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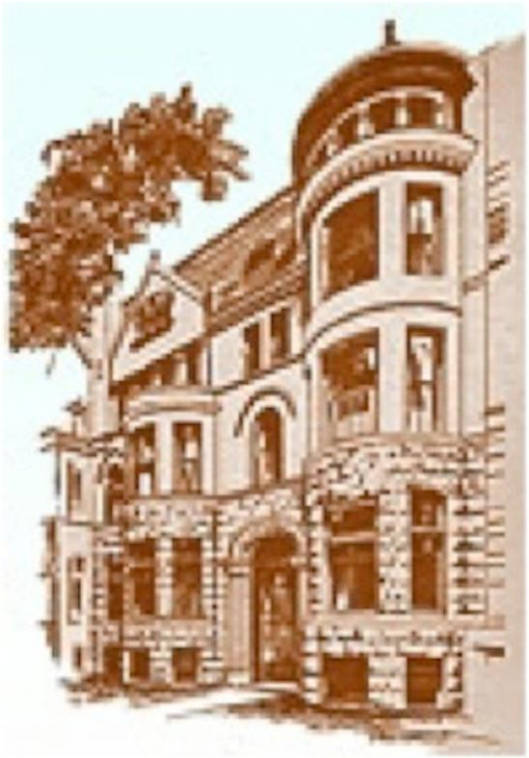

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The Non-Barking Dog

Paul Rich
President, Policy Studies Organization

One of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's notable Sherlock Holmes exchanges is between the celebrated detective and a Scotland Yard detective in the 1892 story “Silver Blaze.” Holmes mentions the role of the dog in solving the case, and the detective is puzzled as to why he does—because the dog didn't bark. Holmes replies that is precisely the point—the dog's silence indicates that he must have known the suspect.

The fictional non-barking dog is frequently cited in legal discussion as an example of the negative fact. One of the focuses of the *Proceedings* through the years has been on syllabi, which one might argue are the “non-barking dogs” of scholarly publications, given the widespread reluctance of research journals to publish them.

The absence of syllabi in academic journals is part of the notable gap between research and teaching activity. The goal of research is to enhance teaching and bring a freshness and insight to the classroom, although that may be a hope rather than a reality. Combining research and teaching is often an unrealized goal.

The professor whose classroom curriculum remains unchanged for years is proverbial. Therefore, the willingness to share and exchange syllabi deserves considerable praise. This is especially the case given the influence of technology on every aspect or subjects. The content of courses has changed rapidly as the internet makers for daily exchanges.

Recently the demands on the time of professors has been assaulted by drastic budget cuts that impose increased teaching loads and administrative duties, which preclude the reshaping of courses. However, one must frankly admit that even when the time has been available, the absence of syllabi from publications has been a case of the non-barking dog.

It is an obligation of scholarly societies like the Policy Studies Organization to be equally concerned with teaching and research. The *Proceedings* are a partial payment on that duty, as are the PSO conferences and videos. We certainly appreciate the contributions of those who make these activities possible and share as they do in these pages. It bears frequent repeating that collegiality and fraternity are an important part of the academy.

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Conflict and Controversy in Public Policy: Policy Design

Prof. Michael Howlett, Simon Fraser University

Description:

This course discusses conflicts and controversies involved with how government policies are formulated (designed) and implemented (put into practice). Students will apply theoretical perspectives to understand conflicts and controversies in how policy problems are articulated, how solutions to them are derived and assessed and how they can 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 also cover the nature of the actors involved in formulation and design activities, how they are organized, the knowledge they utilize and the techniques they employ in providing advice to decision-makers. Lessons from various jurisdictions and policy sectors about best practices and principles of design in contested contexts are examined with a specific focus on lessons derived from Canadian cases and experiences.

Rationale:

This course equips students to better assess and evaluate policy designs and designing activity as political processes, and provides a set of analytical tools and concepts to better understand what can be done to improve outcomes and make policies more effective. It offers students a critical overview of essential concepts, approaches and analytical tools developed in the public policy literature to respond to these key questions in policy analysis and policy-making. The focus throughout 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 part reviews conceptual and analytical tools from various disciplines including political science, sociology and anthropology, public administration, public management, microeconomic theory, and the policy sciences to lay the theoretical foundation of how policy design can be assessed and evaluated, and ultimately improved. The second part provides students with the opportunity to present the results of their research into key areas of contemporary design thinking and practice.

Grading:

Presentations on class readings (2)	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 better understanding policy designs and designing. How 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 prior instructor permission) 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 of policy-making articulated in course readings, the paper should then assess (6) whether or not the policy is effective, (7) how it could be improved in theory and practice, and (8) 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, Second Ed. 2019. Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Supplementary Texts:

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Handbook of Policy Formulation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017. Howlett, Michael, Adam Wellstead, and Jonathan Craft, eds. *Policy Work in Canada: Professional Practices and Analytical Capacities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017

Key Questions Addressed in the Course

- What is Policy Design? Where Does It Take Place?
- 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? How Should the Design of Policies be Evaluated?
- How Can the Design of Public Policies be Improved to Better Solve Contemporary Policy Problems?

NOTE: ***Department Undergraduate Notes: The Department of Political Science strictly enforces a policy on plagiarism. For details, see http://www.sfu.ca/politics/undergraduate/program/related_links.html and click on "Plagiarism and Intellectual Dishonesty".***

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 Instruments/ 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 and Framing Targets/Policy Maker and PolicyTaker Behaviour
Week V - Policy Designs and Designing Over Time: Sequencing, Policy Patching, Layering, Stretching and Packaging

SECTION III: Who and How?
Week VI – Who are Policy Designers and How Do They Think? Policy Analysis, Experts, and the Public
Week VII - Policy Advisory Systems: Policy Advice and Policy Design/Policy Analysts: Types and Orientations/Instrument Constituencies: Promoting Policy Designs/Design Coalitions/Policy Design and Behavioural Insights Labs

SECTION IV– Best Practices and Principles
Week VIII - Effectiveness and Design Evaluation: 1st and 2nd Best Designs/Goodness of Fit and Degrees of Freedom: The Need for Coherence, Congruence and Consistency in Policy Mixes/Managing Uncertainty, Maliciousness and Compliance: Controlling for Spillovers and Contradictions/Agility and Robustness as Design Criteria

SECTION V: Why?
Week IX – The Politics and Administration of Policy Design: Managing

Conflicts/Implementation Styles and Policy Designs/ The Issue of Policy Design Capacity/Policy Experiments and Pilot Projects

SECTION VI: Future Trends
Week X – Customization vs Bespoke 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 Paper Presentations: Week XI/Week XII/Week XIII

WEEKLY READING LIST

PART I –SEMINARS

SECTION I: Introduction

Week I (SEPT 14) - Introduction and Administration: What is Policy Design, Why is It Important and How Has It Evolved?

Required

Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, Second Edition 2019. Chapter 1 "Understanding the Role of Policy Design in Contemporary Policy-Making"; Chapter 2 "Policy Design in the Contemporary Era" and Chapter 12 "Traditional Policy Styles and Contemporary Design Trends"

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.
Chapter 2 Michael Howlett, "The Contexts and Components of Policy Design" and Chapter 8 Mintrom, Michael, and Joannah Luetjens. "Design Thinking in Policymaking Processes"

Recommended

On Policy Design as a Field of Study and Empirical Reality

Siddiki, Saba. "Understanding and Analyzing Public Policy Design." Elements in Public Policy. Cambridge University Press, June 2020.

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.

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.

Buuren, Arwin van, Jenny M Lewis, B Guy Peters, and William Voorberg. “Improving Public Policy and Administration: Exploring the Potential of Design.” *Policy & Politics* 48, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 3–19.

Classics on Policy Design

Dryzek, John. “Don’t Toss Coins in Garbage Cans: A Prologue to Policy Design.” *Journal of Public Policy* 3, no. 4 (1983): 345–67.

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.

Linder, S. H., and B. G. Peters. “From Social Theory to Policy Design.” *Journal of Public Policy* 4, no. 3 (1984): 237–59.

Mayntz, Renate. “The Conditions of Effective Public Policy: A New Challenge For Policy Analysis.” *Policy & Politics* 11 (April 1983): 123–43.

Overviews of the Policy Design Literature

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.

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.

Hermus, Margot, Arwin van Buuren, and Victor Bekkers. “Applying Design in Public Administration: A Literature Review to Explore the State of the Art.” *Policy & Politics*, 2019.

On Design in General

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.

Gero, JS, and U. Kannengiesser. “The Function-Behaviour-Structure Ontology of Design” in Amaresh Chakrabarti and Lucienne Blessing (Eds), A.” In *An Anthology of Theories and Models of Design*, 263–84. London: Springer, 2013.

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

SECTION II: What and When?

Week II (SEPT 21)– Policy Design and the Policy Cycle: Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation and Policy Styles

Required

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 5 “When Does Policy Design Occur?”

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Handbook of Policy Formulation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017.

Chapter 1 Michael Howlett and Ishani Mukherjee “Policy Formulation: Where Knowledge Meets Power in the Policy Process”

McConnell, Allan, and Paul ’t Hart. “Inaction and Public Policy: Understanding Why Policymakers ‘Do Nothing.’”

Policy Sciences 52, no. 4 (December 1, 2019): 645–61.

For Reading Presentations

deLeon, P. “Policy Formulation: Where Ignorant Armies Clash By Night.” *Policy Studies Review* 11, no. 3/4 (1992): 389–405.

Colebatch, HK. “The Idea of Policy Design: Intention, Process, Outcome, Meaning and Validity.” *Public Policy and Administration* 33, no. 4 (October 1, 2018): 365–83.

