

Proceedings of the
Policy Studies Organization
New Series, No. 23



1527 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington DC, 20036
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www.ipsonet.org

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It's Time for the US to Become Non-Nuclear

Stephen Schwalbe, PhD

Program Director, Political Science, American Military University

The common perception is that if the United States did not have nuclear weapons, it would become more susceptible to attack. However, the historical record shows that any country attacking the U.S. would be counter-attacked and defeated. In any case, it is unlikely the U.S. would actually use nuclear weapons to retaliate when conventional options are available to produce the same effects. The current threats to the U.S. are terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda. When attacked by al-Qaeda multiple times in America (e.g., World Trade Center, 1993), the U.S. did not respond by using nuclear weapons. In any case, terrorists are not deterred by nuclear weapons.

The Cold War essentially ended when General Secretary of the Soviet Politburo Mikhail Gorbachev declared the dissolution of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991.¹ This proclamation had numerous significant effects, including a reduction by about 50 percent of its operationally-deployed strategic nuclear weapons. The recent Moscow Treaty calls for the U.S. to further reduce warheads; a total inventory reduction of about 90 percent since 1991.

Despite this significant drawdown, according to the Arms Control Association nuclear weapons fact sheet, the United States still maintains more than 1,700 nuclear weapons on alert.² For what enemy? In what scenario would the president of the United States realistically authorize the use of nuclear weapons when he could achieve similar if not more effective results by using the high-tech and powerful conventional weapons available?

The United States continues to maintain nuclear forces for two fundamental reasons. First, the international security environment remains unpredictable, and has grown more complicated since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Political intentions can change overnight, and technical surprises can occur at any time. Second, nuclear weapons continue to play unique roles in supporting U.S. national security, though not suited for every 21st century challenge. According to Secretary of Defense Gates and Secretary of Energy Bodman in their *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century* (2008), U.S. nuclear forces serve to deter acts of aggression involving nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction and major conventional attacks.³

¹ Arms Control Association, *Nuclear Weapons Budget Fact Sheet* (Washington DC, March 18, 2013).

² Ibid.

³ Bodman, Samuel, and Robert M Gates, *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*, September 2008.

Neither of these reasons really applies to the U.S. today. Realistically, no nation in the world has the capability and the will to engage the U.S. in any war for the purpose of defeating the U.S. While North Korea or Iran may eventually have the capability to strike the U.S. with a nuclear weapon, this seems highly unlikely given the military response that would result.

U.S. Nuclear Weapons Infrastructure

U.S. nuclear weapons were designed for a short service life of approximately 10-15 years. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, a series of events combined to change fundamentally how the United States manages its nuclear force. These events included the dismantling of the nation's nuclear weapon fabrication plant at Rocky Flats, Colorado in 1989; two Presidential Nuclear Initiatives issued by President George H. W. Bush in 1991 and 1992 (which halted all nuclear weapon development and production underway); and, President Clinton's announcement in 1993 of an indefinite moratorium on nuclear weapons testing.⁴

The United States has not designed a new nuclear warhead since the 1980s, and has not built a new warhead since the early 1990s. As a result, the nuclear weapons infrastructure has atrophied, and existing U.S. nuclear weapons – most of which were designed 20 to 30 years ago – are being maintained well beyond the service life for which they were designed. Critical personnel, with experience in the design and testing of nuclear weapons, are also retiring. In the absence of a viable nuclear infrastructure, their expertise is not likely to be replaced. Moreover, as new design efforts are further delayed, the ability and availability of experienced designers and engineers to mentor the next generation will decrease over time.⁵

Currently, the U.S. nuclear weapons program costs taxpayers about \$31 billion annually.⁶ However, while that yearly investment deterred the Soviet Union during the Cold War, it did not deter al-Qaeda from attacking the U.S. on 9/11. According to Steve Schwartz in *The Cost of Nuclear Weapons*, the U.S. has spent over a trillion dollars on its nuclear weapons forces since World War II.⁷

Why would the U.S. ever employ a nuclear weapon? The U.S. has more than enough high-tech weapons to eliminate any target anywhere with conventional weapons, including the Guided Bomb Unit -24 Advanced Unitary Penetrator and the BLU 118/B Thermobaric

⁴ Bodman, Samuel, and Robert M Gates, *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*, September 2008.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Stephen Schwartz, *The Costs of US Nuclear Weapons*, Monterey Institute of International Studies, October 1, 2008.

⁷ Ibid.

Bomb (both weapons used to destroy hardened underground bunkers). One problem with this approach, as noted by David Sanger and Tom Shanker in the *New York Times* article “US Faces Choice on New Weapons for Fast Strikes,” is that it would take several hours to put any conventional weapons on a target today.⁸ Clearly, that is not quick enough to deter terrorists or others planning on attacking America.

President George W. Bush’s administration began working on a weapon system that could put a conventional weapon on any target anywhere on Earth within an hour and that would generate the destructive power of a nuclear warhead. The program is called “Prompt Global Strike.” Beginning in 2008, the U.S. Air Force and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) received funding from Congress to begin working on this program. These two organizations have been exploring the development of a hypersonic glide delivery vehicle that would deploy on a modified Peacekeeper Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM). It is called the “Conventional Strike Missile” (CSM). This program continues under President Obama.⁹

Meanwhile, the Air Force and Navy are both planning to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to upgrade their respective nuclear weapons forces, to include 12 new ballistic missile submarines (lifetime cost of \$350 billion), 100 new strategic bombers (at least \$68 billion), and at least 400 new ICBMs (cost unknown).¹⁰ All of this effort and expense is going into weapons that are simply not needed. The historic record shows that nuclear weapons have only been used for deterrence, and that effectively became obsolete after the Cold War ended in the early 1990s. The U.S. high-tech conventional forces stand as enough deterrence against any country or rogue element.

Non-Nuclear Weapon Strategic Posture

President Obama declared that he is interested in eliminating all nuclear weapons. In a major address in Prague on April 5, 2009, newly-elected President Obama proclaimed, “So, today I state clearly and with conviction America’s commitment to seek the peace and security of a world *without nuclear weapons*.” In September 2009, he became the first American president in history to chair a United Nations Security Council meeting dealing with nuclear disarmament. The result of this meeting was unanimous Security Council

⁸ David Sanger and Thom Shanker, “US Faces Choice on New Weapons for Fast Strikes,” *New York Times*, April 22, 2010.

⁹ Amy Woolf, “Conventional Prompt Global Strike and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles,” *Congressional Research Service*, January 10, 2013.

¹⁰ Arms Control Association, *Nuclear Weapons Budget Fact Sheet*. Washington DC, March 18, 2013.

support for UN Resolution 1887, which supported the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons worldwide.¹¹

Many countries interested in acquiring nuclear weapons point to the fact that the U.S. has them. The U.S. appears hypocritical demanding that countries such as Iran and North Korea give up their nuclear weapons programs when it is investing in its own nuclear weapons programs.

A Proposal for a Non-Nuclear U.S.

I support a proposal to accommodate both President Obama's desire for no nuclear weapons and his desire for more options to strike any target anywhere in less than one hour. We should eliminate all of our nuclear weapons and allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to include Russian inspectors, to inspect and monitor U.S. nuclear weapons facilities to confirm this new non-nuclear status.

Once the IAEA, China, and Russia were satisfied that the U.S. no longer has nuclear weapons, all of America's intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) would serve as delivery platforms for conventional - not nuclear - weapons. The flight time of a typical ICBM is less than 30 minutes. The flight time for an SLBM is less than that depending on where the nuclear submarine is located at the time. Where once these formidable delivery systems were unlikely to ever be used, now the possibility is reversed!

As such, all of the investment in these ballistic missile systems could actually become practical. The deterrence effect of DoD's military force could increase exponentially. At the same time, DoD saves close to a trillion dollars by not having to maintain and recapitalize its nuclear forces, and canceling the Prompt Global Strike's CSM program. All of this can be accomplished unilaterally without negotiations with Russia.

This initiative would also make DoD a more effective deterrent against asymmetric threats, such as terrorists, given the new capability to launch a ballistic missile with a conventional warhead and strike a target anywhere within 30 minutes. It would give the President and the National Security Council options currently not available. Finally, it would save DoD and the American taxpayer hundreds of billions of dollars in a time of fiscal constraint.

¹¹ Lawrence Wittner, "Has Obama Abandoned His Commitment to a Nuclear Free World?" *CounterPunch*, February 4, 2013.

Endnotes:

1 Arms Control Association, *Nuclear Weapons Budget Fact Sheet* (Washington DC, March 18, 2013).

2 Ibid.

3 *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*, 2008.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Stephen Schwartz, *The Costs of US Nuclear Weapons* (Monterey Institute of International Studies, October 1, 2008).

7 Ibid.

8 David Sanger and Thom Shanker, "US Faces Choice on New Weapons for Fast Strikes," (*New York Times*, April 22, 2010).

9 Amy Woolf, "Conventional Prompt Global Strike and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles," (*Congressional Research Service*, January 10, 2013).

10 Arms Control Association, *Nuclear Weapons Budget Fact Sheet* (Washington DC, March 18, 2013).

11 Lawrence Wittner, "Has Obama Abandoned His Commitment to a Nuclear Free World?" (*CounterPunch*, February 4, 2013).

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Arms Control Association, *Nuclear Weapons Budget Fact Sheet*. Washington DC, March 18, 2013.

Bodman, Samuel W. and Robert M. Gates, *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*, Washington, D.C., 2008.

