

# Justice by Means of Democracy

DPI-247

GOV/GSAS 1041

Spring 2023

Danielle Allen

Monday 03:00 PM - 05:45 PM

Course id	also offered as Harvard College/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences: 220129			
Classroom	Wexner 332			
Shopping (via Zoom):	DPI-247	Friday, January 20	3:00-4:15	
	<a href="https://harvard.zoom.us/j/99301351878?pwd=TnBYZmFWMXljMHNpMG5scDgrWnVPQT09&amp;from=addon">https://harvard.zoom.us/j/99301351878?pwd=TnBYZmFWMXljMHNpMG5scDgrWnVPQT09&amp;from=addon</a>			
1 <sup>st</sup> in-person class	3:00-5:45pm EST Monday 23rd January 2023			
	Mar 11-19 Spring break			
Last in-person class	3.00-5.45pm EST Monday 24 <sup>th</sup> April 2023			
Professor	Professor Danielle Allen, James Bryant Conant University Professor; Director, Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics			
Mail	ELSCE, 124 Mt. Auburn St., Ste 520N			
Faculty Assistant	Catherine Kearns < <a href="mailto:catherine_kearns@hks.harvard.edu">catherine_kearns@hks.harvard.edu</a> >			
Office hours	Mondays 1.00-2.30pm (zoom or in person) by appointment (signup via Calendly: <a href="https://calendly.com/danielleallen-1/10min">https://calendly.com/danielleallen-1/10min</a> )			
Email	<a href="mailto:danielleallen@fas.harvard.edu">danielleallen@fas.harvard.edu</a>			
Class website	<a href="#">HERE</a>			
Assessment	Course journal (20%), Team Interview + Briefing Document (20%), Participation (20%), Final Project (40%)			

Version 2.0: 19 Jan 2023

## 1. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

For much of the 20th century John Rawls' *Theory of Justice* has provided a normative framework for much policy-making in the U.S. and elsewhere. In this course, students explore an alternative theory of justice that places greater emphasis on democracy, and look at concrete examples of the application of

this alternative policy-making framework to concrete domains like housing, good jobs and the economy, education, and climate. The course helps highlight the tight connection between underlying philosophical and ethical frameworks and policy-making methodologies, helps students understand reigning policy-making paradigms, and invites students to consider alternatives that are more powerfully supportive of democracy and inclusive empowerment.

The course has five main sections:

- (1) An opening section that explores how values factor into policy-making and why it's important to take them seriously;
- (2) A second section that focuses on the idea of policy-making paradigms that link normative foundations to exemplary policies and vernacular ways of communicating about them;
- (3) A rapid journey through the recent history of philosophy undergirding recent policy-making paradigms;
- (4) A deep dive into a new theoretical argument: *Justice by Means of Democracy*
- (5) An exploration of how theory meets practice via a look at policy materials that reflect or are related to the new theoretical paradigm

## 2. PEDAGOGY

The course will be focused on the in-person sessions, with readings and activities in preparation for each session. Class sessions will be a blend of instructor presentation, classroom discussion, team-based presentation, small group interactions, and team-based interviews of external presenters. This course is experimental. Students will be asked to contribute to its evolution by thinking out loud with the instructor about what shifts or adjustments might be helpful, even as the semester progresses.

Students are also asked to keep a journal. A template digital journal will be provided to students on the first day of class, and students will be asked to make a copy for their own use.

The course will have multiple streams of students in it: HKS students, HGSE students, College undergrads, College Mindich students, and GSAS doctoral students. Different final projects will be available for the different cohorts, but students may also petition to transfer project lanes.

<b>Office hours</b>	There will be opportunities to signup via Calendly calendar to reserve a slot for individual appointments for online office hours during the semester, on Mondays 1.00-2.30pm each week. The CA and TFs will also hold office hours, hours TBD.
<b>CA and TFs</b>	The course will be supported by CA Medha Uniyal (HKS) and TF Emma Ebowe (FAS-Gov)

## 3. Auditing Policies

1. **All HKS and Harvard students are requested to take the class for credit**, participating in all the meetings and completing the two assignments.

2. **Visiting fellows with a formal affiliation at Harvard** (eg Nieman, Ash, Weatherhead), or in one of the colleges or academic research centers in the Cambridge community, are asked to *register officially and participate as auditors*, including taking part in the weekly class discussions, doing the readings and

watching the videos before class. *Auditors should complete the journal but need not complete the other assignments.*

#### **4. ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION**

The course is assessed through class participation (20%), journal completion (20%), team interview + briefing document (20%), and the final project (40%).