Recommended

Problems of Policy Formulation

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 2 Sreeja Nair and Michael Howlett “The Central Conundrums of Policy Formulation: Ill-Structured Problems and Uncertainty”

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.

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 3 Martin Nekola and Jan Kohoutek “Policy Formulation as Policy Work”

Howlett, Michael. “Dealing with the Dark Side of Policy-Making: Corruption, Malfeasance and the Volatility of Policy Mixes.” In *Handbook on Corruption, Ethics and Integrity in Public Administration*, edited by Adam Graycar, 67–79. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2020.

Policy Styles

Howlett, Michael, and Jale Tosun, eds. *Policy Styles and Policy-Making: Exploring the Linkages*. London: Routledge, 2019. 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.

Stead, Dominic. “Policy Preferences and the Diversity of Instrument Choice for Mitigating Climate Change Impacts in the Transport Sector.” *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 61, no. 14 (December 6, 2018): 2445–67.

Bouwma, Irene, Duncan Liefferink, Rob Van Apeldoorn, and Bas Arts. “Following Old Paths or Shaping New Ones in Natura 2000 Implementation? Mapping Path Dependency in Instrument Choice.” *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 18, no. 2 (March 14, 2016): 214–33.

Evidence-Based Policy Making and The Role of Models, Measures and Indicators

Tenbensel, 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.

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Handbook of Policy Formulation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017.

Chapter 10 Markku Lehtonen “Operationalizing Information: Measures and Indicators in Policy Formulation”

Krause, Rachel M., Christopher V. Hawkins, Angela Y. S. Park, and Richard C. Feiock. “Drivers of Policy Instrument Selection for Environmental Management by Local Governments.” *Public Administration Review* 79, no. 4 (2019): 477–87.

Silvast, Antti, Erik Laes, Simone Abram, and Gunter Bombaerts. “What Do Energy Modellers Know? An Ethnography of Epistemic Values and Knowledge Models.” *Energy Research & Social Science* 66 (August 1, 2020): 101495.

Week III (SEPT 28)– The Elements of Policy Design: Policy Tools and Policy Portfolios

Required

Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, Second Edition 2019. Chapter 3 “What is Policy Design?” and Chapter 7 “How Do Policy Designs Work?”

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 5 Michael Howlett “Policy Instruments and Policy Design Choices” and Chapter 3 Karoline Rogge “Designing Complex Policy Mixes”

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.

For Reading Presentations

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

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.

Recommended

Substantive Policy Tools

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.

Hood, C. *The Tools of Government*. Chatham: Chatham House Publishers, 1986.

Salamon, L. M. *The Tools of Government: A Guide to the New Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Linder, S. H., and B. G. Peters. “Instruments of Government: Perceptions and Contexts".” *Journal of Public Policy* 9, no. 1 (1989): 35–58.

Procedural Policy Tools

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

Bovaird, Tony. “Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services.” *Public Administration Review* 67, no. 5 (2007): 846–60.

McConnell, Allan. “The Use of Placebo Policies to Escape from Policy Traps.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 7 (July 2, 2020): 957–76.

Williams, Monica, Erin B. Comartin, and Robert D. Lytle. “The Politics of Symbolic Laws: State Resistance to the Allure of Sex Offender Residence Restrictions.” *Law & Policy* (2020).

Lang, Achim. “Collaborative Governance in Health and Technology Policy: The Use and Effects of Procedural Policy Instruments.” *Administration & Society*, August 10, 2016

Policy Instrument Mixes

Braathen, 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.

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.

Sovacool, Benjamin K. (2008) “The Problem with the ‘Portfolio Approach’ in American Energy Policy.” *Policy Sciences* 41(3) 245–61.

Rio, Pablo del. “Interactions between Climate and Energy Policies: The Case of Spain.” *Climate Policy* 9, no. 2 (2009): 119–38.

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.

Week IV (Oct 5)– Compliance and Targeting: Policy Maker and Policy Taker Behaviour and Persuasive Designs

Required

Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, Second Edition 2019. Chapter 4 “Why Policy Design?”

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 7 Michael Howlett ‘Aligning Policy Tools and Their Targets”

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Handbook of Policy Formulation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2017 Chapter 19 Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram “ Framing the Target in Policy Formulation: The Importance of Social Constructions”

For Reading Presentations

Weaver, R. Kent. “Getting People to Behave: Research Lessons for Policy Makers.” *Public Administration Review*

75, no. 6 (November 1, 2015): 806–16.

Heinmiller, B. Timothy, Matthew A. Hennigar, and Sandra Kopec. “Degenerative Politics and Youth Criminal Justice Policy in Canada” *Politics & Policy* 45, no. 3 (June 2017): 405–31.

Recommended

Compliance Issues

Weaver, Kent. “Target Compliance: The Final Frontier of Policy Implementation.” Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 2009. http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2009/09/30-compliance-weaver.

Duesberg, Stefanie, Áine Ní Dhubháin, and Deirdre O’Connor. “Assessing Policy

Tools for Encouraging Farm Afforestation in Ireland." *Land Use Policy* 38 (May 2014): 194–203.

Harring, Niklas. "Reward or Punish? Understanding Preferences toward Economic or Regulatory Instruments in a Cross-National Perspective." *Political Studies* 64, no. 3 (October 1, 2016): 573–92.

Porumbescu, Gregory A., Meghan I. H. Lindeman, Erica Ceka, and Maria Cucciniello. "Can Transparency Foster More Understanding and Compliant Citizens?" *Public Administration Review*, 2017

Wicki, Michael, Robert Alexander Huber, and Thomas Bernauer. "Can Policy-Packaging Increase Public Support for Costly Policies? Insights from a Choice Experiment on Policies against Vehicle Emissions." *Journal of Public Policy*, 2019, 1–27.

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 27 Pablo del Rio "Managing Uncertainty: Controlling for Conflicts in Policy Mixes"

Short, Jodi L. "The Politics of Regulatory Enforcement and Compliance: Theorizing and Operationalizing Political Influences." *Regulation & Governance* (2020).

Persuasive Design

Redström, Johan. "Persuasive Design: Fringes and Foundations." In *Persuasive Technology*, edited by Wijnand A. IJsselsteijn, Yvonne A. W. de Kort, Cees Midden, Berry Eggen, and Elise van den Hoven, 112–22. Lecture Notes in Computer Science 3962. Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2006.

Lockton, Dan, David Harrison, and Neville A. Stanton. "Design for Sustainable Behaviour: Investigating Design Methods for Influencing User Behaviour." *Annual Review of Policy Design* 4, no. 1 (October 28, 2016): 1–10.

Taylor, C.M., S.J.T. Pollard, A.J. Angus, and S.A. Rocks. "Better by Design: Rethinking Interventions for Better Environmental Regulation." *Science of The Total Environment* 447 (March 1, 2013): 488–99.

Social Construction of Target Populations

Schneider, A., and H. Ingram. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy."

American Political Science Review 87, no. 2 (1993): 334–47.

Schneider, Anne, and Mara Sidney. "What Is Next for Policy Design and Social Construction Theory?" *Policy Studies Journal* 37, no. 1 (2009): 103–19.

Bell, Elizabeth. "Deserving to Whom? Investigating Heterogeneity in the Impact of Social Constructions of Target Populations on Support for Affirmative Action." *Policy Studies Journal*, May 15, 2019, psj.12347.

OCT 12 – Thanksgiving Holiday (NO CLASS) – Read Chapters 8,9,10,11 in Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, Second Edition 2019

Week V (OCT 19) - Policy Designs and Designing Over Time: Sequencing, Policy Patching, Layering, Stretching and Packaging

Required

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 9 Michael Howlett et al "Understanding Policy Designs Over Time"

Howlett, Michael. "The Temporal Dimension(s) of Policy Designs: Resilience, Robustness and the Sequencing of Tools in Policy Mixes." *International Review of Public Policy* 1, no. 1 (2019).

Schmidt, Tobias S., and Sebastian Sewerin. "Measuring the Temporal Dynamics of Policy Mixes – An Empirical Analysis of Renewable Energy Policy Mixes' Balance and Design Features in Nine Countries." *Research Policy*, Policy mixes for sustainability transitions: New approaches and insights through bridging innovation and policy studies, 48, no. 10 (December 1, 2019): 103557.

For Reading Presentations

Fitch-Roy, Oscar, David Benson, and David Monciardini. "Going around in Circles? Conceptual Recycling, Patching and Policy Layering in the EU Circular Economy Package." *Environmental Politics* 2019: 1–21.

Pahle, Michael, Dallas Burtraw, Christian Flachsland, Nina Kelsey, Eric Biber, Jonas Meckling, Ottmar Edenhofer, and John Zysman. "Sequencing to Ratchet up Climate Policy Stringency." *Nature Climate Change* 8, no. 10 (October 2018): 861–67.

Recommended

Layering and Patching

Lindblom, C. E. "The Science of Muddling Through." *Public Administration Review* 19, no. 2 (1959): 79–88. Thelen, K. "How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis." In *Comparative Historical*

Analysis in the Social Sciences, edited by J. Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer, 208–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Heijden, Jeroen van der. "Institutional Layering: A Review of the Use of the Concept." *Politics* 31, no. 1 (January 10, 2011): 9–18.

Kay, Adrian. "Tense Layering and Synthetic Policy Paradigms: The Politics of Health Insurance in Australia."

Australian Journal of Political Science 42, no. 4 (2007): 579–91.

Carey, Gemma, Adrian Kay, and Ann Nevile. "Institutional Legacies and 'Sticky

Layers': What Happens in Cases of Transformative Policy Change?" *Administration & Society*, April 19, 2017, 95399717704682.