Sanger, David and Thomas Shanker, "US Faces Choice on New Weapons for Fast Strikes." *New York Times*, April 22, 2010.

Schwartz, Stephen, *The Costs of US Nuclear Weapons*. Monterey Institute of International Studies, October 1, 2008.

Wittner, Lawrence, "Has Obama Abandoned His Commitment to a Nuclear Free World?" *CounterPunch*, February 4, 2013.

Woolf, Amy, "Conventional Prompt Global Strike and Long-Range Ballistic Missiles." *Congressional Research Service*, January 10, 2013.

Biography:

Dr Steve Schwalbe served for 30 years in the Air Force Intelligence and retired as a colonel in 2007. He was the Defense Intelligence Agency's top military analyst, focusing on the Soviet General Staff. He also conducted Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty inspections in the Soviet Union with the On-Site Inspection Agency.

Governance and Policy Processes

Audrey Kurth Cronin

George Mason University: School of Public Policy

1. Course Overview

This course examines the enduring and changing nature of governance from both theoretical and practical perspectives. It is a broad introductory graduate course, designed to introduce a wide range of concepts in public policy. It employs classic texts and extensive case studies to demonstrate how policy-makers seek to formulate and implement public policy effectively and legitimately, in the face of domestic skepticism, evolving state structures and a fast-shifting global context, so as to serve the public good.

Governance, or the act of governing, begins with what states do. The term as used in this course refers first of all to the constitutional foundations, institutions, and formal and informal processes through which states protect and serve their people, and advance their interests. States remain the fundamental political organizations in international relations. But why states came into being, how the modern state and its bureaucracy evolved, and the challenges facing state governance today and tomorrow are all vital to understanding the practical business of governing effectively.

What is the state? How do states derive their authority and legitimacy? What are the commonalities and differences in state governance around the world? What is unique about the United States and its system? How do states operate and how does the bureaucratic machinery of government work? How much can or should states out-source and privatize core functions associated with state governance? Who sets the policy agenda and what are the dynamics of public policy making? How does the modern state try to fulfill traditional core functions of the state, such as security, territorial sovereignty, opportunity for enrichment, and basic welfare, and what are some of the challenges to those traditional roles? How can state governance best work with and mobilize civil society, non-governmental organizations, and institutions of global governance? In short, what does it mean to govern well in the 21st century—and how does that translate into practical advice for policy-makers? How do they get things done? These are the questions addressed in this course.

Beyond state institutions, “governance” encompasses all the ways that actors organize themselves to exercise authority and to accomplish common purposes. Multinational organizations, private for-profit corporations, bureaucracies, non-profit groups, faith-based organizations, city councils and community clubs all “govern.” Some of them even operate on behalf of governments when a state out sources to them. But from the time of the Enlightenment, political theorists have argued that there is something unique about

governments acting in the public interest—i.e., that there is a difference between citizens performing public duties and businesses pursuing profit. The distinction harks back to the philosophical sinews of today's modern state, relating to the strength, scope and legitimacy of government. Yet in an era of bloated bureaucracies, does it still hold? We will examine the future of government and governance so as to chart a course for public policy graduate students interested in accountably, efficiently and effectively serving the public interest.

Objectives:

The goal of all George Mason University School of Public Policy Masters' degree programs is to prepare students for professional positions in public policy, including the executive or legislative branches of U.S. government at the federal (both military and civilian), state or local levels; private sector businesses dealing with public policy; non-profit organizations concerned with public policy; non-US governments; and international organizations. This required course is an introduction to governance and the policy processes that leaders confront within the evolving national and international landscape of the 21st century.

Learning Outcomes:

Upon completing this course, students will be familiar with a range of contemporary challenges to state governance, both in the United States and internationally, including their origins, implications, and possible future trajectories. They will acquire the knowledge and understanding to place contemporary policy-making challenges within a broader historical, political, social, and economic context. The goal is to acquire the ability to think strategically, beyond the day-to-day challenges of a bureaucracy, so as to govern more effectively over time.

Theoretical lessons will then be paired with specific applications crucial to the professional development of effective leaders in the public sector. Through the study of practical case studies, in-class exercises, and writing assignments, students will learn to analyze and begin to formulate specific policy responses to those governing challenges.

Finally, effective speaking, research and writing are essential to the public policy professional. Students will have an opportunity to advance all of these vital skills: in-class presentations will cultivate speaking skills, and the policy memo and final paper assignments will develop research and writing skills.

2. Readings:

The following books are required reading in the course.

Alberto Alesina and Edward L. Glaeser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Philip Bobbitt, *Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History* (New York: Random House, 2002).

Francis Fukuyama, *State-building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (New York: Longman, 2nd edition, 2003).

John Kingdon, *America the Unusual* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

Elliott D. Sclar, *You Don't Always Get What You Pay For: The Economics of Privatization* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000).

Allison Stanger, *One Nation under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

The following Case Studies are also required.

1. "The Turnaround Artist: Craig Coy Tackles Political Influence at Massport," [HKS Case #1896.0]
2. "Leasing the Pennsylvania Turnpike." [HKS case #1878.0]
3. "Inciting a Computer Revolution in Health Care: Weighing the Merits of the Health Information Technology Act," and the sequel "Inciting a Computer Revolution in Health Care: Implementing the Health Information Technology Act." [HKS Case #1937.0 and #1938.0]
4. "Wal-Mart's Response to Hurricane Katrina: Striving for a Public-Private Partnership." [HKS Case #1876.0 and #1876.1]
5. [The Blackwater case is directly accessible on-line; no purchase necessary.]
6. "Threat of Terrorism: Weighing Public Safety in Seattle." [HKS Case #1648.0 and #1648.1]
7. [The Google case is directly accessible on-line; no purchase necessary.]

3. Class Format

The course will be conducted in both lecture and seminar formats, mainly relying upon the Socratic method through interactive questions and answers. Students must read each week's assignments prior to arriving in class. The instructor will "cold call" on students, so please prepare. After the second week, at the instructor's discretion, there may be occasional short in-class reading quizzes to be graded and factored into class participation grades. The last hour of some sessions will be devoted to examination and analysis of case studies, where teams of assigned students will present the case and lead seminar discussions.

4. Course Evaluation

Policy memorandum	20%
Team Case Presentation and Analysis (group grade 10% and individual grade 10%)	20%
Research Paper	40%
Class participation*	20%

* Class participation will be the average of marks given for each class period, including reading quizzes. This weekly mark will reflect whether or not you have done the readings for that day's seminar and can answer questions on them, then go beyond them in seminar discussion with material drawn from the press, other readings, and your own creative thinking. Quality of participation is more important than quantity of comments made, but students should aim to contribute to discussion in every class. The course averages 150-200 pages of reading per week, which is standard for a Graduate-level seminar.

Late papers will be penalized one grade level (e.g., A- to B+) for each calendar day or part thereof, up to a full grade (e.g., A- to B-) each week. Barring officially-validated emergencies, the instructor will not give extra credit assignments or incomplete grades.

Mobile Phones must be turned off during class. Taking notes on your laptop is allowed; other computer activity is not. Our purpose is to engage in discussion, argumentation and debate; civility and respect to all members of the class is mandatory.

Students who must be absent for work or other foreseeable events should inform the professor beforehand so that make-up work can be arranged, as necessary. You are responsible for getting notes from colleagues for missed class periods. Attendance is important and has an impact upon the class participation grade: it is difficult to imagine a student earning above a "B" in the course if more than two classes are missed for any reason.

5. Course Overview

PART ONE: The Origins and Evolution of Governance

1. Introduction and Course Overview
2. The Western State and Its Evolution
3. Sovereignty, State Authority and Legitimacy
4. Foundations of the American Republic, and American Exceptionalism
5. Global Governance? Globalization, Networks and the State in the 21st Century

PART TWO: How Do States Operate?

6. Government Bureaucracy and the Machinery of Modern State Governance
7. Outsourcing State Governance and the Economic Limits of the Contract State
8. Setting the Public Policy Agenda in the United States
9. The Dynamics of Public Policy Making

PART THREE: Traditional State Functions and Contemporary Challenges

10. Protection of the Weak and Disadvantaged: Social Welfare and Its Challenges
11. Monopoly over Large-Scale Violence: Waging War by Proxy
12. Law Enforcement, Rule of Law: Confronting Transnational Threats
13. Territorial Demarcation and a Defined Population: Migration, New Communications and the Blurring of Borders

PART FOUR: Looking Ahead

14. Building New Paradigms: The Future of Governance and Public Policy in a Changing World

6. Discussion Questions and Assignments

PART ONE: The Origins and Evolution of Governance

1. Introduction and Course Overview

Purpose of the Course

Requirements and expectations

Introduction to the evolution of the Western State

Assignments:

Bobbitt, *War, Peace and the Course of History*, Prologue, pp. xxi-xxvii; Chapters 5-9 (pp. 69-209).

2. The Western State and its Evolution

How has the modern Western state evolved in recent history?

Does the evolution of the Western state provide a model for the rest of the world? Or is it an exceptional story?

What are the foundations of state legitimacy and governance today? Are they shifting?

Assignment:

Bobbitt, *War, Peace and the Course of History*, pp. 5-17; Chapters 1-4 (pp. 21-64); Epilogue, pp. 811-816. [For reference, note the plates on pp. 346-347.]

3. Sovereignty, State Authority and Legitimacy

What is the essence of “stateness”? How do states govern?

What are the sources of state legitimacy? What are the effects of weak state governance?

Scope

Strength/Capacity

Rule of Law

Use of Force

Territoriality

(Democracy?)

