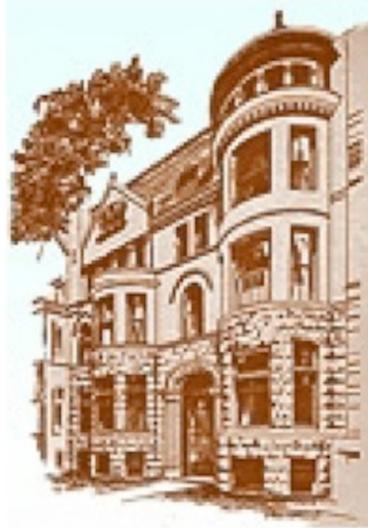


Proceedings of the  
Policy Studies Organization  
*New Series, No. 33*



1527 New Hampshire Ave, NW  
Washington DC, 20036  
Tel: (202) 483 2512  
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## **More Syllabi in the PSO Series**

For whatever reason, scholarly journals do not publish syllabi. But most of us who have classroom experience can testify to how helpful looking at the course designs of other professors can be. Perhaps the inattention is an unintended comment on the lack of attention to teaching and disproportionate attention to research that is allegedly a problem in academia.

Be that as it may, certainly very much in my own case, and I am sure in that of others, I sometimes have had to step in and teach a course because a colleague is unavailable, and then being able to check out how others have approached the subject has been doubly valuable. Sadly, teachers are not exempt from illness and incapacity, and when that happens a bank of syllabi is really a saving grace.

Over the years that the Policy Studies Organization has regularly published syllabi as part of its Proceedings, I have been pleasantly surprised at the ideas and approaches that have surfaced as a result. Moreover, each time we do it, we have had a number of warm appreciations from those who have found this a useful service. I also have to say that some of the most enthusiastic contributors have been very senior and distinguished faculty.

We have tried to organize the publishing by the PSO so that it can be of maximum use to courses. Each month the contents of our journals are indexed and a cumulative index appears as open access on our website. It is possible to go back many decades to see how a subject has developed, and to access the articles because of the placing of back issues online. Each year we publish the Policy Studies Yearbook with its biographies of faculty and summaries of developments in various policy fields. Our conferences are made available in video form, both on our web site and through commercial publishers. So we take the enhancement of teaching as a major responsibility.

A hearty thank you to the contributors to this issue, who have provided some first class material.

Paul Rich  
President, Policy Studies Organization and Westphalia Press

# Philosophical-Policy & Environmental Legal Design

By J.M. Gillroy, Lehigh University

Rather than a retrospective, empirical, and quantitative analysis of environmental governance, dominated by market assumptions, *Philosophical-Policy & Legal Design*, [PPLD] treats public decision-making as an essentially philosophical exercise, focusing on the foundational principles of choice, the theoretical and practical context of the decision and the resulting ‘design’ of specific environmental law. Philosophically, PPLD requires that one consider the paradigm or *logic of concepts* that underlies one’s empirical *logic of investigation*. PPLD is the art of creating law that specifically addresses a dynamic and dialectic world, stressing sensitivity to both the surface and essence of policy choices, and the application of the appropriate philosophical paradigm in pursuit of well-argued, well-justified and therefore persuasive legal-policy choice.

The focus of this approach is to identify the fundamental presuppositions made by governance systems about the human agent, the context of their collective action, the possible role of the state in public decision-making and the value placed on the natural environment. PPLD simplifies these parameters by using philosophical method to adapt a pre-existing and logically integrated philosophical system that is assessed for application to policy through persuasive argument made up of facts, values, and empirical evidence integrated through dialectic method. The goal of the course is to understand these options, and to learn how to utilize PPLD for the understanding of the past, present and future of, in our case, the public issue of climate change.

PPLD is characterized by a number of considerations that separate it from conventional policy analysis and provide distinct imperatives to the policy-maker:

1. It adds the use of **Philosophical Method** to the standard Social Scientific Method;
2. **Human Agency As Driven By Practical Reason** Is The Fundamental Point Of Departure, Considered In The Context Of Both Individual Choice And Collective Action;
3. It Requires An Integration Of Both Intrinsic/Inherent And Instrumental **Values** (Both Ideal-Regarding And Want-Regarding) With Scientific, Economic And Socio-Political **Facts** To Combine Ends And Means In Persuasive Policy Arguments That Present Reasonable Choices To People;
4. It Makes **Persuasive Argument Rather Than Quantitative Analysis** The Core Means For the Translation Of Policy Into Law.
5. It Replaces A Dependence On Eristic Argument With A Focus On The **Dialectic** Logic Of Concepts Where **Change Is A Fluid Environment** With No Priority For The Status-Quo;
6. It Stresses Awareness Of The **Context And Particular Circumstances Of The Issue** To Understand Its Uniqueness Or Commonality With Other Issues And Classes Of Issues—Not One-Size-Fits-All Analysis;
7. It Focuses On The Synthesis Of **What “Is”** And **What “Ought” To Be**;

8. It **Anticipates** The Requirements Of The Law, Transcending Dependence On Reactive Policy;
9. Overall, PPLD Moves Past **Market** Assumptions And Economic/Quantitative Analysis As The Core Curriculum Of Policy Analysis And Its Pedagogy.

### Course Organization and Responsibilities

This is a graduate seminar where the expectation is that all its members will both read and think about the material before class and be ready to participate. Therefore, verbal class participation is 50% of your final grade. The other 50% is made up of two graded arguments (25%), and the final term paper (25%). All arguments will be written to a specified form [*Gillroy-Writing Argument*—CourseSite] and will be submitted by e-mail as a WORD file attached to the e-mail with both the name and the subject line containing 401-17 and the students last name. The class case study is climate change and both of the graded arguments as well as the final paper will utilize this issue as an evidence base (Maslin 2014). The term paper will be no more than ten single-spaced pages with 1” margins all around at a 12pt. font. The instructor will allow a student to take another case study as the basis for the final term paper if this topic is communicated and discussed before the end of the fourth week of the seminar.

### Course Reading: [To Follow in Class Choose These Specific Editions]

- Gillroy, John Martin. 2013. *An Evolutionary Paradigm For International Law: Philosophical Method, David Hume & The Essence Of Sovereignty*. Palgrave-Macmillan. (Paper: ISBN: 978-1-349-47779-1).
- Gillroy, John Martin. 2000. *Justice & Nature: Kantian Philosophy, Environmental Policy, And The Law*. Georgetown University Press. (Paper: ISBN-13: 9780878407965).
- Hegel, G.W.F. *Outlines of the Philosophy of Right*. Trans/Edited by Knox and Houlgate. Oxford University Press ( Oxford World’s Classics). ( Paper: ISBN-13: 9780192806109).
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, Edited by Richard Tuck, Penguin Classics. (Paper-ISBN-13: 978-0140431957).
- Hume, David. *A Treatise Of Human Nature*. Edited By L.A. Selby-Bigge & Nidditch, Oxford University Press (Paper: ISBN-13: 9780198245889).
- Kant, Immanuel, *The Metaphysics of Morals* Trans/Edited by Mary Gregor [Cambridge Texts In the History of Philosophy] Cambridge University Press (ISBN: 0521566738).
- Maslin, Mark. 2014 (Third Edition). *Climate Change: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press. (Paper: ISBN 978-0198719045).
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract-Discourse*. Edited and Translated By Christopher Betts, Oxford University Press. (Paper: ISBN 13: 9780192835970).

## Schedule

### PART I: INTRODUCTION TO ARGUMENT WRITING & CLASS CASE STUDY

1. [8/28] INTRODUCTION: WRITING POLICY/LEGAL ARGUMENT.
  - ❖ Maslin: *Climate Change*.
  - ❖ Gillroy: *Writing Argument*. [CourseSite]

#### {PRACTICE ARGUMENT}

Question: *Do the 'facts' of climate change create an imperative for its legal regulation?*

- ♣ Thesis & POD Due 8/29-4PM.
- ♣ Thesis, POD & Entailments Due 8/31-4PM.
- ♣ Thesis, POD, Entailments, Evidence & Conclusion Due 9/2-4PM.

### PART II: PHILOSOPHICAL-POLICY & LEGAL DESIGN

1. [9/4] PHILOSOPHICAL-POLICY & LEGAL DESIGN: JUSTIFICATION & METHODOLOGY.
  - a. Gillroy: Preface—*The Assent Of Public Order Principles In International Law: Philosophical Method, G.W.F. Hegel & Legal Right Through Recognition*. Macmillan. [CourseSite]
  - b. Gillroy: *An Evolutionary Paradigm For International Law*. Chapter 1.

### PART III: PHILOSOPHICAL-POLICY & LEGAL DESIGN: DECIPHERING AND APPLYING A STATUS QUO PARADIGM

1. [9/11] HUME'S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.
  - a. Hume: *Treatise*, Book III-Parts I & II.
2. [9/18-9/25] HUME'S PPLD APPLIED TO THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL SYSTEM.
  - a. Gillroy: *An Evolutionary Paradigm For International Law*.
3. [10/2] HOBBS' PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.
  - a. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 10-30.
  - b. Deciphering Hobbes' PPLD As Applied To The International Regulation Of Climate Change.

#### {GRADED ARGUMENT #1}

Question: *Does Hume's or Hobbes PPLD provide the more adequate illumination of the status-quo international legal system as it attempts to regulate climate change?* [Due: 10/6-4PM]

### PART IV: PHILOSOPHICAL-POLICY & LEGAL DESIGN: DECIPHERING AND APPLYING A CHANGE PARADIGM

1. [10/9] KANT'S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.
  - a. Kant: *Metaphysics of Morals*—Theory of Right (Private and Public).
2. [10/23-10/30] KANT'S PHILOSOPHICAL-POLICY & CHANGE PARADIGM.
  - a. Gillroy, *Justice & Nature*.
3. [11/6] ROUSSEAU'S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.

- a. Rousseau: *Social Contract*, Book I –IV & Discourse On Political Economy: Deciphering Rousseau’s PPLD As Applied To The International Regulation of Climate Change.
4. [11/13-11/20] HEGEL’S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM.
    - a. Hegel: *Outlines of the Philosophy of Right*-Ethical Life: Deciphering Hegel’s PPLD As Applied To The Regulation of Climate Change.
    - b. Gillroy, J.M. *Practical Reason And Authority Beyond The State*. [CourseSite]

**{GRADED ARGUMENT #2}**

Question: *Does Kant’s or Rousseau’s or Hegel’s PPLD provide the more adequate foundation for the changes in the international legal system necessary to adequately regulate climate change?*

[Due: 11/25-4PM]

**PART V: FINAL TERM PAPER**

Question: *What combination of status-quo and change paradigms best illuminates the current problems with, and the necessary policy for the adequate legal regulation of, climate change?*

## Topics in International Relations: Global Justice

By David Mena Alemán, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City

### Introduction

The debate on global justice is primarily a debate on whether the international community (i.e. the community of nation-states) should be expected to abide by moral principles and countenance constraints derived from moral reasoning. The fact that some Western states have for a long time sought to safeguard effectively the human rights of their citizens and to reduce drastically poverty within their populations, through social policies, suggests that some moral principles like the equal moral worth of individuals, already regulate and constrain the activity of such states. However, if this principle leads some states to act on its behalf within their territories why does it not lead the community of nation-states to do the same in favor of the poorest nations of the world? Is the principle one of exclusively domestic scope? Does the principle require other enabling conditions to be applied at the global level? The debate on global justice provides some answers to these questions.

Some philosophers (the relationalists) believe that human rights and equality are redistributed through the bonds of a shared nationality or collective fate, and not without considerable coercive inducement by the state. This implies that those that need badly human rights and equality need with greater urgency a political community that collectively embraces, and a state with a mandate to enforce, human rights and equality. In the light of these positions, it is possible to appreciate that relationalists do not seem to require any change from the community of nation-states. That states hold that principle at a domestic level is all relationalists deem reasonable to expect. In contrast, other philosophers (the cosmopolitans) think that the same reasons behind promoting human rights and equality within states hold for doing so between them. Cosmopolitans press for a global process where the community of nation-states responds intelligibly to moral principles rather than with opacity to competing powerful national interests; advocate the creation of, additional supra and infra state and nonstate institutions to best respond to the needs and interests of individuals, rather than to the organic or structural or irreducibly collective needs and interests of nation-states (that do not neatly correlate with those of individuals); stress reliance on global rights and shared humanity rather than on national public culture and belonging. In other words, the world cosmopolitans expect is in the making. Cosmopolitans are proactive shapers and relentless advocates of an incipient emerging global egalitarian order. It is clear that relationalists can work around the international order as it is, while cosmopolitans need some processes, already set in place, to produce fully the transformations they expect. Relationalists think that the state is the source of many goods for the individual, and that some goods like human rights and equality are unforthcoming without it. Some cosmopolitans think poverty in the world has many sources, some of which have their origins in the political and economic and practices of wealthy states; other cosmopolitans think that there is an obligation to assist the poor regardless of whether one is responsible or not for the poverty of others.

Some relationalists also argue for assisting the poor in other nations, but they do so on very different grounds to those invoked by cosmopolitans, primarily because they do not see the Westphalian nation-state withering away undermined by the processes of globalization and compelled to shed most of its sovereignty in favor of other institutions. It follows then to assume that the debate on global justice between relationalists and cosmopolitans turns not on whether the condition of the global poor should be alleviated but on what each side believes the state is, and what the state is there to do; and also on what constitutes the good of an individual, how dependent or independent from the state is it; and perhaps the key difference, is how much importance each side accords to the role of domestic political struggle for the assignment and moreover, for the full enjoyment of human, civil and political rights. One thing is to be entitled to certain rights and to have them allocated by the state, and another one, to be able to exercise them without excessive interference of fellow nationals.

In view of the key issues underlying the debate on global justice the students of this course will examine relationalist justifications of the state, of state-building functions and processes, and of state functions within the community of nation-states, those justifications either address concerns or respond to challenges made by cosmopolitan theorists. Similarly, the cosmopolitan case for global justice brings to the fore a great deal of highly processed information on the different dimensions of poverty and on the range of policies available to address them. Furthermore, students will learn and evaluate key normative assumptions, proposals for institutional arrangements and the theories of political obligation that inform the cosmopolitan project. The analysis of the cosmopolitan project is followed by a debate between relationalists and cosmopolitans on whether there is justice outside the state. Up to this point the debate remained one between two strands of liberalism. With the analysis of Beitz's *The Idea of Human Rights* the course focuses on a debate between liberals and particularists.

*The Idea of Human Rights* makes room for a productive discussion of how rights might be extended to other regions of the world and customized for their use by different cultures. While this position creates a divide within cosmopolitanism since Beitz exposes the limitations of both natural rights and agreement based theories of rights, which had been pivotal in the cosmopolitan conception for global justice, it also opens the door for a dialogue with particularists. Global ethics particularists have argued for a two way intercultural dialogue, one where liberals can learn what true cosmopolitanism is by showing some curiosity for the goods other nonliberal cultures offer and also appreciate how much some liberal goods are cherished and freely assimilated by nonliberal cultures. Hence a nonliberal culture may adopt democracy and its correlated political rights, but not allocate those rights to women and protect their religion from the exercise of freedom of speech. For global ethics particularists this is all good and well and for Beitz it might be too, since he admits that cultures generate their own emancipatory movements which accord meaning to and shape, liberal rights.

The last five classes of the course will be devoted to the discussion of the ideal of particularist global ethics and of how would it take further the key goals of cosmopolitan global justice, i.e.

how would it seek to reduce poverty and extend human rights and in general, how can it contribute to making cosmopolitanism wider in its scope and more practical in its application.

The last four discussion classes will be geared toward making students show their competence to integrate the topics of the course to address the designated questions. From the beginning of the semester they will be asked to work up and refine the arguments of their position for each discussion class. The idea is to finish the course with a learning process furnished by well-informed and duly reflected participation.

## Course Requirements

### ASSIGNMENTS

Two essays the first to be handed in on **Week 10** and the second one on **Week 16**.

### PARTICIPATION IN CLASSES AND CLASS DISCUSSIONS

Students will be required to participate in classes and to show some eloquence in making the case for their own positions in class discussions.

### ASSESSMENT

Each essay 35% of the final grade; participation in classes 10% and in class discussions 20% of the final grade.

### READING MATERIALS

Some materials will be available for photocopying. In the Schedule those materials have the label **Photocopy** at the end of the reference. All other materials will be available in PDF files for download from Blackboard.

## Schedule

### PART I: THE CASE FOR GLOBAL JUSTICE

#### Week 3

#### **Do problems of International Relations lend themselves to Moral Reasoning?**

Brian Barry, "Do Countries have Moral Obligations? The case of world poverty", *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, Lecture delivered at Harvard University, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1980.

Charles R. Beitz, 'Justice and International Relations', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 4 (Summer 1975), 360-89.

#### **Rawls's Noncosmopolitan Idea of Global Justice**

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3-43.

#### **Photocopy**

John Rawls, *The Law of Peoples*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 105-20.

#### **Photocopy**

#### **Week 4**

Class suspended.

#### **Week 5**

##### **Critiques of *The Law of Peoples***

Thomas Pogge, 'An Egalitarian Law of Peoples,' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 23 (Summer 1994), 195-224.

Charles R. Beitz, 'Rawls's Law of Peoples,' *Ethics*, 110 (July 2000), 669-96.

#### **World Poverty I**

Thomas Pogge, *Politics as Usual: What Lies Behind the Pro-Poor Rhetoric*, (MaldenMA: Polity Press, 2010), Chs. 1-5, 11-109. **Photocopy**

#### **Week 6**

##### **World Poverty II**

Thomas Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*, 2nd Edition, (MaldenMA: Polity Press, 2008), Ch. 9, 222-61. **Photocopy**

#### **Key Political Ideas of Global Justice I**

Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, Ch. 4, 97-123. **Photocopy**

Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, Ch. 7, 174-201. **Photocopy**

#### **Week 7**

##### **Key Political Ideas of Global Justice II**

Charles R. Beitz, *Political Theory and International Relations*, 2nd Edition (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 13-63. **Photocopy**

Brian Barry, 'Statism and Nationalism: a Cosmopolitan Critique', Ian Shapiro and Lea Brilmayer (eds.), *Global Justice*, (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 12-66. **Photocopy**

Cristina Lafont, 'Accountability and global governance: challenging the state-centric conception of human rights', *Ethics & Global Politics*, 3, (2010), 193-215.

Charles R. Beitz, 'Human Rights as a Common Concern', *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001), 269-82.

#### **Week 8**

##### **What Kind of State for Global Justice? I**

David Held, *Cosmopolitanism: Ideals and Realities*, (Malden MA: Polity Press, 2010), Chs. 5 & 6, 143-201. **Photocopy**

Pogge, *Politics as Usual*, Ch. 9, 183-203. **Photocopy**

Luis Cabrera, *Political Theory of Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Case for the World State*, (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN: Routledge 2004), Ch. 7, 121-42. **Photocopy**

## **Week 9**

### **Borderless Citizenship**

Joseph H. Carens, 'Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders,' *The Review of Politics* 49 (Spring 1987), 251-73.

Chandran Kukathas, "The Case for Open Immigration." in Andrew Cohen and Christopher Wellman (eds.) *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics* (Malden MA, Oxford, Carlton Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), Chap.14, 207-20. **Photocopy**

Luis Cabrera, *The Practice of Global Citizenship*, (Cambridge CB2 8RU: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch. 5, 131-53. **Photocopy**

Symposium on Carens's 'The Rights of Irregular Migrants', *Ethics & International Affairs* 22 (Summer 2008), 163-212. **Photocopy**

## **Week 10**

### **Deadline for ESSAY 1.**

October 12. Class suspended.

## **Week 11**

### **Cosmopolitan Belonging**

Allen Buchanan, "Theories of Secession," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 26 (January 1997), 31-61.

Melissa Williams, 'Nonterritorial Boundaries of Citizenship', Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovic (eds.), *Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances*, (Cambridge CB2 8RU: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch. 10, 226-56. **Photocopy**

### **Conceptions of Political Obligation for Global Action 1**

Peter Singer, 'Famine Affluence and Morality', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (Spring 1972), 229-43.

Cabrera, *The Practice of Global Citizenship*, Ch. 2 & 3, 34-96. **Photocopy**

## **Week 12**

### **Conceptions of Political Obligation for Global Action 2**

Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights*, Ch. 8, 202-21. **Photocopy**

Martha C. Nussbaum, 'Beyond the Social Contract: Capabilities and Global Justice', *Oxford Development Studies* 32, (March 2004), 3-17.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice', *Feminist Economics* 9 (2003), 33-50, 56-9. In Thom Brooks (ed.) *The Global Justice Reader*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), Ch. 12, 237-58. **Photocopy**

### **Week 13**

November 2<sup>nd</sup>. Class suspended. Day of the Dead. READ, READ, READ!

### **Week 14**

November 9<sup>th</sup>. A Debate with Professor Luis Cabrera of The University of Birmingham “The tenets of Global Justice” The debate will be between you and him I’ll just be the referee.

