

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Fall 2003

WWS 501: The Politics of Public Policy

Instructors: Erica Cosgrove, Thomas Romer, Deborah Yashar

Post-Doctoral Associate: Agnes Schaefer

Lectures: Thursdays, 10:40am – 12:00 in Bowl 016

Discussion Sections: Tuesdays, 10:40am – 12:20pm; room varies by discussion section

Policymaking is an inherently political process. While experts may calculate the costs and benefits of various policy options, outcomes depend upon politically based decisions. Understanding these political factors is essential for effective policymaking because decision-makers who have not carefully examined the political implications of their proposals run the risk of failure (e.g., Clinton's health care initiative). Gaining this knowledge, however, is difficult. No universal formulas exist for how political actors will behave in all situations. The decision-making process among groups of states is very different from that among legislators which, in turn, is different from that within international organizations. Students of policy are thus confronted with a fundamental challenge: how does one identify the political determinants of policy formation where no universal rules exist?

We believe that such knowledge is not derived from a set of rules or formulas, but stems from sensitivity to the political implications of policy decisions, an understanding of how to generate coalitions and alliances, and an appreciation for how conflicts are created and resolved. A politically skilled analyst is able to enter a situation and identify the key actors, what their concerns and goals will be, and what kind of power they hold. A savvy analyst is also aware of how institutional structures affect choices and outcomes. By investigating the relationships among policy goals, institutions, and structures, political scientists have established some consistent patterns and rules; these can provide the policy analyst with significant lessons.

This course will examine some of these patterns in order to help you to understand, analyze, and negotiate the politics surrounding public policy. We will explore the relationships between political and policy analysis, strategic thinking and bargaining, the role of material and symbolic incentives in policy actors' choices, and ways that organizations influence outcomes.

COURSE STRUCTURE and MATERIALS

The class will address eleven individual topics during the semester. We will spend one week on each topic; on Thursdays, we will have a lecture, followed on the subsequent Tuesday by a case study and further discussion of material related to the lecture. (There will be deviations from this schedule in late November due to Thanksgiving break.) The entire class will meet together for Thursday lectures, but will divide into four sections for the Tuesday discussion sessions. Each section will be further subdivided into four Task Groups for purposes of writing and discussing the cases.

Assigned readings must be completed prior to class. Required course readings include materials collected in the *Lecture Reader* and the *Case Reader*, as well as books available for purchase at the Princeton University Store. A few copies of the books will be on reserve at the Stokes Library in Wallace Hall.

Required Texts:

- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986)
- Charles Wolf Jr., *Markets or Governments: Choosing between Imperfect Alternatives* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993)

Lecture and Case Readers: These two packets are available for purchase at Pequod Printing in the University Store, 36 University Place.

POLICY MEMOS

Students are required to prepare five individual policy memos, two group memos, and one group outline to accompany an oral group presentation. Instructions for each will be available on Thursday afternoons (at 1:30pm) on the 501 Blackboard site. Memos may not exceed 1000 words and must be typed, double-spaced, in 12-point Times New Roman font. All memos must be submitted electronically via the WWS 501 Blackboard site and are due by 10:00am on the Monday preceding the Tuesday discussion of each case. No late memos will be accepted.

Case Schedule:

<i>Discussion Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Memo Prepared by</i>
September 16	International Space Station	Individual Students
September 23	Arizona Organ Transplants	Task Groups 1 and 2
September 30	Democratization in Iraq	Individual Students
October 7	Grameen Bank	Task Groups 3 and 4
October 14	School Vouchers	Individual Students
October 21	Brazil's Zero Hunger Program	ORAL, Groups 1, 2, 3, 4
November 4	Electoral Reform in New Zealand	Individual Students
November 11	The Sierra Club	Task Groups 1 and 2
November 18	Kosovo	Individual Students
November 25	Arciniega's War in Northern Peru	Task Groups 3 and 4

The case readings provide all necessary background for individual and group memos. Please do not do any additional outside research for these cases.

Please note: A few of these cases and the HIV/AIDS project (below) have been used in WWS 501 in previous years. To ensure that the cases generate substantial thinking on your part, and to provide a "level playing field," it is crucial that you do not read materials prepared by earlier 501 students or discuss these cases with previous students in the class. If any of you believe that it will be difficult to abide by this standard, please see one of the instructors during the first week. Otherwise, we consider that you will be bound by this constraint.