Assignments:

Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order*, Chapter One: “The Necessity of Politics,” pp. 3-25.

Fukuyama, *State-building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (all—121 pages).

Stephen D. Krasner, "Think Again: Sovereignty," *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb 2001, pp. 20-29.

4. Foundations of The American Republic and American Exceptionalism

What is different about the United States? Is it unique?

What are the sources of American legitimacy? How is the U.S. system structured?

What are the tensions built into the governing institutions?

How resilient is the American system?

How have the American people responded to vast social, political and economic change in the past?

Assignments:

The Constitution of the United States of America, Articles I and II

James Madison, *Federalist No. 10*

James Madison, *Federalist No. 51* [The U.S. Constitution and the *Federalist* papers may be easily downloaded from the web. Please type the terms into Google.]

Kingdon, *American the Unusual* (all—100 pages).

5. Global Governance? Trade, International Law and the State in the 21st Century

What is the role of global governance in the 21st century? Is it evolving?

Are global laws and institutions replacing those of individual nation-states?

What are the implications for the future of governance?

Assignments:

Stuart Malawar, TBD.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Sovereignty and Power in a Networked World," *Stanford Journal of International Law*, Vol. 40, No. 283 (2004), pp. 283-327.

Richard Samans, Klaus Schwab, et al., "Running the World after the Crash: Has the Era of Global Cooperation Ended before it Began?" *Foreign Policy*, 1 January 2011.

PART TWO: How Do Modern States Operate?

6. Government Bureaucracy and the Machinery of Modern State Governance

Where did the study of public policy come from?

Where did today's government bureaucracy come from?

What are its strengths and weaknesses?

What are the trends for the future?

Assignments:

Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2 (June 1887), pp. 197-222.

Max Weber, *Bureaucracy: "Characteristics of Bureaucracy,"* and "The Position of the Official."

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), chapters 1, 2, 7, pp. 3-28, 113-136.

James Pfiffner, "Traditional Public Administration Versus the The New Public Management: Accountability Versus Efficiency," in A. Benz, H. Sidentopf, and K.P. Sommermann, eds., *Institutionenbildung in Regierung und Verwaltung: Festschrift für Klaus König* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 2004), pp. 443-454.

Case Study #1 : "The Turnaround Artist: Craig Coy Tackles Political Influence at Massport," [HKS Case #1896.0]

7. Outsourcing State Governance and the Economic Limits of the Contract State

How well does the contract state work?

What are the implications of relying on private markets for traditionally public functions?

Assignment:

Sclar, *You Don't Always Get What You Pay For: The Economics of Privatization*, all, pp. 1-167.

Case Study #2: "Leasing the Pennsylvania Turnpike." [HKS case #1878.0]

8. Setting the Public Policy Agenda in the United States

[**Policy memo due at the beginning of class.**]

How are policy problems identified and decided?

Who participates in the process, and how?

How are alternatives or options determined?

Assignment:

Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-89.

Case Study # 3: "Inciting a Computer Revolution in Health Care: Weighing the Merits of the Health Information Technology Act," and the sequel "Inciting a Computer

Revolution in Health Care: Implementing the Health Information Technology Act.”
[HKS Case #1937.0 and #1938.0]

9. The Dynamics of Public Policy Making
[Paper prospectus due at the beginning of class.]

How do ideas mature and reach the top of the agenda?
How does the actual policy process differ from idealized models?
How can practical knowledge of the process enable participants to be more effective?

Assignments:

Kingdon, Agendas, Alternative and Public Policies, Chapters 5-10, pp. 95-244.

Case Study #4: “Wal-Mart’s Response to Hurricane Katrina: Striving for a Public-Private Partnership.” [HKS Case #1876.0 and 1876.1]

PART THREE: Traditional State Functions and Contemporary Challenges

10. Protection of the Weak and Disadvantaged: Social Welfare and Its Challenges

Has the age of the welfare state ended?
Why are the U.S. and European approaches so different?
Which social policy model will/should prevail in the future?

Assignment:

Alesina and Glaeser, Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe, all, pp. 1-221.

11. Monopoly over large-scale Violence: Waging War by Proxy

Is Statesmanship dead?
Does the state still control the legitimate use of force?
How can government maintain (or regain) legitimacy, while interacting effectively with non-state actors?
What are the strategic implications of these tactical decisions?
What are the advantages and disadvantages of using contractors on the battlefield?
What are the legal implications of contractors acting as state proxies?

Assignments:

Stanger, One Nation Under Contract, Chapters 1-6, pp. 1-135.

Case Study#5: Rebecca Dunning, “Heroes or Mercenaries? Blackwater, Private Security Companies, and the U.S. Military,” The Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University, Case Studies in Ethics.

12. Law Enforcement, Rule of Law: Confronting Transnational Threats

Are modern states well-equipped to meet transnational threats?
Is there a trade-off between civil liberties and security?

Assignments:

Chapter 7 of Stanger: "Laissez-Faire Homeland Security," pp. 136-161.

Robert Killebrew, Crime Wars: Gangs, Cartels, and U.S. National Security, Center for a New American Security; available for free downloading here:

<http://www.cnas.org/node/5022>.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," International Security, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 30-58.

Case Study #6: "Threat of Terrorism: Weighing Public Safety in Seattle." [HKS Case #1648.0 and #1648.1]

13. Territorial Demarcation and a Defined Population: Migration, New Communications and the Blurring of Borders

Do states still control their territory and populations? Should they?

Is 'cyberwarfare' a serious threat?

What do new communications mean for the ability of states to mobilize their populations? How are new forms of communication changing governance?

How do states and private companies make ethical business decisions in different cultural settings? When is censorship okay, and when should it be fought? Who decides?

Assignments:

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Cybermobilization: The New Leveé en Masse," Parameters Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 2006), pp. 77-87.

William J. Lind, Defending a New Domain: The Pentagon's Cyberstrategy," Foreign Affairs, September/October 2010.

Tim Maurer, "The Case for Cyberwarfare: Why the Electronic Wars of the Future Will Actually Save Lives," Foreign Policy.com, accessible at

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/19/the_case_for_cyberwar?page=full.

Bobbitt, Chapter 10, pp. 213-282.

Case Study #7: Kirsten E. Martin, "Google, Inc., in China," Business Roundtable Institute for Corporate Ethics, Case BRI-1004.

PART FOUR: LOOKING AHEAD

14. Building new Paradigms: The Future of Governance and Public Policy in a Changing World

[**Research Papers Due at the beginning of class**]

Building new paradigms: What should government do?
What capacity does it need to accomplish these goals?
How is governance evolving, and not evolving?
What are the practical implications for the policy-maker of the future?

Assignments:
No new reading assignment.

7. Written Assignments

Paper No. 1: Policy Memorandum

You are a staff analyst, tasked to advise your superior on the merits of either public or private delivery of a public good or service. Choose a policy or program at the federal, state, or local level in the United States or another country, and analyze whether it should be implemented by a public or private organization. The policy you choose may be currently implemented in the public or private sector, meaning that you may either recommend change or advocate for the status quo. But be sure that you cover all sides of the argument so that the program is ethically and accountably delivered, and your superior will not be blindsided in a public debate over the issue. The paper should be no longer than three pages long.

Paper No. 2: Write your own Analysis of a Public Policy Problem

The purpose of the second written assignment is to do in-depth scholarly research and analysis of a public policy problem. You may write about a topic that reflects your career, policy, or organizational interests. The finished paper should be about 12-15 pages long (between 3,000-4,000 words), not including citations.

Choose a specific problem in governance and explain how a decision-maker (or several decision-makers) dealt with that problem. Your goal is to write a practical, real world case study that is similar to the ones we have been studying in class. Appropriate topics could include problems in education, health care, transportation, delivery of aid, counterterrorism, military recruitment, weapons modernization, housing, drug regulation, prison regulation, and so forth. These problems do not need to be in the United States; pick

a country that you are familiar with and can do in-depth research about. Remember to provide specific evidence to support an understanding of the initial problem, what the decision-maker did to address it, and further evidence to support thorough analysis of the success or failure of the policy-maker's response.

In doing this analysis, you should use the concepts and ideas from this course, as well as any others that you find useful. You must cite a minimum of ten different sources, not including texts used in this course. Do not confine your research to internet sources or the popular press (newspapers, magazines, etc.), although you may find them helpful as starting points to gain ideas. (E.g., the database Lexus-Nexis is not sufficient for high caliber, graduate-level research.) Interviews, where appropriate, are strongly encouraged. Be sure to cite all the sources you use, including websites, for which you should provide the name of the author of the material, the date accessed, and a full url. There should be footnotes (or endnotes—either is okay), as well as a Bibliography of sources used (i.e., do not pad the bibliography with sources that you did not actually use).

Paper #1

Policy Memorandum (Basic Template)

TO: [Your superior—use my name or make one up. But be clear to whom the memo is addressed. The position of the person may make a difference to the analysis.]

FROM: [You.]

QUESTION: [Concisely stated—should your policy or program be implemented using a public or private (business or non-profit) organization]

BACKGROUND: (Usually 2-3 paragraphs. Explain the program; give historical information, facts, data, evidence, whatever will help with the analysis. This section should have a research foundation that explains why the question is relevant. What problem has developed?)

ASSUMPTIONS: (a paragraph or two, explaining considerations that underlie your analysis)

OBJECTIVES: (extremely important section. What exactly are you trying to achieve? Cost-cutting, efficiency, effectiveness, fairness, etc. Think very hard about this section.)