##### **Final assignments are as follows:**

##### **HKS Students/ FAS UG Students- Policy Memo (3-5 pages):**

Pick a state legislative policy from one of these clearing house sites and analyze from the point of view of Justice by Means of Democracy:

<https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy-library/all/good-jobs/>

<https://alec.org/model-policy/>

##### **GSAS/ FAS UG Students- Analytical or Exegetical Paper (5-7 for UG; 12-15 pages for GSAS):**

Pick a philosophical predecessor or influence on JBD and write a paper analyzing the relation between the two-- or propose your own paper topic.

##### **Mindich students: Submit observational memo on the deliberations that you've helped run (3-5 pages):**

The Mindich TF will provide a structure for those memos. Mindich students do not need to take on Interview Team Roles. Mindich section students will participate in running, documenting, and debriefing deliberations that Partners In Democracy will run with organizations throughout Massachusetts over the course of this semester. These deliberations will give multiple communities (grass-roots orgs working in Gateway cities, members of the business community, student groups, labor groups, and democracy reformers) the chance to learn more about democracy deficits in Massachusetts and to deliberate on potential solutions. Students would be involved in planning, running, and capturing learnings from these deliberations. A final observational memo, including documentation of activities participated in, would be the major graded assignment for students in the Mindich section in the course.

##### **General points for all assignments:**

- You are expected to abide by Harvard University policies on academic honesty and integrity. Academic misconduct of any sort will not be tolerated.
- You must adhere to standard citation practices and properly cite any books, articles, websites, or other written materials used in your work. Plagiarism (copying of someone else's work without appropriate citation or quotation marks) is a serious violation of university policies and academic standards.
- Participants are expected to keep up with the required readings and lecture videos, to attend discussion classes every Tuesday, and to participate in the weekly online workgroups.
- Assignments are due to be handed in on the specified deadlines.

- Late policy: Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late assignments will be marked down a third of a grade (such as from A to A-) for each day following the due date.
- For the HKS track, Gov grad track, and College paper track: Your assignments are designed to be crafted as evidence-based research papers or policy analysis reports, in both cases reflecting the leading academic research on each topic. Your work needs to be carefully written and supported by direct evidence derived from the available data and from citations to existing peer-reviewed research from books and journals. For the College Mindich track: Your final project is designed to be crafted as a carefully documented observational record, reflecting leading standards for observational documentation.
- Use effective endnote references for citing sources from the peer-reviewed research literature, as suggested from the extensive readings listed in the syllabi and others related publications. Use endnotes to support any contentious claims and to acknowledge any data sources.
- You should consult the Harvard Guide to Using sources for proper citation styles. Sequential endnotes rather than in-text citations or footnotes are recommended. See <https://usingsources.fas.harvard.edu/> and also <https://guides.library.harvard.edu/cite/guides>

## 5. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The course follows the general principles established in the HKS academic code.

<https://www.hks.harvard.edu/educational-programs/academic-calendars-policies/student-handbook/general-regulations-and-1>

This specifies that all students are committed to:

- Doing your own work.
- Citing any ideas and words that are not your own in all assignments, e.g., any fact, phrase, or sentence from any sources. Failure to do so may result in any of the full range of disciplinary actions by HKS. In academic writing, it is considered [plagiarism](#) to draw any idea or any language from someone else without adequately crediting that source in your paper. Crediting the source also adds authority to your work, shortens the need for lengthy expositions, and allows readers to find further materials.
- Strictly following the guidelines for each assignment.
- Not doing another student's work or providing answers to another student.
- It is expected that all work submitted will have been done solely for this course. If the same or similar work is submitted to any other course, the prior written permission of all instructors involved must be obtained.
- From the third week onwards, after the workgroup signup is completed, please sit in the same seat each week with your workgroup. This facilitates small group discussions and report back formats.