### **Week 15**

#### **Deadline for ESSAY 2**

#### **Conceptions of Political Obligation for Global Action 3**

Alan Gewirth, ‘Duties to Fulfil the Human Rights of the Poor’ in Thomas Pogge (ed.) *Freedom from Poverty: Who Owes What to the Very Poor*, (New York: Oxford University Press and Paris: UNESCO, 2007), Ch. 8, 219-36. **Photocopy**

Simon Caney, ‘Global Poverty and Human Rights: The Case for Positive Duties,’ *Freedom from Poverty*, Ch. 11, 275-302. **Photocopy**

### **PART II: CHALLENGING GLOBAL JUSTICE THEORIES**

#### **Grounds of the Sovereign Nation-State 1**

Michael Walzer, ‘The Moral Standing of States,’ A Response to Four Critics, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 9 (Spring 1980), 209-229.

Avishai Margalit & Joseph Raz, ‘National Self-Determination,’ *The Journal of Philosophy* 87, (September 1990), 431-69.

### **Week 16**

#### **Grounds of the Sovereign Nation-State 2**

David Miller, ‘The Ethical Significance of Nationality,’ *Ethics* 98, 4 (July 1988) 647-62.

Robert Goodin, ‘What Is So Special About Our Fellow Countrymen?’ *Ethics* 98, 4 (July 1988) 663-686.

#### **Justice within the Limits of the Nation-State Alone**

Thomas Nagel, ‘The Problem of Global Justice,’ *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 33 (Spring 2005), 113-147.

Michael Blake, ‘Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy,’ *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 30, (Summer 2001) 257-296.

### **Week 17**

#### **Contesting Extra Rempublicam Nulla Iustitia**

Joshua Cohen and Charles Sabel, “Extra Rempublicam Nulla Iustitia?” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 34 (Spring 2006). 147-75

Andrea Sangiovanni, “Global Justice, Reciprocity, and the State,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (Winter 2007), 3-39.

## **Cosmopolitan Human Rights 1**

Charles R. Beitz, *The Idea of Human Rights*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chs. 6-7, 96-197. **Photocopy**

## **Week 18**

### **Cosmopolitan Human Rights 2**

Rajeev Kadambi, 'Book Review: Charles R. Beitz *The Idea of Human Rights* (2009)'. Available at:

Social Science Research Network: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1652212##](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1652212##)

Angelina Ling, 'Book Review: Charles R. Beitz *The Idea of Human Rights* (2009)', *German Law Journal* 13, 1 (2012), 87-93.

R. George Wright, 'Review Essay: the Disintegration of the Idea of Human Rights', *Indiana Law Review* 43, 2 (2010), 423-40.

### **The Institutional Ends of Human Rights: A Statist View of Human Rights and International Relations**

Christine Chwaszcza, *Moral Responsibility and Global Justice: A Human Rights Approach* (2nd Edition), (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011), Ch.6, 145-70. **Photocopy**

## **Week 19**

### **Class 25 A Global Dialogue between Contingent and Particular Cultural Communities**

Bhikhu Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), Chs. 10-12, 204-58. **Photocopy**

### **Class 27 Mutual Learning and Appreciation of the Merits and Limitations of Existing Cultures**

Daniel A. Bell, *Beyond Liberal Democracy: Political Thinking for an East Asian Context*, (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006). Ch. 3 & 4, 52-120. **Photocopy**

## **Essay questions for Week 7 Essay**

### **Discussion Session 1**

Cosmopolitans would like international relations to respond to the interests of individuals instead of, to the interests of states, or in other terms, they would like the interests of states to be reducible to the interests of the individuals that constitute them. To what extent would this principle for the morality of international relations give adequate guidance in global problem-solving and to what extent fail to do so?

### **Discussion Session 2**

Global Justice theorists assume that social justice is universal in its reach in the sense that human beings in need of the goods of social justice would not oppose receiving such goods were they made available to them. Nevertheless, similar receptivity to those goods need not

lead all individuals to concur with Global Justice theorists on the point that individuals should be the ultimate unit of moral concern. Would Global Justice theorists uphold egalitarian distributions of the goods of social justice even if some of its beneficiaries believed that as individuals they need not be considered the ultimate units of moral concern by their nations, ethnic groups or religions?

### Discussion Session 3

Are nation-states too hell bent on being state-centric and so extremely touchy about their sovereignty that they are unprepared to deal with the global problems affecting them either through supra-state building mechanisms or through cooperation with international governmental or non-governmental organizations? Or, is it not the case that nation-states especially those with poor or developing economies are seldom offered such opportunities for cooperation? If so, does it make any sense to claim that the Westphalian practice of sovereignty impedes effective global governance?

### Discussion Session 4

If nation-states are bound to forever compete against each other either to improve their position in the world or their odds for survival within an uncertain global system, how plausible is the constitution of a multi-layered system of global governance?

# **Environmental Policy 1**

**By Ray Rogers, York University**

## **Calendar Description**

The formulation of environmental policy is the focus: its underlying scope, concepts, legal bases, methodologies. Case studies illustrate the interaction of environmental policy with other policy areas: foreign and trade policy, economic and social policy. Critical review of how policy is created: participants, effects, burdens and benefits.

## **Prerequisite**

Third or Fourth year standing and completion of 6 credits in Environmental Studies or by permission of instructor.

## **Course Management**

The course will be organized around the analysis of readings and in teams of students working together on a case study in environmental policy.

## **Purpose and Objectives of Course**

The course is intended to provide a background and introduction to the concepts and practices of environmental resource policy.

The specific objectives of the course include:

- A) to provide an overview of the cultural, socio-economic, and biophysical impacts surrounding environmental policy, especially as it applies to the idea of policy failure;
- B) To review recent approaches to theories of environmental policy; and
- C) To apply these approaches in policy practice through case studies.

## **Organization of the Course**

The first half of each class will focus on the discussion of readings that address theoretical aspects of environmental policy, and the second half will examine case study material that illustrates environmental policy practice. With regard to learning outcomes, students will gain an understanding of the complexities of policy failure, as well as a familiarity with the five-stage policy cycle. Theoretical understandings of the policy cycle will be based on a policy network approach to issues that links political economy with governmental processes. Case studies of issues will provide opportunities to apply these approaches in practice.

## Evaluation

Participation:	15%
Background research paper:	40% (15%-Oct. 16)+(25%- Nov. 13)
Research project presentation:	15% (Nov. 13, 20, 27)
Research project document:	10% (Dec. 11)
Final exam, Dec. 4 (in class):	20%

Participation will be based on class attendance, contributions to tutorial discussions, awareness of issues in required readings, and ability to relate specific issues to broader concerns in the course.

Students will be divided into teams and will be expected to develop a research project together. The preliminary outline will set out the research goals for the project and provide a context for the background research paper.

Each team will do a class presentation based on the research they have done. It will be peer evaluated in terms of coherence, relevance to course material, clear division of labour among team members, as well as on aspects of the overall presentation (e.g. use of visual aids, etc.).

Each team will also hand in a document (about 15 pages) that is based on their research. This document should be presented in a form that reflects professional standards in the field.

The final exam will take place during the last class and will test the student's comprehension of required readings. The list of possible exam questions will be given out two weeks before the exam date. A selection of them will be on the exam.

## Required Reading

Michael Howlett, Melody Hessing, & Tracey Sommerville. 2005. *Canadian Natural Resource and Environmental Policy*. Vancouver: UBC Press. (ebook in Scott Library)

A Course Kit will also be available at the bookstore.

## Weekly Lecture and Reading Schedule

Week I (Sept. 11) - Introduction to Course

Week 2 (Sept. 18) – Historical Perspectives (McEvoy 289-305)

Week 3 (Sept. 25) – Jurisdictions (Doern and Conway 83-99, Swaigen and Estrin 21-46, Skogstad and Kopas 43-59)

Week 4 (Oct. 2) – Policy and Democracy (Adkin 1-15)

Oct. 9- Thanksgiving

Week 5 (Oct. 16) – Political Economy Perspectives (Ludwig *et al* 547-549, Pickett and Ostfeld 261-278, Richardson *et al* 8-47, and Hay 217-231)

Week 6 (Oct. 23) – Public Policy (Torjman 102-122, Howlett and Ramish 3-17, Brandstrom and Kuipers 279-305)

Week 7 (Oct. 30) – Policy Cycle- (Agenda Setting 105-134, Policy Formulation 135-154) (Howlett, Hessing and Sommerville)

Week 8 (Nov. 6) – Policy Cycle- (Decision-Making 155-171 and Implementation/Evaluation 172-212) (Howlett, Hessing and Sommerville, Donald Savoie 245-283)

Week 9 (Nov. 13) – Presentations

Week 10 (Nov. 20) – Presentations

Week 11 (Nov. 27) – Presentations

Week 12 (Dec. 4) – In-Class Exam

### **Stage One, Two and Three Assignments**

#### **Summary of Research Process**

The individual research assignment and the group project are linked together in a three-stage process. There will be an initial stage where students develop an individual research objective in consultation with other students who are interested in the same issue and begin to understand the jurisdictional aspects of their issue. Then each student will pursue their individual research assignment within the larger issue identified by the group. There will be a final stage where selective information from the individual research assignments will be coordinated into a final presentation and group report on the group policy issue.

Identify the five stages of the policy process that your group will move through in terms of offering solutions to an environmental issue. The five stages will eventually form the basis of the final report you will submit in Stage Three, but will also inform the way you shape the initial

five-page outline so that you can coordinate your individual research assignments in such a way that they contribute to a coherent Stage Three report.

- 1) Problem definition leading to agenda setting- the beginning of any policy process is triggered by the recognition that there is a problem for which current policy is either insufficient or non-existent (policy failure). This will set the context for the group to undertake its research. Identify what the problem is and discuss the policy context related to the failures of past policy (e.g. the ecological integrity focus of the Task Force on National Parks is a new policy which overcomes the failures of past policy that has undermined diversity in parks).
- 2) Proposal of solutions leading to new policy formation- Outline some of the possible policy options that could be undertaken to solve past policy failure. Individual research assignments could undertake research in various areas.
- 3) Choice of solution proposed to policy makers- As policy makers, you will make a recommendation to publicly-elected officials as to which solution is advisable.
- 4) Policy Implementation of Proposed Solution- Describe the form the new policy will take. Does it involve new regulations, for example?
- 5) Monitoring the Success of the Policy- What procedures will you put in place to assess the success of your policy solution?

As well as being a commonly accepted policy process, this five-stage process can also act as a guide for a table of contents for your final report.

### **Stage One- Group Report Outline and Jurisdictional Overview** (15% of final grade)

Each group will identify the environmental policy issue on which they will focus. They will then need to coordinate who will specialize on the various aspects of the issue. Each group will submit a research outline of their issue. There are three important aspects to this outline:

- 1) The first aspect has to do with the complexity of the issue. Bruce Mitchell has identified seven perspectives that are present in resource management/environmental policy issues: biophysical, economic, social, political, legal, institutional, and technological. In order to do a good job of analyzing your issue, these seven perspectives should be divided up among group members.
- 2) The second aspect of the issue has to do with jurisdictional responsibility: What government department is in charge of your issue?
- 3) The third important aspect of the issue has to do with the policy network involved. By policy network, I mean the group of stakeholders who are direct interest in the issue. In Canada, this has historically mean government departments and large companies (mining, forestry). Because of more recent concerns over environmental issues, a third stakeholder has become involved that can be identified as civil society groups who try to influence policy.

In the Stage One outline, your group will submit a five-page report on the issue you have selected, outlining current policy failure, identifying the perspective each group member is responsible for, as well as profiling the stakeholders involved. Include a copy of the most recent and most relevant policy document that has shaped the policy context of your issue. Understanding how your issue was approached previously can help your group in understanding the nature of the perceived policy failure that you are identifying, and what possible alternative policy instruments might be used in the future.

The Stage One outline is due on **October 16**. This will allow time for each group member to undertake preliminary research on their individual assignments focused on a perspective and report back to the group so as to aid in the integration of group members views.

The five-page Stage One outline will contain the following:

- 1) Names of group members
- 2) Initial problem definition of policy failure
- 3) Outline of perspectives on issue that each group member will pursue through their individual research assignment.
- 4) Overview of jurisdictional issues and a copy of the most recent policy document.
- 5) Profile of Policy Network (Stakeholders).

### **Stage Two- Individual Research Assignment** (25% of final grade, 10-12 pages)

Once the group has spent some time identifying the specifics of the issue they have chosen, they will then coordinate their activities in such a way that the individual research they pursue will contribute to the overall goals of the group report. The identification of the specific focus of each group member's individual research that was identified in the Stage One report will form the basis of the individual research assignment.

Use the headings below to help organize your Stage Two Assignment:

#### Introduction

Provide an overview of policy failure that your group discussed in your Stage One report. State which of the seven perspectives you will focus in your Stage Two Report.

#### Research Assignment Focused on One of the Perspectives

The body of the paper will reflect the individual research you have undertaken on your aspect of the issue that will eventually make a contribution to your group's presentation and final report. By examining the most recent policy document that your group handed in with the Stage-One report, you can see how your perspective was discussed previously. Discuss the relationship between your perspective and the stakeholders with whom it is most closely associated and how these stakeholders have influenced your perspective. Try to pursue your research in such a way

that it reflects standards in the environmental policy field, as well as reflecting on ways that it might be viewed differently so as to overcome past policy failure. As part of this discussion of policy failure, you will reflect on Brandstrom and Kuipers conception of the “selective politicization of policy failure” by assessing which actors/underlying values are responsible for the failure. These reflections will aid the whole class in a broader discussion of the root causes of environmental policy failure.

#### Contribution to the Goals of the Group Report

Refer back to the overall project and outline what you believe are your contributions to the group presentation and report.

The Individual Research Assignment is due on **November 13**. This date is a very hard deadline for handing in the Stage Two Assignment. This is because presentations begin on this day and I want to make sure that all members of the groups have their work done, and are contributing to the presentations.

#### **Stage Three- Group Report** (10% of final grade, 10-12 pages)

The group report will be made up of the combined research undertaken in the individual research assignments. **No new research needs to be done for the Stage Three Report.** Instead, it integrates the research of group members’ Stage Two Assignments. The final report will take the form of the five-stage policy process outlined above, as much as that is possible. Begin your report with a letter to the appropriate elected official to whom you are making recommendations.

The Group report is due on **Dec. 11**. (week after last class)

#### **Group Presentation** (15% of final grade)

The group will do a short presentation in class (15 minutes) to outline the goals of the research undertaken, how that research was carried out, and what the recommendations of the group are with regard to the issue they have chosen.

Group Presentations will happen on Nov. 13, Nov. 20, and Nov. 27. Students will be expected to integrate their individual research assignment into a coherent policy proposal on their chosen issue of the group. The presentations will be expected to follow the outline of the policy cycle as set out in the Stage One Section of the assignment sheet (problem definition, proposal of solutions etc.). As much as possible, try to follow the structure and quality of existing work in the field. The presentations will be peer reviewed by your fellow students based on the evaluation sheets they will hand in to the Course Director after each presentation day. The criteria for evaluation will be based upon clarity, coherence, thoroughness, and visual qualities of the presentation.

## Instructions for Submission and Return of Final Assignments

In cases where students will be handing an assignment late in the term and the Professor or Teaching Assistant will not have an opportunity to return the graded assignment in a subsequent class/tutorial, special arrangements must be made to accommodate students' wishes to have the graded assignment returned to them:

- a) students must submit their final assignment with a self-addressed, stamped, envelope if they want to receive the graded assignment. If the assignment is more than 5 pages in length they are advised to have the post office weigh the package to determine appropriate postage required.
- b) if students do not attach a self-addressed stamped envelope, they must attach a document with their course details, their name and student number and their signature and a statement confirming they do not wish to have the assignment returned to them.

Proper academic performance depends on students doing their work not only well, but on time. Accordingly, **the assignments for ENV5 courses must be received by the Instructor or Teaching Assistant on the due date specified for the assignment.**

Note: **Assignments can be handed in class or in the course drop box, located across room HNES 136C, or** students may have their essay or assignment date stamped by Reception staff in HNES 137. Once date stamped, Reception staff will deposit the essay or assignment in the course drop box on behalf of the student. Assignments should not be deposited in the Instructor's or TA's mailboxes in the HNES building.

### Lateness Penalty

Assignments received later than the due date will be penalized 5% of the value of the assignment *per day* that the assignments are late. For example, if an assignment worth 20% of the total course grade is a day late, 1 point out of 20 (or 5% per day) will be deducted. Exceptions to the lateness penalty for valid reasons such as illness, compassionate grounds, etc. will be entertained by the Course Director **only** when supported by written documentation (e.g., a doctor's letter). **Please note Faculty policy on electronic submission of material, "That all written or visual work that is submitted as part of an academic program must be submitted in hardcopy (not electronically), unless previously agreed to by the instructor or advisor." Submission must be received in hard copy form on due date or will be considered late.**

### Missed Tests

Students with a documented reason for missing a course test, such as illness, compassionate grounds, etc., which is confirmed by supporting documentation (e.g., doctor's letter) may request accommodation from the Course Instructor. (*State accommodation arrangement: e.g., allowed to write a make-up test on xx date.*) Further extensions or accommodation will require students to submit a formal petition to the Faculty.

## Additional Information

*Provide a brief description (e.g. field trips, special lab session, special tutorials), dates, times, required materials or preparation, any fees or costs, etc.*

**Group Work.** This course may require group work. Group work, when done well, can teach collaborative skills that are essential in many work contexts. It can enrich everyone's learning by making all students resources for each other, and can create a synergy based on the diversity of histories and perspectives of the group members. To ensure that group work is a positive experience, each group should first discuss and agree to ground-rules for effective group work such as: 1) active listening and facilitating equal participation of all; 2) respecting different opinions and different ways of knowing or communicating; 3) considering issues of power, difference and discrimination; 4) identifying a clear path of communication with Course Director should there be issues/concerns; and 5) making clear a path of action for issues regarding equity-related or harassment concerns.

### Useful articles on working through equity issues in groups:

Burke, Bev et al. "Thinking Equity." *Education for Changing Unions*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002, 74-77.

Narayan, Uma. "Working Together Across Differences: Some Considerations on Emotions and Political Practice." *Hypatia*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), pp. 31-47.

# Applied Politics and American Public Policy

By James Thurber, American University

## Objectives of the Class

An essential aspect in understanding applied politics in the United States is knowledge of political power and American public policy. The 2016 presidential and congressional elections have had a fundamental impact on American public policy. The dynamic relationship between President Trump and Congress has created uncertain patterns of domestic policymaking. Health policy reform, tax policy, infrastructure investment, energy-environmental policy, the deficit and debt, immigration, financial institutional reforms are all on the domestic political agenda in 2017. The political landscape in Washington and outside of the capital is in constant change, but especially this fall since the 2016 election. This seminar will focus on many of these domestic policy challenges and the impact of the 2017 political environment.

The major objectives of the class are:

1. To explain and analyze how the U.S. domestic policy process works,
2. To understand U.S. politics in an applied and practical manner based on lectures, discussion, and advanced empirical and theoretical literature in political science and public policy,
3. To understand the content and politics of several major domestic policies,
4. To analyze the politics of the budgetary process,
5. To understand and evaluate the dynamics of American domestic policy making.
6. To apply a variety of conceptual frameworks to American domestic policy making,
7. To explore the relationship between applied political action and the formulation and administration of public policy in America,
8. To learn how to write an applied policy memorandum,
9. To apply lessons of political science and policy analysis to a specific current government policy or program, and
10. To write an in-depth policy analysis using primary source materials and interviews with political elites.

The first part of the semester will focus on applied American politics, theories of political power, the policy process, sources of political stability and change, relations between the president and Congress, sources and impact of political polarization, and methods of evaluating policy outcomes in American federal government. The latter part of the semester will focus on the following American domestic policy areas: the federal budget (deficit and debt), social security, health care, the economy, environment, energy, and education. Knowledge about these policy topics will be helpful for those interested in a career in politics and government.

Another objective of the class is to apply lessons of politics and policy analysis to a specific current government policy or program. This objective will be achieved by writing a research paper based on field research in Washington, D.C. and the use of primary sources of information from interviews with elected officials in Washington, D.C., congressional staff, lobbyists, journalists, state and local government officials, and/or federal executive branch personnel. You will also collect and analyze primary data and documents related to your research paper. You will be required to use primary sources from congressional committees and subcommittees, congressional agencies such as the Library of Congress (LOC), Congressional Budget Office (CBO), Government Accountability Office (GAO), interest groups and associations, and relevant executive branch agencies and especially from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Use of Internet websites and specialized libraries in Washington, D.C. will be helpful in your use of primary sources.

This graduate level seminar will provide a basis for understanding U.S. politics in an applied and practical manner. It will be based on advanced empirical and theoretical literature in political science and public policy. It is intended for students who want to participate in American politics through the legislative process, public advocacy (lobbying), election campaigns, federal executive branch offices, and the public policy process at the state and local level of government and politics. This course is primarily for those who want a career in public service and politics, and media and politics, but it is also a solid foundation for those who would like to continue their advanced study in law, public administration, public policy, communication, and political science generally. The seminar is limited to masters students so that the level of discussion will work to our advantage. Distinguished guests with careers in politics and government will be invited to participate in the seminar several times during the semester.