OPTION 1: (up to one page) Clearly state the option in a sentence or two. [Please note that these should be feasible options—i.e., not just “straw men.” Be as balanced, objective and factual as possible: the reader should not be able to tell which option you might prefer until you provide a recommendation at the end.]

PROS:

CONS:

OPTION 2: (up to one page—as above)

PROS:

CONS:

[Most papers will have two options—one public and one private. But not necessarily....]

OPTION 3: (Possibly there is a creative way to combine public and private delivery?)

PROS:

CONS:

DISCUSSION: Which option best achieves the objective? Why? How can you determine that? Analyze the options and build support for your recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION: (a concise couple of sentences)

Note: Unlike typical policy memoranda, this one should cite sources using either footnotes or endnotes, in standard formatting.

Paper #2 Prospectus

Analysis of a Public Policy Problem

Your paper prospectus should be one or two pages (maximum) and contain the following elements:

1. Proposed Title
2. Your name and email address (if you are willing to share it with your classmates)
3. Concise explanation of the case that the paper will explain and develop.
4. Research Methodology: How will you go about researching this case?
5. Tentative Bibliography: major books, articles, interviews, archives, etc. that you plan to use for your research.

Notes about the final paper:

Remember that this is a formal graduate-level research paper: both form and content are important. Your final paper must have either footnotes or endnotes, as well as a Bibliography. Please use formal citations (which have a superscript number that refers to a footnote or endnote). Do NOT use informal MLA in-text citations (which are typically the author's name in parentheses in the text).

This paper should reflect weeks of hard work and revision. It cannot be produced overnight. Edit, edit, edit. No time-pressed superior will waste his or her time on sloppy or unreadable work. Successful policy analysts write carefully edited, clear analyses in standard formatting so that senior policy-makers can easily comprehend them.

How to Present Case Studies in Class

For group in-class presentations of case studies, please follow these six steps. It is easiest to divide the six elements among the team, but also be sure that the presentation hangs together as a whole and the individual parts do not overlap. Please practice together before you get to class. Your presentation skills will be factors in the group's grade. The cases do vary, and you can alter or embroider on this pattern as necessary; but these are the classic steps of case study analysis and should all be covered, one way or another.

1. Overview of the case: Tell the class the background to the story. Provide the key information needed to understand the situation described in the case.
2. Problem: What was the problem? (Or what were the problems?) Explain in depth. (Framing the problem(s) is crucial, as it sets the potential alternatives and may narrow their scope or bias the outcome.) Did policy-makers correctly perceive the problem(s)?
3. Options: What alternatives were available? What were the pros and cons of each alternative? Did the policy-maker(s) correctly perceive the range of options available?
4. Outcome: What did the policy-maker(s) do? (Or what happened?) Why?
5. Analysis: Did the policy-maker(s) do the right thing? What would you have recommended doing? How might things have turned out differently?
6. Relevance: What other situations might be comparable to the one described in this case? What specific resources that we have studied in this course (and events in

your own experience, as relevant) shed light on what happened here? Are there lessons to be learned? How has the context for the case changed or stayed the same? What are the broader implications of this case, now and in the future.

Islamic Movements

Tugrul Keskin

Portland State University

1. Course Overview

This course will review and analyze the increasing trend of Islamic movements (IM) and Islamic parties (IP) around the world in the global age of capitalism and the contemporary Muslim world. In the course, we focus on IM and IP and their relationship with global capitalism, democracy, free speech, human rights, inequality, colonialism/imperialism, modernity, secularism and governance. All of these concepts are directly related with the conditions of modernity which have been created by the free market economy; therefore, I perceive Political Islam (IM and IP) as a product of modern conditions, such as urbanization, the emergence of a manufacture-based economy, the increased availability of higher education, women's participation in education and the workforce, and the elimination of traditional social values. The conditions of modernity created the concept of democracy in the modern world. Christianity and Judaism have consequently been struggling to redefine themselves under the new rules and regulations – not revelations - for over 200 years; whereas in Muslim Societies, the conditions of modernity challenge Islam and Muslims. Therefore, Muslims will be forced to decide between the expression and practice of Din/Religion and the material world in their daily life. There is therefore an ongoing struggle between the observance of God and the pursuit of material conditions.



Although Political Islam could be seen as a direct reaction to modern politics, Islam is actually an inherently political religion that rules and regulates every aspect of a believer's daily life, much in the same way as economic conditions do. This course examines the roots and traces the development of IM and IP in North Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia and South East Asia.



We will look at Islam from an ideological and identity point of view – not from the theological perspective, and will seek to understand what Islam means to Muslim populated countries and societies. Islam plays a major role in world politics today, especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Islamic movements and parties have also occupied the public and political sphere more noticeably from the 1980s until the present time. Today, Islam is the religion of one fifth of the World's population, and is one of the fastest growing religions. Muslims live in regions located from Morocco to Indonesia. The contribution of Islam to world civilization is undeniable, however in the last one hundred years, Muslims have faced economic underdevelopment, dictatorship, colonialism/exploitation/imperialism, and most importantly modernity. What does modernity mean for Muslims? Will there be an Islamic renaissance? How about an Islamic reformation? In relation to these questions, what are today's Islamic movements and parties trying to achieve? Unlike in the past, Islamic movements and parties have been very successful in democratic elections in the Muslim world, such as the case of Hamas in Israel/Palestine, the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, Hizbullah in Lebanon, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and Al-Nahda in Tunisia. In this course, we seek to understand the motivation of these movements, the reasons for their broad social and

political popularity and relevance, and their unique hierarchical structures. This course does not concern itself with Al-Qaida or other terrorist organizations, but does familiarize students with IM and IP more generally.

As described, Islam is not just a religion, but is also likely to manifest as a socio-economic and political structure; therefore, one must understand the socio-historical background and the origin of Islamic belief systems as well as their underpinning theoretical basis from thinkers such as:

- Ibn Taymiyya - <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H039.htm>
- Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani - <http://www.cis-ca.org/voices/a/afghni.htm>
- Hasan Al-Banna - http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/tmott/
- Sayyid Qutb – http://web.youngmuslims.ca/online_library/books/milestones/
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0SMYu00xmUc&feature=related>
- Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi - <http://www.abulala.com/>
- Ali Shariati - <http://www.shariati.com/>
- Fazlur Rahman - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazlur_Rahman

2. Course Objectives

The course objectives are 1) to acquaint students with both traditional and contemporary literature and research on Islamic movements, and 2) to introduce students to the historical and ideological basis of Classical and Contemporary Islamic Political Thought.

3. Course Materials

Required Books:

This course will use sections from the following books and articles:

1. Augustus Richard Norton. 2007. *Hezbollah: A Short History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/8363.html>
2. Khaled Hroub. 2006. *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*. Pluto Press. http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745329727&st1=hamas&sf1=keyword_index%2Cpublisher&sort=sort_pluto&m=1&dc=1
3. Roel Meijer. *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*. Columbia University Press, 2009. <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-15420-8/global-salafism>
4. *When Victory Is Not An Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics* by Nathan J. Brown. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012.

<http://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/book/?GCOI=80140100465990>

5. Humeira Iqtidar. 2011. *Secularizing Islamists? Jama'at-e-Islami and Jama'at-ud-Da'wa in Urban Pakistan*. The University of Chicago Press.

<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo11017672.html>

ISBN: 9780226384689

Recommended Books:

1. Fazlur Rahman. 2002. *Islam*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/presssite/metadata/epl?mode=synopsis&bookkey=3632939>
2. Tugrul Keskin, *The Sociology of Islam: Secularism, Economy and Politics*. Ithaca Press, 2011. ISBN: 978-0-86372-371-1
<http://www.ithacapress.co.uk/book/sociology-islam>
3. Fredric Volpi. *Political Islam Observed*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010.
4. Mohammed Zahid. *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East*. I. B. Tauris, 2012.
<http://www.ibtauris.com/Books/Humanities/History/Regional%20national%20history/Asian%20history/Middle%20Eastern%20history/The%20Muslim%20Brotherhood%20and%20Egypths%20Succession%20Crisis%20The%20Politics%20of%20Liberalisation%20and%20Reform%20in%20the%20Middle%20East.aspx>

Required Articles:

1. Islamic Way of Life by Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi
2. Between Yesterday and Today by Hasan Al-Banna
3. Enjoining Right and Forbidding Wrong - By Ibn Taimia
4. Milestone by Sayyid Qutb
5. Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood
Ziad Munson
6. Mawdudi and the Transformation of Jama'at-e-Islami in Pakistan by Abdul Rashid Moten
7. Hamas as Social Movement by Glenn Robinson
8. Islamism in Turkey: beyond instrument and meaning by Cihan Tugal
9. Hizbullah and the Theory of Social Movement by Mohammed Bamyeh
10. Political Dimensions of Religious Conflict in Malaysia Abdul Fauzi Abdul Hamid
11. Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy by Mark R. Woodward
12. Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat by JAN ALI
13. Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party? by Ersin Kalaycioglu
Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic Online | March 1992

Recommended Additional Reading:

1. Nasr, S. V. R. 1994. The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan. Berkeley, University of California Press.
<http://www.ucpress.edu/books/pages/6278.php>
2. Humeira Iqtidar. 2011. Secularizing Islamists? Jama'at-e-Islami and Jama'at-ud-Da'wa in Urban Pakistan. The University of Chicago Press.
<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/S/bo11017672.html>
3. Asef Bayat. 2007. Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn. Stanford University Press.
<http://www.sup.org/book.cgi?id=10420>
4. Mohammed Zahid. 2010. The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East. I.B.Tauris. ISBN: 9781845119799
5. Fouad Zakariyya and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. 2005. Myth and Reality in the Contemporary Islamist Movement. Pluto Press.
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745322469&>
6. Gunning, Jeroen. 2008. Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
7. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori. 2004. Muslim Politics. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/5838.html>
<http://cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-70044-3/hamas-in-politics>
8. Fouad Zakariyya and Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi. 2005. Myth and Reality in the Contemporary Islamist Movement. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745322469
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745322469&>
9. Azza Karam. 2004. Transnational Political Islam: Religion, Ideology and Power. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745316253
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745316253&>
10. Amr G. E. Sabet. 2008. Islam and the Political Theory, Governance and International Relations. Pluto Press. ISBN: 9780745327198
<http://www.plutobooks.com/display.asp?K=9780745327198&>
11. Edmund Burke and Ira Lapidus (Ed.), Islam, Politics and Social Movements, Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
12. Oliver Roy, Globalized Islam, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004.
13. Quintan Wiktorowicz (Ed.), Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.
14. Graham E. Fuller, The Future of Political Islam, New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.
15. Amina Wadud, Qur'an and Woman: Reading the Sacred Text from a Women's Perspective, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.
16. Bassam Tibbi, Islam between Culture and Politics, New York, NY: Palgrave, 2001.
17. Carl Ernst, Following Muhammad: Rethinking Islam in the Contemporary World, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
18. Charles Kurzman (Ed.), Liberal Islam, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.

