community Environmental Monitoring**

### **Wednesday, November 6**

Dara O'Rourke and Gregg P. Macey. "Community Environmental Policing: Assessing New Strategies of Public Participation in Environmental Regulation" (Manuscript, 2002).

**Monday, November 11 — No Class, Veteran's Day**

## **17. Health Policy and the Oregon Health Plan**

### **Wednesday, November 13**

Jack Nagel. Political Accountability: Combining Deliberation and Fair Representation in Community Health Decisions. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (1992).

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.

## **18. Constructing Science: AIDS and AIDS Activism**

**Monday, November 18**

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

Donald B. Rosenthal "Who 'Owns' AIDS Service Organizations? Governance Accountability in Non-Profit Organization" in *Polity* Vol. 29, No. 1 (Fall 1996): 97-118.

## **19. Addiction and Rehabilitation: Drug Courts**

**Wednesday, November 20**

Michael Dorf and Charles Sabel. "Drug Treatment Courts and Emergent Experimentalist Government" in *Vanderbilt Law Review* No. 53 (2000): 831f.

Internet packet: Available on Lexis-Nexis.

## **20. Workplace 1: Second Generation Discrimination**

**Monday, November 25**

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

Internet packet: Available on Lexis-Nexis.

## **21. Workplace 2: New Unionism?**

**Wednesday, November 27**

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.

## **22. Development 1: Village Level Transparency**

**Monday, December 2**

Rob and Anne Marie Goetz Jenkins, "Accounts and accountability: theoretical implications of the right-to-information movement in India," *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1999): 603-622.

**23. Development 2: Participatory Democracy in Kerala, India**  
**Wednesday, December 4**

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, forthcoming).

Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Deepening020411.pdf>  
Print relevant pages only – see table of contents.

**24. Collaborative Governance and the Problem of Power**  
**Monday, December 9**

Archon Fung. "Collaboration and Countervailing Power" (manuscript, 2002).  
Internet Packet: URL: <http://www.archonfung.com/docs/pal218/Collab2.pdf>

**25. Participation Where There is No State: Sweatshops and Labor Standards**  
**Wednesday, December 11**

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, at URL: <http://bostonreview.mit.edu/ndf.html#Standards>.