### **Course Requirements**

You are required to attend all class meetings prepared to discuss assigned readings and the topics to be covered. It is presumed that you will have completed all the readings prior to each class. We will cover the basic books and articles each week, plus more advanced scholarly literature. Failure to keep up with the readings will result in difficulties. Your enjoyment and what you learn from class will obviously be directly related to your preparation before each class session. The seminar will be interactive with lively discussion. The seminar will at times be organized as a research workshop, student presentations, and simulations with members of the class working on specific tasks and reporting on those assignments.

You will be evaluated on the following assignments:

A. **Mapping Networks of Policy Stakeholders and Champions** (20% of final grade)

You will be assigned to one of five groups that will write a group memo and present a network map of stakeholders, champions and opposition to a specific current policy initiative. The policy

initiatives are: corporate tax reform, infrastructure rehabilitation, privatization of federal government programs, reforming H-1B visas, sustainable job growth.

The mapping memo can be in outline or bullet form with introduction and conclusion, if it is clear to the reader. The network mapping presentation to the class by your group will be structured as follows:

- Mission, Goals and Objectives (5 minute)
- Network map of stakeholders and champions for and against the initiative (10 minutes)
- Strategy and tactics for approving the initiative. How will you overcome opposition? (10 minutes)
- Questions and answers (5 minutes)

Every person in your group must take part in the oral presentation to the class. Send the memo and the power point of your presentation by **September 19** by email as a Word document (non-PDF).

### **Policy Mapping Memo and Presentation Due: September 20**

#### **B. Research Paper (30% of final grade)**

You will write a policy analysis paper using knowledge of applied politics that focuses on a specific public program within a policy area covered in the class. The paper must be a maximum of **fifteen pages** (double spaced) in length, not including bibliography, references, and supplementary materials in the appendix. The purpose of the assignment is to explain the formation and administration of a specific policy or program and to assess the impact of that program or policy. You are required to use the resources of Washington, D.C. in your analysis. If possible, interview political leaders, congressional and executive branch staff, lobbyists, and journalists; attend congressional hearings and markup sessions; observe administrative hearings and regulatory processes; and attend or review (in person or on the Internet) think tank forums, and collect and read **primary** source materials from interest groups, Congress, and the executive branch. Also read the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* daily and download relevant articles for your topic. Use relevant web sites and specialized libraries. You will find *Politico*, *The Hill*, *Roll Call*, *National Journal* and the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (highly respected objective periodicals) useful for your paper. Be creative, but use primary sources as much as possible for your paper. Your analysis should have extensive support (footnotes) from academic literature for your observations. Your paper must include the following elements (which should be the five subheads in your paper):

1. Describe the problem to be solved through a government policy or program.
2. Discuss the goals and objectives set by government to solve the problem.

3. Describe the public program to meet the goals and to solve the problem. Be brief using footnotes to the appropriate public law, legislative history, court cases, and administrative regulations.
4. Discuss the politics in establishing and administering the existing program/policy to meet the goals. This section of the paper will be an application of your knowledge of applied American politics. You should include a discussion about the role of congressional committees, interests group, administrative branch agencies, specialized media, the Executive Office of the President (e.g. OMB), state and local government, think tanks, and other key actors in support and opposition of the program. **This is the most important part of your analysis** and should identify the major actors for and against in the policy network/policy subsystem (discussed in class) and focus on their respective roles and influence in the passage, administration, and evaluation of the program. You **must** include a map or diagram of the policy network/subsystem. Who are the proponents, defenders, and opposition of the program or initiative? This is an analysis of the **political interaction** among the key “stakeholders” influencing the program.
5. Evaluate the impact of the government program using the original goals (#2 above) as a yardstick of success. Is it solving the original problem(s) and meeting the goals and objectives of the law? Is it too early to evaluate the outcomes of the policy?

A three-page outline of the proposed paper is due on or before **October 11 (the earlier the better)**. The outline must include a short narrative covering each element of the assignment (see above: problem, goals, program, politics, and impact), a bibliography of relevant literature, and a list of potential interviews and primary sources you intend to use in the paper. Include a map of the primary players/stakeholders in the program you are analyzing. At this preliminary stage, your bibliography and source listing should include at least fifteen (15) items. The final bibliography and footnotes will, of course, include more sources than that.

#### **Deadline for Research Paper Outline: October 11**

**The final draft of your policy analysis is due on or before November 1, 5:30 pm.** Late papers will not be accepted. The paper must address each of the five elements discussed above (i.e. problem, goals, politics, program, and impact). Your paper will be graded for content, writing quality, thoroughness, and your expression of knowledge about the program reviewed and of applied politics. Use a standard style manual (e.g. Andrea Lunsford and Robert Connors, *The St. Martin's Handbook* or Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers*) and proofread your paper carefully. I do not want to read first drafts. Stay within the **maximum page limit of 15 typewritten pages**. The paper and outline are 30 percent of your final grade. Several papers from this class have been published and many have been used to get internships and jobs that lead to careers in applied American politics.

#### **Deadline for Research Paper: November 1.**

C. **Final Examination** (40% of final grade).

The final examination is a combination of long and short essay questions covering all readings, lectures, student policy briefings, and research in the course.

**December 14, 5:30 to 8:00 pm**

E. **Class Participation** (10% of final grade)

Each class will include discussion. Each student is required to attend all classes with the reading completed, ready to participate in class exercises and discussions. You are also encouraged to schedule frequent conferences with me during the semester, especially when you are working on your research paper. Use my email address (thurber@american.edu), if you have short questions that I can answer.

**Textbooks**

The following works are **required** and are available in the A.U. Bookstore:

Kingdon, John W. Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies (foreword by James Thurber). (Addison-Wesley Publishing, 2011, 3rd Ed.).

Kraft, Michael E. and Scott R. Furlong, Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, Alternatives (Sage-CQ Press, 2017, 6<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Vig, Norman J. and Michael E. Kraft. Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century. (Sage-CQ Press, 2016, 9<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Thurber, James A. and Jordan Tama (eds.) Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017, 6th Ed.).

Thurber, James and Antoine Yoshinaka, American Gridlock: The Sources, Character and Impact of Political Polarization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Various academic articles, Congressional Research Service (CRS) and Congressional Budget Office (CBO) publications will be posted on Blackboard as required reading.

The following works are **strongly recommended** and are available in the University Library:

Eugene Bardach, A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving (CQ Press, 2011, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.).

Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Davidson, Roger H., Walter J. Oleszek, Frances E. Lee, and Eric Schickler, Congress and Its Members (CQ Press, 2017, 16<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Edwards, George and Stephen J. Wayne, Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policy Making (Wadsworth Publishing, 2013, 9<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Kerwin, Cornelius M., Rulemaking: How Government Agencies Write Laws and Make Policy (CQ Press, 2010, 4<sup>th</sup> edition).

Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Theda Skocpol, Health Care Reform and American Politics: What Everyone Needs to Know (Oxford University Press, 2012, Expanded Edition).

Mann, Thomas E. and Norman J. Ornstein, It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism (Basic Books, 2012).

Rosenbaum, Walter A., Environmental Politics and Policy (Sage-CQ Press, 2014, 9<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Skocpol, Theda, The Missing Middle: Working Families and the Future of American Social Policy (W. W. Norton & Company, 2000).

Smith, Catherine F., Writing Public Policy: A Practical Guide to Communicating in the Policy Making Process (Oxford University Press, 2012, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.).

Thurber, James A. The Battle for Congress: Consultants, Candidates, and Voters (Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

Thurber, James A. and Candice J. Nelson, Campaigns and Elections: American Style (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed.).

Thurber, James A., Obama in Office (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011).

The following are classics in the field. They will be referred to in the seminar and are also **recommended**. They are available in the University Library:

Dahl, Robert A., Preface to Democratic Theory. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

Dahl, Robert A., Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Autonomy vs. Control. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Lowi, Theodore J., The End of Liberalism (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).

McConnell, Grant, Private Power and American Democracy (New York: Knopf, 1966)

Dye, Thomas R., Top Down Policymaking (Chatman House Publishers, 2001).

Olson, Jr., Mancur, The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

Ostrom, Elinor. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Actions (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Oleszek, Walter J., Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2013, 9<sup>th</sup> ed.).

Schattschneider, E.E., The Semi-Sovereign People (New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1960).

Schlozman, Verba, and David Brady, The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012)

### **Recommended Movies and Documentaries (Available at the AU Library Media desk):**

Film: Casino Jack and the United States of Money (2010).

Film: Crude (2009)

Film: The Best Government Money Can Buy? (2010).

Film: Thank You for Smoking (2005)

Film: Chasing Ice (2012)

Film: A Fierce Green Fire (2012)

### **Schedule of Classes, Required Readings and Key Deadlines**

**Note: Readings listed under each class are to be completed before that class date unless otherwise noted.**

#### **August 30 An Introduction to Applied Politics and American Public Policy**

Review of Syllabus and Assignments

Begin reading Kraft and Furlong, Part I, The Study of Public Policy.

Begin reading Thurber, James A. and Jordan Tama (eds.) Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations. **Complete by September 13.**

Discussion of major domestic policy challenges in 2017

**September 6 Introduction to the scope and objectives of the class: What are Applied Politics, Political Power and American Public Policy?**

What is political power?

What is applied politics?

What is public policy?

Why study applied politics and public policy?

Who has political power is American public policy making?

Required Reading:

Kraft and Furlong, “Part I: The Study of Public Policy”

Chapter 1 Public Policy and Politics

Learning Objectives:

- Define and explain the nature of public policy.
- Identify key concepts associated with the study of public policy.
- Explain the different contexts in which public policy is made.
- Examine the reasons for governmental involvement in public policy.
- Explore why citizens should understand public policy.
- Describe the reasons for evaluating public policies today

Chapter 2 Government Institutions and Policy Actors

Learning Objectives:

- Describe and explain the growth of government throughout U.S. history.
- Analyze the structure of the U.S. government and the implications for policymaking capacity.
- Explain the challenges of policymaking posed by the separation of powers.
- Describe and assess major governmental and nongovernmental actors most involved in the policy process.
- Examine ways to improve governmental policy capacity.
- Assess how citizen involvement can make a difference in policy development.

Chapter 3 Understanding Public Policymaking

Learning Objectives:

- Describe different theories of public policy and how they help to explain the decisions made.
- Discuss the policy process model, from the steps associated with making public policy to the role of policy analysis in the design and formulation of policy actions and the evaluation of policies.
- Assess different types of public policy and how their characteristics affect their development and treatment in the policy process.
- Define the types of government functions and evaluate basic differences among policies and the political conditions that lead to them.

Thurber, James A. and Jordan Tama, Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations. **Complete by September 13.**

Begin reading:

Thurber and Yoshinaka, American Gridlock, **Complete by October 4**

**September 13 Approaches to the study of Applied Politics and American public policy**

What are the major approaches to the study of applied politics and public policy?  
How is the scientific method applied to policy analysis?  
An overview of the approach to be used in class will be discussed.

Required Reading:

Kraft and Furlong, “Part II: Analyzing Public Policy”

Chapter 4 Policy Analysis: An Introduction

Learning Objectives:

- Explain the nature of policy analysis.
- Show how policy analysis is used in the policymaking process.
- Compare and contrast the different types of policy analysis.
- Describe when certain types of analysis are needed.

Chapter 5 Public Problems and Policy Alternatives

Learning Objectives;

- Explain how to describe, measure, and analyze public problems, and how to think about their causes and possible solutions.
- Describe how to find pertinent information about problems and governmental actions.
- Assess the policy tools that governments have available to address problems.
- Identify how to think creatively about which policy alternatives or tools are likely to work best for a given problem.

### Chapter 6 Assessing Policy Alternatives

Learning Objectives:

- Describe evaluative criteria for judging the value of policy proposals or alternatives.
- Explain how to apply the methods of policy analysis.
- Identify three key economic approaches to policy analysis.
- Distinguish between the different types of decision making and impact analyses.
- Compare the ethical approach of policy analysis against other methods.

Thurber, James A. and Jordan Tama, Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations. **Complete by September 13.**

American Gridlock. **Complete by October 4.**

Recommended Reading:

Dye, Top Down Policymaking, (Chatman, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 2001).

**September 18, Noon to 2:00pm, MGC 203-205: Special CCPS Forum**

***“Rivals for Power: Presidential Congressional Relations...Assessing President Trump’s Relationship with Congress”***

**Professor James A. Thurber**

**Professor Jordan Tama, SIS**

**Professor Patrick Griffin (former Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs)**

**Professor Sarah Bender (GWU and Brookings)(Invited) and others.**

**September 20 and 27 Factors Influencing Public Policy: Macro Politics, Micro Politics and Policy Networks**

**Policy Mapping Memo and Presentation September 27**

- What are the major contexts of public policy? institutional, economic,

- demographic, ideological, cultural, and political
- What are the major factors shaping American public policy?
  - What is the role of Congress, interest groups, and executive branch agencies in policymaking?
  - What is the role of the president and congressional leadership in policymaking?
  - What is the nature of "functional representation" in American policymaking?
  - What is the nature and impact of macro politics, micro politics and policy subsystems on the policy process?
  - Policy Mapping Exercise on September 27

Required Reading:

James A. Thurber, "Political Power and Policy Subsystems in American Politics," in B. Guy Peters and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), Agenda for Excellence: Administering the State (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1996), pp. 76-104. (Posted on Blackboard).

American Gridlock. Complete by October 4.

Recommended Reading on Mapping Policy Subsystems and Policy Making

Thurber, James A. "What's Wrong with Congress and What Should Be Done About It" In Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, Eds. Broken Government: American Politics in the Obama Era (London: University of London/Institute for the Study of the Americas Press, 2012)(posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A., and Ray, Aaron, "Congress: The Causes and Consequences of Partisanship Deadlock," in Peele et al. (eds.), Developments in American Politics (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 2014)(posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A., Testimony before the House Select Committee on Homeland Security, July 2003. (Posted on Blackboard).

Thurber, James A. Testimony before the House and Senate Rules Committees, March 2006. (Posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A. Pi Sigma Alpha Award speech, July 26, 2010 (Posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A., "Dynamics of Policy Subsystems in American Politics," in Cigler and Loomis, Interest Group Politics (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1992), pp. 319-343). (Posted on Blackboard)

James A. Thurber, James A., Battle for Congress: Consultants, Candidates, and Voters (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

Levine, Charles and James A. Thurber, "Reagan and the Intergovernmental Lobby: Iron Triangles, Cozy Subsystems and Political Conflict," in Cigler and Loomis (eds.), Interest Group Politics (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1986), pp. 202-220. (Posted on Blackboard).

Grant, Jordan A. "Iron Triangles, Woolly Corporatism and Elastic Nets: Images of the Policy Process," Journal of Public Policy, Volume 1, February 1981, pp. 95-123.

Heclo, Hugh, "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment," in A. King (ed.), The New American Political System. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute (1978), pp. 87-124.

Knoke, David, (1990) Political Networks: the Structural Perspective (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Lowi, T.J., The End of Liberalism (W.W. Norton, 1979).

Madison, "Federalist Paper No. 10," The Federalist Papers (New York: Mentor Books, 1961).

Olsen, Mancur, The Logic of Collective Action (New York: Knopf, 1966).

Schattschneider, E.E. The SemiSovereign People. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

**October 4     The Policy Process and The Causes, Characteristics and Consequences of Political Polarization**

- Is American Democracy in trouble?
- How is polarization measured?
- Does Congress have Policy Making Gridlock on all major issues?\_
- Is Bipartisanship Dead?

**Required Reading:**

Rivals for Power: Presidential Congressional Relations. (Review)

Thurber and Yoshinaka, American Gridlock: The Sources, Character and Impact of Political Polarization.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Harbridge, Laurel, Is Bipartisanship Dead? Policy Agreement and Agenda Setting in the House of Representatives (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Mann, Thomas E. and Norman J. Ornstein, The Broken Branch: How Congress is Failing America and How to Get it Back on Track (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Mann, Thomas E. and Norman J. Ornstein, It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

Nelson, Rebecca. "The War on Partisanship: How fighting polarization became its own cause," National Journal, October 31, 2015, pp. 14-19.

Rauch, Jonathan, Demosclerosis: The Silent Killer of American Democracy (New York: Times Books, 1994).

## **October 11 Applied Politics and Stages in the Policy Process**

### **Deadline for Research Paper Outline**

Defining public problems and policy goals

Formulating policy proposals

Authorizing public programs: What is the "Regular Order"?

Budgeting and appropriating money for programs

Setting regulations

Administering public programs

Evaluating programs

Changing public policy

### Required Reading:

Kingdon, John W., Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, All.

(Be prepared to discuss the major questions outlined in the **forward** to Kingdon)

### Recommended Reading:

Kerwin, Cornelius M., Rulemaking: How Government Agencies Write Laws and Make Policy (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2010, 4<sup>th</sup> edition).

**October 18 The Politics of the Budgetary Process, Debt, Deficit, and Economic Stability Policy**

**Simulation Exercise: Making Hard Choices: The Federal Budget and Appropriations Process**

Required Reading:

Making Hard Choices Budget workbook (Posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A. "The Dynamics and Dysfunction of the Congressional Budget Process: From Inception to Deadlock" in Bruce Oppenheimer and Larry Dodd, Eds. Congress Reconsidered (Sage-CQ Press, 10<sup>th</sup> Ed, 2013), pp. 319-345 (Posted on Blackboard)

Thurber, James A. "Agony, Angst, and the Failure of the Supercommittee," *Extensions*, Summer 2012. Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma (Posted on Blackboard).

Kraft and Furlong, Chapter 7, "Economic and Budgetary Policy."

Learning Objectives:

- Describe the role of federal economic policymaking and its challenges.
- Explain the major goals associated with economic policy.
- Describe the tools used by the Federal Reserve Board and the government to achieve positive outcomes.
- Identify the major steps of the federal budgetary process.
- Discuss two notable economic policies and their consequences.
- Explain some of the critical economic issues of the day.
- Discuss how to address the federal deficit and the ways in which to evaluate.

Recommended Reading:

Panetta, Leon. "Politics of the Federal Budget Process," in Thurber (ed.), Rivals for Power, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. (Posted on Blackboard).

Thurber, Chapter 10: "The President and the Congressional Budget Process: Coalition Building and Compromise in a Zero Sum Game," in Thurber (ed.), Rivals for Power, 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. (Posted on Blackboard).

Thurber, Chapter 10: Interest Groups and the Congressional Budget Process: Lobbying in the Era of Deficit Politics, in Herrnson, et. al. (eds.), The Interest Group Connection, pp. 154-173. (Posted on Blackboard).

Thurber, James A. "Centralization, Devolution, and Turf Protection in the Congressional Budget Process," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer (eds.), Congress Reconsidered (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1997, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.), pp. 325-346.

Thurber, James A. "The Impact of Budget Reform on Presidential and Congressional Governance," in Thurber (ed.), Divided Democracy, pp.145-170.

Thurber, James A. and Samantha Durst, "Deadlock and Deficits: Evaluating Proposals for Congressional Budget Reform," in Thomas D. Lynch (ed.), Federal Budget and Financial Management Reform (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 53-88.

Thurber, James A. "New Rules for an Old Game: Zero-Sum Budgeting in the Post-reform Congress," in Roger H. Davidson (ed.), The Post-reform Congress (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 257-278.

White, Joseph, "Chapter 11: From Ambition to Desperation on the Budget," in Thurber (ed.), Obama in Office, pp.183-198

White, Joseph and Aaron Wildavsky, The Deficit and the Public Interest: The Search for Responsible Budgeting in the 1990s (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

## **October 25 The Politics of Social Security Policy: Goals, Financing and Problems**

### **Simulation Exercise on Social Security Policy**

#### **Required Reading:**

Kraft and Furlong, Chapter 9, "Welfare and Social Security Policy."

#### Learning Objectives:

- Describe issues related to poverty and different perspectives about why it occurs.
- Explain the differences between social insurance programs and means-tested programs.
- Understand the basics of the Social Security program and different policy options offered to improve it.
- Assess both past and current welfare-related programs.

CRS and other handouts on Social Security Policy posted on Blackboard.

**Simulation handouts on Social Security posted on Blackboard.**

**November 1 Health Care Policy**

**Research Paper Due November 1**

Guest Health Policy Professional:

Dr. Richard F. Southby  
Executive Dean and Distinguished Professor of Global Health Emeritus  
Milken Institute School of Public Health  
George Washington University

Required Reading:

Kraft and Furlong, Chapter 8, “Health Care Policy.”

Learning Objectives:

- Understand the history and evolution of government involvement in health care.
- Explain major government health care programs.
- Identify important health care policy issues.
- Discuss concerns over and actions to address rising health care costs.
- Describe the role of managed care organizations.
- Explain measures that can be taken to reduce health care costs.
- Identify the role that quality of care plays in the health care system.
- Analyze selected issues in health care policy.

CRS and other handouts on current health policy reforms (posted on Blackboard)

Recommended Reading:

Jacobs and Skocpol, Health Care Reform and American Politics.

T. R. Reid, The Healing of America: A Global Quest for Better, Cheaper, and fairer Health Care. New York: Penguin Press, 2009.