POLICY SIMULATION:

A policy simulation during the final weeks of the course will provide an opportunity for students to apply their knowledge and the course's approach to understanding policy processes in an extended collective exercise.

The exercise will be introduced with a brief lecture in early November. Shortly thereafter, students will be provided with a background memo and a list of possible roles. Students should use this information to choose their preferred roles for the policy project, which is scheduled to run from December 4th to December 11th. Roles will be assigned by November 14th.

More detailed information on the policy project will be forthcoming.

When making travel plans, keep in mind that you must be here until the end of the policy project—2:00pm on Thursday, December 11th.

WRITING

Steve Frakt and Janet Churn, the WWS Writing Instructors, will be available throughout the semester for individual writing assistance. Their goal is to help students refine the distinctive craft of professional memo writing.

All students must attend a writing session conducted by Steve Frakt from 1:00pm to 2:15pm on Wednesday, September 10th in 016 Robertson. The session will focus on individual memo writing.

COURSE GRADES

Three elements will comprise the final course grade:

- Case memos—50%
- Participation in all discussions—25%
- Policy project (including written and oral participation)—25%
- NOTE: There is no final examination in this course.

EXPLANATION OF WWS 501 GRADING SYSTEM

Your assignments will be graded on a “plus” system, where the highest mark is a “+++” and the lowest mark is a “—.” The following explains in more detail the grading scale:

+++ Indicates an excellent memo/paper. You have fulfilled all the expectations for the assignment in terms of substance, organization, and writing clarity.

++ Indicates a very good memo/paper. The memo is insightful, reveals a command of the course material, and is well organized and clearly written, although a few improvements might be made in any one of these areas.

+ Indicates a good, solid memo/paper. You have demonstrated that you understand the material, but the paper overall could be improved in significant ways.

+/- Indicates that the memo/paper has some real strengths but also problems that need addressing.

— Indicates that the student has failed to fulfill the expectations for the assignment in significant ways.

Note: Your participation grade will be based on the quality of your contributions to discussions.

OFFICE HOURS

Erica Cosgrove: Thursdays 2:00-3:00pm in Robertson 215 or by appointment
Phone: 8-6231 Email: cosgrove@Princeton.EDU

Thomas Romer: Thursdays 1:30-2:30pm in Robertson 306 or by appointment
Phone: 8-1857 Email: romer@Princeton.EDU

Deborah Yashar: TBA in 219 Bendheim Hall or by appointment
Phone: 8-2771 Email: dyashar@Princeton.EDU

Agnes Schaefer: Thursdays 1:00-3:00pm in Robertson 216 or by appointment
Phone: 8-0730 Email: agschaef@Princeton.EDU

Steve Frakt: Sign-up sheets posted for appointments at Room 117 Robertson or
Email: sfrakt@Princeton.EDU

Janet Churn: Email: jchurn@Princeton.EDU

SCHEDULE

Wednesday, September 10: *Writing Session, WWS 501 Introduction, and Blackboard Demonstration*

1:00-2:15 pm	Writing session with Steve Frakt and Janet Churn Bowl 016: <i>All students must attend</i>
2:15-2:45 pm	Writing session continues for students who consider English to be their second language, Bowl 016
3:00-3:45 pm	Background information on WWS 501, including Blackboard Software Demonstration Bowl 016: <i>All students must attend</i>

WEEK 1: Good Politics, Good Policy, Good Practice

Thursday, September 11 *Lecture*

- Behn, "Policy Analysis and Policy Politics," 1981
- Shepsle and Boncheck, *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior and Institutions*, 1997, pp. 39-81
- Stiglitz, "The Private Uses of Public Interests: Incentives and Institutions," 1998
- Eviatar, "Do Aid Studies Govern Policies or Reflect Them?" 2003

Tuesday, September 16 *Case: International Space Station*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/15 by 10 am

