![NYU Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service logo]

PADM-GP 4116.001 Participatory Policymaking January 2024

Instructor Information

- Professor Rachel Swaner
- Email: RLS200@nyu.edu
- Office Hours: by appointment

Course Information

- Class Meeting Times:
    - Tuesday 1/9/24, 6-9pm
    - Thursday 1/11/24, 6-9pm
    - Tuesday 1/16/24, 6-9pm
    - Thursday 1/18/24, 6-9pm
- Class Location: Zoom (see the links on our NYU Brightspace class site)

Course Prerequisites

- CORE-GP 1022, Introduction to Public Policy

Course Description

Though the policymaking process is complex, with a host of actors and competing interests, public policy is traditionally shaped by elected officials, administrative agencies, and organized interest groups. There are many avenues for policies to be informed by the lived experience of members of low-income and marginalized communities; however, their participation is often hidden and/or undervalued. Public servants and policymakers can provide proactive opportunities for communities to assert their own priorities and rights through mechanisms like public planning processes or participatory budgeting. Similarly, marginalized communities can self-organize and even form common cause with broader interests to create more just public policies. In this course, we will explore strategies for initiating participatory policymaking from above (e.g., government/ policymakers initiating participatory approaches to decision-making) and below (e.g., grassroots communities mobilizing to influence policy), and the democratic tradition of challenging traditional power structures. We will also examine the essential concepts

of power—what it is, how it is used, how groups and communities can expand and strengthen their political power, and how public officials can share theirs.

Course and Learning Objectives

By the end of the course:
1. Students will have a greater baseline knowledge of various forms of participatory policymaking.
2. Students will be able to identify types of and provide pros and cons to the applications of various participatory processes.
3. Students will gain an understanding of the challenges to participatory governance as currently practiced in the United States.

Learning Assessment Table

Graded Assignment	Course Objective Covered
Participation	#1, #2, #3
Reading responses	#1, #2, #3
Final assignment	#1, #2, #3

Course Requirements

This is a discussion-based course. We will be exploring issues in a community-learning environment, and as such, class preparation and participation by everyone are essential. Students are expected to read required texts in advance and be prepared to contribute to class discussions. There is both a speaking and listening component to participation: sharing your ideas and reflecting on/responding to the ideas of others.

I expect students to have read the required readings before class. The readings are listed below in the "Course Readings" section.

Students will be required to:
1. Attempt to read as much of the readings as possible, given the compressed schedule of the course.
2. For two classes, write a reading response for one of the topics that day—due at 9am the morning of the class. These responses will be used to seed discussion of the topic covered.
3. Lastly, students will work in groups to write a final paper—a memo about a program or policy of their choosing. Due January 29th by 9am.

More detailed assignment instructions will be posted on NYU Brightspace under Assignments.

For Zoom Meetings

You are expected to participate in each class with your Zoom audio and video on. Please review Wagner's Zoom in the Classroom series about classroom etiquette, participation, and more.

Grading

Relative Weight of Assignments
- Class participation, 20%
- Reading Response 1, 20% (graded for effort)
- Reading Response 2, 20% (graded for effort)
- Final paper, 40%

Letter Grading
- A: 94.5+
- A-: 88.5 - 94.4
- B+: 85.5 - 88.4
- B: 82.5 - 85.4
- B-: 78.5 - 82.4
- C+: 76.5 - 78.4
- C: 73.5 - 76.4
- C-: 68.5 - 73.4

Course Readings (All are under Resources on NYU Brightspace.)

Class 1: Jan. 9 – What's the Problem?; Tools of Participation

What's the Problem?
- Fung, A., and Wright, EO. 2003. "Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance." In *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. Eds., Fung and Wright. New York: Verso. Pages 3-42.
- Alinsky, S. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Random House.
  - "The Purpose" and "A Word About Words"
- Pawel, Miriam. 2018. "California Ballot Initiatives Are Powerful. The Powerful Have Noticed." *New York Times.* November 5, 2018. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/05/opinion/california-ballot-initiatives-direct-democracy.html
- Fung, A. 2020. "Four Levels of Power: A Conception to Enable Liberation." *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 28(2): 131-157.

- Optional: Hayden, T. 2012. "Participatory Democracy: From Port Huron to Occupy Wall Street." *The Nation*, March 27, 2012.

Tools of Participation
- Fung, A. 2006. "Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance." *Public Administration Review*, Special Issue December 2006: 66-75.
- Gastil, J., and Richards, R. 2013. "Making Direct Democracy Deliberative through Random Assemblies." *Politics & Society*, 41(2): 253-281.
- Jacobs, LR., Lomax Cook F., and Delli Carpini, MX. 2009. *Talking Together: Public Deliberation and Political Participation in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
  - Chapter 1 (pages 1-23)
- Fishkin, JS. 2009. *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
  - "From Athens to Athens" (pages 9-13)
- Landemore, H., Sorota, A., and Tang, A. 2023. "Why picking citizens at random could be the best way to govern the A.I. revolution." *Fortune*, June 20, 2023. Available at: https://fortune.com/europe/2023/06/20/why-picking-citizens-at-random-best-way-to-govern-ai-revolution-tech-politics/
- Optional: Fung, A. 2003. "Deliberative Democracy, Chicago Style: Grass-roots Governance in Policing and Public Education." In *Deepening Democracy, Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. Eds., Fung and Wright. New York: Verso. Pages 111-143.