**November 8 and November 15: Environmental Policy and Energy Policy**

Required Reading:

Kraft and Furlong, Chapter 11, “Environment and Energy Policy.”

Learning Objectives:

- Explain the nature of environmental and energy policies and the key concepts associated with them.
- Understand the history of government involvement in environmental and energy policy.
- Identify areas of consensus and conflict in addressing environmental and energy concerns.
- Compare major U.S. environmental policies and their impacts.
- Discuss major U.S. energy policies and their impacts.
- Analyze select issues in environmental and energy policy

Vig and Kraft. Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century. (Complete by November 15)

Recommended Reading:

Congressional Research Service, Climate Change: Energy Infrastructure Risks and Adaptation Efforts, (posted on Blackboard)

Congressional Research Service: Climate Change: Federal Efforts Under Way to Assess Water Infrastructure Vulnerabilities and Address Adaptation Challenges, (posted on Blackboard)

Davis, David Howard. Energy Politics. New York, St. Martin’s Press, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1993.

Geri, Laurance, and McNabb, David, Energy Policy in the U.S: Politics, Challenges, and Prospects for Change (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2011).

Durant, Robert, Rosemary O’Leary, and Daniel Fiorino (eds.), Environmental Governance Reconsidered (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

Thurber, James A. and Evanson, Timothy C., “Subsystem Politics and the Nuclear Weapons Complex: Congressional Oversight of DOE’s Environmental Restoration Program” in Eric B. Herzik and Alvin Mushkatel (eds.), Problems and Prospects for Nuclear Waste Disposal Policy (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 121-138. (Posted on Blackboard).

Thurber, James A. "Not in My Back Yard: High-Level Nuclear Waste Policy," in Gilmour, et. al. (eds.), Who Makes Public Policy (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1994), pp.62-85 (Posted on Blackboard).

**November 22 No Class: Thanksgiving Break**

**November 29: Education Policy: Primary, Secondary and Post Secondary Education Policy**

Required Reading:

Kraft and Furlong, Chapter 10, "Education Policy."

Learning Objectives:

- Describe issues associated with the government's role in both K–12 and higher education.
- Understand some of the common concerns associated with K–12 and higher education.
- Identify education policy reform efforts to address quality concerns.
- Discuss the issues surrounding various policy choices that could be used to address problems in higher education.
- Assess policy reforms that have been suggested to address school quality issues.

CRS and other handouts on Education Policy (Posted on Blackboard).

**December 6 Evaluating American Democracy, Applied Politics and Public Policy Making (review of the semester)**

Learning Objectives:

- Describe how policy analysis can clarify the problems and policy alternatives that citizens and policymakers face.
- Evaluate policy proposals and actions for their effectiveness, efficiency, and equity, among other concerns.
- Assess the government's capacity for problem solving and how it might be improved.
- Understand the dynamics of policymaking and the opportunities that the policy process presents for citizens to participate in decision making and for our democracy generally.

**Review all readings for the semester**

**December 13, 5:30 to 8:00 pm      Final Examination**

# Issues in Social and Economic Policy: Policy Design

By Michael Howlett, Simon Fraser University

## Description

This course discusses policy designs and designing. It looks at how government policies are formulated and implemented; that is, how policy problems are articulated and, especially, how solutions to them are derived and assessed so they then be delivered on the ground. The course looks in detail at the range of instruments available to governments in implementing their programmes, the strengths and weaknesses of different tools, and issues related to how tools are combined in policy portfolios or mixes. Classes and readings also examine the nature of the actors involved in formulation and design activities, how these actors and processes are organized, and the nature of the knowledge and techniques actors employ in providing advice to decision-makers about how to address issues on their agendas. Lessons from various jurisdictions and policy sectors about best practices and fundamental principles of policy designs are discussed with a specific focus on lessons derived from Canadian cases and experiences.

## Rationale

This course equips students to assess and evaluate policy designs and designing activity, and importantly provides tools to better understand what can be done to improve outcomes and make policies more effective. It offers students a critical introduction to essential concepts, approaches and analytical tools to respond to these vital questions in policy analysis and policy-making. The focus is on the substance and the context of public policies, the forms in which they are delivered and financed, and how they can be improved.

## Course Structure

The course is divided in two parts. The first three-quarters of the course reviews conceptual and analytical tools from various disciplines including public administration, public financial management, microeconomic theory, and policy sciences to lay the theoretical foundation of how policy design can be assessed and evaluated, and ultimately improved. The final quarter provides students with an opportunity to present the results of their research into key areas of contemporary design thinking and practice.

## Grading

Presentation on class readings 20% Participation in seminar discussions 20% Research Paper Outline 5% Research Paper Class Presentation 15% Final research paper 40%

## Research Paper Topic

The complexity of the problem environments that confront governments has placed renewed emphasis in recent years on the importance of policy design. How the design of policy and programs can be improved to achieve better societal outcomes is an issue for both scholars and practitioners and has generated much recent writing and research on the subject. Choose a key policy issue and programme in Canada (topics from other jurisdictions require instructor approval) and set out its basic components, history and goals. This should discuss (1) what kind of policy instruments are found in this area (2) what kind of policy mix exists in this case (3) how the policy originated and evolved (4) who is behind the policy and (5) how it has been targeted. Utilizing the principles for effective policy-making articulated in the course readings, the paper should then assess (6) whether or not the policy is effective, (7) how it could be improved in theory and (7) if and why or why not these improvements are feasible under current conditions and circumstances.

## Required Texts

Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Howlett, Michael, Adam Wellstead, and Jonathan Craft, eds. *Policy Work in Canada: Professional Practices and Analytical Capacities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

## Recommended Texts

Bason, Christian. *Design for Policy*. Burlington, VT: Gower Pub Co, 2014.

Sandfort, Jodi, and Stephanie Moulton. *Effective Implementation in Practice: Integrating Public Policy and Management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2015.

## Supplementary Texts

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Handbook of Policy Formulation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017. Jordan, Andrew, and John Turnpenny, eds. *The Tools of Policy Formulation: Actors, Capacities, Venues and Effects*.

Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2014.

Wu, Xun, M. Ramesh, Michael Howlett, and Scott Fritzen. *The Public Policy Primer: Managing Public Policy*.

London: Routledge, Second Edition 2017.

## Key Questions to be Addressed in the Course

- What is Policy Design?

- Who Designs Public Policies? Why Do They Do It?
- How and When Do Designs Come About?
- What is good policy design? How Do We Know?
- Can the design of public policies be improved to solve complex problems?
- How should the design of specific policies be evaluated?

## Weekly Topic Summary

### *SECTION I: Introduction*

Week I - Introduction and Administration: What is Policy Design and How has it Evolved?

### *SECTION II: What and When?*

Week II – Policy Formulation and the Policy Cycle: Components of Design: Implementation Strategies, Tool Mixes and Instrument Calibration/ Design and Non-Design Thinking in Public Policy/Dealing with Uncertainty/Evidence- Based Policy-Making

Week III – Introduction to Policy Tools and Policy Portfolios: Simple and Complex Policy Tool Mixes/Choosing Policy Tools: Substantive and Procedural Instrument Selection/ Nudges and Nodality Tools: New Developments in Old Instruments/Authority Tools: Regulation and Legitimation/Treasure Tools: From Subsidies to Network Management Applications/ Organizational Tools and Tools for Co-Production: From Public enterprises to Collaborative Government

Week IV – Compliance and Targeting: Deploying Persuasive Designs

Week V - Policy Designing Over Time: Sequencing, Policy Patching, Layering, Stretching and Packaging

### *SECTION III: Who and How?*

Week VI - Policy Advisory Systems: Policy Advice and Policy Design/Policy Analysts: Types and Orientations/Instrument Constituencies: Promoting Policy Designs

Week VII – Who are Policy Designers and How Do They Think?

*SECTION IV– Best Practices and Principles*

Week VIII - Effectiveness and Design Evaluation: 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Best Designs/Goodness of Fit and Degrees of Freedom: The Need for Coherence, Congruence and Consistency in Policy Mixes/ Managing Uncertainty: Controlling for Spillovers and Contradictions/Agility and Robustness as Design Criteria

*SECTION V: Why?*

Week IX – The Politics of Policy Design: Managing Conflicts/Implementation Styles and Policy Designs/ The Issue of Policy Design Capacity/Policy Experiments

*SECTION VI: Future Trends*

Week X – Customization vs Off-the-Shelf Designs: Design Learning and Transfer/ Crowdsourcing and Policy Co- Design/The Emergence of Digital Tools and Their Impact on Policy Designs/Disproportionate (Over and Under) Design

*Class Presentations:* Week XI/Week XII/Week XIII

**Weekly Reading List**

**PART I – LECTURES/SEMINARS**

*SECTION I: Introduction*

**Week I (SEPT 5) - Introduction and Administration: What is Policy Design and How Has It Evolved? Required**

Schön, D.A. “Designing as Reflective Conversation with the Materials of a Design Situation.” *Knowledge-Based Systems* 5, no. 1 (March 1992): 3–14.  
doi:10.1016/09507051(92)90020-G.

Dryzek, J. S., and B. Ripley. “The Ambitions of Policy Design.” *Policy Studies Review* 7, no. 4 (1988): 705–19.

Bobrow, Davis. “Policy Design: Ubiquitous, Necessary and Difficult.” In *Handbook of Public*

- Policy*, edited by B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre, 75–96. SAGE, 2006.
- Howlett, M (2011) *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*, New York: Routledge (*Chapter 2 – Key Definitions and Concepts in the Study of Policy Design – pp, 15-27*)
- Mintrom, Michael, and Joannah Luetjens. “Design Thinking in Policymaking Processes: Opportunities and Challenges.” *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 75, no. 3 (September 1, 2016): 391–402. doi:10.1111/1467-8500.12211.
- Bason, Christian, and Andrea Schneider. “Public Design in Global Perspective; Empirical Trends.” In *Design for Policy*, edited by Christian Bason, 23–40. Burlington, VT: Gower Pub Co, 2014.

### **Recommended**

- Ralph, Paul, and Yair Wand. “A Proposal for a Formal Definition of the Design Concept.” *Annual Review of Policy Design* 1, no. 1 (September 6, 2013): 1–35.
- Howlett, Michael, and Raul Lejano. “Tales from the Crypt: The Rise and Fall (and Re-Birth?) Of Policy Design Studies.” *Administration & Society* 45, no. 3 (2013): 356–80.
- Dryzek, John. “Don’t Toss Coins in Garbage Cans: A Prologue to Policy Design.” *Journal of Public Policy* 3, no. 4 (1983): 345–67.
- Linder, S. H., and B. G. Peters. “From Social Theory to Policy Design.” *Journal of Public Policy* 4, no. 3 (1984): 237–59.
- Nair, Sreeja, and Michael Howlett. “Policy Myopia as a Source of Policy Failure: Adaptation and Policy Learning under Deep Uncertainty.” *Policy & Politics* 45, no. 1 (January 2017): 103–18. doi:10.1332/030557316X14788776017743.
- Hansson, Sven Ove. “Decision Making Under Great Uncertainty.” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 26, no. 3 (September 1, 1996): 369–86. doi:10.1177/004839319602600304.
- Veselý, Arnošt. “Problem Delimitation in Public Policy Analysis.” *Central European Journal of Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (2007): 80–101.
- Howlett, Michael. “Policy Design: What, Who, How and Why?” In *L’instrumentation et Ses Effets*, edited by Halpern Charlotte, Lascoumes Pierre, and Le Galès Patrick, 281–315. Paris: Paris, Presses de Sciences Po., 2014.

### *SECTION II: What and When?*

### **Week II (SEPT 12)– Policy Design and the Policy Cycle: Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation and Policy Styles**

#### **Required**

- Howlett, M (2011) *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*, New York: Routledge (*Chapter 3 – Policy Design as Policy Formulation pp. 29-40*)
- Howlett, Michael, Ishani Mukherjee, and Jun Jie Woo. “From Tools to Toolkits in Policy Design Studies: The New Design Orientation towards Policy Formulation Research.” *Policy &*

- Politics* 43, no. 2 (2015): 292–311.
- Sandfort, Jodi, and Stephanie Moulton. *Effective Implementation In Practice: Integrating Public Policy and Management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2015 Chapter 1
- Kagan, R. A. “Adversarial Legalism and American Government.” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 10, no. 3 (1991): 369–406.
- Enkler, Jan, Sylvia Schmidt, Steffen Eckhard, Christoph Knill, and Stephan Grohs. “Administrative Styles in the OECD: Bureaucratic Policy-Making beyond Formal Rules.” *International Journal of Public Administration* 40, no. 8 (July 3, 2017): 637–48. doi:10.1080/01900692.2016.1186176.

### **Recommended**

- Howlett, Michael. “Governance Modes, Policy Regimes and Operational Plans: A Multi-Level Nested Model of Policy Instrument Choice and Policy Design.” *Policy Sciences* 42, no. 1 (2009): 73–89.
- Tenbenschel, T. “Does More Evidence Lead to Better Policy? The Implications of Explicit Priority-Setting in New Zealand’s Health Policy for Evidence-Based Policy.” *Policy Studies* 25, no. 3 (2004): 190–207.
- Hughes, Caitlin E. “Evidence-Based Policy or Policy-Based Evidence? The Role of Evidence in the Development and Implementation of the Illicit Drug Diversion Initiative.” *Drug and Alcohol Review* 26, no. July (2006): 363–68.
- Hammersley, M. “Is the Evidence-Based Practice Movement Doing More Good Than Harm? Reflections on Iain Chalmers’ Case for Research-Based Policy Making and Practice.” *Evidence & Policy* 1, no. 1 (2005): 85– 100.
- Moulton, Stephanie, and Jodi R. Sandfort. “The Strategic Action Field Framework for Policy Implementation Research.” *Policy Studies Journal* 45, no. 1 (February 1, 2017): 144–69. doi:10.1111/psj.12147.
- Sandfort, Jodi, and Stephanie Moulton. *Effective Implementation In Practice: Integrating Public Policy and Management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2015 Chapters 4,5,6
- Walker, Warren E., Vincent A.W. J. Marchau, and Jan H. Kwakkel. “Uncertainty in the Framework of Policy Analysis.” In *Public Policy Analysis: New Developments*, edited by Wil A. H. Thissen and Warren E. Walker, 2013th ed., 215–60. New York: Springer, 2013.

### **\*\*SEPTEMBER 19 – No Class – Read**

- Howlett, M (2011) *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*, New York: Routledge (Chapters 4,5,6 & 7 on Policy Tools, pp.41-124)

### **Week III (SEPT 26)– Policy Tools and Policy Portfolios**

#### **Required**

- Howlett, M. “Managing the ‘Hollow State’: Procedural Policy Instruments and Modern Governance.” *Canadian Public Administration* 43, no. 4 (2000): 412–31.

- Lang, Achim. “Collaborative Governance in Health and Technology Policy The Use and Effects of Procedural Policy Instruments.” *Administration & Society*, August 10, 2016, 95399716664163. doi:10.1177/0095399716664163.
- Boonekamp, Piet G.M. “Actual Interaction Effects between Policy Measures for Energy Efficiency--A Qualitative Matrix Method and Quantitative Simulation Results for Households.” *Energy* 31, no. 14 (November 2006): 2848–73. doi:10.1016/j.energy.2006.01.004.
- Howlett, Michael, and Pablo del Rio. “The Parameters of Policy Portfolios: Verticality and Horizontality in Design Spaces and Their Consequences for Policy Mix Formulation.” *Environment and Planning C* 33, no. 5 (2015): 1233–45.
- Schaffrin, André, Sebastian Sewerin, and Sibylle Seubert. “The Innovativeness of National Policy Portfolios – Climate Policy Change in Austria, Germany, and the UK.” *Environmental Politics* 23, no. 5 (September 3, 2014): 860–83. doi:10.1080/09644016.2014.924206.
- Grace, Francesca C., Carla S. Meurk, Brian W. Head, Wayne D. Hall, Georgia Carstensen, Meredith G. Harris, and Harvey A. Whiteford. “An Analysis of Policy Levers Used to Implement Mental Health Reform in Australia 1992-2012.” *BMC Health Services Research* 15, no. 1 (October 24, 2015): 479. doi:10.1186/s12913-015-1142-3.
- Australian Public Service Commission. *Smarter Policy : Choosing Policy Instruments and Working with Others to Influence Behaviour*. [Canberra] : The Commission, 2009. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/45613174>.

### **Recommended**

- Bovaird, Tony. “Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services.” *Public Administration Review* 67, no. 5 (2007): 846–60.
- John, Peter, Graham Smith, and Gerry Stoker. “Nudge Nudge, Think Think: Two Strategies for Changing Civic Behaviour.” *The Political Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 361–70. doi:10.1111/j.1467- 923X.2009.02001.x.
- Rio, Pablo del. “Interactions between Climate and Energy Policies: The Case of Spain.” *Climate Policy* 9, no. 2 (2009): 119–38. doi:10.3763/cpol.2007.0424.
- Braathén, Nils Axel. “Instrument Mixes for Environmental Policy: How Many Stones Should Be Used to Kill a Bird?” *International Review of Environmental and Resource Economics* 1, no. 2 (May 16, 2007): 185–235. doi:10.1561/101.00000005.
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## Week IV (OCT 3)– Compliance and Targeting: Behavior and Persuasive Designs

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## **Week V (OCT 17) - Policy Designing Over Time: Sequencing, Policy Patching, Layering, Stretching and Packaging**

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*SECTION III: Who and How?*

**Week VI (OCT 24) - Policy Advisory Systems: Policy Advice and Analysis**

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## **Week VII (OCT 31) – Who Are the Policy Designers and How Do They Think?**

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#### *SECTION IV – Best Practices and Principles*

### **Week VIII (NOV 7)- Policy Effectiveness: Coherence, Congruence, Consistency, Sequencing & Agility**

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#### *SECTION V: Why?*

### **Week IX (NOV 14)– The Politics of Policy Design: (In)Capacity, (Un)Intentionality, (In)Feasibility Required**

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### *SECTION VI: Future Trends*

### **Week X (NOV 21)– Research and Practice Looking Forward: Big Data, Crowd-Sourcing, Co-Design and More Required**

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Maor, Moshe. “Policy Overreaction.” *Journal of Public Policy* 32, no. 3 (2012): 231–59. doi:10.1017/S0143814X1200013X.

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**\*\* NOVEMBER 28 – No Class**

**PART II – CLASS PRESENTATIONS**

**Week XI / Week XII / Week XIII (December 6-8)**

**PAPERS DUE (December 13)**

## U.S. National Elections

By David R. Mayhew, Yale University

### The Course Content

Addressed will be a selection of topics associated with U.S. national elections (presidential and congressional). In all cases, U.S. history will be consulted in a search for general patterns and to place today's politics in context. The material of the course is suitable for any student interested in understanding, or participating in, the electoral processes of the United States, but it is also an introduction to the kinds of research that political scientists undertake to study those processes. Both the readings and the discussions will tilt toward political history, simple statistics, and proper nouns. There will be a shortage of abstraction and statistical complexity. Topics to be addressed include party ideologies, voter participation, econometric analysis, homeostatic patterns in the electorate's behavior, incumbency advantage in presidential and congressional elections, districting and gerrymandering, voter balancing across institutions, voter policy blowback, the electoral college, political geography, and long-term coalitional trends. (Topics not to be addressed include campaign finance, presidential nominations, the social media, public opinion polls, the media, the conduct of campaigns, and the micro side of voter behavior.)

### The Course Mechanics

This is a reading and discussion seminar. It will not accommodate senior essays or long research papers. There is a heavy reading requirement each week. Each undergraduate will write a series of five analytic comment papers, three to five pages in length. Each of these will address a required reading assignment chosen by the student to dwell on, and will be due at the start of the class covering that material. At least two of these five papers will be written before Yale College's midterm date. Graduate students will write four of these papers plus, by the close of the fall reading period, an extended bibliographic essay on a suitable topic (which might be cross-national comparative) approved by the instructor. Students are expected to be ready to discuss the required readings in class. No midterm or final exams.

### August 30 – ORGANIZATION MEETING

### September 6 – HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

#### Required:

David R. Mayhew, "Patterns in American Elections," ch. 21 in Richard M. Valelly, Suzanne Mettler & Robert C. Lieberman (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development (Oxford University Press, 2016)

David R. Mayhew, "Which was the most important U.S. election ever?" Washington Post Outlook section, February 19, 2012, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/which-was-the-most-important-us-election-ever/2012/02/13/gIQAtBIGKR\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1a995535fb33](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/which-was-the-most-important-us-election-ever/2012/02/13/gIQAtBIGKR_story.html?utm_term=.1a995535fb33)

**Suggested:**

Gary C. Jacobson, "The Triumph of Polarized Partisanship in 2016: Donald Trump's Improbable Victory," Political Science Quarterly 132:1 (2017), 9-51. A refresher, and a nice analytic overview of what happened.

Gary J. Kornblith, "Rethinking the Coming of the Civil War: A Counterfactual Enterprise," Journal of American History 90:1 (June 2003), 76-105. A model of smart counterfactual speculation. What if the close Polk-Clay election of 1844 had gone the other way?