- “A Black Hole in the Sky,” 1998
- Glenn, “Creating a World-Class Orbiting Laboratory,”
- McCutcheon, “Bumpers’ Last Charge,” 1998
- Freedberg, “Ballistic over Blastoffs,” 1999
- Malakoff, “A \$100 Billion Orbiting Lab Takes Shape. What Will It Do?” 1999
- Van Sant, “A Nonproliferation Program Mushrooms,” 1999
- “A Waste of Space,” 2000
- Kluger, “Space Pork,” 2000
- “U.S. ISS Contractors,” 2000
- NASA, “International Space Station: Turning Science Fiction Into Science Fact,” 2000
- “A Space Station Out of Control,” 2001
- David and Bates, “Report: Science Capabilities of International Space Station Questionable,” 2002
- Representative Tim Roemer, Press Releases-1998, 1999, 2000
- Anderson and Holley, “International Space Station Proves a Diplomatic Success, if Nothing Else,” 2003
- Feldstein, “NASA Budget Cuts and Delays Hamper Space Experiments,” 2003
- Oberg, “Humans in Space Serve Science, Future Citizens,” 2003

WEEK 2: Ethics of Policy Making

Thursday, September 18 *Lecture*

- Gutmann and Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*, 1996, pp. 1-9, 165-198
- Kelman, “Cost-Benefit Analysis: An Ethical Critique,” 1992, pp. 153-164

Friday, September 19 *Memo Discussion Session* (optional)

11:00am-12:30: Discussion of first memo with WWS501 Instructors in Bowl 016

Tuesday, September 23 *Case: Defunding Organ Transplants in Arizona*

Task Groups 1 and 2 memos due Monday, 9/22 by 10 am

- Gutmann and Thompson, “Distributive Justice: Introduction,” 1997, pp. 237-238
- Varley, “Defunding Organ Transplants in Arizona,” 1997, pp. 239-254

WEEK 3: Democratization

Thursday, September 25 *Lecture*

- Przeworski and Limongi, “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” 1997
- Diamond, “Can the Whole World Become Democratic?” 2003
- Sen, “Democracy as a Universal Value,” 1999
- Linz and Stepan, “Toward Consolidated Democracies,” 1996

Tuesday, September 30 *Case: Iraq*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/29 by 10 am

- Dawisha and Dawisha, "How to Build a Democratic Iraq," 2003
- Lawson, "How Best to Build Democracy: Laying a Foundation for the New Iraq," 2003
- Nakash, "The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq," 2003
- Pei and Kasper, "Lessons from the Past: The American Record in Nation Building," 2003
- Dardeli, "The Risks of Rushing into Free Elections in Iraq," 2003
- Carothers, "It's Too Soon for Democracy," 2003
- "Governing Iraq: The New Men, and Women, in Charge," 2003
- "U. S. Administrator Details Plan for Iraq," 2003
- "...After Halting Elections in Iraq," 2003
- "Al-Sistani Fatwa Criticizes U.S., Calls for Elections," 2003
- "Elections in Iraq a Possibility Next Year Bremer Says," 2003
- Opiel and Worth, "World Bank Says Constitution Must Precede Loans to Iraq," 2003
- Public International Law & Policy Group and The Century Foundation, "Establishing a Stable Democratic Constitutional Structure in Iraq: Some Basic Considerations," 2003, pp. 5-14

WEEK 4: Civil Society and Social Capital

Thursday, October 2 *Lecture*

- Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," 1995
- Putnam, "Bowling Together," 2002
- Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," 2001
- Woolcock, "The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes," 2001
- Molyneux, "Gender and the Silences of Social Capital: Lessons from Latin America," 2002

Tuesday, October 7 *Case: Grameen Bank*

Task Groups 3 and 4 memos due Monday, 10/6 by 10 am

- Bastelaer, "Imperfect Information, Social Capital and the Poor's Access to Credit," 2000
- UNESCO, "Education and Poverty Eradication," 2001
- Grameen Bank, "Breaking the Vicious Cycle of Poverty Through Microcredit," 1998
- Grameen Bank, "Credit Delivery System," 1998
- Grameen Bank, "The 16 Decisions of Grameen Bank," 1998
- Hashemi, Schuler, and Riley, "Rural Credit Programs and Women's Empowerment in Bangladesh," 1996
- Linda Mayoux, "Tackling the Down Side: Social Capital, Women's Empowerment and Micro-Finance in Cameroon," 2001