Stretching, Drift and Conversion

Feindt, Peter H, and Andrew Flynn. "Policy Stretching and Institutional Layering: British Food Policy between Security, Safety, Quality, Health and Climate Change." *British Politics* 4, no. 3 (2009): 386–414.

Wellstead, Adam, Jeremy Rayner, and Michael Howlett. "Alberta's Oil Sands Reclamation Policy Trajectory: The Role of Tense Layering, Policy Stretching, and Policy Patching in Long-Term Policy Dynamics." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 59, no. 10 (October 2, 2016): 1873–90.

Hacker, J. S. "Policy Drift: The Hidden Politics of US Welfare State Retrenchment." In *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, edited by W. Streek and K. Thelen, 40–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Van Kersbergen, Kees, and Anton Hemerijck. "Two Decades of Change in Europe: The Emergence of the Social Investment State." *Journal of Social Policy* (2012): 1–18.

Shpaizman, Ilana. "The End–Means Nexus and Policy Conversion: Evidence from Two Cases in Israeli Immigrant Integration Policy." *Policy Sciences*, June 18, 2020.

Beland, Daniel. "Ideas and Institutional Change in Social Security: Conversion, Layering and Policy Drift." *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 1 (2007): 20–38.

SECTION III: Who and How?

Week VI (OCT 26) – Who Are the Policy Designers and How Do They Think?

Required

Howlett, Michael. *Designing Public Policies: Principles and Instruments*. New York: Routledge, Second Edition 2019. Chapter 6 "Who are the Policy Designers and Where Do They Work?"

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Chapter 11 Mayer, I., P. Bots, and E. van Daalen. "Perspectives on Policy Analysis"; Chapter 12 Simons, Arno and Jan-Peter Voss. "Policy Instrument Constituencies."

Haelg, Leonore, Sebastian Sewerin, and Tobias S. Schmidt. “The Role of Actors in the Policy Design Process: Introducing Design Coalitions to Explain Policy Output.” *Policy Sciences* 53, no. 2 (June 1, 2020): 309–47.

For Reading Presentations

Selling, Niels, and Stefan Svallfors. “The Lure of Power: Career Paths and Considerations among Policy Professionals in Sweden.” *Politics & Policy* 47, no. 5 (2019): 984–1012.

Beland, Daniel, Rosina Foli, Michael Howlett, M. Ramesh, and JJ Woo. “Instrument Constituencies and Transnational Policy Diffusion: The Case of Conditional Cash Transfers.” *Review of International Political Economy*, 2018.

Recommended

Instrument Constituencies

Voß, Jan-Peter, and Arno Simons. “Instrument Constituencies and the Supply Side of Policy Innovation: The Social Life of Emissions Trading.” *Environmental Politics* 23, no. 5 (June 27, 2014): 735–54.

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Week VII (NOV 2) - Policy Advisory Systems: The Structure of Policy Advice and Analysis

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PAPER OUTLINES DUE

SECTION IV – Best Practices and Principles

Week VIII (NOV 9)- Gauging and Designing for Policy Effectiveness: Coherence, Congruence, Consistency, Integration, Resilience & Robustness

Required

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Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018.
Chapter 1 Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee, “The Importance of Policy Design: Effective Processes, Tools and Outcomes”; and Chapter 26 Michael Howlett and Jeremy Rayner “Coherence, Congruence and Consistency in Policy Mixes”
Capano, Giliberto, Michael Howlett, and M. Ramesh. “Designing for Robustness: Surprise, Agility and Improvisation in Policy Design.” *Policy & Society* 37, no. 4 (2018): 1–22.

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Chapter 28 Giliberto Capano and JJ Woo, "Agility and Robustness as Design Criteria"

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SECTION V: Why?

Week IX (NOV 16)– The Politics of Policy Design Failures: (In)Capacity, (Un)Intentionality, (In)Feasibility, (Dis)Proportionality and (In)Effectiveness

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Wu, X., M. Ramesh, and M. Howlett. "Policy Capacity: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Policy Competences and Capabilities." *Policy and*

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Recommended

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Flynn, Greg. "Rethinking Policy Capacity in Canada: The Role of Parties and Election Platforms in GovernmentPolicy-making." *Canadian Public Administration* 54, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 235–53.
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Chindarkar, Namrata, Michael Howlett, and M Ramesh. "Introduction to the Special Issue: 'Conceptualizing Effective Social Policy Design: Design Spaces and Capacity Challenges.'" *Public Administration andDevelopment* 37, no. 1 (February 1, 2017): 3–14.
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Howlett, Michael, and Achim Kemmerling. "Calibrating Climate Change Policies: The Causes and Consequences of Sustained under-Reaction." *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 19, no. 6 (November 2, 2017): 625–37.

SECTION VI: Future Trends

Week X (NOV 23)– Trends in Design Research and Practice Looking Forward: Big Data, Crowd-Sourcing,Co-Design and More

Required

Clarke, Amanda, and Jonathan Craft. “The Vestiges and Vanguards of Policy Design in a Digital Context.”
Canadian Public Administration 60, no. 4 (December 1, 2017): 476–97.

Howlett, Michael, and Ishani Mukherjee. *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design*. New York: Routledge 2018. Chapter 4 Emma Blomkamp, “The Promise of Co-Design”

Milward, H. Brinton. “The State and Public Administration: Have Instruments of Governance Outrun Governments?
Introductory Perspectives.” *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* 37, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 217–23.

Nair, Sreeja, and Michael Howlett. “Meaning and Power in the Design and Development of Policy Experiments.” *Futures*, Policy-making for the long term: puzzling and powering to navigate wicked futures issues, 76 (February 2016): 67–74.

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Lee, Yanki. “Design Participation Tactics: The Challenges and New Roles for Designers in the Co-Design Process.”
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Metz, Allison, Annette Boaz, and Glenn Robert. “Co-Creative Approaches to Knowledge Production: What next for Bridging the Research to Practice Gap?” *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice* 15, no. 3 (August 1, 2019): 331–37.

Lember, Veiko, Taco Brandsen, and Piret Tõnurist. “The Potential Impacts of Digital Technologies on Co-Production and Co-Creation.” *Public Management Review* (June 6, 2019): 1–22.

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Hendriks, Carolyn, and Lyn Carson. “Can the Market Help the Forum? Negotiating the Commercialization of Deliberative Democracy.” *Policy Sciences* 41, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 293–313.
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Soria-Lara, Julio A., and David Banister. “Dynamic Participation Processes for Policy Packaging in Transport Backcasting Studies.” *Transport Policy* 58 (August 2017): 19–30.

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Mergel, Ines, R. Karl Rethemeyer, and Kimberley Isett. “Big Data in Public Affairs.” *Public Administration Review*
76, no. 6 (November 2016): 928–37.
McNeely, Connie L., and Jong-on Hahm. “The Big (Data) Bang: Policy, Prospects, and Challenges.” *Review of Policy Research* 31, no. 4 (July 1, 2014): 304–10.
Padhi, Sidhartha S., and Rupesh K. Pati. “Quantifying Potential Tourist Behavior in Choice of Destination Using Google Trends.” *Tourism Management Perspectives* 24 (October 2017): 34–47.

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Longo, Justin, and Tanya M. Kelley. “GitHub Use in Public Administration in Canada: Early Experience with a New Collaboration Tool.” *Canadian Public Administration* 59, no. 4 (December 1, 2016): 598–623.
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Sunstein, Cass R. “Algorithms, Correcting Biases.” SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, December 12, 2018.

New Design Technologies
Taeihagh, Araz, René Bañares-Alcántara, and Moshe Givoni. “A Virtual Environment for the Formulation of Policy Packages.” *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, Policy Packaging, 60 (February 2014): 53–68.
Lawlor, Jennifer A., and Sara McGirr. “Agent-Based Modeling as a Tool for Program Design and Evaluation.”
Evaluation and Program Planning 65, no. Supplement C (December 1, 2017): 131–38.
Iychettira, Kaveri K., Rudi A. Hakvoort, and Pedro Linares. “Towards a Comprehensive Policy for Electricity from Renewable Energy: An Approach for Policy Design.” *Energy Policy* 106 (July 2017): 169–82.

PART II – CLASS PRESENTATIONS

Week XI / Week XII / Week XIII (NOV 30-Dec 2)

PAPERS DUE (December 6-9)

Upgrading Policy Planning in India (Mission Report)

Yehezkel Dror, UN Consultant

I. Introduction

1. This mission was different in nature and objectives from my first one (December 28, 1990 to January 20, 1991): Following the recommendations of the first mission and in line with the terms of reference of the second mission, the main purpose of the second mission was to give two demonstration workshops – to help the Indian authorities to make a decision on going ahead with activities to upgrade policy planning and analysis.

2. In addition, the mission included a number of lectures and seminars before senior audiences, presenting main ideas on capacities to govern and policy planning, with tentative applications to India.

3. It is not for me to evaluate these activities and their possible implications for upgrading policy planning and analysis in India. The Indian authorities will collect and process feedback and make their decision. However, thanks to the learning opportunities provided by the meetings and many discussions in workshops, lectures. etc., I would like to add some recommendations on possible steps to upgrade policy planning and analysis professionalism in the Indian government, should a decision be taken to move ahead in that direction.

4. While I accept full responsibility for these recommendations, I would have been unable to make them without the learning opportunities provided at this challenging, interesting, intense, and very well-organized mission. May I thank all the officials I met, who willingly shared their wisdom with me.

II. Recommendations

5. The recommendations are operational, and they focus on the subject of the mission. However, they should be considered within the broad approach suggested in the report of my first mission, as revised and summed up in the Appendix. I formulate the recommendations as applying to the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), mainly at the union government level. However, with some adjustments, the recommendations may also apply to other central services and to state governments.