Alan S. Blinder & Mark W. Watson, "Presidents and the US Economy: An Econometric Exploration," American Economic Review 106:4 (April 2016), 1015-45. Does it make any difference which party wins an election and presides over the economy? State-of-the-art analysis.

**September 13 – PARTY IDEOLOGIES**

**Required:**

John Gerring, Party Ideologies in America, 1828-1996 (Cambridge University Press, 1998), chs. 1, 3-7. Available at Amazon in paperback, used-book prices, or kindle.

Thomas B. Edsall, "The End of the Left and the Right as We Knew Them," New York Times, June 22, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/22/opinion/nationalism-globalism-edsall.html>

**Suggested:**

James L. Huston, "The American Revolutionaries, the Political Economy of Aristocracy, and the American Concept of Distribution of Wealth, 1765-1900," American Historical Review 98 (1993), 1079-1105. More on the strange-to-us 19<sup>th</sup>-century Democrats.

Thomas Goebel, "The Political Economy of American Populism from Jackson to the New Deal," Studies in American Political Development 11 (1997), 109-48. A follow-up to the Huston piece.

Monica Prasad, "The Popular Origins of Neoliberalism in the Reagan Tax Cut of 1981," Journal of Policy History 24:3 (August 2012), 361-83. A surge in bracket creep gave cachet to tax-cutting in the election campaign of 1980.

Ronald D. Rotunda, The Politics of Language: Liberalism as Word and Symbol (University of Iowa Press, 1986). When and how did the terms “liberal” and “conservative” attain their primacy as U.S. political labels? Look to the 1930s and 1940s.

Norman Luttbeg & Michael M. Grant, “The Failure of Liberal/Conservative ideology as a Cognitive Structure,” Public Opinion Quarterly 49:1 (Spring 1985), 80-93. Ignore the title. This piece has some good basic information about what voters think the labels mean—at least what they thought then in the 1980s: the usages have evolved somewhat. But this is a nice kind of analysis.

Christopher Ellis & James A. Stimson, “Symbolic Ideology in the American Electorate,” Electoral Studies 28 (2009), 388-402. Liberal? Conservative? Since the 1930s, how has the public rated those labels? First-rate time-series analysis.

## **September 20 – PARTICIPATION**

### **Required:**

Charles A. Kromkowski, “Why Has Voter Turnout Declined? Because It Has Not: American Electoral Turnout Rates, 1776-2001,” paper presented at the annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2001.

Michael P. McDonald & Samuel L. Popkin, “The Myth of the Vanishing Voter,” American Political Science Review 95:4 (December 2001), 963-74

Richard H. Pildes, “Why the Center Does Not Hold: The Causes of Hyperpolarized Democracy in America,” California Law Review 99:2 (April 2011), 273-333. Read pages 287-97.

### **Suggested:**

Charles A. Kromkowski, “Electoral Participation and Democracy in Comparative-Historical and Cross-National Perspective: A New Conceptualization and Evaluation of Voting in Advanced and Developing Democracies, 1776-2002,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 31, 2003. An expanded version of Kromkowski’s 2001 MWPA paper.

Stanley L. Engerman & Kenneth L. Sokoloff, “The Evolution of Suffrage Institutions in the New World,” Journal of Economic History 65:4 (September 2005), 891-921. Pretty much white males only. High U.S. participation rate around 1800.

Donald Ratcliffe, “The Right to Vote and the Rise of Democracy, 1787-1828,” Journal of the Early Republic 33:2 (Summer 2013), 219-54. Again, white males. Recent research has pushed

the U.S.'s record of relatively high 19<sup>th</sup>-century voting participation backwards in time. The picture doesn't look as 1830s Jacksonian as it used to.

Walter D. Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," American Political Science Review 59:1 (March 1965), 7-28. Influential presentation of several time series addressing the middle half, more or less, of U.S. history. Dwells on the lasting turnout slump beginning around 1900.

Harold Stanley, Voter Mobilization and the Politics of Race: The South and Universal Suffrage, 1952-1984 (Praeger, 1987). On the immense change in participation that came to the South surrounding the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Addresses the empirics of black mobilization and white countermobilization.

Michael P. McDonald, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter in Comparative Perspective," paper presented at the annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 22-25, 2010. A McDonald follow-up.

Jack Citrin, Eric Schickler & John Sides, "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections," American Journal of Political Science 47 (2003), 75-90. Another smart dose of counterfactual speculation.

Jesse T. Richman, Gulshan A. Chattha & David C. Earnest, "Do non-citizens vote in U.S. elections?" Electoral Studies 36 (2014), 149-57. Well, maybe a bit.

## **SEPTEMBER 27 – ECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS**

### **Required:**

Larry M. Bartels & John Zaller, "Presidential Vote Models: A Recount," PS: Political Science and Politics 34 (2001), 9-20

D. Roderick Kiewiet & Michael Udell, "Twenty-five Years after Kramer: An Assessment of Economic Retrospective Voting Based upon Improved Estimates of Income and Unemployment," Economics and Politics 10: (November 1998), 219-47

### **Suggested:**

Robert S. Erikson, "The American Voter and the Economy, 2008," PS: Political Science and Politics 42:3 (July 2009), 467-71. Regarding a particular event. How did the Wall Street crash of September 2008 feed into the presidential election of November 2008? Here is some illuminating time-series analysis.

James E. Campbell et al., “A Recap of the Election Forecasts,” PS: Political Science and Politics 50:2 (April 2017). Election forecasting is a special kind of enterprise. Here, several political scientists look back at their pre-election forecasts for 2016.

**October 4 – HOMEOSTASIS (that is, control of the government bounces around the median voter to left and right, in an evolving equilibrium, by way of the victorious parties’ ideological overshoot once in office and voters’ compensatory adjustment)**

**Required:**

James A. Stimson, Michael B. Mackuen & Robert S. Erikson, “Dynamic Representation,” American Political Science Review 89:3 (September 1995), 543-65

Joseph Bafumi & Michael C. Herron, “Leapfrog Representation: A Study of American Voters and Their Members in Congress,” American Political Science Review 104:3 (August 2010), 519-42

**Suggested:**

Suzanna De Boef & James A. Stimson, “The Dynamic Structure of Congressional Elections,” Journal of Politics, 57:3 (August 1995), 630-48. A companion piece to SM&E above.

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. Mackuen & James A. Stimson, The Macro Polity (Cambridge University Press, 2002). The full statement of the SM&E project. Has a chapter that builds congressional enactments into the model.

Donald E. Stokes, “On the Existence of Forces Restoring Party Competition,” Public Opinion Quarterly 26:2 (Summer 1962), 159-71. Classic statement of the electoral equilibrium idea.

HeeMin Kim, G. Bingham Powell, Jr. & Richard C. Fording, “Electoral Systems, Party Systems, and Ideological Representation: An Analysis of Distortion in Western Democracies,” Comparative Politics 42:2 (January 2010), 167-85. Parties in single-member-district systems like the US’s or the UK’s tend to overshoot ideologically in their policy positioning once they win elections.

**October 11 – PERSONAL INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE**

**Required:**

David R. Mayhew, “Incumbency Advantage in Presidential Elections: The Historical Record,” Political Science Quarterly 123:2 (Summer 2008), 201-28

Anthony Fowler & Andrew B. Hall, “Long-Term Consequences of Election Results,” British Journal of Political Science 47 (2015), 351-72

**Suggested:**

Christopher H. Achen, “A Baseline for Incumbency Effects,” ch. 5 in Alan S. Gerber & Eric Schickler (eds.), Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation in America (Cambridge University Press, 2017). An impressive model. Why might it be that U.S. presidential parties do better (on average) when they run incumbent candidates?

David Samuels, “Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective,” American Political Science Review 98:3 (August 2004), 425-36. Net of all else, parties profit electorally in a range of presidential systems, not just the USA’s, by running incumbent presidential candidates.

David R. Mayhew, “The Meaning of the 2012 Election,” ch. 9 in Michael Nelson (ed.), The Elections of 2012 (Sage, 2014). Sights a likely personal incumbency bonus for candidates at all levels—presidency, Senate, House—in the election of 2012.

Robert S. Erikson, “The Congressional Incumbency Advantage over Sixty Years: Measurement, Trends, and Implications,” ch. 4 in Alan S. Gerber & Eric Schickler (eds.), Governing in a Polarized Age: Elections, Parties, and Political Representation in America (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Stephen Ansolabehere & James W. Snyder, Jr., “Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942-2000,” Election Law Journal 1:3 (2002), 315-38. Sweeping data for a large range of offices. Generally speaking, there was an uptick in personal incumbency advantage all across the ballot in the decades after World War II.

Markus Prior, “The Incumbent in the Living Room: The Rise of Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections,” Journal of Politics 68:3 (August 2006), 657-73. A boost for the ins in the 1950s or so, apparently.

Steven Ansolabehere, David W. Brady & Morris P. Fiorina, “The Vanishing Marginals and Electoral Responsiveness,” British Journal of Political Science 22:1 (January 1992), 21-38. Personal incumbency advantage that loaded onto their members apparently helped cement the Democrats into continuous control of the U.S. House during the forty-year-span of 1954-1994 (no exceptions, even in the GOP-tilting years of 1968, 1972, and 1984).

John Zaller, “Politicians as Prize Fighters,” in John G. Geer (ed.), Politicians and Party Politics (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Classic statement of the idea (employed in the Achen piece cited above) that incumbents are on average better candidates than challengers. That’s why they win—at least, it’s one reason.

Anthony Fowler, “What Explains Incumbent Success? Disentangling Selection on Party, Selection on Candidate Characteristics, and Office-Holding Benefits,” Quarterly Journal of Political Science 11 (2016), 313-338. Analysts have worried this difficult question for years. Theory and empirics figure in the mix. This is a smart, state-of-the-art statement.

## **October 25 – DISTRICTING AND GERRYMANDERING**

### **Required:**

Jowei Chen & Jonathan Rodden, “Unintentional Gerrymandering: Political Geography and Electoral Bias in Legislatures,” Quarterly Journal of Political Science 8 (2013), 239-69

Jowei Chen & David Cottrell, “Evaluating partisan gains from Congressional gerrymandering: Using computer simulations to estimate the effect of gerrymandering in the U.S. House,” Electoral Studies 44 (2016), 329-40

### **Suggested:**

Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole & Howard Rosenthal, “Does Gerrymandering Cause Polarization?” American Journal of Political Science 53:3 (July 2009), 666-80. In Congress, that is. The answer: no.

Alan I. Abramowitz, Brad Alexander & Matthew Gunning, “Redistricting, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections,” Journal of Politics 68:1 (February 2006), 75-88. Has redistricting made U.S. House seats less competitive? The answer: no (at least not through the date of this publication).

David R. Mayhew, Partisan Balance: Why Political Parties Don’t Kill the U.S. Constitutional System (Princeton University Press, 2011), ch. 1. By one way of measuring, the Republicans have enjoyed a continuous, small bonus since the 1940s in the electoral universes of the House and Senate, although not in the Electoral College.

David Samuels & Richard Snyder, “The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective,” British Journal of Political Science 1:4 (October 2001), 651-71. How do the U.S. House and Senate compare with other representative bodies around the world? The Senate is way off the world norm.

## **November 1 – BALANCING (either as a voter intention, or as a product somehow of staggered terms across the House, Senate, and presidency)**

Robert S. Erikson, “The Puzzle of Midterm Loss,” Journal of Politics 50:4 (November 1988), 1011-29

Robert S. Erikson, "Congressional Elections in Presidential Years: Presidential Coattails and Strategic Voting," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 41:3 (August 2016), 551-74

Bernard Grofman, Thomas L. Brunell & William Koetzle, "Why Gain in the Senate but Midterm Loss in the House? Evidence from a Natural Experiment," Legislative Studies Quarterly 23:1 (February 1998), 79-89

### **Suggested:**

Morris P. Fiorina, Divided Government (Longman, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2002). A section of this book is the locus classicus on the theory of intentional voter balancing.

Matthew S. Shugart, "The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government," American Political Science Review 89:2 (June 1995), 327-343. What is the story for midterms (or for other between-presidential-elections contests if not exactly midterms) in other presidential systems?

Holger Lutz Kern & Jens Hainmueller, "Electoral Balancing, Divided Government, and 'Midterm' Loss in German Elections," Journal of Legislative Studies 12:2 (June 2006), 297-312. Also very illuminating.

David R. Mayhew (with Matthew Bettinger), "What can Obama expect from his last Congress?" Washington Post (Monkey Cage), July 9, 2014. After a two-term president's second midterm, what does the politics look like?, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/07/09/what-can-obama-expect-from-his-last-congress/>

David R. Smith & Thomas L. Brunell, "Special Elections to the U.S. House of Representatives: A General Election Barometer?" Legislative Studies Quarterly 35:2 (May 2010), 283-297. Well, yes, a bit on average anyway, especially if the special elections bring party seat turnovers (rather than just percentage changes in the vote). Dataset 1900 through 2008.

## **November 8 – PERFORMANCE BLOWBACK**

### **Required:**

David W. Brady, Morris P. Fiorina & Arjun W. Wilkins, "The 2010 Elections: Why Did Political Science Forecasts Go Awry?" PS: Political Science and Politics 44:2 (April 2011), 247-50

Gary C. Jacobson, "The 1994 House Elections in Perspective," Political Science Quarterly 111:2 (Summer 1996), 203-223

Christian R. Grose & Bruce I. Openheimer, "The Iraq War, Partisanship, and Candidate Attributes: Variation in Party Swing in the 2006 U.S. House Elections," Legislative Studies Quarterly 32:4 (November 2007), 531-57

**Suggested:**

Brendan Nyhan, Eric McGhee, John Sides, Seth Masket & Steven Greene, "One Vote Out of Step? The Effects of Salient Roll Call Votes in the 2010 Election," American Politics Research 40:5 (2012), 844-79. Findings similar to Brady et al.'s on the 2010 midterm.

Gary C. Jacobson, "The Republican Resurgence in 2010," Political Science Quarterly 126:1 (Spring 2011), 27-52. Findings similar to Brady et al.'s on the 2010 midterm.

John Ferejohn, "A Tale of Two Congresses: Social Policy in the Clinton Years," ch. 2 in Margaret Weir (ed.), The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government (Brookings, 1998). Findings similar to Jacobson's on the 1994 midterm. Also, the better that Republican House members voted lockstep for the provisions of Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America" during the Congress of 1995-96, the worse they fared in the election of 1996.

Douglas L. Kriner & Francis X. Shen, "Iraq Casualties and the 2006 Senate Elections," Legislative Studies Quarterly 32:4 (November 2007), 507-30. Findings similar to Grose/Openheimer's on the 2006 midterm, but for Senate rather than House.

Jamie L. Carson, Jeffery A. Jenkins, David W. Rohde & Mark A Souva, "The Impact of National Tides and District-Level Effects on Electoral Outcomes: The U.S. Congressional Elections of 1862-63," American Journal of Political Science 45:4 (October 2001), 887-98. Across the districts, the in-party Republicans' fortunes varied inversely with Civil War casualties.

Alan I. Abramowitz, "It's Monica, Stupid: The Impeachment Controversy and the 1998 Midterm Election," Legislative Studies Quarterly 16:2 (May 2001), 211-26. Voter blowback against the Republican majority party in the House bent on impeaching Bill Clinton.

**November 15 – THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. So what, the Electoral College? There is an interesting history of odd, complicated, or vexed elections. Those include 1800, 1824, 1860, 1876, 1884, 1888, 1916, 1960, 2000, and 2016. For this week, please read the two brief required items and also one of the suggested items. We can apportion the latter choices in advance so that many of them are covered by at least somebody.**

**Required:**

Brian J. Gaines, "Popular Myths about Popular Vote-Electoral College Splits," PS: Political Science and Politics 34:1 (March 2001), 71-75. On the Kennedy/Nixon election of 1960.

Henry E. Brady, Michael C. Herron, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Jasjeet Singh Sekhon, Kenneth W. Shotts & Jonathan Wand, “‘Law and Data’: The Butterfly Ballot Episode,” PS: Political Science and Politics, 34:1 (March 2001), 59-69. On pivotal Florida in the Bush43/Gore election of 2000.

**Suggested:**

James Roger Sharp, The Deadlocked Election of 1800: Jefferson, Burr, and the Union in the Balance (University Press of Kansas, 2010), chs. 8-10

Jeffery A. Jenkins & Brian R. Sala, “The Spatial Theory of Voting and the Presidential Election of 1824,” American Journal of Political Science 42:4 (October 1998), 1157-79. On the J.Q. Adams/Jackson et al. election resolved by the U.S. House.

Alexander Taborrok & Lee Spector, “Would the Borda Count Have Avoided the Civil War?” Journal of Theoretical Politics 11:2 (1999), 261-88. On the Lincoln election of 1860.

Ronald F. King, “Hayes Truly Won: A Revisionist Analysis of the 1876 Electoral Vote in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida,” paper presented at the annual conference of the APSA, 2000, and apparently not published subsequently. But King did publish papers on two of those states’ gubernatorial elections in 1876, which very likely matched what went down at the presidential level in the two states: “Counting the Votes: South Carolina’s Stolen Election of 1876,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 32:2 (Autumn 2001), 169-91; “A Most Corrupt Election: Louisiana in 1876,” Studies in American Political Development 15 (Fall 2001), 123-37. The Hayes-Tilden election of 1876 is the one that was resolved by a commission.

Sources that back up Brian J. Gaines on the Kennedy/Nixon election of 1960: Neal R. Peirce, The People’s President (Simon & Schuster, 1968), pp. 102-07; George C. Edwards III, Why the Electoral College Is Bad for America (Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 48-51.

Edmund F. Kallina, “Was the 1960 Presidential Election Stolen? The Case of Illinois,” Presidential Studies Quarterly 15 (Winter 1985), 113-18. Also: Kallina, “The State’s Attorney and the President: The Inside Story of the 1960 Presidential Election in Illinois,” Journal of American Studies 12:2 (August 1978), 147-60.

M. C. Herron & J. S. Sekhon, “Overvoting and representation: an examination of overvoted presidential ballots in Broward and Miami-Dade counties,” Electoral Studies 22 (2003), 21-47. More on messy Florida in 2000.

Ronald E. Adkins & Kent A. Kirwan, “What Role Does the ‘Federalism Bonus’ Play in Presidential Selection?” Publius 32:4 (Autumn 2002), 71-90. “Federalism Bonus” means the extra (so to speak) two Electoral Votes that each state gets thanks to its senator count. A canvass of U.S. history.

## November 29 – POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

### Required:

Sean Trende & David Byler, “How Trump Won” – The South, The West, The Northeast, The Midwest, and a wrapup, at [RealClearPolitics](#) (online)

January 16, 2017 - The South [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/16/how\\_trump\\_won\\_the\\_south\\_132796.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/16/how_trump_won_the_south_132796.html)

January 17 – The West [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/17/how\\_trump\\_won\\_the\\_west\\_132803.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/17/how_trump_won_the_west_132803.html)

January 18 – The Northeast [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/18/how\\_trump\\_won\\_the\\_northeast\\_132827.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/18/how_trump_won_the_northeast_132827.html)

January 19 – The Midwest [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/19/how\\_trump\\_won\\_the\\_midwest\\_132834.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/19/how_trump_won_the_midwest_132834.html)

January 20 – Conclusions [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/20/how\\_trump\\_won\\_--\\_conclusions\\_132846.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2017/01/20/how_trump_won_--_conclusions_132846.html)

David Byler, “Demographic Coalitions: How Trump Picked the Lock and Won the Presidency,” ch. 2 in Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik & Geoffrey Skelley (eds.), Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017)

### Suggested:

Andrew Gelman, Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State: Why Americans Vote the Way They Do (Princeton University Press, 2009). Blue states are richer per capita than red states, but within each state (or at least in most of them) the relationship goes the other way. As of 2009, that is, anyway.

## December 6 – LONG-TERM TRENDS

### Required:

John B. Judis & Ruy Teixeira, The Emerging Democratic Majority (Scribner, 2002), ch. 2 (“George McGovern’s Revenge: Who’s in the Emerging Democratic Majority”)

Sean Trende, “The ‘Emerging Democratic Majority’ Fails to Emerge,” ch. 14 in Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik & Geoffrey Skelley (eds.), Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017)

**Suggested:**

Larry M. Bartels, “Electoral Continuity and Change, 1868-1996,” Electoral Studies 17 (1998), 301-26. Patterns of continuity and discontinuity in the election returns.

Daniel J. Gans, “Persistence of Party Success in American Presidential Elections,” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 16 (1985), 221-37. A statistician. From 1956 through 1980. A “runs” analysis for elections as in the logic of flipping coins getting sequences of heads or tails. What is the “runs” record of D versus R holdings of the White House issuing from election victories?

Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (Norton, 1970). The canonical statement of electoral realignments theory.

David R. Mayhew, “Electoral Realignments,” Annual Review of Political Science 3 (2000), 449-74. A short summary critique of realignments theory.

David R. Mayhew, Electoral Realignments: A Critique of an American Genre (Yale University Press, 2002). A longer critique.