## 6. SCHEDULE

Week	Topic	Objective of class	Lectures and Guests	Reading
1: 1/23	Introduction; Values in Policy	(1) To introduce the class, and to introduce the study of values in policy-making. (2) Make clear the requirements of the course. (3) Students introduce selves to one another. (4) Review of prereads/pre-activities. (5) Form Teams with Philosopher Survey	Waldo Lecture	Please read Intro, one body chapter of your choosing, and chapter 12 from:  <a href="#">The Growth of Incarceration in the U.S.: Causes and Consequences</a> (prior to first class)  Shared Values Exercise (at home prior to first class)
2: 1/30	Normative Foundations of Policy Making Paradigms	(1) To set up a framework for thinking about the relationship between norms and policymaking. (2) Introduce the idea of paradigm and how components work together. (3) Interview two people who are trying to change paradigms. (4) Taking ownership of a philosopher	Sam Bowles Alex Pascal	Read both:  Larry Kramer, <a href="#">Beyond Neoliberalism: Rethinking Political Economy</a> , 2018  Samuel Bowles and Wendy Carlin, <a href="#">"Shrinking Capitalism: components of a new political economy paradigm"</a>  Read one of:  Thomas Kuhn, <i>The Structure of Scientific Revolutions</i> , (1962), <a href="#">Excerpts.</a>  <a href="https://school.bighistoryproject.com/media/khan/articles/U2_Kuhn_Reading_2014_920L.pdf">https://school.bighistoryproject.com/media/khan/articles/U2_Kuhn_Reading_2014_920L.pdf</a>  Kaiser, D. In retrospect: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. <i>Nature</i> 484, 164–165 (2012).

				<a href="https://doi.org/10.1038/484164a">https://doi.org/10.1038/484164a</a> <a href="https://www.nature.com/articles/484164a">https://www.nature.com/articles/484164a</a>
3: 2/6	Old Paradigms	<p>(1) Acquiring a basic grasp of the philosophical foundations of prior paradigms from the 19th and 20th centuries?</p> <p>(2) Discussion circles: Questions TK</p>	None	<p>Students will individually be responsible for mastery of one of these but form teams to cover the whole:</p> <p>Benjamin Constant, <a href="#">“The Liberty of Ancients Compared with that of Moderns”</a></p> <p>John Maynard Keynes <a href="#">“Introduction to the Essential Keynes”</a> by Robert Skidelsky</p> <p>Friedrich Hayek, <a href="#">Freedom and Coercion</a></p> <p>Milton Friedman, <a href="#">The Social Responsibility of Business</a>, 1970</p> <p>John Rawls, <a href="#">A Theory of Justice</a>, excerpts, 1971</p> <p>Robert Nozick, <a href="#">Distributive Justice</a></p> <p><i>Optional useful background:</i></p> <p>Nagel, Thomas, <a href="#">“Rawls and Liberalism”</a> in <i>The Cambridge Companion to Rawls</i>, Samuel Freeman ed. (Cambridge: 2002), 62-85.</p> <p><a href="https://plato.stanford.edu/">https://plato.stanford.edu/</a></p>

4: 2/13	Deep Dive into the Philosophical History	(1) To establish the perspective of 2022; (2) To clarify shared questions; (3) To take ownership of a concept	Poll Everywhere Democracy poll Notice and Wonder  Text review and discussion  Re-team for discussion	<a href="#">JBD</a> , Prologue and Chapter 1  Allen Lab, <a href="#">Key Concepts Page</a>  Optional: Isaiah Berlin
5: 2/27	New Foundation	Normative Foundations:  Understand arguments Identify Strengths and weaknesses Share notice/wonders Discussion Question	Philip Pettit	Amartya Sen, <a href="#">Democracy as a Universal Value</a>  Elizabeth Anderson, <a href="#">What is the Point of Equality?</a>  Philip Pettit, <a href="#">Just Freedom, prologue</a>  <a href="#">JBD</a> , Chapter 2
6: 3/6	Policy Domains: Political Institutions and Society	Understand arguments Identify Strengths and weaknesses Share notice/wonders Discuss Question		Mansbridge, Jane. "Recursive Representation." <i>Creating Political Presence: The New Politics of Democratic Representation</i> . Ed. Dario Castiglione and Johannes Pollak. University of Chicago Press, 2018.  Cammett and Lieberman <a href="#">on cohesion and solidarity</a>  <a href="#">JBD</a> , Chapters 3 and 4
7: 3/20	Policy Domains: Immigration, Economy, and Education	Understand arguments Identify Strengths and weaknesses Share notice/wonders Discussion Question What Makes for a Good Interview?  To take ownership of a policy space	Anne-Marie Lipinski	Doris Meissner and Reihan Salam, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3zP6IT7Nzs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3zP6IT7Nzs</a>  D. Autor, C. Goldin, and L. Katz and C. Goldin, <a href="#">Extending the Race between Education and Technology</a>