6. A first set of recommendations deals with steps that might be taken within present structures and policies, with the aim to upgrade the policy planning and analysis capacities of IAS staff:

    a. Training of IAS probationers in LBSNAA, Mussoorie, should include a module in policy analysis, introducing the subject, together with a student project subjecting a select decision issue to systematic analysis. About two weeks, with preparatory readings, should be allocated to this subject.

    b. Before appointment as Joint Secretary, IAS officers should undergo professional studies in policy planning and analysis, within an applied approach as fitting highly experienced officials. About one month of studies, under residential conditions, including time for applied projects reconsidering some main policy issues, should be allocated to this subject.

    c. A different type of recommended activity is “policy colloquia” on defined policy spaces for senior officials in charge of them. Such colloquia should be “policy reconsideration” rather than “training” oriented, with main outputs being new perspectives on specific policies and, hopefully, policy improvements. Such policy colloquia should include some mix between policy planning and analysis “mentoring” and work by the participants on the substantive policy domain, this mix depending on the policy domain and the backgrounds of participants.

    d. Mentors (a term I prefer to “trainers” when dealing with policy planning and analysis) to provide suitable teaching should be urgently developed. This can be done by a modular series of workshops, covering sequentially main areas of policy planning and salient disciplines and tools within a coherent learning design, combined with advanced studies abroad for a few candidates. The same mentors should teach probationers and joint secretaries, as well as additional groups. This is recommended both for reasons of efficiency and to provide the mentors with diversified experiences, necessary for their continuous development.

    e. The group of mentors in policy planning and analysis also constitutes a group of policy planning and analysis professionals. The mentors should divide their time (and/or rotate) between mentoring and working on substantive policy issues, either within suitable positions in the various ministries or as special work teams and task forces.

7. A second set of recommendations deals with building up an infrastructure for developing policy planning and policy analysis professionals and introducing them into appropriate positions in government:

a. A high-quality graduate teaching and advanced research program in public policy, with emphasis on policy analysis and planning, should be set up at one of the universities, preferably in Delhi.

b. This program should, inter alia, provide a two-year master's program in public policy, with at least half the students coming from the IAS and other central services, as a mid-career learning phase.

c. In select union ministries, special policy planning and analysis positions and units should be set up, to be staffed in part by graduates of the university public policy program.

III. Next Steps

8. It is up to the Indian authorities to decide if and how to go ahead with upgrading policy analysis and planning professionalization in the IAS and elsewhere. But may I mention my feeling that no further demonstration workshops and related activities will provide critical new inputs. The time may be ripe for a decision in this matter.

9. If the Indian authorities decide to go ahead, a multiple approach may be advisable to proceed quickly, to meet urgent Indian needs:

   a. Immediate action to prepare mentors. Given suitable candidates, as widely available in India in the IAS and outside it, one possibility, as used in an UNDP project I headed in a Latin American country, is to design a set of six workshops to be given by different "mentors to mentors" to the same group of future mentors. The workshops should present different subjects and approaches, adding up in a modular way to a comprehensive study program in advanced policy planning and analysis. In the workshops, attention should also be given to teaching and training methods adjusted to policy planning and analysis. Each workshop should last between seven and twelve days, preferably residential, with an interval between the workshops of one to two months, during which the participants divide their time between regular jobs, or special policy planning assignments, on one hand, and guided readings and projects to prepare them for the next workshop, on the other. Alternatively, eight weeks of residential or quasi-residential intense studies can serve to prepare mentors rapidly in policy planning and analysis. It is also possible to combine the two designs, such as having an initial four-week residential learning period, to be supplemented by a number of modular workshops.

   b. In tandem with preparation of the mentors, one should proceed with developing a detailed curriculum for policy planning and analysis courses at the probational and advanced (joint secretary) level, selecting an institute to provide the courses, and running – in both the beginning and advanced courses – by the mentors, with further assistance as may be initially needed. It might be advantageous to have one

institute specialize in policy planning teaching, for probationers, for joint secretaries, and for other audiences – all the more so, as the same group of mentors should give all the courses, as indicated above. However, if it is more cost-effective to provide the different activities at various locations, this can be done without difficulty – with the mentors moving to different institutes to give the courses as necessary.

c. Long-term steps, to be started as soon as practical, but with results to be expected in two to three years, include (1) setting up a graduate public policy program at a university, and (2) sending two or three persons for advanced public policy studies abroad.

d. Special activities, to be taken when opportune, depending on interests and opportunities, include building up strong policy analysis and planning capacities in interested key union ministries, and, perhaps, redesigning the Planning Commission in the direction of functioning as a policy planning think tank.

IV. Conclusion

10. Various further possibilities to upgrade capacities to govern, such as possible redesigns of union ministries and further developments of the IAS, came up during the mission and its preparation. Indeed, within a broader perspective, upgrading of policy planning should be considered within upgrading of capacities to govern as a whole. But these are subjects outside my mission terms of reference, which I leave for other opportunities.

11. These tentative operational steps presented in the report too need further study and elaboration. But first, it is up to the Indian authorities to take a decision to go ahead. However, if any further elaborations and explanations may be of help in reaching a decision, I will be glad to try my best to be of assistance, as may be required.

12. Let me conclude by expressing my gratitude for this mission: it was exciting. Certainly, I learned a lot, more than I can hope to contribute. For this I am very grateful.

Appendix: Policy Planning for the 21st Century: Some Tentative Thoughts for India

1. Rather than incremental decisions and quasi-random improvisation, trajectory setting is the task of statecraft under the expected situations of the 21st Century. This applies especially to a country-continent such as India, aspiring for accelerated advancement while facing serious problems on one hand and great opportunities on the other. Advanced policy planning can and should serve as a professional support for superior statecraft facing such challenges.

2. Four frames of thinking illustrate approaches to policy planning for the 21st Century, tentatively applied to India: evolutionary-potential mapping and mutation, strategies for handling external dynamics, competitiveness upgrading vs. inner-directness, and critical shock choices vs. comprehensive approaches vs. incrementalism.

3. Evolutionary potential mapping involves exploration of ranges of possible futures, including much uncertainty, with mapping of reality-shaping variables and policy instrument identification and selection. But more is needed to escape the cages of the past: realistic visions and nightmares are to be constructed and applied as open-ended positive and negative policy compasses (as well as energy mobilizers and support recruiters).

4. When the requirement is for "jumping" concrete evolutionary potentials, as in part in India, more radical thinking is required. For example, in such cases, free markets are basic but inadequate, inter alia industrial-social policies being perhaps essential. Acquiring the very high-quality governmental capacities required for sophisticated "non-interventionist governing of the market," as best illustrated by the success stories of East Asia,[1] poses a main challenge to governance redesign.

5. All national grand-strategic thinking must be based on handling external and internal dynamic environments. This requires some mix between four main strategies: pre-adjustment, rapid post-adjustment, shaping of environments, and some self-isolation from environments. This is clearly the case in India, where a complex mix between sectors opened to globalization and sectors protected from adverse external influences is necessary.

[1] See Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

6. To succeed within a rapidly shifting world, societies and governments need capacities to estimate and understand main relevant dynamics, the ability to develop innovative policies and institutions, and, hardest of all, self-change capacities.

7. Competitiveness, in multiple dimensions, is an additional main approach to the "rise and decline of nations."[2] Building up socio-economic competitiveness is closely related to "jumping" evolutionary potentials, as illustrated by Singapore.[3]

8. However, a country-continent such as India, as mentioned, has also options of inner-directed policies, with some isolation from global competition. Asian cooperation offers additional options. These constitute critical choices leading into alternative trajectories. But thinking them through may be hindered by "motivated irrationalities" as well as "dominant ideologies" and interest networks. Governmental and societal capacities to analyze such alternatives and choose among them may therefore require significant upgrading.

9. The appropriate mix between critical shocks vs. comprehensive approaches vs. incrementalism adds another dimension to the "gambles with history" facing India. Here, governments need high qualities of "legitimation," "social mobilization," and "democratic power concentration" capacities, in addition to outstanding policy thinking abilities. The problem of birth rates illustrates this urgent need in India.

10. Relevant requirements are illustrated by the "social time" needed for achieving substantial results, which is longer than "human time" and "political time." This requires social, political, and governmental capacities not easy to achieve.

11. All governance around the world needs quite radical changes to fit the conditions of the 21st Century.[4] Countries aspiring to radical self-transformation are in especially acute need of upgrading governmental capacities. This probably applies also to India.

12. Governance redesigns to be considered include, for instance, constitutional-political institutions providing central democratic power-concentration while advancing local initiatives, an updated highly professional high civil service elite, upgrading of citizen participation combined with policy enlightenment, and extraordinary measures to contain and eliminate corruption.

13. I can perhaps be more specific on the more limited, but crucial, need to upgrade policy planning. The following prescriptive conjectures, based on international studies and

[2] See Michael E. Porter, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
[3] See Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley, eds., *Management of Success: The Moulding of Modern Singapore* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989); Beng-Huat Chua, *Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[4] As discussed in my book *The Capacity to Govern: A Report to the Club of Rome* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

experience,[5] as well as some study of the Indian situation, may serve as a basis for exploring needs and possibilities:

(1) Compact cadres of highly trained policy-professionals must be prepared at tough public policy graduate programs and through special intensive courses, as part of the IAS and similar services and as a separate group.

(2) Islands of policy planning professionalism in the central mind of government are to be built up, with special attention to the Prime Minister's Office.