WEEK 5: States and Markets

Thursday, October 9 *Lecture*

- Wolf, *Markets or Governments*, 1993, Ch. 1-6, 8

Tuesday, October 14 *Case: School Vouchers*

Individual memos due on Monday, 10/13 by 10 am

- Levin, “The Public-Private Nexus in Education,” 2000
- Witte, *The Market Approach to Education*, 2000, Ch. 2, 7
- Greene, “The Hidden Research Consensus for School Choice,” 2001
- Sweetland, “Theory into Practice: Free Markets and Public Schooling,” 2002
- Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau Report 00-2, “Milwaukee Parental Choice Program,” 2000
- Stephens, “Vouchers Fuel School Improvement Debate,” 2003
- Blum, “Voucher Lesson Not Quite Complete,” 2003
- Twohey, “Who Vouches for Vouchers?” 2002
- “National PTA Vows to Continue Fighting Private School Vouchers,” 2002
- Moore and Mutti, “School Choice after Cleveland,” 2002
- “Does the Public Support School Vouchers?”
- Winerip, “What Some Much-Noted Data Really Showed About Vouchers,” 2003

WEEK 6: State Capacity and Reform

Thursday, October 16 *Lecture*

- Evans, “The State as Problem and Solution: Predation, Embedded Autonomy, and Structural Change,” 1992
- Widner, “States and Statelessness in Late Twentieth-Century Africa,” 1995
- O’Donnell, “On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries,” 1993
- Tandler and Freedheim, “Trust in a Rent-Seeking World: Health and Government Transformed in Northeast Brazil,” 1994

Tuesday, October 21 *Case: Brazil’s Zero Hunger Program*

Presentations by Task Groups 1, 2, 3, & 4 in class

- Hagopian, “‘Democracy By Undemocratic Means’? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil,” 1990
- Weyland, “The Brazilian State in the New Democracy,” 2000
- “From Pauper to President: now Lula’s Struggle Really Begins,” 2002
- Osava, “Lula Launches War on Hunger-Both Causes and Effects,” 2003
- Hunger Zero Project
- Padgett and Downie, “The War on Poverty,” 2003
- “Three Square Meals a Day,” 2003

- “Zero Hunger Disappoints and Befuddles,” 2003
- “Brazil-Government Lula Asks Brazilian Mayors for Help Fighting Hunger,” 2003
- Rohter, “Brazil’s War on Hunger Off to a Slow Start,” 2003
- “Brazil: Zero Hunger Runs Into Problems,” 2003

WEEK 7: Electoral Incentives

Thursday, October 23 *Lecture*

- Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, 1999, pp. 1-47, 116-170
- Cox, *Making Votes Count*, 1997, pp. 181-202

FALL BREAK: NO CLASS Tuesday, Oct. 28 and Thursday, October 30

Tuesday, November 4 *Case: Electoral Reform in New Zealand*

Task Groups 1 & 2 memos due on Monday, 11/3 by 10 am

- Electoral Reform Society, “New Zealand and Electoral Reform,” 2000
- Barker et al., “An Initial Assessment of the Consequences of MMP in New Zealand,” 2001
- Karp and Bowler, “Coalition Government and Satisfaction with Democracy: An Analysis of New Zealand’s Reaction to Proportional Representation,” 2001
- Espiner, “The Show’s not over for MMP yet,” 2002
- Department of the Parliament Library, “New Zealand Election: 27 July 2002,” 2002
- Small, “MMP Gaining Support,” 2002

WEEK 8: Interest Groups and Advocacy Groups

Thursday, November 6 *Lecture*

- Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, 1986, pp. 1-8, 20-28, 118-164, 187-199
- Moe, “The Organization of Interests,” 1980
- Skocpol, “Advocates Without Members: The Recent Transformation of American Civic Life,” 1999, pp. 461-480, 491-498, skim the rest

Thursday, November 6 4:00-5:15pm: Introduction to Policy Simulation
Bowl 002

Tuesday, November 11 *Case: Sierra Club*

Task Groups 1 & 2 memos due on Monday, 11/10 by 10 am

- Gottlieb, “Professionalization and Institutionalization: The Mainstream Groups,” 1993, pp. 117-133; 143-5; 148-51
- Stanfield, “Environmental Lobby’s Changing of the Guard Is Part of Movement’s Evolution,” 1985
- Rheem, “The Nature Lobby Moves Off the Trail and Onto Capitol Hill,” 1987