Class 2: Jan. 11 – Participation through Opening up the System: Participatory Budgeting

- Lerner, J., and Secondo, D. 2012. "By the People, For the People: Participatory Budgeting from the Bottom Up in North America." *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2): Article 2.
- Wampler, B. 2012. "Participatory Budgeting: Core Principles and Key Impacts." *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(2): Article 12.
- Wampler, B., and Touchton, M. 2014. "Brazil lets its citizens make decisions about city budgets. Here's what happened." *Washington Post*, January 22, 2014. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/01/22/brazil-let-its-citizens-make-decisions-about-city-budgets-heres-what-happened/
- Sangha, S. 2012. "Putting in Their Two Cents." *New York Times*, March 30, 2012. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/01/nyregion/for-some-new-yorkers-a-grand-experiment-in-participatory-budgeting.html
- Semple, K. 2015. "A Dog Run in Queens With a Price That Stuns: $1 Million." *New York Times*, October 7, 2015. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/07/nyregion/astoria-residents-cheer-plans-for-a-dog-run-but-frown-at-the-estimated-cost-1-million.html

- Swaner, R. 2017. "Trust Matters: Enhancing Government Legitimacy Through Participatory Budgeting." *New Political Science*, 39(1): 95-108.
- Optional: Marquetti, A., Schonerwald da Silva, CE., and Campbell, A. 2012. "Participatory Economic Democracy in Action: Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, 1989-2004." *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 44(1): 62-81.

Guest Speaker: Hannah Henderson-Charnow, Outreach and Participatory Budgeting Director, New York City Council District 39

Class 3: Jan. 16 – Participation through Collective Action

Community and Issue Organizing
- Alinsky, S. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Random House.
    - "The Education of an Organizer," "Communication," and "Tactics"
- Sen, R. 2003. *Stir it Up: Lessons in Community Organizing and Advocacy*. San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
    - Introduction: Community Organizing - Yesterday and Today (pages xliii-xlix)
    - Chapter 2: Organizing New Constituencies (pages 24-47)
    - Chapter 3: Picking the Good Fight (pages 48-78)
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2017. "How Protest Works," *The New York Times.* October 21, 2017. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/21/opinion/sunday/how-protest-works.html
- Delgado, M., and Staples, L. 2008. *Youth-Led Community Organizing*. New York: Oxford University Press.
    - Chapter 9: Youth First in Jackson Square! (pages 175-193)

Guest Speakers: NYC Council Member Crystal Hudson (District 35); Chris Kocher, Founder and Director Covid Survivors for Change, Founder and Former Director of the Everytown Survivor Network

Class 4: Jan. 18 – Participation through Knowledge Creation: Participatory Research; Critiques of Participatory Policymaking

Participatory Research

- The Sage Encyclopedia of Action Research. 2014. "Participatory Action Research." Thousand Oaks: Sage. Pages 583-588.
- Appadurai, A. 2006. "The Right to Research." *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(2): 167-177.
- Right to the City Alliance. 2010. *We Call These Projects Home: Solving the Housing Crisis from the Ground Up*. Available at: https://assets.website-files.com/61ccce7fbdaf706120c7c25f/62ac3271449a92b9051daaf7_We_Call_These_Projects_Home.pdf

- Fine, M., Torre, ME., Oswald, AG. 2021. "Critical Participatory Action Research: Methods and Praxis for Intersectional Knowledge Production." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 68(3): 344-356.
- Skim: White, E., Spate, B., Alexander, J., and Swaner, R. 2023. "'Two Battlefields': Ops, Cops, and NYC Gun Culture." New York: Center for Justice Innovation.
- Optional: Stoudt, BG., Fox, M., and Fine, M. 2012. "Contesting Privilege with Critical Participatory Action Research." *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1): 178-193.

Critiques of Participatory Policymaking
- Irvin, RA., and Stansbury, J. 2004. "Citizen Participation in Decision Making: Is it Worth the Effort?" *Public Administration Review*, 64(1): 55-65.
- Risner, G., and Bergan, D. 2012. "The Perils of Participation: The Effect of Participation Messages on Citizens' Policy Support." *Journal of Public Transportation*, 15(2): 137-156.
- Fung, A. 2015. "Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future." *Public Administration Review*, 75(4).
- Farrell, D. 2022. "We may have overdone it on citizens' assemblies." The Irish Times. Available at: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/we-may-have-overdone-it-on-citizens-assemblies-1.4803375.
- The Seattle Times Editorial Board. 2023. "Seattle's $27 million experiment in participatory budgeting is not worth repeating." The Seattle Times, November 14, 2023. Available at: https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/editorials/seattles-27-million-experiment-in-participatory-budgeting-is-not-worth-repeating/
- Optional: Hauptmann, E. 2001. "Can Less Be More? Leftist Deliberative Democrats' Critique of Participatory Democracy." *Polity*, 33(3): 397-421.

NYU Brightspace

All announcements, resources, and assignments will be delivered through the NYU Brightspace site.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and NYU. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by Wagner's Academic Code. All Wagner students have already read and signed the Wagner Academic Oath. Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to me. If any student in this class is unsure about what is expected of you and how to abide by the academic code, you should consult with me.

Because writing is a form of thinking, you should not use ChatGPT or other AI tools as a shortcut or substitute for drafting and editing written work in this class. Taking credit for writing you did not create is a violation of NYU's Academic Integrity policy.

Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Students with Disabilities at NYU

Academic accommodations are available for students with disabilities. Please visit the Moses Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) website and click on the Reasonable Accommodations and How to Register tab or call or email CSD at (212-998-4980 or mosescsd@nyu.edu) for information. Students who are requesting academic accommodations are strongly advised to reach out to the Moses Center as early as possible in the semester for assistance.

NYU's Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays

NYU's Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. Please notify me in advance of religious holidays you plan on missing.