(3) Essential are independent, but government-oriented, Policy R&D Organizations (think tanks), composed of a critical mass of interdisciplinary high-quality policy professionals, together with politics-practitioners, working full time on main grand-policies in partial isolation from the pressure of current issues.

(4) Crisis management units in the central mind of government are a must, including integration with the policy planning high-staff units and based in part on the work of the Policy R&D Organization.

(5) Budgeting may require radical reform to serve as an instrument for priority setting and policy innovativeness, in addition to its economic implications. Inter alia, multi-year budgets in some domains are essential, combined with uncertainty-handling features.

(6) Interfaces between knowledge and power and between "politics" and "policy" need restructuring within democratic norms, such as with the help of a National Policy College for policy elites, including elected politicians. As a first step in this direction, multi-day retreats and workshops for the higher policy elites are recommended.

14. India has great achievements from which much can be learned by other countries, such as the Indian Administrative Service. Recent policy innovations further testify to the high levels of statecraft of India. All the more so, these are only some hesitant thoughts, offered as a tentative input into the thinking of the persons who know India and are in charge of taking care of its future.

[5] See my *Policymaking Under Adversity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1986).

Report on Yehezkel Dror UNDP Mission to a Major Latin American Country, 1998

I. Terms of Reference

1. Following meetings with the Resident Representative and his staff and contacts with the Director of the UN Division for Public Economics and Public Administration, the Terms of Reference of the Mission were reformulated to focus on four main assignments:

   (1) Giving a number of lectures, engaging in “exchange of views” meetings and interviewing a number of high-level officials and presidential advisors, with the main aim of adding perspectives to the governmental reform, with special attention to cognitive capacities for top-level strategic decisions.

   (2) Studying the overall state reform design, to give advice on its principles and overall approach.

   (3) Taking a preliminary look at some of the staffs serving the Office of the President, to give advice on possible improvement avenues.

   (4) Advising the president personally on upgrading policy making and critical choice processes

   (5) On the basis of the mission as a whole, suggesting main possible activities with which the UN may be of help.

2. At the suggestion of the Resident Representative the program was kept elastic, the expectation being that a set of initial lectures and meetings would provide access to further “inner” and “higher” circles of government. This strategy proved itself well: access was gained to senior officials and presidential advisory staff, providing sufficient information for a lengthy personal meeting with the president on the main mission recommendations.

3. However, it is to the UNDP staff in … that main credit is due for facilitating the mission and providing crucial informational and support. And it is the minister and the senior staff of the government reform project and of the Office of the Presidency and related units that provided the learning opportunities essential for the mission. Above all I appreciated the opportunity to have two lengthy private meetings with the president. To all of them I am most grateful. Many of the ideas and proposals presented in this report are based on their innovative thinking and rich experience.

II. State Reform

4. The state reform as designed and as being implemented is without doubt the best overall administrative reform that I have ever seen in Latin America, and one of the best on a global scale. It is utilizing modern experiences and ideas in policy making improvement, without being captivated by some of the fashionable dogmas. The reform is comprehensive, but it has built in modules in ways providing elasticity and permitting implementation in phases. The units to be reformed are full partners in the activity. International experience has been taken into account. And the reform senior staff is highly professional and competent, and I have much to learn from them.

5. In short, I am very impressed by the reform, and I regard it as an excellent investment of international cooperation resources. Other countries, in Latin America and elsewhere, have much to learn from this reform as it will unfold.

6. During meetings and seminars with senior staff, a number of suggestions were made for possible improvements in the reform. Leaving aside minor and technical issues, my main recommendations can be summed up under seven headings: (1) broaden and deepen the range of experiences of other countries that should be taken into account; (2) strengthen attention to the cognitive dimensions of government; (3) pay more attention to increasing creativity and learning, and also to "informal" processes as a whole; (4) integrate budgeting redesign more fully into the reform; (5) facilitate a special project on the cognitive facets of the Office of the President; (6) strengthen overall reform monitoring, including close oversight of main contractors; and (7) provide the ministers and the senior advisors of the president with study opportunities, in the form of intensive off-the-record workshops on policy making and critical choices.

(1) Broaden and deepen the range of experiences of other countries that should be taken into account.

7. As mentioned, the reform is based inter alia on good familiarity with some main relevant experiences in other countries, such as the United States, the UK, and New Zealand. But the experiences of additional countries may be quite relevant. Thus, I think that the reform could benefit from the experiences of India and Sweden.

8. Also, some deeper study of the experiences of the UK, Canada, and New Zealand, including recent developments, may provide important inputs. This is all the more the case as visiting experts and lecturers may provide incomplete perspectives.

9. Therefore:

> Recommendation 1: Some senior staff should go on an intense, but in-depth, study mission to India, Canada, the UK, Sweden, and New Zealand. Also, exchanges of experience with the Public Management Service (PUMA) of OECD and with other international and comparative public administration centers should be strengthened.

(2) Strengthen attention to the cognitive dimensions of government.

10. The reform takes into account the need to improve policy making, as evidenced by the following statement in one of the reform documents: “Strengthening policy-formulating cores requires these to become able to evaluate risks, to assume future scenarios and to estimate the impact of a given policy over different scenarios.”

11. However, in trying to move from “bureaucratic” to “managerial” forms of administration, the necessity to develop a compact but very high-quality distinct cadre of “policy professionals” for staffing main policy development units, may require more attention. The efforts to differentiate between “executive agencies” on one hand and ministries on the other make this all the more crucial, as the latter will have to concentrate on policy making – which makes suitable professionals essential.

12. Therefore:

> Recommendation 2: More attention should be paid in the reform to the cognitive dimensions of governance, with special emphasis on developing a small but very high-caliber cadre of advanced policy professionals.

13. This recommendation is closely related to some others to be presented in Chapter 4, where developing policy professionals is discussed.

(3) Pay more attention to increasing creativity and learning in government, and also to “informal” processes as a whole.

14. A main need in modernizing the state is to make it more creative and innovative in seeking, developing, and adopting new policies for meeting changing values and

needs within shifting environments. This has important implications for structure, incentive systems, career patterns, and “organizational culture.”

15. Related is the need to make government and public administration more into “learning states,” with systematic evaluation of the results of main policies and their improvement through well-designed feedback.

16. Upgrading of learning has important implications for reforming the state. Thus, main policy decisions should include estimates of main impacts on defined populations, independent bodies should map actual results, and semi-structured processes should engage in drawing lessons from experience, with care being taken to avoid “blame or praise” from corrupting learning.

17. However, creativity, learning, etc. are largely a matter for informal processes and organizational culture. The reform avoids the main disease of most administrative reforms in Latin America, namely preoccupation with formal structures and regulations. Still, it puts a lot of emphasis on formal structures, management contracts and agreements, work plans, etc. This is essential, given local traditions and conditions. But it might be a good idea to counterbalance this need with more attention to informal structures and processes, incentive structures, administrative leadership, and organizational culture – together with some relaxation of select formal and legalistic elements of the reform.

Recommendation 3: More emphasis should be given to encouraging creativity and learning in governance.

Recommendation 4: Informal structures and processes and organizational culture may require some more attention, with some de-emphasis of the formal-legal dimensions of the reform.

(4) Integrate budgeting redesign more fully into the reform.

18. The reform encompasses an important and even crucial dimension of fiscal management, including budgeting. However, a broader approach to budgeting as a main instrument for setting national priorities, of policymaking, of administrative direction, and of serving as an incentive may be advisable.

19. Redesign of budgeting should be an integral part of the structural reforms on one hand and of improving effectiveness and efficiency on the other – in combination with techniques such as life-cycle costing, multi-year budgeting, etc.

20. Getting a good consultant with a broad approach to budgeting and wide familiarity with international experiences with budgeting reforms should be urgently considered. Let me add that this consultant must be an expert in government budgeting, business management experiences and doctrines being quite misleading in this matter.

21. Therefore:

> Recommendation 5: A broad approach to budgeting as a main instrument of decision making and management should be integrated into the reform.

(5) Facilitate a special project on the cognitive facets of the Office of the President

22. One of the main limitations of government reforms is their neglect of crucial "weaving the future fuzzy gambling" decisions. Therefore, they suffer from the danger of bringing about more effective and efficient implementing of policies that may be wrong. This is well illustrated by the experiences of the UK, Canada, and New Zealand – where it is increasingly realized that so-called "new public-sector management" makes upgrading of crucial choice capacities all the more necessary. (Therefore, my recommendation in Section 8 above to provide reform staff with opportunities to study recent rethinking in the countries that pioneered the "new public management" approach).

23. This requirement applies to all state ministries. But, given the presidential regime and the political culture and tradition, the paradigmatic case is provided by the cognitive facets of the Office of the President.

24. I discuss this challenge in Chapter 3 below. Therefore, let me limit myself here to three preliminary comments:

    One. In considering the Office of the President, a distinction should be made between its nature as a management system and its nature as a cognitive system. While there is quite some overlap between these two, it is important to distinguish the "central brain of government" aspects from the "bureaucratic-managerial" aspects. Quite different knowledge and approaches are needed for improving them.

    Two. Within the state reform as a whole, much attention should be given to protect the central brain functions of the Office of the President from being disturbed by overloading the office with many non-essential tasks and structures. It is important to resist the tendency to put into the Office of the President functions that do not easily fit anywhere else and the importance of which one wants to

augment. But putting too much into the Office of the President not only hinders its main mission of providing overall national strategic directions and handling critical choices, but in effect, it also leads to the neglect of tasks put there – which will not receive adequate attention. This may apply also to state reform – which, I think, should not be put into the Presidential Office.

Three. The state reform should include as a crucial component upgrading of the core competencies of the Office of the President with special attention to staff work. However, this is a sensitive project that requires special handling as a separate endeavor.