				<p>Thomas Piketty, <a href="#">Interview at LSE</a></p> <p>Or sections from Capital in the 21st Century on education</p> <p><a href="#">JBD</a>, Chapters 5 - 7</p>
<p>Team Prep Sessions (during class on 3/20 and on own time)</p>	<p>What Makes a Good Interview?</p>	<p>What's the person's story? What got them into the space? What is their policy innovation? What motivated that? What problem were they trying to solve? What's the hardest problem facing them now?</p>		

Session 8- March 27- Theme: Housing

Time Slot	Activity	Readings	Background
3:00-3:10	Prep	Ebowe Section to Present Chart	
3:10-3:40	Interview 1—Jesse Kanson-Benav (in person)	Vargas Yes In My Backyard Legislation	<a href="https://abundanthousingma.org/2021/03/29/ahma-announces-executive-director/">https://abundanthousingma.org/2021/03/29/ahma-announces-executive-director/</a>
3:45-4:15:	Interview 2—Ben Metcalf (Zoom)	Governor Newsom's Housing Agenda	<a href="https://turnercenter.berkeley.edu/about-us/people/ben-metcalf/">https://turnercenter.berkeley.edu/about-us/people/ben-metcalf/</a>
4:15-4:30	Break		
4:30-5:00	Interview 3- Rep. Andy Vargas (Zoom)	Vargas Yes In My Backyard Legislation	<a href="https://malegislature.gov/Legislators/Profile/AXV1/193/Bills">https://malegislature.gov/Legislators/Profile/AXV1/193/Bills</a>
5:00-5:45	Debrief (with Ben Preis)	<a href="#">Allen housing agenda</a>	<a href="https://dusp.mit.edu/people/benjamin-preis">https://dusp.mit.edu/people/benjamin-preis</a>



	in person)		
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Session 9 - April 3- Theme: Good Jobs and Economy

Time Slot	Activity	Readings	Background
3:00-3:10	Prep		
3:10-3:40	Interview 1—Chuck Sabel (zoom)	Dani Rodrik and Chuck Sabel, " <a href="#">Building a Good Jobs Economy</a> "	<a href="https://www.law.columbia.edu/faculty/charles-f-sabel">https://www.law.columbia.edu/faculty/charles-f-sabel</a>
3:45-4:15:	Interview 2—Segun Idowu (in person)	BECMA, civil suit re city contracting (pdf)  City of Boston study that was basis for complaint (pdf)	<a href="https://www.boston.gov/government/cabinets/economic-opportunity-and-inclusion/segun-idowu">https://www.boston.gov/government/cabinets/economic-opportunity-and-inclusion/segun-idowu</a>  <a href="https://www.necn.com/discover-black-heritage/a-seat-at-the-table-black-owned-in-boston/2684914/">https://www.necn.com/discover-black-heritage/a-seat-at-the-table-black-owned-in-boston/2684914/</a>
4:15-4:30	Break		
4:30-5:00	Interview 3- Daniel Squadron (zoom)	Employee Ownership Model Policy (PDF)  Further background: <a href="https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/1c/employee-owned/#policy">https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/1c/employee-owned/#policy</a>  Predictable Scheduling Model Policy (PDF)  Further background: <a href="https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/1c/fair-work-schedules/#policy">https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/1c/fair-work-schedules/#policy</a>  State Service Corps Act (PDF)  Further background: <a href="https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/3b/state-service-corps/#policy">https://thelawmakernetwork.org/policy/3b/state-service-corps/#policy</a>	<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Squadron">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Squadron</a>
5:00-5:45	Debrief (with	<a href="#">Allen jobs agenda</a>  (Available as pdf)	<a href="https://www.linkedin.com/in/daniel-le-cerny-44b7241b/">https://www.linkedin.com/in/daniel-le-cerny-44b7241b/</a>

(Grads and Ebowe Section)	Danielle Cerny) (in person)		
5:00-6:00 (Mindich Section)	Section with Vandinika (in person)	Debrief Deliberations	