19. Charles Kurzman (Ed.), Modernist Islam, 1840-1940. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002.
20. Fatma Mernissi, Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society, Indiana University Press.
21. Mansoor Moaddel. 2005. Islamic Modernism, Nationalism and Fundamentalism: Episode and Discourse, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
22. Walid Abdelnasser. The Islamic Movement in Egypt: Perceptions of International Relations 1967-1981.
23. Hala Haber. 1997. Hezbollah: Born with a Vengeance. Columbia University Press.
24. Abdessalam Yassine. 2000. Winning the Modern World for Islam. Iowa City, Iowa: Justice and Spirituality Publishing.
25. Ahmed Rashid. 2002. Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
26. Ahmed Rashid. 2001. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in central Asia. Yale University Press.
27. John Esposito. 1999. The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
28. Joel Beinin and Joe Stork. Political Islam: Essays from the Middle East Report.
29. John Esposito. 1983. Voices of Resurgent Islam. New York, NY: The Oxford University Press.
30. Moten, Abdul Rashid. 2002. Revolution to Revolution: Jama'at-e-Islami in the Politics of Pakistan. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia Islamic Book Trust.
31. Nazih Ayubi. 1993. Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World. New York, NY: Routledge.
32. Anthony Black. 2001. The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present. New York, NY: Routledge.
33. Hamid Enayat. 1982. Modern Islamic Political Thought. University of Texas Press.
34. Nikki R. Keddie, Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution. Yale University Press, 2003.
35. James L. Gelvin, The Modern Middle East: A History. Oxford University Press, 2007. ISBN13: 9780195327595.
36. William L. Cleveland. A History of the Modern Middle East. Westview Press, 2004. ISBN: 9780813343747

Recommended Websites

- <http://www.pbuh.us/>
- <http://www.muhammad.net/>
- <http://www.al-islam.org/>
- <http://www.lastprophet.info/>
- <http://www.islamworld.net/>
- <http://www.islamicity.com/>

Recommended Qur'an Websites:

- <http://quran.com/>
- <http://www.quranexplorer.com/quran/>
- <http://www.quran.net/>
- <http://www.quranflash.com/en/quranflash.html>
- <http://www.quranreading.com/>
- <http://quran.al-islam.org/>
- <http://www.englishtafsir.com/>

Recommended Documentaries:

1. *Muhammad: Legacy of a Prophet* 2005 a film by Michael Schwarz
<http://www.pbs.org/muhammad/>
<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-5588678537059723932#>
2. *Inside Islam* – History Channel
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hAjsu1ATrts>
3. *Traditional Islamic Prayers*
<http://www.history.com/videos/traditional-islamic-prayers#who-was-muhammad>
4. *30 Days as a Muslim*, a 2006 film by Morgan Spurlock

Mosques, Masjids, and Organizations – Portland:

1. Masjed As-Saber - <http://www.assaber.com/>
2. Bilal Masjid - <http://www.bilalmasjid.com/>
3. Muslim Community Center of Portland - <http://mccpdx.org/>
4. Mehdi Center (Islamic Center of Portland) - <http://www.icop.org/>
5. Muslim Educational Trust - <http://www.metpdx.org/>

4. Course Philosophy:

The goal of this course is to enable students to write a theoretically guided and empirically rooted research paper. I expect you to become familiar with the social, political and economic underpinnings of Islam and Islamic movements. Islam is a social structure, and Muslims are the agents of this structure.

The success of this course depends on your continued and sustained reading and participation. The course will be based on a four-dimensional method of learning, and this includes inquiry and critical thinking; communication; the diversity of human experience; and ethics and social responsibility. First, I would like you to critically analyze what you learn in this class or have learned so far through the media and education, because in today's world, truth is a relative concept. Throughout human history, critical thinking is one

of the most important factors that has contributed to human development. In order to become active, self-motivated, empowered learners and future leaders, you will need to have the ability to think critically, and therefore your criticism, feedback and suggestions are necessary. Second, I would like you to enhance your writing and oral communication skills in this course. Therefore, it is important to clearly elaborate your arguments in the class discussion as well as in the written assignments

Third, we are each part of the human mosaic, and all have different experiences based on our social, political and economic differences. We can all learn from and respect each other and benefit from our diversity. Please try to learn from and understand those with different perspectives than you. Lastly, we need to learn that we are all part of this intellectual community and larger society, and all have social and ethical responsibilities to our family, community, classmates, and humanity. We live in a globalized world and therefore, we need to be aware of events in our community, and the world today. In order to enhance our knowledge, we must critically examine our social, political and economic environment in order to apply this knowledge to our experience.

5. Course Requirements:

Reflection papers:

The reflection papers will include an open book essay that will determine what you have learned in class each week. I will ask you two or three questions regarding the same week's class subject and discussion.

Weekly Presentations:

Each week, three or four students will be assigned a weekly topic from the readings. These students will summarize the readings and prepare an outline and 4-6 questions for class, in order to come prepared to lead the class discussion. Each student must always read the course materials before they attend class, and I expect you to participate actively in the class discussion.

Newspaper Articles:

During the semester, you can bring 4 newspaper articles related with our class subjects. You cannot bring more than one article in the same week. You will have to summarize these articles verbally in class. Please bring the first page of the printed/hard copy of the article to class. Some of the recommended newspapers include The Guardian, Al-Jazeera, Democracynow.org, Financial Times, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal and the Economist. You can only bring an article on Mondays.

Final Paper:

This will be a group project. Each group of three or four students will select a recommended Islamic Movement, party or tariqah (Islamic Orders), which you will analyze within a theoretical framework from this class. The paper will be a research paper and you can use other sources as well, however you should clearly use citations. You will present a draft version of your paper in the Islamic Movements Students Conference at the last week of class, Thursday March 14. This mini-student conference will be open to the public. The final paper is an empirical paper of at least 40 pages in length, Times New Roman font, 12 point, doubled spaced. I must approve your paper topic and plan ahead of time. The final paper proposals are due as MS Word attachments emailed to me by Friday, February 7th. The last day to submit your final paper is Sunday March 17th. All of these papers will be published in the next issue of the Sociology of Islam and Muslim Societies newsletter.

Recommended Islamic Movements and Parties:

- Hezbollah - Lebanon
- Jama'at-e Islami of Pakistan
- Prosperous Justice Party of Indonesia
- Hizb-ut Tahrir
- Islamic Action Front of Jordan
- The Fethullah Gulen Movement of Turkey – Hizmet Movement
- Muslim Brotherhood -- Al---Ikhwan al-Muslimeen
- Hamas - Ḥarakat al--Muqāwamat al--Islāmiyyah
- Nahdatul Ulama of Indonesia
- Renaissance Party of Tunisia (Al- Nahda)
- Justice and Development Party of Morocco
- Justice and Development Party of Turkey (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi, AK Parti)
- Islamic Salvation Front of Algeria (Al-Jabhat Al-Islamiyya lil-Inqad, FIS)
- The Tablighi Jamaat
- Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (Parti Islam Se Malaysia, PAS)
- National Salvation Party of Turkey (Milli Gorus)
 - National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi)
 - National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi)
 - Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi)
- Nur Movement of Turkey (Said-i Nursi)
- Al-Noor Party - Salafi Movement of Egypt
- The Muslim Brotherhood of Syria

Grades:

Your grade for this course will be based on your performance on the following components, shown with their dates and respective weights:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Weight (%)</u>
6 Reflection Papers	Every Sunday	60.0
Final Paper		20.0
Attendance		4.0
Class Participation		4.0
Newspaper Articles		4.0
Weekly Presentation		8.0

The grading system in this class is as follows:

<u>A</u>	<u>95-100</u>
<u>A-</u>	<u>90-94</u>
<u>B+</u>	<u>86-89</u>
<u>B</u>	<u>85</u>
<u>B-</u>	<u>80-84</u>
<u>C+</u>	<u>76-79</u>
<u>C</u>	<u>75</u>
<u>C-</u>	<u>70-74</u>
<u>D+</u>	<u>66-69</u>
<u>D</u>	<u>65</u>
<u>D-</u>	<u>60-64</u>
<u>F</u>	<u>(Failure)</u>