25. Therefore:

> Recommendation 6: Upgrading strategic choice core competencies of the Office of the President should be a major component of the state reform, as crucial in itself and as a paradigmatic example for main ministries. This is quite a distinct endeavor from improving the Office of the President as a managerial system.
>
> Recommendation 7: In the state reform as a whole, care should be taken not to overload the Office of the President by locating there functions and units that are not essential to its main mission to serve as the central brain of government.

(6) Strengthen overall reform monitoring, including close oversight of main contractors.

26. A number of important reforms seem to be under consideration that are not fully integrated into the main project. This is not necessarily harmful, all the more so when involving distinct entities and sensitive subjects. Still, mutual learning should be assured, both informally and by overlapping advisory bodies.

27. All the more so, overall monitoring of the reform itself is essential. The unavoidable reliance on a multiplicity of contractors, mainly consultants with largely business enterprise experience, makes careful monitoring all the more essential – especially in respect to large projects.

28. Much of the monitoring will have to be done by contractors. This requires all the more care in selecting “monitoring consulting groups” that have much experience, are completely free of conflicts of interest, and are highly competent both in monitoring consultative projects and in public management and governance domains.

29. The reform is quite extensive. Therefore, there is a need for “monitoring of the monitoring”; what can be called “meta-monitoring.” It may well be that the Governance and Public Administration Branch of the Public Economics and Public Administration Division of UN New York can and should be of help in meeting this important, but not simple requirement.

30. Therefore:

> Recommendation 8: Mutual learning between the main reform and other reform activities in government should be assured, such as by overlapping membership in advisory bodies.
>
> Recommendation 9: Careful monitoring of main projects undertaken by sub-contracted consultants must be assured, with the help of separate monitoring consultants.
>
> Recommendation 10: The scope of the reform requires meta-monitoring, that is monitoring of the monitoring. It may be preferable to have this activity done under the responsibility of a UN unit, such as the Governance and Public Administration Branch.

III. Staffs for the President

31. Having had the privilege of meeting the president and some of his senior staffs, there is no doubt in my mind of their high quality. Still, there may be scope for considering a number of improvements.

32. This conclusion of mine is based on the opinion of the president himself and the advisory staffs I met, as expressed both in seminars and in individual interviews. To explain the method: both in lectures followed by seminar discussions and in personal meetings, I presented various ideas and received feedback. This is the empiric basis for my overall impression that the president has excellent staff, but there is scope for improvements.

33. It should also be taken into account that in one year there will be elections for the president. Comparative experience indicates that the best opportunity for upgrading presidential staffs (and candidates) is shortly after elections, which requires that carefully considered proposals should be prepared in advance. But intense workshops for acting ministers, if possible with the personal participation of the president, have proven very helpful in a number of Latin American countries in which I have advised the government.

34. Therefore:

> Recommendation 11: A project on further improving the presidential staff should be undertaken, with an effort to have proposals ready for further development and implementation soon after the elections.
>
> Recommendation 12: Intense workshops for ministers, if possible with the president, should be carefully prepared and provided. This also applies to candidates before elections, with adjustments.

35. Main improvement possibilities concerning staffs within the Presidential Office which may be considered include the following:

- Setting up a professional policy planning unit providing national long-term perspectives and evaluations on main policy issues and strategic choices.
- Setting up a "national estimation advisory unit."
- Building a professional crisis-management team.
- Engaging in national priority setting combined with goal costing.

36. These units and functions can be combined in various ways, can in part be based on existing structures, and should work in close cooperation with the inner circle advisors of the president.

37. Most important of all, the staff system must fit the preferences of the president and enjoy his full support and confidence. Indeed, a project on improving the presidential staff should be undertaken only on the explicit instructions of the president and after discussing with him the directions in which he would like the project to proceed.

38. Therefore:

> Recommendation 13: Subject to the approval and directives of the president, a project should be undertaken on strengthening the professional staffs in his office.
>
> Recommendation 14: Inter alia, the following possibilities should be considered: setting up a professional policy planning staff, a national estimation unit, and a crisis management unit; and engaging in national priority setting and goal costing.

39. Decision process improvement is another avenue to providing the president with more supports, all the more so as upgrading professional staffs and bettering decision process management go hand in hand.

40. A good illustration is the introduction of standard minimum formats for main proposals submitted by ministers to the president, on line with “Cabinet Memoranda Drafting Instructions” as used, for instance, in Canada. This can assure better presentation of background material, more attention to costing, search for alternatives etc. – and thus it can not only help the president in reaching a decision, but also motivate the ministries to upgrade their policy development processes.

41. Another illustration is provided by the problem of decision implementation monitoring, which for instance requires streaming of decisions according to their importance and sensitivity. This is an area where much experience is available that can be applied without too much difficulty.

42. Therefore:

> Recommendation 15: Decision process management should be evaluated and improved, with special attention to submission of major decision proposals, implementation monitoring, and more.

43. Whatever is or is not done in respect to the in-house staff of the president, some kinds of national policy creativity, development and research organizations (think tanks) are essential – to engage in deep consideration of main national problem spaces with overall, long-term, and interdisciplinary perspectives.

44. Such high-quality units do exist in … and engage in very important work, such as the …. Furthermore, … is rich with foundations and academic bodies engaging in policy-relevant research, as well as many individuals doing policy thinking and study.

45. Therefore, a good basis for upgrading exists. Existing bodies and networking may well meet needs, with some UN help to be provided – such as study missions to outstanding think tanks in other countries. However, to identify needs and develop improvement options, a separate mission by a suitable consultant, to be carefully selected, is necessary.

46. Therefore:

> Recommendation 16: … is well equipped with think tanks. However, there is scope for improvement, such as in strengthening interdisciplinarity, upgrading policy professionalism, and building up networks.
>
> Recommendation 17: A carefully selected consultant should evaluate in depth existing think tanks and similar facilities and prepare improvement proposals.

47. To provide some further background ideas on possible approaches to improving the Presidential staff, I have written a draft paper "Design For a Presidential Office." However, to my regret, my mission was too short to arrive at the knowledge and understanding needed to adjust this paper and its general ideas to the particular needs and realities of the Presidential Office of ….

IV. Developing High Quality Policy Professionals

48. I am quite hesitant about my recommendations concerning the staff system of the Presidential Office, not being sure I acquired sufficient knowledge on the actual situation to justify the "hubris" of my recommendations. I have fewer doubts about possibilities to help with advancing the policy professionalism of existing and future advisory staffs, in the Office of the President, in think tanks, in ministerial policy planning units, etc.

49. This is not the place for an exposition on the nature of advanced policy professionalism, all the more so as I discuss the matter in publications of mine.

50. In short, advanced policy professionalism requires extensive knowledge in a range of subjects, from thinking-in-history to policy-gambling, from rise-and-decline-of-nations theories to managing complexity, with outstanding skills to apply abstract and generic knowledge to concrete policy spaces.

51. Because of the demanding nature of advanced policy professionalism, there is a constant need for further study and development, also when good policy professionals are available. All the more so is there much scope for improvement when public policy university programs are not fully developed and when staffs working on policy issues are highly professional in traditional disciplines, but they often lack advanced training in many policy professionalism subjects.

52. I was unable during the mission to arrive at a reliable estimate on the availability of advanced policy studies at universities in …. But, clearly, this is an important subject that requires evaluation and, probably, improvement.

53. Therefore:

> Recommendation 18: Existing public policy programs at universities in … should be mapped and evaluated, and upgrading proposals should be developed by a suitable consultant.
>
> Recommendation 19: Inter alia, setting up a top-quality advanced post- graduate public policy school at a university in …, in cooperation with the government, should be considered.

54. Upgrading of policy professionalism programs at universities is in the longer run essential for high-quality policy thinking and planning. However, this will take time. Therefore, intense retooling and upgrading in advanced policy professionalism for existing and new staffs in policy units in the Office of the President and the government as a whole should be considered.

55. Assuming that participants are experienced persons with good academic backgrounds, intense studies taking, for instance, the form of a series of five- to ten-day workshops can well meet the requirements and significantly improve policy professionalism in a very cost- and time-effective way.

> Recommendation 20: Intense programs to upgrade the policy professionalism of policy staffs should be undertake, taking for instance the form of a set of workshops.

56. Let me add that there is quite some experience available with such endeavor, also within the UN family, and suitable mentors can be found, though much care is needed in their selection.

57. To conclude this chapter, may I emphasize that upgrading the policy professionalism of compact policy cadres can significantly improve crucial cognitive capacities in government, also without structural changes, while structural changes without high-quality policy professionals are of very limited utility in respect to policy making quality, and they can also become easily counterproductive.

58. Therefore:

> Recommendation 21: Upgrading of policy professionalism should be a main component of reform of the state, with special attention to presidential staffs and think tanks

V. Supporting Societal Policy Thinking

59. In a democracy, good governmental policy making depends on the quality of societal policy thinking as a whole, and on different levels of governance and in the political and policy elites. This is all the more true in ….

60. Hence, a variety of different broader approaches should accompany those focusing on central government as explored in my mission and discussed in this report. Thus:

- The applicability of the various issues and recommendations to state, city, and local governance should be considered.
- Ways to help the work of the Party Institutes, now quite well supported by public funds, should be considered. Inter alia, exchange of experiences with the Austrian Political Party Academies may provide some relevant ideas.
- Projects for legislatures might be strengthened.
- Citizen education in secondary schools and universities should be evaluated and improved.

> Recommendation 22: Broader approaches to upgrading policy thinking on the societal and political levels should be considered.