Sean Trende, The Lost Majority: Why the Future of Government Is Up for Grabs—and Who Will take It (St. Martin’s, 2012). An interpretation of U.S. electoral history in the spirit of the Trende chapter cited above.

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, “The Puzzle of Class in Presidential Voting,” The Forum (online) 15:1 (2017), 29-49. The Democratic hemorrhage of lower-income and pre-college whites since 2008.

# Economics and Politics of Public Policy

By Laura I. Langbein, American University

## Course Objectives

This course applies both normative (economic) and positive (political) theories of public policy to specific policy areas, including social as well as regulatory policies, and to current topics such as national security and terrorism, gun control, and inequality. Normative economic theories focus on how efficient markets ought to work, and on how collective choice (policy) ought to respond to correct the market failures. Positive theories of politics outline when and how rational politicians who seek to obtain or remain in office are likely to respond both to market failure and normative policy options in the “real” world. The first part of the course briefly reviews market failure, but from the perspective of specific policy areas (e.g., what, if any, market failure justifies Amtrak? USPS? FNMA/FMNC?). It begins with the (specific) policy to ask how the (general) logic applies, rather than, as in many courses, start with the (general) logic, and then apply it to the (specific) policy. The second part of the course briefly examines public choice; that is, we use the logic of economics to examine how rational politicians, seeking to maintain or gain office, respond to voters (in a democracy), or citizens (in an autocracy), interest groups (or elites), and/or legislatures, and always dependent on bureaucracies for policy implementation, make policy choices that are rational for them, and that may also be socially efficient (or not). The third, main, part of the course applies theories of market and government/political failure (or success) to specific policy topics. Topics covered in designated class sessions include issues in education (from day care to university); cash and in-kind transfers to the poor; health care; social security; crime and illegal drugs (and terrorism); environmental regulation and natural resources (e.g., oil, wind, sun, water); risk and safety; and other policy issues of specific interest to those in the class. For each policy issue, class discussion will generally adhere to the following outline:

### A. Current policy

- 1) What is the current policy? (May be general; e.g., higher education; or specific; e.g., Pell grants). (Current policy may be "do nothing.") (You may consider policies in countries outside the U.S., and in non-democracies.)

### B. Market failure/success: Theory 1

- 1) In the absence of government, what, if any, market failure(s) would characterize the supply of and/or the demand for the good or service?
- 2) What, if any, would be a theoretically preferred (if not optimal) policy response? (i.e., Pareto improving if not Pareto optimal)

### C. Non-market (government) failure/success: Theory 2

- 1) Given the presence (or absence) of government, what, if any, is/are the type(s) of non-market failure (or success) that characterize current policy?

- 2) What political factors are likely to account for disparity (or, possibly, conformity) between the current and a theoretically more optimal policy? In other words, why does political rationality account for policy choice, and sometimes conform, or not conform, with the norm of efficient choice?

In your answer, use the readings and the class discussions and notes about the characteristics of voters/citizens, interest groups/elites/social movements, legislators, and unelected officials (especially appointed leaders and government employees in executive agencies) in terms of their likely preferences and the institutional "rules" that affect their behavior and preferences.

D. Pareto improving, politically possible options: an empty set? Consider the options, and discuss them (or it). If there are no options, discuss why some popular options (e.g. school choice, public provision of health care in the U.S., externality taxes) are unlikely to be effective in your example, or are likely to be politically infeasible in your example.

**With the exception of the introductory sessions on market and non-market (government) failure/success, each class will be structured around a specific policy area using the outline set forth above.** In addition to **one short paper** on a policy issue that illustrates aspects of market failure (or its absence), the course requires **two other short papers on three of the policy issues** that we discuss. Writing these papers requires you to apply information from class discussions and from the readings. It is therefore critical that everyone not only come to class, but also be prepared to discuss--and challenge--the readings (and the instructor). This will also make it easier for you to write the short policy papers. Be sure to use the required elements from the outline above to write these short papers. The specific requirements are outlined below. There is also a **term paper due at the end of the class**; for many of you, the term paper will be a longer version of one of the short policy papers, or a longer analysis of a policy topic of your choice.

### Learning Outcomes

- 1) Ability to define and identify specific cases of market failure(s). Measures: 1<sup>st</sup> two short papers, term paper.
- 2) Ability to apply the logic of market and government/political failure (and its absence) to specific policies. Measure: Short paper #3, term paper.
- 3) Ability to *start* with a specific policy and determine what market and government/political failure(s) can account for the policy market failure, or its success. Measures: 3 short papers, term paper.
- 4) Ability to possibly improve current policy by suggesting options that, while not Pareto optimal, may be both Pareto improving and politically feasible. Measures: term paper.

## Course Requirements

(E-mail all assignments to me)

Short papers 1 & 2 on Market Failure.

**Paper #1 (20%):** Consider one particular policy (or non-policy, if there is no public action) of particular interest to you. Prepare a short paper identifying market failure(s) that may justify the policy, or explain why no market failure exists. Then explain the logically optimal policy response (i.e. Discuss topics A and B in outline above). **MUST cite one or more required readings on the topic. (3pp double spaced) USE AUID, NO NAME** Due Feb. 9

**Paper #2 (20%):** Same as #1, but must apply topics A and B to some aspect of **education** policy. In both cases, use diagrams to illustrate your argument. **MUST cite one or more required readings on the topic. (3pp double spaced) USE AUID, NO NAME** Due Mar. 23.

**Short paper 3. On Market and Govt Failure. (20%) (due Apr 20 OR May 4)**

Prepare a short exercise identifying market failure, optimal policy response, *government failure, and possible Pareto improving policy* (which may be the current policy) (i.e., Your short essay should cover Topics A – D in outline above). **(Max. 3 pages double space; make sure you cover topics A-D in the outline above. Use page 4 for diagrams, if necessary. USE AUID, NO NAME. Paper #3 offers a choice.**

**One option** (due April 20) is to write a short paper on one topic within the policy areas of welfare, health care or social security; OR

**Second option** (due May 4) is to write short paper on one topic pertaining to regulating risk/safety, the environment or crime. (Note that these options have different due dates.

**Pick ONE option.)**

**Both options: The paper MUST cite one or more required readings on the topic; it must cover topics A-D in the outline above. 3pp double spaced. (20%)**

**Summary of due dates for short papers:**

Paper 1 due Feb. 2

Paper 2 due Mar. 23 (on education)

Paper 3a on policy pertaining to welfare/redistribution, health care OR social security, due April 20

**OR**

Paper 3b on policy pertaining to regulating risk/safety, the environment OR crime due May 4

**Term paper** (35%) (10 - 15 pages) (due Apr. May 4)

Longer version of one of the short papers, OR on a policy topic of your choice. Same outline as 3<sup>rd</sup> / 4<sup>th</sup> short papers (i.e., must discuss both market and govt failure/success).

Class presentation of term paper (5%) (due May 4)

Class participation (fudge factor)

In addition, your papers may conclude with a brief original discussion or personal opinion on the issue that pertains to the policy topic, the readings, the current news, or the class discussion. You may also voice an opinion that is relevant but is not raised in the readings, the discussion, or the news. Given the page limit in the 3 short papers, each section must be succinct, organized and clear, but as thorough as possible. It probably will help to start with an outline (e.g., the one provided on p. 1-2 of the syllabus). Also, adhere to that outline in the paper that you hand in. Please read and edit your paper before you hand it in. Be advised that it takes longer to write short papers than long papers. *Ruthless editing and rewriting is essential.* **Also: Read OWED TO THE SELLING CHEQUER. This lovely sonnet appears on p. 11 of this syllabus. I will collect 1 cent for every misused spelling!** (Except the transactions costs are too high...)

Some examples of topics that may be appropriate for any of the papers include: vouchers in education; education choice; paying/rewarding teachers (or schools) for good performance; "no child left behind" (or "race to the top") policy; food stamps; EITC; minimum wage; work requirements to get welfare; welfare caps; privatizing social security; public provision of social security, or health care, or education; public subsidy for Medicare prescription drugs; tax deduction for employer-provided health insurance; raising social security/Medicare age of eligibility; tax deduction for home mortgage; housing vouchers; raising taxes on cigarettes or booze or soft drinks; banning/regulating handguns; easing (or raising) federal clean air standards; easing (or raising) federal clean air regs or raising/lowering air/water pollution standards; taxing gasoline and/or automobile mileage; preserving wildlife refuges (or historic places); preserving endangered species; building highways to reduce traffic congestion; increasing airline safety/security (airline safety standards; screening passengers, scanning luggage, etc.); raising fuel efficiency standards; patients' "bill of rights"; banning (certain) drugs; gun control; mandatory minimum sentences for certain crimes; the death penalty; foreign aid; policies related to terrorism or national defense; mandating/subsidizing/pricing health care insurance; etc.; specific pieces of legislation or regulations (e.g., legislation establishing the ACA; EPA Clean Air Act Amendments)

## The Term Paper

Each student must discuss the term paper topic with the instructor by March 10, before the Spring break. The typical term paper is an expansion of one of the short papers, but you can pick a different topic, or do an empirical analysis.

## A Note on Outside Readings

Besides the readings listed on this syllabus, additional readings will be a necessity for many of you to complete the term papers. Consulting additional readings is an option (not a requirement) for the short papers. Please minimize reliance on ad hoc searches of the web for these additional sources. There is a lot of “stuff” on the web, but most of it is not refereed by professional or peer review. Materials in books and journals (on-line or not) that are held by university libraries are usually refereed, and are more likely to be theoretically coherent and empirically valid. By all means use the web to search for these sources; and use the web for electronic versions of journals held by libraries. Materials published by reputable think tanks are also refereed, and are usually of high quality. (Urban Institute, RFF, Brookings, MDRC, Abt Research, American Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, and Cato (and others) span the ideological spectrum and are of equally high quality, probably because of competition in the think tank market.) Google-scholar is probably the best place to begin a search. Before you start searching for information, see me; I have a drawer and e-files full of references on a lot of policy topics, and I (usually) point you in the right direction.

Of the many journals in economics and political science, this is a partial list of those that are likely to be useful:

**Economics:** Journal of Economic Perspectives, Regulation Magazine, CATO Journal, Brookings Review, National Bureau of Economic Research Papers, Journal of Economic Literature, American Economic Review, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Public Choice, Southern Economic Journal, Journal of Law and Economics, Journal of Legal Studies, Jnl. of Regulatory Economics, National Tax Journal, Social Science Quarterly, Economics and Politics, Applied Economics, etc.

**Politics:** American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Policy Studies Review, Policy Studies Journal, Evaluation Review, Public Choice, Journal of Law and Economics, CATO Journal, Journal of Legal Studies, American Economic Review, Rationality and Society, Economics and Politics, Journal of Law, Economics and Organization, Social Science Quarterly, etc.

**Journals specific to particular policy areas:** New England Journal of Medicine, Journal of Environmental Economics and Management, Economics of Education Rev., etc.

### **Reading for purchase in the bookstore or elsewhere**

Gruber, Public Finance and Public Policy 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Worth, 2013).

**Recommended readings:** (other editions are also good; each addition has a slightly different selection of policy issues)

Stiglitz, Economics of the Public Sector, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.

Edgmand, Moomaw and Olson, Economics and Contemporary Issues, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.

Sharp, Register and Grimes, Economics of Social Issues (19<sup>th</sup> ed.)

Miller, Benjamin and North, Economics of Public Issues (16<sup>th</sup> ed.)

### **Required reading from books available on Blackboard:**

Shefrin, Markets and Majorities

Walters, Enterprise, Government and The Public

Winston, Government Failure versus Market Failure (Brookings, 2006)

### **Course Schedule, Reading Assignments, and Dates to Remember**

(Note that readings do not need to be completed until the end of each 2 or 3 week sub-session.)

#### Jan. 19-Feb. 2 **Part I: Market failure, Inequality, and Non-Market Failure**

Jan. 19, 26: Review of market failure and optimal policy design:  
applications of the theory to specific policy issues (including inequality)

Reading:

Gruber, PF & PP, ch. 1-3, 5-7, 9.1, 10, 17

Shefrin, M&M, ch. 1 (BB)

Cragg and Ghayad, “Growing Apart: The Evolution of Income vs. Wealth Inequality,”  
Economists’ Voice, 2015 (BB)

Examples:

Rao and Reiley, “The Economics of SPAM,” JEP Summer 2012 (BB)

Cadena and Novac, “Immigrants Equilibrate Labor Markets” AEJ, 2016 (BB)

Brannon and Batten, “Menu Labeling Morass”, Regulation Magazine, Summer  
2015 (BB)

Brill et al., “Tax E-Cigarettes?” (BB)

Sen, “Too Many People?” NY Times, Nov. 2015 (BB)

Optional:

Walters, Enterprise, Government and The Public, ch. 2-3

Weimer and Vining, Policy Analysis, 2005, ch. 4,5, 6, 10 (recommended)

Stephens, Economics of Collective Choice, ch. 2, 3, 4 (recommended)

Stiglitz, Economics of the Public Sector, 2000, ch. 1-4 (recommended)

Edgmand, Econ and Contemp Issues, ch. 1, 2, 3, 5 (recommended)

Feb. 2: Introduction to non-market failure

(NOTE: Class on this date is cancelled; it will meet on Feb. 3 or 4 in the afternoon)

Reading:

Gruber, PF & PP, ch. 9.2-9.5 (skim), 10 (again)

Bardach, A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis, Appendix A, "Things Governments Do" (BB)

Weimer and Vining, Policy Analysis, 2005, ch. 10 (BB)

Winston, GF versus MF, ch. 1-8 (BB)

Examples:

Winston, "On the Performance of the U.S. Transportation System: Caution Ahead" J. Econ. Lit., 2013 (51 (3): 773-824. (BB)

Seim and Waldfogel, "Public Monopoly and Economic Efficiency: Evidence from the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board's Entry Decisions." Am. Econ. Review 2013, 103(2): 831-862 (BB)

Doleac and Sanders, "Fighting Crime with Daylight Savings Time" Brookings Now, Oct. 2015

Faulhaber, "What hath the FCC Wrought?" Regulation Magazine, Summer 2015

Optional:

Walters, Enterprise, Government and The Public, ch. 4

Sobel and Leeson, "Editorial Commentaries on the Political Economy of Catastrophe in New Orleans", Public Choice 127 (1-2), April 2006: 5-74

Frame and White, "Fussing and Fuming over Fannie and Freddie: How Much Smoke, How Much Fire?" J. Econ. Perspectives 19 (2), Spring 2005 (Note the date of the publication: pre-crash).

Stephens, Economics of Collective Choice, ch. 1

Weimer and Vining, Policy Analysis, 2005, ch. 8,9

Stiglitz, Economics of the Public Sector, 2000 ch. 6

Feb. 9-Mar. 2 **Part II: Reasons for government/non-market failure or success**

Feb. 9, 16: Voting and interest groups

Reminder: Short paper 1; due Feb. 9

Reading:

Gruber, PF & PP, Ch. 9.2-9.3 (again)

Anastasopoulos, "The Big Sorts: Diversity, White Flight, and Polarization in Neighborhoods and Cities." Presented at APSA Meeting, 2013. (BB)

PEW Research Center, "Political Polarization in the American Public", June 2014 (BB)

Optional:

Jacobs and Shapiro, "Studying Substantive Democracy," PS: Political Science and Politics 27 (1), March 1994: 9-17 (BB)  
Stiglitz, EPS 2000, ch. 7, "Public Choice"  
Fred McChesney, Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion, Harvard, 1997  
Stevens, The Economics of Collective Choice, ch. 6, 7 (thru 7.72)

Feb. 23, Mar. 2: Legislatures and bureaucracies

Reading:

Gruber, PF & PP, ch. 9.4 (again)  
Perelman, "Retrospectives: X-Efficiency." JEP 2011 25 (4) (BB)  
Kerr, S. 1975. "On the Folly of Rewarding A, While Hoping for B." *The Academy of Management Journal* 18 (4):769-783. (BB)  
Di Julio, 10 question and answers about America's "Big Government", Brookings, Feb. 2017 (BB)

Optional:

Stevens, The Economics of Collective Choice, ch. 8, 9, 10  
Stiglitz, EPS, 2000: ch. 8 "Public Production and Bureaucracy" (recommended)  
W. F. Shughart II, ed., Taxing Choice: The Predatory Politics of Fiscal Discrimination, Transaction, 1997  
Langbein and Spotswood-Bright, "Private Governments: The Impact of Residential Community Associations on Residential Property Values." SSQ, 85 (3), Sept. 2004. (BB Course Documents)  
(Note: this began life as a class paper in 604+607; shorter version appears in Regulation Magazine, published by Cato)

Mar. 9 - Apr. 27: **Part III: Specific policy applications: Market failure and/or Government failure?**

Mar. 9 Education (including higher education and pre-school/day care)

Reading:

Henry Levin, "Education as a Public and Private Good," JPAM 6(4), Summer '87 (BB Course Documents)  
Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 11  
Psacharopoulos, "The Value of Investment in Education: Theory, Evidence, and Policy" J. of Education Finance 32(2) Fall 2006 (BB)  
Heckman et al., "Understanding the Mechanisms Through Which an Influential Early

Childhood Program Boosted Adult Outcomes.” American Ec. Rev. 2013, 103 (6): 2052-2086.

Murnane, “U.S. High School Graduation Rates: Patterns and Explanations.”

J. Econ. Lit., 2013, 51 (2), 370-422.

Heckman et al., PreSchool Effects

Acemoglu et al. Wage Polarization and Education (J-shaped wage distribution)

Optional:

Stiglitz, EPS, 2000: ch. 16, “Education” (recommended)

Edgmand et al., Economics of Contemp Issues, ch. 9, 10 (recommended)

Mar. 10 See me before this date to begin discussion of your term paper. If necessary, I will provide an individually tailored reading list to guide your research. Many useful articles on a wide variety of policy topics, both theoretical/analytical and empirical, can be found in the journals listed on page 4 of this syllabus.

Mar. 16 NO CLASS: Spring break

Reminder: Short paper 2 on education due Mar. 23

Mar. 23, 30 Inequality and Market Failure: Moral redistribution or moral hazard: Income redistribution

Welfare (cash + in-kind transfers to the poor), work, and decentralized finance:

What do we know about welfare reform? Should states run the show? EITC v.

MinWage?

Short paper 2 on education due

Reading:

Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 10 (again), 14, 17

Besharov and Call, “Income Transfers Alone Won’t Eradicate Poverty,” Policy Studies

Jnl, 2009 37(4) (BB)

Plotnick, “Measuring Poverty and Assessing the Role of Income Transfers in Contemporary Antipoverty Policy: Comments on Besharov and Call. PSJ 2009 37 (4) (BB)

Bonica et al., “Why Hasn’t Democracy Slowed Rising Inequality?” Jnl. Econ.

Perspectives 2013 27 (3): 103-124. (BB)

Choose one item from Inequality and Neg. Exts/\_No #1-3 in Blackboard

Read: Inequality and Neg. Exts. Yes in Blackboard

Read: SNAP Reduces Inequality in BB

Read: Does Democracy Reduce Inequality? It depends...(BB)

Optional:

Iversen and Soskice, "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More than Others. APSR, May 2006. (BB)

Edgmand et al., Economics of Contemp Issues, ch. 12, 14

Stiglitz, Economics of the Public Sector, 2000

ch. 5, "Welfare Economics: Efficiency vs Equity"

ch. 15, "Welfare Programs and Redistribution of Income"

Mar. 30 Social (In)Security

Readings:

Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 12, 13

Scheffrin, Markets and Majorities, ch. 3 (BB)

Ferrara, Social Security, ch. V (BB)

R. Douglas Arnold, "The Politics of Reforming Social

Security," Pol. Sci. Qtrly 113 (2), Sum. '98: 213-240 (BB)

Optional:

Edgmand et al., Economics of Contemp Issues, ch. 11

Stiglitz, EPS, 2000: Ch. 14, "Social insurance"

Apr. 6, 13 Health Care and Government: Pathology or Palliative?

Stoltzer, Emergency Room (BB, by permission of the author) (Why did I assign this?)

Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 15, 16

Sheffrin, M&M, ch 2 (BB)

"Medicare: Point and Counterpoint" J. Policy Analysis and Mgmt. 2011 30 (4): 927-946

Optional:

Regulation Magazine, Fall 1992 (in periodical stacks)(recommended)

Stiglitz, EPS, 2000: ch. 12 "Health Care" (recommended)

Edgmand et al., Economics of Contemp Issues, ch. 7 (recommended)

Apr. 20 Short paper 3a on redistribution, health or social security due.