6. Course Overview:

First Week:

- A Brief Introduction to the Course and Overview of the Syllabus
- What is an Islamic Movement and party?
- "The America I Have Seen": In the Scale of Human Values (1951) By Sayyid Qutb
- Islam Brochure: Introduction to Islam *you should read this brochure by Wednesday*
- The Power of Nightmares: Part I: Baby It's Cold Outside
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Second Week:

- Enjoining Right and Forbidding Wrong - By Ibn Taimia
- Review of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Said Nursi and Rashid Rida
- Chapter-1 On the Nature of Salafi Thought and Action (Global Salafism)
- 1. Partially Political Movements in Semiauthoritarian Systems (Brown)

Third Week:

- Between Yesterday and Today by Hasan Al-Banna
- Milestone by Sayyid Qutb
- Chapter-8 Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong as a Principle of Social Action (Global Salafism)
- Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Ziad Munson
- 2. Running to Lose? Elections, Authoritarianism, and Islamist Movements (Brown)

Fourth Week:

- Islamic Way of Life by Syed Abul A'ala Mawdudi
- Chapter-5 Salafism in Pakistan (Global Salafism)
- Mawdudi and the Transformation of Jama'at-e-Islami in Pakistan by Abdul Rashid Moten
- Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat by Jan Ali
- 3. Beyond Analogy Mongering: Ideological Movements and the Debate over the Primacy of Politics (Brown)
- The Power of Nightmares: Part II: The Phantom Victory
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Fifth Week:

- NATO'S Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization in Turkey Cihan Tugal -
<http://newleftreview.org/?view=2657>
- Fethullah Gulen's Grand Ambition Turkey's Islamist Danger by Rachel Sharon-Krespin - <http://www.meforum.org/2045/fethullah-gulens-grand-ambition>
- Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party? by Ersin Kalaycioglu
- 4. The Model and the Mother Movement (Brown)
- The Power of Nightmares: Part III: The Shadows in the Cave
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/3755686.stm>

Sixth Week:

- Hezbollah: A Short History by Augustus Richard Norton
- Hizbullah and the Theory of Social Movement by Mohammed Bamyeh
- Chapter-16 The Islamist Movement in Syria (The Sociology of Islam)
- 5. The Model in Practice in Four Semiauthoritarian Settings (Brown)
- Introduction and Secularism in Pakistan: A Failed Experiment? (Secularizing Islamists)

Seventh Week:

- Hamas: A Beginner's Guide by Khaled Hroub
- Hamas as Social Movement by Glenn Robinson
- Chapter-9 Salafi Formation in Palestine (Global Salafism)
- 6. Can Islamists Party? Political Participation and Organizational Change (Brown)
- The Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria
- One - Colonial Secularism and Islamism in North India: A Relationship of Creativity? (Secularizing Islamists)

Eighth Week:

- Political Dimensions of Religious Conflict in Malaysia Abdul Fauzi Abdul Hamid
- Chapter-7 Ambivalent Doctrines and Conflicts in the Salafi Movement (Global Salafism)
- 7. Ideological Change: Flirtation and Commitment (Brown)
- Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy by Mark R. Woodward
- Two - Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan: Learning from the Opposition (Secularizing Islamists)

Ninth Week:

- Chapter-2 Between Revolution and Apoliticism (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-6 Salafi Critique of Islamism (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-13 The Local and the Global in Saudi Salafi Discourse (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-14 How Transnational is Salafism in Yemen? (Global Salafism)
- Chapter-15 Growth and Fragmentation (Global Salafism)
- Three - Competition among Allies: JD and JI in Urban Lahore (Secularizing Islamists)
- 8. Arab Politics and Societies as They Might Be (Brown)

Tenth Week:

- Four - Harbingers of Change? Women in Islamist Parties (Secularizing Islamists)
- Conclusion: Islamists and Secularizing *and* Liberal? (Secularizing Islamists)
- Jihad vs. McWorld, Benjamin R. Barber, The Atlantic Online | March 1992 - <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1992/03/jihad-vs-mcworld/3882/>
- 9. Islamist Parties and Arab Political Systems as They Are (Brown)

Anthropology and Public Policy

Robert A. Rubinstein

Syracuse University: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

1. Course Description

In this seminar we examine anthropological contributions to public policy development and implementation. We also consider how public policies affect people's lives. During the first weeks of the seminar participants will examine the nature of public policy and how anthropologists' engagement with public policy has developed since the early 1970s to the present, and the anthropological study of public policy, including the socio-cultural understandings of risk, the role of values in policy and research, and the construction of authoritative knowledge. The subsequent section of the course examines anthropological studies of particular policy domains. Seminar participants will develop their own anthropological analysis of a policy area or approach. These analyses will be the focus of each participant's seminar paper

2. Readings

Required Readings:

Button, Gregory

2010 *Disaster Culture: Knowledge and Uncertainty in the Wake of Human and Environmental Catastrophe*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Douglas, Mary, and Aaron Wildavsky

1982 *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Forman, Shepard, ed.

1994 *Diagnosing America. Anthropology and Public Engagement*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lane, Sandra D.

2008 *Why are our Babies Dying? Pregnancy, Birth and Death in America*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Recommended Readings:

Ginsburg Faye

1989. *Contested Lives. The Abortion Debate in an American Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gomberg-Muñoz, Ruth

2011 *Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Moran, Michael, Martin Rein, and Robert E. Goodin, eds.

2006 *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Shore, Cris, and Susan Wright, eds.

1997 *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London, UK: Routledge.

Shore, Cris, Susan Wright, and Davide Però, eds.

2011 *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Simon, Herbert A.

1983 *Reason in Human Affairs*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Expected Background:

This is an upper division undergraduate and a graduate level seminar. Participants are expected to have prior background in anthropology and anthropological methods. For those without previous anthropological study, I will be glad suggest readings and other activities to help fill in the missing background. Please consult with me for suggestions as to what to do.

3. Assignments and Evaluation

Class Participation	30%
Analytic Essay	20%
Ethnography Presentation	20%
Problem Based Case Study	20%
In-class paper précis	10%

1.) Reading Responses and Class Participation (30%)

Preparation for and regular contribution to our class discussions are critical and the foundation for all of our work together in the seminar. High quality and regular **class participation** will be worth 30 percent of your semester grade.

Complete readings before class and be ready to engage in discussion about them. All students must participate in all class discussions. Your goal should be to try and understand the key claims of the reading; and to raise critical questions about those claims.

There are two roles in for our reading responses: Posters and Respondents

Posters:

The following are some suggestions for approaching the reading comments and discussion questions.

Method: What methods does the researcher use? Does the article provide useful methodological insights? If so, what?

Data: What are the data that the author presents? Can you see clearly how they were produced by the methods employed? Do they really support the author's claims?

Argument: What are the key things the article is claiming?

Clarification? What do you not understand or feel puzzled by in the article?

Value? What points in the article do you feel are especially valuable or noteworthy, and why?

Relation to other scholarship/work/writing? How does the article relate (or not relate) to other works in this or other classes?

New questions/issues? What, if any, new questions does the article raise in your mind? What does it lead you to think about in a new way? What questions does it suggest to you would be worthy of further study or investigation?

Critique? What points in the article do you feel were wrong, troubling, or problematic?

Responders:

Will review the readings and all of the comments made by Posters. They will prepare comments on the readings and in reaction to the Posters' comments. Responders will send reading responses in advance of class meetings.

Everyone is responsible for reading all of the posted comments before coming to class. This system is intended to enhance class discussions by giving you time to think about what your fellow students have to say about the readings, and enhance our ability to keep focused on issues of interest.

Class Discussion Facilitators:

Beginning in the third week of class, one student will be designated as discussion facilitator for each class. Their role is *to assist* in leading the class discussions for that day. They may wish to bring to the class's attention some material relevant to the day's topic but not in the required reading.

The discussion facilitator should prepare some materials to use or distribute in class. This may be a brief set of questions and observations that can function to "prime" our class discussions of the class. The discussion facilitator should consult me about their approach to the material and planning for the class session.

2.) Analytic Essay Week 6 (20%)

Each seminar participant will prepare a brief analytic essay, in the style of a commentary found in *Anthropology Today*, in which they take a position regarding what public policy is from an anthropological point of view or how anthropology might best contribute to public policy discussions. This essay should be no longer than 1,200 words. It should link to relevant literature, which will be demonstrated by the (non-trivial) citation of no more than 10 and no fewer than 5 peer-reviewed sources.

3.) Case Study (20%)

During the second phase of the seminar we turn to considering extended anthropological texts considering public policy. For each of the cases that we will treat in this fashion a group of class members will be assigned present the book to the class.

The entire class will read some materials from or relating to the ethnography to be considered each week. The group of students responsible for the book will collectively present and discuss the book during the class meeting in which we consider the book.

4.) Problem-Based Case Study (10% + 20%)

Each seminar participant will prepare a seminar paper that develops his or her own anthropological analysis of a policy area or approach.

The paper should call upon the theoretical approaches used in our class to understand the problem. The core aspects of the paper are about the problem, an analysis of its roots, its context, and, if possible, some practical strategies with which to address the issue under study. The white paper should be no more than **2,300 words long for undergraduates**, and no longer than **3,500 words for graduate students**.

5.) In-Class Paper Précis

During the last third of the class each seminar participant will have an opportunity to present a précis of their paper. The presentation will outline the problem being considered, discuss the conceptual approach being used, describe any empirical materials being considered and discuss how the paper links to the anthropological literature.