Syllabus of a Ten-Day Workshop for Senior Policy Composers and Advisors

Yehezkel Dror, UN Consultant

Preparatory readings are selected to fit profiles and reading potential of participants. Each subject is presented in class, discussed in light of experience of participants, applied to given situations in individual and group exercises, and reconsidered after the exercise. Three integrative multi-stage evening exercises sum up clusters of subjects, with an 8-hour overall summing up exercise.

1. The Concept “Policy Composing.”

   This term emphasized the multiple bases of preparing policies, including systematic interdisciplinary as well as praxis based knowledge, empiric findings, construction of alternative futures and so on. Also needed are a lot of tacit knowledge and also some elements of aesthetic feelings, together with a lot of creativity. Furthermore, policies must take into account the many players needed for their implementation with the help of a range of instruments. The term “policy composes” expresses all there based and processes much better than “policy making” and also “policy design.”

2. Policies Between “Blowing Bubbles” and “Weaving the Future”

   Governments always engage in some mixture of blowing bubbles, fighting fires, distributing goodies, and weaving the future. However, modern developments, such as mass media, result in blowing of bubbles increasingly displacing weaving the future. There are dangers of “multi-media mass democracy.” Hence the need for counter-measures strengthening weaving the future capacity, as in part developed in this workshop.

3. Groundings for Local, State and Global Policies – Moving on from Statecraft Towards Humanity-Craft

   The idea of statecraft and its expansion to “Humanity-Craft.” Main bases: understanding ongoing transformations, including the Singularity hypothesis; values and goals; will to influence the future for the better; understanding of historic processes and estimation of opportunities and dangers; innovative intervention options; action resources including various forms of power. Need to upgrade moral and cognitive capacities; to move towards “policy-sciences professionals.” Next step: producing Singularity policy scientists focusing of providing analyzed policy options for steering human evolution (as discussed in separate paper).

4. Steering Human Evolution

   Emerging radical novel knowledge will increase human “regeneration” powers, enabling heavily impacting on the future of the human specie and its environment. This is an

unprecedented fateful challenge facing humanity. To cope with it so as to advance long-term pluralistic thriving while avoiding collapses up to self-extinction of our species, while managing and also utilizing unavoidable transition crises – needed are, inter alia, new genres of political leaders and an advanced type of Singularity Policy Scientists. Some preliminary steps in these directions are an important dimension of the workshop.

5. Improving Capacities to Govern: Preliminary Look

   A potentially fatal issue is "incapacities to govern" (not "ungovernability.)" The growing impact potency of governance without choice improvements produces a dangerous hiatus. A very small number of politicians and other governance staffs unavoidably make critical future-influencing decisions, also on critical and even fateful Singularity issues. Hence the need for a broad approach to improving governance, including taboo subjects such as upgrading the moral and cognitive faculties of senior politicians and advancing towards effective global governance. Exercises explore possibilities to do so as a main component of the workshop.

6. Strategic Policies as Setting Trajectories in Time

   Strategic policies and grand-policies, including statecraft and increasingy humanity-craft, constitute attempts to influence the future and setting new trajectories into time, by "intervening with deep history." Exercises explore capacities to engage in strategic choices and main problems of doing so.

7. Outlook: A Glance Towards the Future

   Main "deep drivers" of the future: demography, science and technology, values and ideologies. Main Singularity features and their potentials for better and worse. Main features of present and foreseeable global and local dynamics, such as Kafkaen processes. Need for thinking in terms of hyper-Heraclitean perspectives, together with awareness of many relative stabilities. Globalization. Alternative geo-strategic and geo-cultural futures: Regionalization. Decline of the West? Turbulence, uncertainty, incomprehensibility, and inconceivability. Exercises explore some main challenges, threats and opportunities.

8. Diagnostics of Dynamics

   Policies must be based on knowing and understanding of salient processes, instead of "estimates of situations." Problems of intelligence estimates and their improvement. Interface between estimations of dynamics and decision-makers. Exercises discuss intelligence failures and designs for improved diagnostics.

9. Thinking-in-History

   Thinking-in-history as an essential basis for policymaking. Problems of appropriate time

horizons. Common misuses of history and their prevention. Exercises consider pressing policy issues within long-term and deep history.

7. Decision-Making Regimes

   Selection of decision-making regimes fitting situational dynamics, with incrementalism on one extreme and break-out radicalism on the other. Exercises identify main issues in need of different decision-making regimes, with emphasis on radicalism-requirements posed by the Singularity.

8. Debugging Choice

   Identification of main choice pathologies, such as “motivated irrationality,” and their reduction, as an essential approach to policymaking improvement. Other main approaches: approximating preferable models and setting normative rules.

9. Advanced Policy Cogitation Frames

   Main frames for policy planning and strategic choice, such as evolutionary potential mapping, design of realistic visions, competitiveness, rise and decline of nations, and the future evolutionary alternative trajectories of the human species. Exercises apply some of the frames.

10. Critical Choice and Agenda Setting

    Critical choices as crossroads in time and opportunities to shape the future significantly, as contrasted with hard problems lacking options. Agenda setting between the urgent and the important. Improvement of problem images, attention allocation, and apportionment of decision-making resource. Uses of policy R&D to generate new options. Exercises identify main critical choices and hard issues, applying protocols for allocating decision resources accordingly.

11. Basic Deliberator and its Uses

    Core elements of decision-making, their nature and improvement. The basic policy analysis schemata. Common-sense, pragmatic, rationality, optimal and genius-dependent prescriptive models. Exercises explore the possibilities and limits of quantitative decision-making and of decision support systems, applied to obscure policy spaces and quandaries.

12. Augmenting Heuristics

    Heuristic as central to complex strategic choice. Relations to other “extra-rational” dimensions of strategic choice, such as intuition, creativity and inspiration. Special value judgment features. Ways to stimulate them, including metaphoric thinking. Need for multiple “languages” and multiple “cultures.” Exercises explore the use of “metaphors” for exploring enigmatic policy issues.

13. Realistic Visions and Nightmares

Design of realistic visions and nightmares as providing policy compasses. Their political uses and misuses. Exercises work out realistic visions and nightmares and examine their action implications.

14. Alternative Futures: Between Necessity, Contingency, Chance, and Choice

The “policy cosmos” between necessity, contingency, chance, and choice. Main cartography for mapping the future, including uncertainties, incomprehensibilities, and inconceivabilities. Exercises map selected policy domains in terms of alternative open-ended futures and surprise potentials.

15. Policy-Gambling: Strategic Choice as Fuzzy Gambling with History, Often for High and Even Fateful Stakes.

Fundamental view of decision-making as fuzzy gambling, with the essence of strategic choice being fuzzy gambling with history for high stakes. Radical implications for all of policymaking and politics. Exercises examine main protocols for improving policy-gambling and apply them to crucial choices.

16. Crisis Steering

Crisis steering as the ultimate mode of coping with uncertainty and inconceivability. Crisis instigation as a breakout strategy. Professional supports for crisis steering and their prerequisites. Night crisis exercises present major crisis situations in stages, demonstrating difficulties of crisis steering and potentials of improvement proposals – summed up in a design exercise.

17. Policy Creativity

Policy creativity as essential for coping with novel situations. “Analysis” vs. “innovation.” Creativity as a “black box.” Main ways to increase options and to encourage policy creativity. The roles of special policy R&D organizations (think tanks). Societal thinking as a critical resource.

18. Value Judgment Upgrading

Value judgments are decisive, but they pose special problems, all the more so in respect to Singularity policy spaces. Distinction between “external” and “internal” views of values. Values as policy target vs. values as policy base. Value analysis as permitting improvement of value judgment without interfering with political prerogatives. Political costs of value deliberation improvement. Moral reasoning within policy thinking. “Moral luck” and “tragic choices.” Contextual approach to moral choice. Virtues and vices in policymaking and the “fragility of the good.” Exercises explore select value judgment issues and ways to cope with them better.

19. Systems View and Policy Coherence

Systems view of policy issues and of policymaking. System optimization vs. sub-optimization. Self-regulating systems vs. systems requiring detailed management and architecture. System thinking methods and frames. Time dimensions. Exercises work out conceptual systems models of select policy domains.

20. Complex System Transformation Reformcraft

Special issues of policymaking under conditions of radical change, when overall societal and political systems undergo transformation. Directed radical social change as supreme challenge: special Singularity issues and problems. Exercises consider reform and transformation policies and design decision fitting systems.

21. Policy Learning

The problem of “changing one’s mind” and “exiting oneself” as fundamental to essential policy learning. Barriers and ways to reduce them.

22. Cultural Settings

Policymaking and strategic choice as an existential expression of culture and increasingly of human evolution, seen within a comparative perspective. Possible cultural prerequisites for high-quality policymaking and strategic choice. Exercises explore possibilities of achieving needed “cultural requirements” within policy planning enclaves.

23. Advising Rulers

The crucial and growing importance of rulers in critical choices, as well as in setting policy styles as a whole, also in democracies. The importance of advisors to rulers. Main roles of such advisors: informers, mentors, support providers. Dilemmas of advising rulers. Appropriate structures. Professional ethics for advisors to rulers. Exercises deal with problems of designing an office for a president or prime minister.

24. Institutionalization of Advanced Policy Composing, Statecraft and Humanity-Craft Professionalism

Main features of policy professionalism: building bridges between abstract knowledge and concrete issues; being “cold” on hot issues; doubting “common sense.” Need for professional ethics. Relationship between professionalism and creativity. Implications for learning and career patters. Also for each policy-professionalism aspirant. Application to Singularity policy scientists.