Apr. 20 Pollution, Politics, and Public Policy

Sheffrin, M&M, ch. 4 (BB)

Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 5, 6.1, 6.2

Walters, Enterprise, Government and the Public, ch. 16 (BB)

Denny and Weiss, "Hurry or Wait: The Pros and Cons of Going Fast or Slow on Climate Change." Econ Voice 2015 (BB)

Kahn, "Climate Change Adaptation...Behavioral Economics." Econ Voice 2015 (BB)

Optional:

Portney et al., "The Economics of Fuel Economy Standards," J. Econ. Perspectives 17 (4), Fall 2003 (in JSTOR)

Stiglitz, EPS, 2000: ch. 9, "Externalities and the Environment"

Edgmand et al., Economics of Contemp Issues, ch. 6

Apr. 27 Regulating Risk: Health, Safety  
(first hour)

Shefrin, M&M, ch. 5 (BB E-Reserves)

Gruber, PF&PP, ch. 6.3-6.5

Calfee, "The Ghost of Cigarette Advertising Past," Regulation Magazine, Nov./Dec. 1986; reprinted, Regulation Sum. '97 (BB)

Hudgins, "Memo to the Mafia: Smuggle Cigarettes,"  
Regulation Magazine, Spring 1998 (BB)

Optional:

Walters, Enterprise, Government and the Public, pp. 510-522;  
Ch. 11: 304-320; Ch. 17: 522-548 (in BB E-Reserves)

Regulation Magazine, Fall 1991

Apr. 27 Crime and Illegal Drugs  
(second hour)

Langbein, "Politics, Rules and Death Row: Why States Eschew  
or Execute Executions," SSQ 80(4), Dec. '99 (BB)

Soss, Langbein and Metelko, "Why Do White Americans Support  
the Death Penalty?" (J. of Politics, 2003) (BB)

Optional:

Lukesetich and White, Crime and Public Policy, ch. 3-6, 9, 10

May 4: Short paper 3b on environment, risk or crime due

May 4: Term paper due

May 4: Class presentations of term paper

### **A Brief Note on my Grading Policy**

A is reserved for truly exceptional work; A- is close to outstanding work, but not quite there. B+ represents good, sound work, while B is adequate. Grades of B- and below mean that some portion of the basic, core concepts are missing or poorly understood. The best work is accurate, clear, organized, and creative. Clarity includes a well-organized paper or essay, paragraphs that

correspond to separate topics and subtopics, and sentences with subject, verb, and object, with appropriate use of adjectives and adverbs. Correct your spelling. Remember, the spell-checker cannot distinguish between their, there, and they're, or between discrete and discreet. Reread and edit your work (twice!) before you hand it in. **Please read “Owed to the Selling Chequer”:** it appears just below in the syllabus. Your work must be your own and must conform to AU standards of academic integrity.

*Late papers will not be accepted, unless you tell me before-hand why you will be late and when you plan to hand in the work. Work that is more than one week late will not be accepted at all. Violations of the university's Academic Integrity Code will result in serious sanctions, a grade of F in the course, or suspension from the university. Please read the sections set forth below on Reading and Writing Standards and the Academic Integrity Code carefully.*

### **Reading and Writing Standards**

Misuse of words drives me nuts. The spelling checker cannot distinguish between “there” and “their”, but a reasonably intelligent human, especially those in the MPP program at AU, should be capable of making distinctions such as these. Read the following, and behave accordingly. If I see excessive violations, I will start charging for each instance of this negative externality....or I would, if the transactions costs were not higher than the likely marginal benefit.

#### **OWED TO THE SELLING CHEQUER (By An on knee muss)**

**I have a spelling chequer  
It came with my pea see  
It plainly marks for my revue  
Miss steaks eye cannot sea.**

**Eye strike a quay and right a word  
And weight for it two say  
Weather I am wrong or write—  
It shows me strait a way.**

**As soon as a mist ache is maid  
It nose be fore two late  
And I can put the error rite  
It's rarely, rarely grate.**

**I've run this poem threw it  
I'm shore yore pleased to no  
It's letter perfect in it's weight  
My chequer tolled me sew.**

# **Business and Politics in Emerging Markets**

**By John D. Sullivan, George Mason University**

## **Course Overview**

Business and Politics in Emerging Markets is an introduction to the volatile world of developing and transitional economies with a focus on those countries which are now destination points for international financial flows and foreign direct investment. Emerging markets have become a major influence in the world economy both because of the potential for growth and the downside risks from economic crises. The performance of these markets, and fortunes of business ventures within them, are often heavily influenced by the political landscape.

The analysis in the course will be based on business considerations and the new institutional economics. The new institutional economics combines economics, economic history, political science, and area studies. However, classroom discussion and course work will be oriented particularly toward applying these disciplines in order to assess conditions in which business and policy decisions are made.

## **Learning Outcomes**

### **1. Knowledge and understanding**

Acquire knowledge of the New Institutional Economics and understand processes of development and reform in emerging markets and developing countries, especially from a business point of view. Understand linkages between economic institutions, business interests, and governance.

### **2. Develop qualitative analysis skills**

Gain the ability to analyze factors driving investment decisions, especially institutional and political influences on foreign direct investment in emerging markets.

### **3. Professional development**

Gain policy skills needed to design and promote economic and political reforms for sustainable growth.

## **Course Requirements**

Students are expected to read all of the required readings and participate in class. Grades will be determined as follows: (1) mid-term exam (30%), (2) one emerging market profile (criteria will be provided) (20%), (3) class participation (15%) and (4) a final exam (35%).

Attendance policy: One or two absences will not affect your grade (assuming you are able to cover the material). Any more than two absences (for whatever reason) will affect the class participation component of your grade.

Grading criteria: Material will be graded on the following criteria – 1) Quality of the analysis and use of empirical support; 2) Completeness of the conclusions and link to the supporting analysis; 3) Mastery of the material (readings) covered in class; and 4) Insights into the conditions in emerging markets including institutional factors, business conditions, and structure of incentives.

## Readings

Most of the readings, other than the required book, are available on the web as listed. The style manual is the standard for all courses at ICP.

### Required Book:

- Hernando de Soto, The Mystery of Capital, Basic Books, 2003, New York.

### Recommended Book:

- OECD, Policy Framework for Investment, OECD 2015 Edition, at <http://reports.weforum.org/global-risks-2017/> <http://www.oecd.org/investment/pfi.htm>
- Diana Hacker, A Pocket Manual of Style, 3rd ed. or later, Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000

## Class Exercise

Each student will choose a country to prepare a country business conditions analysis (1,500 to 2,500 words or 3-5 pages single spaced) according to the 12 criteria for foreign/domestic investment. Selected students will present highlights of their cases in class. The 12 criteria used to analyze foreign/domestic investment will be distributed in class.

## Class Schedule

### **June 5 (Monday) Introduction**

#### *Required Reading:*

- Sullivan, John D., Jean Rogers, Alexander Shkolnikov, “Foreign Direct Investment: The Prosperity Papers #2,” CIPE and USIA, August 2004, at <http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/IP0402.pdf>

- Mody, Ashoka, “What is an Emerging Market,” IMF Working Paper, September 2002 at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/cat/longres.cfm?sk=17598.0>
- Goldstone, Jack A., “Out with the BRICs, Time for the TIMBIs,” Mercatus Center Working Paper No. 11-04 (February 2011), available at <http://mercatus.org/publication/out-brics-time-timbis>
- Broadman, Harry G., “Hide or Seek: Tales of Risks and Opportunities in Emerging Markets,” Forbes, April 30, 2015. <http://www.forbes.com/sites/harrybroadman/2015/04/30/hide-or-see-kses-of-risks-and-opportunities-in-emerging-markets/>
- FTSE Russel, “Frontier Markets: Accessing the Next Frontier,” September 2014 at [http://www.ftse.com/products/downloads/FTSE\\_Frontier\\_Markets\\_Overview.pdf](http://www.ftse.com/products/downloads/FTSE_Frontier_Markets_Overview.pdf)
- Donnelly, Shaun, “In my view: Pro Investment Policies Really Matter,” 2016 in OECD’s Development Co-Operation Report 2016” found at <http://www.uscib.org/uscib-content/uploads/2016/08/Donnelly-Sidebar-in-OECD-Development-Co-operation-Report-2016.pdf> (note – this is a one page side note)

*Recommended*

- AT Kearney, “Glass Half Full,” the 2017 AT Kearney Foreign Direct Investment Confidence Index, at [https://www.atkearney.com/gbpc/foreign-direct-investment-confidence-index/publication/-/asset\\_publisher/oXeK018TjvE/content/the-2017-foreign-direct-investment-confidence-index/10192](https://www.atkearney.com/gbpc/foreign-direct-investment-confidence-index/publication/-/asset_publisher/oXeK018TjvE/content/the-2017-foreign-direct-investment-confidence-index/10192)
- Financial Times, “The FDI Report 2017, Global Greenfield Investment Trends” <http://forms.fdiintelligence.com/report2017/>
- International Chamber of Commerce, “**Foreign Direct Investment – Promoting and protecting a key pillar for sustainable development and growth**” 2016 at [http://www.iccindiaonline.org/policy-june-2016/ICCPolicyStatement%20\\_FDI\\_final.pdf](http://www.iccindiaonline.org/policy-june-2016/ICCPolicyStatement%20_FDI_final.pdf)
- Radelet, Steven, “The Rise of the World’s Poorest Countries,” Journal of Democracy, October 2015 at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Radelet-26-4.pdf>
- See also, Radelet’s Ted Talk at Georgetown <http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/The-Great-Era-of-Global-Develop>
- [Price Waterhouse Coopers](http://www.pwc.com/world2050), “The Long View How will the global economic order change by 2050?” January 2017 at <http://www.pwc.com/world2050>

- Hornberger, K. et al. “Attracting Investment: How Much Does Investment Climate Matter?”. View Point, World Bank. (2011). Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/FINANCIALSECTOR/Resources/327-Attracting-FDI.pdf>.

## June 7 (Wednesday) – The New Institutional Economics

### *Required Reading:*

- North, Douglass, “Economic Performance Through Time,” 1993, Nobel Prize lecture, at - [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/economics/laureates/1993/north-lecture.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/1993/north-lecture.html).
- [Menard, Claude and Mary Shirley, “New Institutional Economics: From Early Institutions to a New Paradigm,” The Coase Institute, Sept. 2012 found at https://www.coase.org/workingpapers/wp-8.pdf](http://www.coase.org/workingpapers/wp-8.pdf)
- Khanna, Tarun, Krishna G. Palepu and Jayant Sinha, “Strategies that Fit Emerging Markets,” *Harvard Business Review*, June 2005.
- Shirley, Mary, “Why Institutions are Essential to Entrepreneurship,” Center for International Private Enterprise, March 1, 2013 <http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/why-institutions-are-essential-entrepreneurship?lang=en>

### *Recommended Reading:*

- North, D. C., 1991, “Institutions,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1) Winter: 97-112 [http://kysq.org/docs/North\\_91\\_Institutions.pdf](http://kysq.org/docs/North_91_Institutions.pdf)
- Shirley, Mary, “Ronald Coase’s Views on the Conduct of Economics,” June 2015, <http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/ronald-coases-views-conduct-economics>
- CIPE, The Development Institute – Section on The New Institutional Economics and Political Economy is posted at <http://www.developmentinstitute.org/category/new-institutional-economics-and-political-economy/>. Individual sections include:
  - [Why Institutions Matter: Insights from Ronald Coase](#)
  - [The Foundations of New Institutional Economics](#)
  - [Democratic Governance and Institutions for Growth](#)
- World Bank, World Development Report 2002: *Building Institutions for Markets*, Chapter 1, [http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/c.html/world\\_development\\_report\\_2002/chapter\\_1\\_building\\_institutions\\_complement\\_innovate\\_connect\\_compete#WB.0-1952-1606-7.part1.ch1](http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/c.html/world_development_report_2002/chapter_1_building_institutions_complement_innovate_connect_compete#WB.0-1952-1606-7.part1.ch1)

- World Economic Outlook, IMF, Washington, 2005. Chapter III, “Building Institutions,” available at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2005/02/index.htm>
- Williamson, Oliver E., “The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead,” *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. XXXVIII (September 2000) pp. 595-613)
- Azfar, Omar (2002), “The NIE Approach to Economic Development: An Analytic Primer.” Available at: [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PNACP764.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACP764.pdf)
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson, “Political Institutions and Comparative Development,” NBER Reporter 2015 No. 2 Research Summary <http://www.nber.org/reporter/2015number2/acemoglu.html>

## **June 12 (Monday) – Politics, Economics, and Business – Linkages**

### *Required Reading*

- DeSoto, Chapters 1, 2, and 3.
- LaPorta, Rafael and Andrei Shleifer, “Informality and Development,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* – Vol 28, No. 3 Summer 2014 pp. 109-126 <http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jep.28.3.109>
- World Bank, Doing Business Report 2017, go to the web site and scan the introductory materials (note we will review in class) <http://www.doingbusiness.org/>

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Djankov, Simenon et al., “Going Informal: Benefits and Costs,” 2002 posted at: <http://www.csd.bg/fileSrc.php?id=10334>
- Schneider, Friedrich, “Out of the Shadows: Measuring Informal Economic Activity,” *The Index of Economic Freedom 2016*, Heritage Foundation, 2016 at <http://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2016/book/chapter4.pdf>
- CIPE, “Reform Toolkit: Reducing Economic Informality by Opening Access to Opportunity,” [http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/Access%20to%20Information%20Toolkit\\_052013.pdf](http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/Access%20to%20Information%20Toolkit_052013.pdf)
- Woodruff, Christopher (2001): Review of de Soto’s *The Mystery of Capitalism*. *Journal of Economic Literature*, December 1215-1223.

- Fukuyama, Francis, “Political Order and Political Decay,” a video of Fukuyama lecture at Hopkins on his recent works 2014 found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQ3IpcRfSnM>
- Chambers, Dustin and Jonathan Munemo, The Impact of Regulations and Institutional Quality on Entrepreneurship, Mercatus Center, 2017 <https://www.mercatus.org/system/files/chambers-regulations-entrepreneurship-mercatus-working-paper-v1.pdf>

### **June 14 (Wednesday) – Emerging Markets: Political Conditions**

#### *Required Reading:*

- De Soto, Chapters 4, 6, and conclusions.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yascha Monk, “The Democratic Disconnect,” Journal of Democracy, July 2016, at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Foa%26Mounk-27-3.pdf>
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, “The Myth of Democratic Recession,” Journal of Democracy, January 2015 <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/myth-democratic-recession>
- Diamond, Larry, “Facing Up to the Democratic Recession,” Journal of Democracy, January 2015 <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/facing-democratic-recession>

#### *Recommended Reading:*

- Diamond, Larry, “The Spirit of Democracy: How to Make Democracies Work,” CIPE, Economic Reform Feature Service, Nov. 28, 2008 available at: <http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/spirit-democracy-how-make-democracies-work?lang=en>
- Economist, “Economics and the Rule of Law: Order in the Jungle,” March 13, 2008, provides a short overview of the literature on governance, economics, and the rule of law: [http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=10849115](http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10849115)
- Economist Intelligence Unit, “Democracy Index 2016: Revenge of the deplorables” [http://www.eiu.com/public/thankyou\\_download.aspx?activity=download&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2016](http://www.eiu.com/public/thankyou_download.aspx?activity=download&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2016)
- Plattner, Marc, “Is Democracy in Decline?,” Journal of Democracy, January 2015 <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/democracy-decline>

## June 19 (Monday) – Reform and Development

### *Required Reading:*

- Department for International Development, “Political Economy Analysis How To Note,” July 2009 <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/PO58.pdf>
- Rodrik, Dani, “Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What they are and How to Acquire Them,” IMF Seminar 1999. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/seminar/1999/reforms/rodrik.htm>
- Williamson, John, “A Short History of the Washington Consensus,” Paper commissioned by Fundación CIDOB for a conference “From the Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance,” Barcelona, September 24–25, 2004. Available at <http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson0904-2.pdf>
- Sullivan, John, “Steps in Designing a Reform Agenda,” Presented to the Informal Hearings of the Business Sector on Financing for Development, United Nations – October 11, 2007, part of the review of the Monterrey Consensus, [http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/20071011\\_Sullivan\\_DesigningReformAgenda.pdf](http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/20071011_Sullivan_DesigningReformAgenda.pdf)

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Rodrik, Dani, “Second Best Institutions,” January 2008 posted at: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14050.pdf>
- Michel, James, “Linking Growth and Governance for Inclusive Development and Effective International Cooperation” Center for International Private Enterprise, March 2014 at [http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/FS\\_033114\\_JM\\_growth\\_v3b.pdf](http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/FS_033114_JM_growth_v3b.pdf)
- DFID, “Political Economy Analysis Topic Guide,” 2014 found at <http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/PEA.pdf> this is an annotated bibliography of recent work.
- Rodrik, Dani. "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's *Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform*." Journal of Economic Literature, XIV, December 2006 [http://web.stanford.edu/group/scspi/\\_media/pdf/Reference%20Media/Rodrik\\_2006\\_Development%20Economics.pdf](http://web.stanford.edu/group/scspi/_media/pdf/Reference%20Media/Rodrik_2006_Development%20Economics.pdf)

## **June 21 (Wednesday) – Emerging Markets: Business Conditions**

Emerging market profile assignment due

### *Required Reading:*

- Hornberger, Kusi, Battat, Joseph, and Kusek, Peter, “Attracting Investment: How Much Does Investment Climate Matter?,” View Point, World Bank, August 2011 <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/FINANCIALSECTOR/Resources/327-Attracting-FDI.pdf>.

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, “World Investment and Political Risk 2013” (World Bank), <http://www.miga.org/documents/WIPR13.pdf>
- World Development Report, 2005, Chapter 2, “Confronting the Underlying Challenges.” [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/477365-1327693758977/04\\_WDR\\_Ch02.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/477365-1327693758977/04_WDR_Ch02.pdf)

## **June 26 (Monday) - Russia and the Post-Soviet World**

### *Required Reading:*

- Aslund, Anders and Simon Commander, “Russia’s Gloomy Prospects,” Project Syndicate, May 9, 2016 at <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/crony-capitalism-hurting-russian-economy-by-anders-aslund-and-simon-commander-2016-05>
- World Bank, “From Recession to Recovery” Russian Economic Report, May 2017 <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/383241495487103815/RER-37-Eng.pdf>
- Havrylyshyn, Oleh, “25 Years of Reforms in Ex-Communist Countries,” Cato Institute, July 2016 posted at: <http://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/25-years-reforms-ex-communist-countries-fast-extensive-reforms-led#full>

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Rohac, Dalibor, “Is New Europe Backsliding? Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic 25 Years After Communism,” American Enterprise Institute, Dec. 2016 <http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Is-New-Europe-Backsliding.pdf>

- Koshin, Pavel, “How the Economic Crisis Hampers Russia’s Investment Climate,” Russia Direct, January 21, 2016 at <http://www.russia-direct.org/qa/how-economic-crisis-hampers-russias-investment-climate>
- IMF, Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe: A Broadening Recovery, May 2017, <http://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/EU/Issues/2017/05/10/a-broadening-recovery>
- Roaf, James et al. “25 Years of Transition: Post-Communist Europe and the IMF,” Regional Economic Issues, IMF, October 2014 [http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2014/eur/eng/pdf/erei\\_sr\\_102414.pdf](http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2014/eur/eng/pdf/erei_sr_102414.pdf)
- Settles, Alexander, “Evolving Corruption: Hostile Takeovers, Corporate Raiding, and Company Capture in Russia,” CIPE Feature Service, August 2009 available at <http://www.cipe.org/publications/fs/pdf/083109.pdf>
- Shelly, Louise and Judy Dean, “The Rise of Reiderstvo: Implications for Russia and the West,” TRaCC Consulting, May 2016 <http://reiderstvo.org/>
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “EBRD Transition Report 2013: Stuck in Transition” introduction and Chapter 2 “Markets and Democracy,” at <http://www.ebrd.com/downloads/research/transition/tr13.pdf>

**June 28 (Wednesday) -- MID Term Exam**

**July 3 (Monday) – No Class**

**July 5 (Wednesday) – Latin America**

*Required reading:*

- [IMF, “Regional Economic Outlook: Tale of Two Adjustments” April 2017 http://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/WH/Issues/2017/05/10/wreo0517](http://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/WH/Issues/2017/05/10/wreo0517)  
Chapter 2, “Latin America and the Caribbean: Setting the Course for Higher Growth”

[Also read “Latin America and the Caribbean: Bouncing Back from Recession,” May 2017 http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/05/18/NA190517Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean-Bouncing-Back-from-Recession?cid=em-COM-123-35271](http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/05/18/NA190517Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean-Bouncing-Back-from-Recession?cid=em-COM-123-35271)

- Melo, Marcus Andre, “Crisis and Integrity in Brazil,” Journal of Democracy, April 2016, at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Melo-27-2.pdf>

- Flores-Macias, Gustavo A., “Mexico’s Stalled Reforms,” Journal of Democracy, April, 2016. <http://journalofdemocracy.com/authoreditor/gustavo-flores-mac%C3%AD>
- Lupu, Noam, “The End of the Kirchner Era,” Journal of Democracy, April 2016, at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/latin-americas-new-turbulence-end-kirchner-era>

*Recommended Reading:*

- Cardenas, Mauricio, “What's Next for Latin America After the Global Crisis?,” Brookings, May 2010 available at [http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2010/05/latin\\_america\\_economy\\_cardenas.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2010/05/latin_america_economy_cardenas.aspx)
- OECD, IMF, “Regional Economic Outlook Update – Latin America and the Caribbean 2017,” Paris, 2016 - Overview chapter, [http://www.oecd.org/dev/americas/Overview\\_LEO2017.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/dev/americas/Overview_LEO2017.pdf)