4. Readings and Seminars

1.1:

Introduction to the course, administrative business, self-introductions, course requirements, etc.

1.2:

Cochrane, G., 1980, "Policy studies and anthropology", *Current Anthropology* 21:445-458.

Hinshaw, R. E., 1980, "Anthropology, administration, and public policy", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9:497-522.

Nader, L. 1972. Up the anthropologist: perspectives gained from studying up In *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. D Hymes, pp. 284-311. New York, NY: Pantheon Books

2.1:

Besteman, C., 2010, "In and out of the academy: policy and the case of a strategic anthropology", *Human Organization* 69:407-417.

Okongwu, A. F., and J. P. Mencher, 2000, "The anthropology of public policy: shifting terrains", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29:107-124.

Shore, C., and S. Wright, 1997, "Policy: a new field of anthropology": 3-39. in C. Shore and S. Wright (eds), *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London, UK, Routledge.

Vaughan, D., 2005, "On the relevance of ethnography for the production of public sociology and policy", *The British Journal of Sociology* 56:411-416.

2.2:

Bowman, D., 2009, "Studying up, down, sideways and through: situated research and policy networks": 30-41 (31-11). in S. Lockie, D. Bissell, A. Greig, M. Hynes, D. Marsh, L. Saha, J. Sikora, and D. Woodman (dir.), *The Future of Sociology. Proceedings of the Australian Sociological Association 2009 Annual Conference*. Canberra, Australia, TASA.

Shore, C., and S. Wright, 2011, "Conceptualising policy: technologies of governance and the politics of visibility": 1-25. in C. Shore, S. Wright, and D. Però (dir.), *Policy Worlds:*

Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power. New York, NY, Berghahn Books.

Wright, S, and S. Reinhold 2011. 'Studying through': a strategy for studying political transformation. Or sex, lies and British politics In *Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Contemporary Power*, ed. C Shore, S Wright, D Però, pp. 86-104. New York, NY: Berghahn Books

3.1:

Douglas, M., and A. Wildavsky, 1982, *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Introduction –Chapter V, inclusive

3.2:

Douglas, M., and A. Wildavsky, 1982, *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Chapter VI-Conclusion, inclusive.

4.1:

Belshaw C. 1959. The identification of values in anthropology. *The American Journal of Sociology* 64: 555-62 (bl)

Forman S. 1994. Introduction In *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*, ed. S Forman, pp. 1-21. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Mackey, E. 1997. The cultural politics of pluralism: celebrating Canadian national identity In *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, ed. C Shore, S Wright, pp. 136-64. London, UK: Routledge

Peacock J. 1994. American cultural values: disorders and challenges In *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*, ed. S Forman, pp. 22-50. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

4.2:

Klein D, Stern C. 2004. Democrats and Republicans in anthropology and sociology: how do they differ on public policy issues? *The American Sociologist* 35: 79-86

MacLennan, C. 1994. Democratic participation: a view from anthropology. In *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*, ed. S Forman, pp. 51-74. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Simpson, R. 1996. Neither clear nor present: the social construction of safety and danger. *Sociological Forum* 11: 549-62

5.1:

- Nader, L., 1997, "Controlling processes: tracing the dynamic components of power", *Current Anthropology* 38:711-737.
- Rose, N., P. O'Malley, and M. Valverde, 2006, "Governmentality", *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2:83-104.

5.2:

- Apthorpe, R., 1997, "Writing development policy and policy analysis plain or clear: on language, genre and power": 43-58. in C. Shore and S. Wright (ed.), *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London, UK, Routledge
- Bobrow, D. B., 2006, "Social and cultural factors: constraining and enabling": 572-586. in M. Moran, M. Rein, and R. E. Goodin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.
- Rappaport, R. A., 1994, "Disorders of our own: a conclusion": 1-21. in S. Forman (ed.), *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*. Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press.
- Vike, H., 1997, "Reform and resistance: a Norwegian illustration": 195-216. in C. Shore and S. Wright (ed.), *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London, UK, Routledge.

6.1:

- Carbaugh, D., 2009, "Putting policy in its place through cultural discourse analysis": 55-64. in E. Peterson (ed.), *Communication and Public Policy: Proceedings of the 2008 International Colloquium on Communication*. Orono, Me, University of Maine, Department of Communication and Journalism.
- Miller, D.F. 1985. Social policy: an exercise in metaphor. *Science Communication* 7: 191-215
- Schlesinger, M, and R.R. Lau. 2000. The meaning and measure of policy metaphors. *American Political Science Review* 94: 611-26.
- Stuckler D, McKee M. 2008. Five metaphors about global-health policy. *The Lancet* 372: 95-97

6.2:

- Lau, R.R and M. Schlesinger M. 2005. Policy frames, metaphorical reasoning, and support for public policies. *Political Psychology* 26: 77-114.
- Pump B. 2011. Beyond metaphors: new research on agendas in the policy process. *Policy Studies Journal* 39: 1-12.
- Rein, M., 2006, "Reframing problematic policies": 389-405. in M. Moran, M. Rein, and R. E. Goodin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press.

7.1

Cohan, J. A., 2010, "Honor killings and the cultural defense", *California Western International Law Journal* 40:178-252.

Golding, M. P., 2002, "The cultural defense", *Ratio Juris* 15:146-158.

Renteln, A. D., 2010, "Corporal punishment and the cultural defense", *Law and Contemporary Problems* 73:252-279.

7.2:

Demian, M., 2008, "Fictions of intention in the 'cultural defense'", *American Anthropologist* 110:432-442.

Morgan, J. T., and L. Parker, 2009, "The dangers of the cultural defense", *Judicature* 92:206, 208.

Ramirez, L. F., 2009, "The virtues of the cultural defense", *Judicature* 92:207-passim.

8.1:

Simon, H. A., 1983, *Reason in Human Affairs*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

8.2:

Appell, G. N., 1993, *Hardin's Myth of the Commons: The Tragedy of Conceptual Confusions. With Appendix: Diagrams of Forms of Co-ownership. Working Paper 8*. Phillips, ME: Social Transformation and Adaptation Research Institute.

Neves-Graça, K., 2004, "Revisiting the tragedy of the commons: ecological dimensions of whale watching in the Azores", *Human Organization* 63:289-300.

9.1:

Button, G., 2010, *Disaster Culture: Knowledge and Uncertainty in the Wake of Human and Environmental Catastrophe*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. Introduction—Chapter 5, inclusive.

9.2:

Button, G., 2010, *Disaster Culture: Knowledge and Uncertainty in the Wake of Human and Environmental Catastrophe*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press. Chapter 6 through Chapter 11, inclusive

10.1:

Lane, S. D., 2008, *Why are our Babies Dying?: Pregnancy, Birth and Death in America*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Chapter 1—Chapter 5, inclusive

10.2:

Lane, S. D., 2008, *Why are our Babies Dying?: Pregnancy, Birth and Death in America*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Chapter 6—Chapter 9, inclusive

Newman, K. S., 1994, "Deindustrialization, poverty, and downward mobility : toward an anthropology of economic disorder": 121-178. in S. Forman (ed.), *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*. Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press.

11.1:

Gomberg-Muñoz, R., 2011, *Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-4, inclusive

11.2:

Gomberg-Muñoz, R., 2011, *Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapters 5-Epilogue, inclusive

12.1:

Vélez-Ibanez, C. G., 1994, "Plural strategies of survival and cultural formation in U.S.-Mexican households in a region of dynamic transformation: the U.S.-Mexican borderlands": 193-234. in S. Forman (ed.), *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement*. Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press.

Exercising Leadership: The Politics of Change
Ronald Heifetz
Harvard University: Kennedy School

1. Course Overview

This course provides a diagnostic and strategic foundation for leadership practice. Designed for professionals from diverse backgrounds and cultures, the course builds upon the extraordinary experience of many of our students. The purpose of the course is to increase one's capacity to lead with and without authority, across boundaries, and from any political or organizational position.

In a world in which most organizations, communities, and societies face enormous adaptive pressures, the practice of leadership is critical – the practice of mobilizing systems of people to thrive in changing and challenging times. In this course, we apply theory to practice, clarifying the relationship among key concepts – leadership, management, authority, power, influence, followership, citizenship – to provide a practical, coherent, and clear theoretical framework. We develop both diagnostic tools for analyzing the complexity of change in social systems, and strategies of action. These include: using authority and power wisely, mobilizing engagement across boundaries, generating innovation, orchestrating multi-party conflict, regulating disequilibrium, refashioning narratives to both build and depart from history, and building a culture of adaptability for the long-term. In addition, we begin to explore the challenge of managing personally the inevitable stresses and dangers of leadership.

The course draws from several disciplines: Philosophy and biology provide the concepts of paradigmatic change and adaptation. Political science and business management provide perspectives on the functions of authority. History and literature provide a rich caseload from which to explore the nature of adaptive success and failure. Social psychology provides insight into the dynamics of social systems and an approach to diagnosing their productivity and dysfunctions. Music provides a language for working with the practices of inspiration, creativity, listening, partnership, and harmony (consonance, dissonance, and resolution).

2. Course Design

The course uses a variety of means to learn theory and the arts of practice. In addition to the traditional methods of lectures, readings, and films, the course uses three more innovative teaching methods: student cases, “case-in-point” learning, and structured exercises. First, the course devotes a majority of its time to analyzing the past professional experiences that students bring from around the world and across sectors -- each student works on a personal

case study of leadership throughout the term. Second, students analyze the social and political dynamics common to many organizations and societies facing critical challenges by analyzing the evolving dynamics of the class itself as a case-in-point. Third, through structured exercises of both reflection and action, some of which involve poetry and music, students learn a variety of authoritative, creative, and communication skills integral to the practice of leadership.