28. Summing Up: Steering Human Evolution

After half a day and night off for reading one or two concise and up-to-date text on the future of the human specied, such as Martin Rees, *On the Future: Prospects for Humanity*

(2018) and Yehezkel Dror, *For Rulers: Priming Political Leaders for Saving Humanity From Itself* (2017), small group exercises on developing crucial humanity-craft grand-policies, with a summing up discussion on “Steering Human Evolution – The Ultimate Challenge for Policy Scientists” as Advisors of Global Decision Makers.”

Politics and Practice of International Security Policy

Professor Edward Rhodes, George Mason University

Course Description:

This class is a core course in the master's program in international security. Drawing on historical cases, this course develops knowledge, strategies, and skills required to transform policy ideas and proposals into implemented policy on issues of international security.

Course Goals:

Effective participation in international security analysis and policymaking requires three inter-related but distinct sets of skills. Individuals must be able to evaluate alternative strategies and policies for their feasibility, probable consequences, anticipated costs and benefits, and effectiveness in achieving identified goals. They must be able to identify, analyze, and evaluate the ethical issues and trade-offs embedded in policy choices. And they must be able to understand and evaluate the political, institutional, and psychological context within which policymaking takes place and correctly gauge the challenges, strategies, and options involved in getting effective, ethical policies adopted and implemented.

This course focuses primarily on the last of these three skill sets.

While the class will necessarily at times examine the comparative effectiveness of alternative international security policies, and will at times consider how best to weigh the goals, means, and probable outcomes of these alternative policies in an ethical balance, the principal thrust of this course is to examine – and learn from -- the experience of real-life decision-makers as they have sought to transform ideas and preferences into policy outcome.

Learning Objectives:

Upon completion of this course, students should have acquired:

- Improved practical understanding of the domestic and international political processes associated with developing, adopting, and implementing policies associated with issues of international security.
- Improved critical reasoning skills regarding the motivations, strategies, and behaviors of participants in domestic and international decision-making processes.
- Improved knowledge of the historical context within which today's policies are being pursued and increased sensitivity to the need to understand issues and options within a historical context.
- Improved ability to communicate analyses and recommendations in written and verbal form.
- Improved ability to work collaboratively.

Course Materials:

The course is built around analysis and discussion of case materials. Case materials will be available via direct online purchase and download from copyright owners.

Among the cases we may use are the following:

Harvard Kennedy School cases can be purchased at https://case.hks.harvard.edu/content/cases .

- HKS Case 279: "Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs"
- HKS Case 280: "CIA to 1961"
- HKS Case 298: "Korea and the Thirties (A)"
- HKS Case 299: "Korea and the Thirties (B)"
- HKS Case 494: "Verdun and Versailles"
- HKS Case 661: "Falklands/Malvinas (A): Breakdown of Negotiations"
- HKS Case 662: "Falklands/Malvinas (B): The Haig Mediation Effort"
- HKS Case 802: "Trident: Setting the Requirements"
- HKS Case 1324: "A 'Seamless' Transition: U.S. and UN Operations in Somalia,
- 1992-1993 (A)"
- HKS Case 1325: "A 'Seamless' Transition: U.S. and UN Operations in Somalia,

- 1992-1993 (B)"
- HKS Case 1356: "Getting to Dayton: Negotiating an End to the War in Bosnia"
- HKS Case 1905: "Blessed are the Peacemakers: Senator Danforth as Special Envoy to the Sudan"
- HKS Case 2158: "A Puzzle Too Complex? James Baker's Mediation Mission in Western Sahara, 1997-2004"

Institute for the Study of Diplomacy ("Pew") cases can be purchased at: https://casestudies.isd.georgetown.edu/collections/frontpage?page=2 .

- ISD Case 188: "The 1940 Destroyer Deal with Great Britain"
- ISD Case 244: "Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Policy"
- ISD Case 290: "Inside the Water's Edge: The Senate Votes on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty"
- ISD Case 331: "State Narratives in Complex Media Environments: The Case of the Ukraine"
- ISD Case 344: "From Civil War to Civil War: The Struggle for Peace in Sudan and South Sudan"

Requirements and Grading:

Class members are required to complete all assigned readings prior to class meetings; come to class prepared to participate fully, actively, and thoughtfully in class discussions and exercises; contribute constructively and effectively to these discussions and exercises; and complete all required writing assignments prior to the beginning of class meetings. Writing assignments will be framed as brief policy memos based on case materials.

Grading for the seminar will break down as follows:

Participation in class discussions:	50%
Policy memos:	30%
Group projects:	20%

Course grading is **NOT** on a curve. Class members are not competing with each other for marks. Although individual writing assignments are to be done independently and without assistance from other class members, course members are encouraged to work collaboratively in preparing for class, in classroom activities, and in reviewing materials and ideas developed in class.

As indicated above, this course is built around classroom discussion. Individuals who anticipate being absent for more than two class sessions are encouraged to discuss their situation with the instructor prior to the drop date for the course.

It is understood that class members may encounter specific professional or personal demands that may prevent attendance at specific meetings of the class. In such circumstances, class members are expected to behave in a professional manner: in as timely a manner as possible, they should inform the instructor, by email, that they will be unable to attend, and to provide appropriate explanation of the reason for their absence. In the absence of this sort of timely notification or of an appropriate reason for the absence, the professor may, at his discretion, regard the absence as unexcused.

Assignments and Due Dates:

Topics for written assignment will be posted on the Course Blackboard Site. All written assignments are due at the beginning of class. All written assignments are to be submitted in *two* formats: (1) online through the Course Blackboard Site, where, consistent with Schar School policy, they will be reviewed for possible plagiarism and recorded to protect against possible future plagiarism; and (2) in paper in class. Each student will be responsible for two individual policy memos and for full participation in the preparation of two group projects.

Assignment to groups for the group projects will be posted on the Course Blackboard Site.

To facilitate weekly discussions, course participants will be divided into four “cohorts.” Each “cohort” will have different dates on which assignments are due. Assignments to “cohort” will be posted on the Course Blackboard Site.

NB: Class members should carefully review their professional and personal calendars at the start of the semester. If conflicts are anticipated that would interfere with completion of any scheduled assignment, students should convey this to the instructor as early as possible. Similarly, course members should let the instructor know of professional and personal commitments that arise during the course of the semester if these will interfere with the completion of an assignment. If informed in a timely manner, the instructor is willing to make adjustments to the scheduling of assignments.

Schar School Policy on Plagiarism and Other Academic Dishonesty:

The following is Schar School policy with regard to plagiarism:

"Faculty in the Schar School have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty and will strictly enforce Mason's honor code."

Schedule:

21 January: **Politics, Practice, and International Security Policy: Political Choice vs. Rational Choice**

Case:

HKS Case 661: "Falklands/Malvinas (A): Breakdown of Negotiations"

28 January: **Democracy and the National Interest: Public Opinion vs. Government Policy**

Case:

John L. Offner, "McKinley and the Spanish American War," *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* Vol. 34, num. 1 (March 2004). Available through Mason Library's online journal collections.

ISD Case 188: "The 1940 Destroyer Deal with Great Britain"

4 February: **Shared Responsibility and Divided Power: Congress vs. the President**

Case:

"The League of Nations Debate" (available on Blackboard)

11 February: **Party Politics: Democrats vs. Republicans**

ISD Case 290: "Inside the Water's Edge: The Senate Votes on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty"

Assignment: First Individual Paper due for “Cohort” A.

18 February: **Cognitive Constraints on Policymaking: the Human Mind vs. Rational Decision**

Cases:

HKS Case 298: “Korea and the Thirties (A)”

HKS Case 299: “Korea and the Thirties (B)”

HKS Case 494: “Verdun and Versailles”

Assignment: First Individual Paper due for “Cohort” B.

25 February: **Bureaucracy and Policymaking: Organizational Output vs. Rational Decision**

Cases:

HKS Case 279: “Kennedy and the Bay of Pigs”

HKS Case 280: “CIA to 1961”

Assignment: First Individual Paper due for “Cohort” C.

3 March: **Intra-governmental Parochial Politics: Everybody vs. Everybody**

Case:

HKS Case 802: “Trident: Setting the Requirements”

Assignment: First Group Project due.

10 March: **Spring Break**

17 March: **Identity, Politics, and Violence: "Reality" vs. Socially Constructed Reality**

Case:

ISD Case 331: "State Narratives in Complex Media Environments: The Case of Ukraine"

24 March: **Ending Violence (I): Armed Intervention**

Cases:

HKS Case 1324: "A 'Seamless' Transition: U.S. and UN Operations in Somalia, 1992-1993 (A)"

HKS Case 1325: "A 'Seamless' Transition: U.S. and UN Operations in Somalia,
1992-1993 (B)"

ISD Case 244: "Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Intervention Policy"

Assignment: Second Individual Paper due for "Cohort" A.

31 March: **Ending Violence (II): UN Mediation**

Case:

HKS Case 2158: "A Puzzle Too Complex? James Baker's Mediation Mission in Western Sahara, 1997-2004"

Assignment: Second Individual Paper due for "Cohort" B.

7 April: **Ending Violence (III): U.S. Mediation in Civil War**

Cases:

HKS Case 1905: "Blessed are the Peacemakers: Senator Danforth as Special Envoy to the Sudan"

ISD Case 344: "From Civil War to Civil War: The Struggle for Peace in Sudan and South Sudan

Assignment:

Second Individual Paper due for "Cohort" C.

14 April: **Ending Violence (IV): U.S. Mediation in Interstate Conflict**

Cases:

HKS Case 662: "Falklands/Malvinas (B): The Haig Mediation Effort"

HKS Case 1356: "Getting to Dayton: Negotiating an End to the War in Bosnia"

21 April: **Ending Violence: Military Occupation**

Case:

To be announced.

28 April: **Wrap-up**

Second Group Project due