Deepening Democracy
The Real Utopias Project
Series editor: Erik Olin Wright

The Real Utopias Project embraces a tension between dreams and practice. It is founded on the belief that what is pragmatically possible is not fixed independently of our imaginations, but is itself shaped by our visions. The fulfillment of such a belief involves ‘real utopias’: utopian ideals that are grounded in the real potentials for redesigning social institutions.

In its attempt at sustaining and deepening serious discussion of radical alternatives to existing social practices, the Real Utopias Project examines various basic institutions – property rights and the market, secondary associations, the family, the welfare state, among others – and focusses on specific proposals for their fundamental redesign. The books in the series are the result of workshop conferences, at which groups of scholars are invited to respond to provocative manuscripts.

Volume I
ASSOCIATIONS AND DEMOCRACY
Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers

Volume II
EQUAL SHARES: MAKING MARKET SOCIALISM WORK
John E. Roemer

Volume III
RECASTING EGALITARIANISM: NEW RULES FOR COMMUNITIES, STATES AND MARKETS
Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis

Volume IV
DEEPENING DEMOCRACY: INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATIONS IN EMPOWERED PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE
Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright
Deepening Democracy
Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance
The Real Utopias Project IV

ARCHON FUNG and ERIK OLIN WRIGHT

with contributions by
Rebecca Neaera Abers, Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Joshua Cohen, Patrick Heller, Bradley C. Karkkainen, Rebecca S. Krantz, Jane Mansbridge, Joel Rogers, Craig W. Thomas, and T.M. Thomas Isaac

VERSO
London · New York
## Contents

Preface: The Real Utopias Project  
*Erik Olin Wright*  
Acknowledgements  

### Part I  Introduction

1. Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance  
*Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright*  

### Part II  Case Studies

2. Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment  
*Gianpaolo Baiocchi*  
3. Democracy and Development: Decentralized Planning in Kerala  
*T.M. Thomas Isaac and Patrick Heller*  
4. Deliberative Democracy, Chicago Style: Grass-roots Governance in Policing and Public Education  
*Archon Fung*  
5. Habitat Conservation Planning  
*Craig W. Thomas*  

### Part III  Commentaries

6. Practice–Thought–Practice  
*Jane Mansbridge*  
7. Reflections on What Makes Empowered Participatory Governance Happen  
*Rebecca Neaera Abers*  
8. Toward Ecologically Sustainable Democracy?  
*Bradley C. Karkkainen*
CONTENTS

9  Cycles of Reform in Porto Alegre and Madison  225
    Rebecca S. Krantz
10  Power and Reason  237
    Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers

Part IV  Epilogue
11  Countervailing Power in Empowered Participatory Governance  259
    Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright

References  291
Index  305