Consultation Group Sessions:

The full class is divided randomly into small groups of 7-9 students. The groups meet for 1½ hours a week at a time to be arranged (there are several options from which to choose). The purpose of these sessions is to give students a laboratory to:

1. Apply what they learn in class and in the readings to their professional experiences.
2. Investigate ways to exercise leadership--with and without authority.
3. Discover and analyze the dynamics by which groups accomplish and avoid critical and creative problem-solving work.

The organization of these groups is described in detail in class. Briefly, on a rotating basis, each student prepares a case study from his or her professional experience and presents it to the group for consultation. A guide to preparing the case study is distributed in class. In addition, each student serves as the chairperson for the group on a rotating basis.

During the large class debriefing sessions, students develop a framework for leadership analysis by analyzing one of the student cases with the help of the instructor.

3. Course Requirements

1. Complete and on-time attendance. Only medical and family emergencies are permitted.
2. Presentation of a case study to the small group.
3. A weekly written analysis of the consultation group sessions (2-3 pages) in addition to several short written assignments (1-3 pages).
4. A final paper analyzing aspects of leadership (10-12 pages). This can be based on the personal case study.

Grading:

Classroom Work	30%
Weekly Papers	40%
Final Paper	30%

The classroom work grade is based upon one's effort and the quality of one's contribution in the class, and not the quantity or volume of comments. The key questions are: How deeply did each student draw upon and analyze his or her experience and mobilize the learning of fellow students in the class?

Readings:

Alderfer, Clayton, ed. "Consulting to Underbounded Systems," in *Advances in Experiential Social Processes*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980.

Argyris, Chris, and Schön, Donald, *Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective*, Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1978.

Arney, William Ray, *Experts in the Age of Systems*, Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.

Baym, Nina, Gen. Ed., *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, "Ralph Ellison 1914-1994," New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Fifth Edition, Vol. 2, 1998.

Barnard, Chester, *Functions of the Executive* (1938), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

The Bible, Revised Standard Version (1901).

Burns, James MacGregor, *Leadership*, New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Cortes, Jr., Ernesto, "Facing the World," an interview in Moyers, Bill, *A World of Ideas II*, New York: Doubleday, 1989.

Clausewitz, Carl Von, *On War*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Ellison, Ralph, *Invisible Man*, New York: The Modern Library, 1994.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *The Portable Emerson*, New York: Penguin, 1981.

Erikson, Erik H., *Gandhi's Truth*, New York: Norton, 1993.

Fisher, B. Aubrey, *Small Group Decision Making*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980.

- Frankl, Viktor E., *Man's Search for Meaning*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2006.
- Freud, Sigmund, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989.
- Friedan, Betty, *The Second Stage*, New York: Summit Books, 1981.
- Gillette, Jonathan and McCollom, Marion, eds., *Groups in Context*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1990.
- Grudin, Robert, *The Grace of Great Things: Creativity and Innovation*, New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1990.
- Havel, Vaclav, *Open Letters, Selected Writings 1965-1990*, New York: Knopf, 1991.
- Heifetz, Ronald, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Hirschhorn, Larry and Gilmore, Thomas, "The New Boundaries of the Boundaryless Company," *Harvard Business Review*, May-June, 1992.
- James, E.O., *Sacrifice and Sacrament*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 1962.
- Joreen, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Radical Feminism*, ed. Koedt, et al, New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973, pp. 285-299. *
- Kegan, Robert, and Lahey, Lisa, "Adult Leadership and Adult Development," in Kellerman, Barbara, ed., *Leadership: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984.
- Kellerman, Barbara and Rhode, Deborah L., eds. *Women & Leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change*, San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Jossey-Bass, A Wiley Imprint, 2007.
- Kuhn, Thomas A., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince (1515)*, New York: Bantam, 1984.
- Mathieu, W.A., *The Listening Book: Discovering Your Own Music*, Boston, MA: Shambala, 1991.

- May, Rollo, *The Courage to Create*, New York: Bantam, 1975.
- Milgram, Stanley, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1974.
- Miyamoto, Musashi, *A Book of Five Rings*, New York: The Overlook Press, 1982.
- Neruda, Pablo, *Fully Empowered*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977.
- Neustadt, Richard E., *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents, 3rd Edition*, New York: The Free Press, 1991.
- Pascale, Richard, Millemann, Mark, and Gioja, Linda, *Surfing the Edge of Chaos: The Laws of Nature and The New Laws of Business*, New York: Crown Business, 2000.
- Pascale, Richard and Sternin, Jerry and Monique, *The Power of Positive Deviance: How Unlikely Innovators Solve the World's Toughest Problems*, Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2010.
- Pearson, Carol S., *The Hero Within*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1998.
- Plato, *The Republic of Plato*, London: Oxford University Press, 1945.
- Pruitt, Dean G. and Sung Hee Kim, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement*, 3rd edition, New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 2004.
- Rice, A. K., *Learning for Leadership*, (London: Tavistock Publications, Limited © 1965), pp. 23-27, 43-51, 58-87.
- Rogers, Carl R. and Roethlisberger, F.J., in *Harvard Business Review: On Human Relations*, New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Rukeyser, Muriel, *The Collected Poems*, McGraw-Hill: New York, 1978.
- Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur, *The Coming of the New Deal: 1933-1935, The Age of Roosevelt, Volume II*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1958.
- Selznick, Philip, *Leadership in Administration*, New York: Harper & Row, 1957.
- Smith, Kenwyn and Berg, David, *Paradoxes of Group Life*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987.
- Steele, Shelby, *The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America*, New York: Harper Perennial, 1991.

Tracy, Laura, *Competition Among Women: The Secret Between Us*, Boston: Little Brown, 1991.

Tucker, Robert C., *Politics as Leadership*, Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Weber, Max, from *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Gerth and Mills, eds., New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Williams, Dean, *Real Leadership; Helping People and Organizations Face Their Toughest Challenges*, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2005.

Wills, Garry, *Certain Trumpets*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.

4. Lectures and Assignments

1.1:

Introduction: What Does it Mean to Practice Leadership?

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, Introduction and chapter 1

Plato, *The Republic*, pp. 227-235

Williams, *Real Leadership*, Introduction and chapter 1.

2.1:

Social Learning and Adaptive Work

Argyris and Schön, *Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective*, pp. 1-6, 8-29

Cortes, "Facing the World," an Interview in Moyers, *A World of Ideas II*, pp. 141-148

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, chapter 2

Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, pp. 77-91

Pascale, Sternin and Sternin, *The Power of Positive Deviance*, chapter 2

Pascale, Millermann and Gioja, *Surfing the Edge of Chaos*, chapters 2 & 10

Williams, *Real Leadership*, chapter 2

2.2:

Consultation Groups Introduction

3.1:

Group Dynamics

Ellison, from "Invisible Man," *The Modern Library*, pp.15-33 and *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, pp. 1883-1884

Fisher, *Small Group Decision Making*, pp. 166-180

Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, chapters 1-6, 9, and 10

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, chapter 3

Heifetz, "Notes on Group Dynamics," from Fisher, B. Aubrey, *Small Group Decision Making*, pp. 1-11

Rice, *Learning for Leadership*, pp. 23-27, 43-51, 58-87

Smith and Berg, *Paradoxes of Group Life*, chapters 5 and 6, pp. 89-108, 109-130

3.2:

Case Debriefing

4.1:

Creativity and Reality

Friedan, *The Second Stage*, pp. 15-18, 23-31, 38-41

Grudin, *The Grace of Great Things*, pp. 86-95

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, chapters 4 and 5

Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, pp. 160-173

Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chapter 6

May, *The Courage to Create*, chapters 1-4

Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*, pp. 22-28, 134-154

Mulhern, *Everyday Leadership*, chapter 2

4.2:

Case Debriefing

5.1:

Leadership and Authority

The Holy Scriptures, Exodus, chapters 18 and 32, Rev. Standard Version

Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, pp. 215-234

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, chapters 6 and 7

Kellerman and Rhode, *Women and Leadership: The State of Play and Strategies for Change*, chapter 1

May, *The Courage to Create*, chapters 5 and 6

Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View*, "The Dilemma of Obedience," pp.1-12

Smith and Berg, *Paradoxes of Group Life*, chapter 7, pp. 131-151

Tucker, *Politics as Leadership*, pp. 59-67, 77-97

Weber, "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority," from Gerth and Mills, eds., *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, pp. 245-250 and 253-255

5.2:

Case Debriefing

6.1:

Assassination

Arney, *Experts in the Age of Systems*, pp. 151-175

Clausewitz, "On Military Genius," pp. 100-112 and "On Danger in War," pp. 113-114 from *On War*

Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, chapters 8, 9, 10

James, "Expiation and Atonement," from *Sacrifice and Sacrament*, pp. 104-128

Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, pp. 3-9, 152-153, 161-163, 176-177

6.2:

Case Debriefing

7.1:

Purpose, Task and Work Avoidance

Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning*

Kegan and Lahey, "Adult Leadership and Adult Development," in Kellerman, ed., *Leadership: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, pp. 199-230

Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, pp. 169-172

Steele, *The Content of Our Character*, pp. ix-xii and 57-75

Williams, *Real Leadership*, chapter 5

7.2:

Case Debriefing

8.1:

Intervention: Managing Chaos and Conflict

Burns, *Leadership*, pp. 228-240

Pascale, Sternin and Sternin, *Positive Deviance*, chapters, 3 and 8

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