Session 10- April 10- Theme: Justice and Safety, Health, Climate

Time Slot	Activity	Readings	Background
3:00-3:10	Prep		
3:10-3:40	Interview 1—David Knight and Ben Barsky (zoom)	<a href="#">Safra Center Justice principles</a> (available via pdf)	<a href="https://provost.columbia.edu/content/faculty-profiles-david-knight">https://provost.columbia.edu/content/faculty-profiles-david-knight</a>  <a href="https://healthpolicy.fas.harvard.edu/people/benjamin-barsky">https://healthpolicy.fas.harvard.edu/people/benjamin-barsky</a>
3:45-4:15:	Interview 2—Kelsey Berry (in person)	<a href="#">Allen health agenda</a> (available via pdf)	<a href="https://bioethics.hms.harvard.edu/faculty-staff/kelsey-berry">https://bioethics.hms.harvard.edu/faculty-staff/kelsey-berry</a>
4:15-4:30	Break		
4:30-5:00	Interview 3- Connor Chung (in person)	<a href="https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/institutional-investors-must-divest-from-fossil-fuels-by-bevis-longstreth-1-and-connor-chung-2021-11">https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/institutional-investors-must-divest-from-fossil-fuels-by-bevis-longstreth-1-and-connor-chung-2021-11</a>  <a href="#">Allen climate agenda</a> (available via pdf)	<a href="https://ieefa.org/people/connor-chung">https://ieefa.org/people/connor-chung</a>
5:00-5:45	Debrief		

Session 11- April 17- Theme: Democracy and Education

Time Slot	Activity	Readings	Background
3:00-3:10	Prep		
3:10-3:40:	Interview 2—John Griffin (in person)	<p><a href="#">Massachusetts Democracy Scorecard</a></p> <p><a href="#">360Degree Healthy Democracy Standard</a></p> <p>Fishkin et al <a href="#">“The Crisis of Democracy and Science of Deliberation”</a></p>	<p><a href="https://www.linkedin.com/in/john-griffin-aba75774/">https://www.linkedin.com/in/john-griffin-aba75774/</a></p> <p>Optional further background reading:</p> <p><a href="#">Our Common Purpose HR1</a></p> <p><a href="#">Allen democracy agenda</a></p> <p><a href="#">Fair Representation Act</a></p>
3:45-4:15	Interview 1— Rachel Poliner (Mode: TBD)	<p>The Thrive Act (PDF)</p> <p>Kristin Johnson, a parent activist in JP, has written a 100-page paper on the Boston School Committee and converted it to a 24-part Twitter <a href="#">thread</a></p>	<p>Bio:</p> <p><a href="https://www.linkedin.com/in/rachel-poliner-46b14124/">https://www.linkedin.com/in/rachel-poliner-46b14124/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.linkedin.com/in/rachel-poliner-46b14124/">https://www.linkedin.com/in/rachel-poliner-46b14124/</a></p> <p>Optional Further Reading:</p> <p>Dr. Noliwe Rooks, <i>Cutting School: The Segrenomics of American Education</i></p> <p>Domingo Morel, <i>Takeover: Race, Education, and American Democracy</i></p>
4:15-4:30	Break		
4:30-5:00	Interview 3- Clare Donohue Meyer (zoom)	Excerpt, TBD, from <i>The Body Keeps Score</i>	<a href="https://www.linkedin.com/in/clare-donohue-meyer/">https://www.linkedin.com/in/clare-donohue-meyer/</a>
5:00-5:45	Debrief		

12: 4/24	Final Reflection			
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## 7. ESSENTIAL AND OPTIONAL READINGS

Note that essential reading for the classes will draw mainly on Danielle Allen, *Justice by Means of Democracy* (University of Chicago, 2023). All chapters (uncorrected draft) are also available for download [online](#). Hereafter referred to below as *JBD*. Other readings are provided via the syllabus and Canvas site. A few readings are marked in the syllabus as optional.

Shopping session invite:



Danielle S. Allen is inviting you to a scheduled Zoom meeting.

[Join Zoom Meeting](#)

Meetin [https://harvard.zoom.us/j/99301351878?pwd=TnBYZmFWMXljMHNpMG5scDgrWnVPgURL: QT09&from=addon](https://harvard.zoom.us/j/99301351878?pwd=TnBYZmFWMXljMHNpMG5scDgrWnVPgURL:QT09&from=addon)

**Join by telephone** (use any number to dial in)

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