**July 10 (Monday) – Middle East**

*Required Reading:*

- IMF, Regional Economic Outlook Update, MENA, April 2017 <http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/05/01/NA050217-For-MiddleEast-NorthAfrica-region-reforms-can-refuel-growth-engines?cid=em-COM-123-35151>  
(note- read the report linked on page and review the other materials)
- Diwan, Ishac, “Economic Growth After the Arab Spring,” Project Syndicate, March 4, 2016, at <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/arab-spring-countries-economic-growth-by-ishac-diwan-2016-03> (Be sure to follow links embedded in the article.)
- MENA Quarterly Economic Brief, “Whether Oil Prices World Bank, July 2016, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/mena/publication/mena-quarterly-economic-brief-july-2016> (Note: New Brief may be issued in July)
- Malik, Adeel and Bassem Awadallah, “The Economics of the Arab Spring,” OxCarre Research Paper 79, University of Oxford, December 2011, <http://www.oxcarre.ox.ac.uk/files/OxCarreRP201179.pdf>

- [Tawfik, Tarek “Crunch Time for Egypt’s Economic Reform,” CIPE Development Blog, September 2016, at http://www.cipe.org/blog/2016/09/28/its-time-for-reform-in-egypt/#.Wd-zNmhSyUI](http://www.cipe.org/blog/2016/09/28/its-time-for-reform-in-egypt/#.Wd-zNmhSyUI)

*Recommended Reading:*

- Tawfik, Tarek, “Crunch Time for Egypt’s Economic Reform,” CIPE Development Blog at <http://www.cipe.org/blog/2016/09/28/its-time-for-reform-in-egypt/#.WJovwxsrKUI> (note: Tawfik is Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Egyptian Industries)
- Yousef, Tarek, “Development Growth and Policy Reform in the Middle East and North Africa since 1950,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 18, No3, Summer 2004.
- Hassan, Majdi, “The Entrepreneurship Ecosystem in Tunisia,” in *Creating the Environment for Entrepreneurial Success*, CIPE, 2014, <http://www.cipe.org/creating-environment-entrepreneurial-success>
- Project Syndicate’s Middle East Exchange offers a variety of articles by experts in the field at <https://www.project-syndicate.org/focal-points/the-middle-east-exchange>
- Zogby Research Services, “Middle East 2016: Current Conditions & The Road Ahead,” 2016 (Public Opinion Polls) <http://www.zogbyresearchservices.com/index/#/new-gallery-5/>
- Note: The World Economic Forum’s Africa Competitiveness Report 2017 (see below) also contains country profiles for the North African countries.
- Transparency International, “People and Corruption: Middle East and North Africa Survey 2016,” at [www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people\\_and\\_corruption\\_mena\\_survey\\_2016](http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_mena_survey_2016)

**July 12 (Wednesday) – Africa**

**Required Reading:**

- Radelet, Steven, “Africa’s Rise – Interrupted?,” IMF Financing and Development, June 2016 at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2016/06/radelet.htm>
- “African Economic Outlook 2017,” a joint venture of the OECD Development Center, the African Development Bank, and the UNDP. Review the Executive

Summary and read Chapter 5 on “Political and Economic Governance in Africa,” at <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/home>

- World Bank and World Economic Forum “The Africa Competitiveness Report 2017,” May 1, 2017 at [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_ACR\\_2017.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_ACR_2017.pdf) (introduction and chapter 1.1)
- Rodriguez-Pose, Andres and Gilles Coles, “The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Sub-Saharan Africa: What Role for Governance?” CEPR, August 2017 at SSRN research site.

*Recommended Reading:*

- The Mo Ibrahim Foundation compiles an index of governance quality <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/iiag/>
- [Mo Ibrahim Foundation, “Africa at a Tipping Point: 2017 Forum Report, “ March 2017 http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/forum/downloads/](http://mo.ibrahim.foundation/forum/downloads/)
- IMF Regional Economic Outlook “Restarting the Growth Engine,” May 2017 at <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/REO/SSA/Issues/2017/05/03/sreo0517> (Note: Chapter 3 is on the Informal Economy)
- Radelet, Steven, Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries Are Leading the Way (brief), Center for Global Development, September 2010, at <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1424419/>
- The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) was established in 2001 by African Governments as a new mechanism for supporting economic reform and development. Visit the NEPAD website at [www.NEPAD.org](http://www.NEPAD.org) to see the resources available.
- Ernst and Young, “Africa’s Attractiveness Program: Connectivity Redefined” 2017 [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-attractiveness-program-africa-2017-connectivity-redefined/\\$FILE/ey-attractiveness-program-africa-2017-connectivity-redefined.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/ey-attractiveness-program-africa-2017-connectivity-redefined/$FILE/ey-attractiveness-program-africa-2017-connectivity-redefined.pdf)
- McKinsey Global Institute, “Lions on the Move: The Progress and Potential of African Economies,” June 2010 at [http://www.mckinsey.com/mgi/publications/progress\\_and\\_potential\\_of\\_african\\_economies/index.asp](http://www.mckinsey.com/mgi/publications/progress_and_potential_of_african_economies/index.asp)

## July 17 (Monday) China

### *Required Reading:*

- Bluenthal, Dan and Derrick Scissors, “China’s Great Stagnation,” American Enterprise Institute, Oct. 17, 2016 (originally published in National Interest, found at [http://www.aei.org/spotlight/china-stagnation/?utm\\_source=paramount&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=AEITHISWEEK&utm\\_campaign=Weekly123116](http://www.aei.org/spotlight/china-stagnation/?utm_source=paramount&utm_medium=email&utm_content=AEITHISWEEK&utm_campaign=Weekly123116))
- Shambaugh, David, “The Coming Chinese Crackup,” Wall Street Journal, March 6, 2015 <http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-chinese-crack-up-1425659198>
- Huang, Yasheng, “Just How Capitalist is China?” MIT Sloan School Working Paper 4699-08 (April 2008), available at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1118019##](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1118019##)
- Heilmann, Sebastian, and Lea Shih, “The Rise of Industrial Policy in China, 1978-2012,” Harvard-Yenching Institute Working Paper Series, 2013, [http://www.harvard-yenching.org/sites/harvard-yenching.org/files/featurefiles/Sebastian%20Heilmann%20and%20Lea%20Shih\\_The%20Rise%20of%20Industrial%20Policy%20in%20China%201978-2012.pdf](http://www.harvard-yenching.org/sites/harvard-yenching.org/files/featurefiles/Sebastian%20Heilmann%20and%20Lea%20Shih_The%20Rise%20of%20Industrial%20Policy%20in%20China%201978-2012.pdf)
- Lin, Justin, “[Why China Can Grow According to Plan](http://www.project-syndicate.org/print/china-growth-goals-are-achievable-by-justin-yifu-lin-2016-03),” Project Syndicate, March 25, 2016 found at [www.project-syndicate.org/print/china-growth-goals-are-achievable-by-justin-yifu-lin-2016-03](http://www.project-syndicate.org/print/china-growth-goals-are-achievable-by-justin-yifu-lin-2016-03)
- Yukon Huang, Houze Song, Derek Scissors, Francesco Sisci “How Much Debt is Too Much,” China File, Asia Society, May 23, 2016 at <http://www.chinafile.com/conversation/how-much-debt-too-much-china>

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Mitter, Rana, “What Next for Trump and Xi?” This is an excellent short book review of 5 of the leading new studies on China, Project Syndicate, April 2017 <https://www.project-syndicate.org/print/what-next-for-trump-and-xi-by-rana-mitter-2017-04>
- Nathan, Andrew, “The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class,” Journal of Democracy, April, 2016 at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Nathan-27-2.pdf>
- International Monetary Fund, Regional Economic Outlook: Asia and Pacific, “Building on Asia’s Strengths during Turbulent Times: April 2016. “at <http://>

[www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2016/apd/eng/areo0516.htm?hootPostID=e2b48cfb42272366b32be3aceefcf80c](http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2016/apd/eng/areo0516.htm?hootPostID=e2b48cfb42272366b32be3aceefcf80c)

- World Bank and Development Research Center of the State Council, *China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative Society* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013), Overview chapters 1-4 (pages 3-38), available at <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2013/03/17494829/china-2030-building-modern-harmonious-creative-society>
- CIPE and Unirule, “China Property Markets Scorecard,” [http://www.propertymarketsscorecard.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Report-China\\_final.pdf](http://www.propertymarketsscorecard.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Report-China_final.pdf)

### **July 19 (Wednesday) – India and Asia**

#### *Required Reading:*

- IMF Regional Economic Outlook, “Asia’s Dynamic Economies Continue to Lead Global Growth,” May 2017, <http://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2017/05/08/NA050917-Asia-Dynamic-Economies-Continue-to-Lead-Global-Growth?cid=em-COM-123-35188>  
[Read Chapter 1: Preparing for Choppy Seas](#)
- Swaminathan S. Anklesaria Aiyar , “ Twenty Five Years of Indian Economic Reform,” October 2016 <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/twenty-five-years-indian-economic-reform>
- CSIS, “The Modi Government's Reform Program: A Scorecard” <http://indiareforms.csis.org/> Watch the video and scan the list of reform
- Council on Foreign Relations, “Governance in India: Corruption,” Backgrounder, November 8, 2013, <http://www.cfr.org/corruption-and-bribery/governance-india-corruption/p31823#p1>

#### *Recommended Reading:*

- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, “How India Stumbled,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2012).
- Buruma, Ian, “A Polite Coup: Why Thailand Keeps Turning to Military Rule,” *Harpers*, June 2015

## July 24 (Monday) - Corporate Governance

Note: Part of this class will be devoted to wrap up and review.

### *Required Reading:*

- Wilson, Andrew and Shkolnikov, Aleksander (eds), “Corporate Governance: The Intersection of Public and Private Reform,” Center for International Private Enterprise, 2009 online at [http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/CG\\_USAID.pdf](http://www.cipe.org/sites/default/files/publication-docs/CG_USAID.pdf)
- “Corporate Governance for Emerging Markets,” CIPE Reform Toolkit, August 2008, <http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/corporate-governance-emerging-markets?lang=en>

### *Recommended Reading:*

- Belikov, Igor, Vladimir Verbitsky, and Aleksey Ponomarev, “Modernization: Corporate Governance and Innovation,” Feb. 15, 2011 CIPE Economic Reform Feature Service, found at <http://www.cipe.org/publications/fs/pdf/021511.pdf>
- Claessens, Stijn and Yurtoglu, Burcin, “Corporate Governance and Development – An Update,” Focus 10, Global Corporate Governance Forum, International Finance Corporation, 2012 [http://www.gcgf.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics\\_ext\\_content/ifc\\_external\\_corporate\\_site/global+corporate+governance+forum/publications/focus\\_case+studies/focus+10+corporate+governance+and+development+-+an+update](http://www.gcgf.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/global+corporate+governance+forum/publications/focus_case+studies/focus+10+corporate+governance+and+development+-+an+update)
- Sullivan, John, “The Moral Compass of Companies: Business Ethics and Corporate Governance as Anti-Corruption Tools,” International Finance Corporation, 2009 at [http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/3a387c8048a7e613a4bfe76060ad5911/Focus7\\_AntiCorruption.pdf?MOD=AJPERES](http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/3a387c8048a7e613a4bfe76060ad5911/Focus7_AntiCorruption.pdf?MOD=AJPERES)

## July 26 – Final exam

### Web Resources for Business and Politics in Emerging Markets

## Economic Data

- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, World Investment Report 2015 - Reforming International Investment Governance, <http://unctad.org/en/pages/PublicationWebflyer.aspx?publicationid=1245>
- Heritage Index of Economic Freedom <http://www.heritage.org/index/>
- World Bank, Enterprise Surveys <http://www.enterprisesurveys.org/>
- World Economic Forum, Global Competitiveness Report, <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-competitiveness-report-2016-2017-1>
- Bertelsmann Transformation Index <http://www.bti-project.org/en/home/>
- World Economic Forum, Global Competitiveness Index <http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-competitiveness>
- Goldman Sachs, Research Reports, <http://www2.goldmansachs.com/insight/research/>
- Reformers' Club, World Bank showcases countries that have done the most to improve their policy and legal environment. <http://www.doingbusiness.org/Reformers/>
- International Property Rights Index, <http://internationalpropertyrightsindex.org/>
- Ernst and Young Emerging Markets Center, <http://emergingmarkets.ey.com/>

## Foreign Investment

- World Bank – Investing across Borders Index <http://iab.worldbank.org/>
- AT Kearney, Foreign Direct Investment Confidence Index <http://www.atkearney.com/gbpc/foreign-direct-investment-confidence-index>
- COFACE, a risk analysis provider, gives country risk guidelines on their website <http://www.trading-safely.com/>
- World Bank, Investment Climate <https://www.wbginvestmentclimate.org/research-and-diagnostics/>
- The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, World Investment and Political Risk report: <http://www.miga.org/resources/index.cfm?stid=1866>
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) publishes a Country Risk Classification that provides a score on the likelihood that a country will service its external debts. <http://www.oecd.org/tad/xcred/crc.htm>
- Overseas Business Risk, UK Trade & Investment and Foreign & Commonwealth Office [UK Trade & Investment](https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/overseas-business-risk#asia) and [Foreign & Commonwealth Office](https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/overseas-business-risk#asia) at <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/overseas-business-risk#asia>

## Political Conditions

- Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/>
- PRS, International Country Risk Guide, available through GMU library

- Economist Intelligence Unit, Political Instability Index [viewswire.eiu.com/site\\_info.asp?info\\_name=social\\_unrest\\_table&page=noads&rf=0](http://viewswire.eiu.com/site_info.asp?info_name=social_unrest_table&page=noads&rf=0)
- Economist Intelligence Unit, Democracy Index [http://www.eiu.com/public/thankyou\\_download.aspx?activity=download&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2015](http://www.eiu.com/public/thankyou_download.aspx?activity=download&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2015)
- Overseas Development Institute, *Mapping Political Context: A Toolkit for Civil Society Organisations* (2006), [http://www.odi.org.uk/rapid/tools/Toolkits/Mapping\\_Political\\_Context/Tools.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/rapid/tools/Toolkits/Mapping_Political_Context/Tools.html)
- World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>
- World Justice Project, Rule of Law Index <http://worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index>

### **Anti-corruption and Corporate Governance**

- Transparency International <http://www.transparency.org/research>
- Global Integrity <http://www.globalintegrity.org/>
- [European Research Center for Anti-Corruption and State-Building. \*\*Index of Public Integrity \(IPI\)\*\*](#)
- U4 - Utstein Anti-Corruption Resource Centre <http://www.u4.no/>.
- International Finance Corporation, Global Corporate Governance Forum [http://www.gcgf.org/wps/wcm/connect/Topics\\_Ext\\_Content/IFC\\_External\\_Corporate\\_Site/Global+Corporate+Governance+Forum](http://www.gcgf.org/wps/wcm/connect/Topics_Ext_Content/IFC_External_Corporate_Site/Global+Corporate+Governance+Forum)
- Global Financial Integrity <http://www.gfintegrity.org/>
- Korenchuk, Keith et al., “Anti-Corruption Compliance in Emerging Markets: A Resource Guide,” Arnold & Porter, 2014 (Chapters 1-4 remaining Chapters due in 2015) found at <http://www.arnoldporter.com/resources/documents/eBookEffectiveAntiCorruptionComplianceNov121.pdf>

### **Globalization**

- The Millennium Project, State of the Futures Report and related Indices, <http://www.millennium-project.org/millennium/overview.html>

NOTE: The World Bank Governance Indicators also list a large number of web based indicators. Master file is at <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#home>

## National Policymaking

By James R. Alexander, University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown

PS 0210 is an elective freshman/sophomore level course in American politics. It fulfills a general education requirement as a content course in the Social Sciences if you also complete PS 0206, 0301, 0310 or 0501. This course (PS 0210) is a core introductory course in the American politics/public policy section of the political science program and its parallel program in Secondary Education/Social Studies certification. NOTE: This course is not on CourseWeb nor does it use Blackboard.

### Objectives of the Course

Even in a time of complex foreign engagements, economic volatility, enlarged deficits and debt, and very intense partisanship, we as political science analysts should not abandon our critical interest in SUBSTANTIVE discussion of national policy. The question before us is whether constructive and thoughtful analysis of national policy and the policymaking process is possible even when the Congress seems to not be seriously engaged in developing, marking up, executing, or overseeing any substantive federal policies. The answer is YES, since the federal policymaking process has been fundamentally continuous since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore this type of thoughtful analysis will provide us with a firm foundation for evaluating policy and politics in any future Congresses.

The focus of this course will therefore be the **POLICYMAKING PROCESS** itself. We will explore both the technical and the political dynamics of the policy and budgetary processes, particularly the roles played by the President, the Treasury, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), federal agencies (like the Pentagon or the Department of the Interior), the Congress and its respective committees, and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). It is critical that we also discuss these processes in historical context -- their evolution and current nuances -- and consider the more recent calls for reforming the political process. So this is a **BACKGROUND COURSE**, pure and simple. Its lectures and readings presume you have a general familiarity with the processes and structures of American national government, but little or no particular understanding of policy issues or the current budgetary debate.

### Relevance of the Course

The background perspective provided by this course is important for the study of any aspect of the national policymaking process, including the Presidency, the Congress, the federal administration, or American foreign policy. It is also **CRITICAL** for any student interested in pursuing graduate study in American politics, American political history, public law, public administration, or policy analysis, or considering a career in the public sector - as universally testified by those who have gone off in those directions.

## Examinations and Paper Assignments

There will be three examinations during the term: one on policy terminology and concepts and two on executive and legislative roles involving short analytical essays. Each exam counts for 25% of the final course grade and **STUDY GUIDES** will be distributed before each. Students will also be required to write a onepage summary essay related to a recent article related to budgetary politics (counting 5%), and to complete a legislative tracking assignment (worth 20%). Instructions will be handed out in class for each of these writing assignments.

## Required Readings

Two texts will be used extensively, both available in used paperback copy online and both also available as free online **EBRARY** texts through the University Library System (ULS):

- Allen Schick, *THE FEDERAL BUDGET; POLITICS, POLICY, PROCESS* (3rd edition Brookings pb).
- Sheldon Pollack, *WAR, REVENUE, AND STATE BUILDING* (Cornell pb).

## Course Outline

**Section I. The role of the Executive in the federal policy process.** This section introduces you to the basics of how national policy is formed, debated and executed by the Executive Branch. This unfortunately requires a “cold bath” exposure to budget terminology (the language of federal policy) and the standard federal policymaking cycle, as well as the diverse and interdependent roles played by the President, the Treasury, federal agencies, and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). This is designed to help you understand the structural and procedural dynamics of the budget process enough to be savvy to what the political debate is all about (and not about), especially as it heated up in President Obama’s last two years with a Republican-controlled 114<sup>th</sup> Congress. Projections will be made about the Trump Presidency’s first year as well. Recommended follow-up course to topics in this section: PS 1215 American Presidency.

### Required reading:

Schick, *THE FEDERAL BUDGET*, chapters [2], 4-5, 7-10.

Moe, “The Politicized Presidency.”

Brownstein, “The Anxious Generation.”

Phillips, “The Long Story of the U.S. Debt, from 1790 to 2011.”

Kohut, “Debt and Deficit: A Public Opinion Dilemma.”

Stolberg and McIntyre, “A Federal Budget Crisis Months in the Planning.”

**Short essay** - due by electronic submission by 1:30 pm on Tues. Jan. 24, 2017.

**Exam on budget process terminology** – Tues. Feb. 7, 2017.

**Exam on executive roles** – Thurs. Mar. 2, 2017. [**DROP DEADLINE: WEDNESDAY MARCH 15, 2017**]

**Section II. Congressional responsibility in the federal policy process.** This section broadens our discussion into explicitly political realms, focusing on the ideology and politics of the federal

legislative activities and most specifically in the budgetary process. It will provide an overview of the historical evolution of Congressional structures of policy making, such as Congressional committees, and the roles of the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), and General Accounting Office (GAO). It will also discuss patterns, cycles and political “rituals” in the process, and finally examine such perennial issues as ‘uncontrollable’ federal spending, the usefulness of spending and debt ceilings, balanced budget reform, and the rhetoric that surrounds each. The emphasis here will be placed on developing an historical perspective on the dynamics of budget negotiations, and how that has affected current political debate in Congress, the 2016 Presidential campaign, and cable news and pundit commentary. Recommended follow-up course to topics in this section: PS 1214 Congress.

**Required readings:**

Schick, THE FEDERAL BUDGET, chapters 2-3, 6, 11.

Pollack, WAR, REVENUE, AND STATE BUILDING.

Ornstein, “The Politics of the Deficit.”

Schick, “Budgeting for Growth.”

Samuelson, “Great Expectations.”

**Legislative tracking assignment** - hard copy due in class at 9:30 am on Thurs. Apr. 13, 2017.

**Exam on legislative roles** (during final exam week) – Tues. Apr. 25, 2017 at 9:00 am.

NOTE: The final exam schedule is set by the Registrar, and there are no individual student exceptions to the scheduling unless pre-approved by Dr. Majocho the Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs for truly extenuating circumstances.