- David Brower's letter to Doug Scott , 1989
- Broydo, "Mutiny at the Sierra Club," 1998
- St. Clair and Cockburn, "Nature and Politics," 1999
- Carlton, "Sierra Club Faces a Revolt From Radicals," 2000
- "Letters to the Editor: Sierra Club's History: Visionary Leadership," 2000
- Cockburn, "The Militant Legacy of Nature's Warrior," 2000
- Stewart, "Sierra Club Foes Battle Over Ouster of Leaders," 2000
- McCloskey, "Are Compromises Bad?"
- Lipsher, "Open Space Plagues Meeting: Sierra Club Struggles to Attract Members," 2001
- Bustillo, "Sierra Club Rift Opens Over Stance on Iraq," 2002
- St. Clair, "Torquemadas in Birkenstocks: The War Club," 2002

WEEK 9: International Relations & Coercion

Thursday, November 13 *Lecture*

- Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War*, 1996, pp. 1-11, 314-331
- Tickner, "Gendered Dimensions of War, Peace & Security," 2001, pp. 36-44, 47-64

Tuesday, November 18 *Case: Kosovo*

Individual Memos due Monday, 11/17 by 10 am

- Daalder and O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO's War to Save Kosovo*, 2000, pp. 1-4, 6-18
- Gillespie, "Crisis in Kosovo: Questions and Answers About American Public Opinion," 1999
- Kusovac, "Milosevic Finds His Bridges Are Burnt," 1999
- "Glum Signs from Serbia," 1999
- "Russia and Kosovo: A Toothless Growl," 1999
- Cohen, "Crisis in the Balks: Diplomacy; Schroder's Blunt 'No' to Ground Troops in Kosovo Reflects Depth of German Sensitivities," 1999
- Schmitt, "Crisis in the Balkans: NATO; Germany's Leader Pledges to Block Combat on Ground," 1999
- Butcher and Fenton, "Britain Set to Send in the Troops; U.S. Denies Plan for Ground Action At This Stage," 1999
- "NATO Piles It On," 1999
- Kornblut, "Strategy Session to Mull Ground Option," 1999
- Erlanger, "NATO Was Closer to Ground War in Kosovo Than is Widely Realized," 1999
- The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, *The Prosecutor of the Tribunal vs. Milosevic, Milutinovic, Sainovic, Ojdanic, and Stojilkovic*. Skim this reading

WEEK 10: International Security and Development

Thursday, November 20 *Lecture* [Lecture will last until 12:30pm]

- Collier et al., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development*, 2003, pp. 1-10, 53-83.
- Thomas, "Third World Security," 2003
- McRae, "Human Security in a Globalized World," 2001
- Homer-Dixon, "Scarcity and Conflict", 2000

Tuesday, November 25 *Case: Arciniega's War in Northern Peru*

Task Groups 3 and 4 memos due Monday, 11/24 by 10 am

- Jose Gonzales, "Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley," 1994
- Rosenau, Head, and Dominguez, "Arciniega's War in the Upper Huallaga Valley," 1991
- Leger, "Peru Rebels Flourish in Drug Zone," 1989
- Smith, "Drug Campaign Put on Back Burner as Peru Battles Rebels," 1990
- Apple, "New Crops for Coca: A Harvest is Unlikely," 1990
- Massing, "In the Cocaine War....The Jungle is Winning," 1990

THANKSGIVING RECESS: NO CLASS on Thursday, November 27

WEEK 11: International Cooperation

Tuesday, December 2 *Lecture* [Lecture will last until 12:30pm] Room TBA

- Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 1998, pp. vii-x, 1-38, 199-217
- Martin, "The Political Economy of International Cooperation," 1999, pp. 51-64

These Readings on Negotiation are Recommended for the Policy Simulation :

- Shell, *Bargaining for Advantage*, 1999, pp. 76-114
- Hampson, *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment*, 1995, pp. 23-51

WEEK 11-12: Policy Simulation

Thursday, December 4: NGO/ UN Educational Forum in Bowl 016, 10:40am-12:00

Friday, December 5: First Plenary Session in Bowl 016, 10:00am-12:00

Thursday, December 11: Final Plenary in Bowl 016, 9:00am-12:00

Thursday, December 11: Luncheon 12:30-2:00pm in Shultz Dining Hall

When making travel plans, keep in mind that you must be here until the end of the policy project—2:00pm on Thursday, December 11th.

Tuesday, January 6, 2004: Policy Simulation paper due by 4:00pm. Reflections on strategies and outcomes.

Thursday, January 8, 2004 at 4:00pm: Optional Policy Simulation discussion