

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Fall 2004

WWS 501: The Politics of Public Policy

Instructors: David Lewis, Grigore Pop-Eleches, Thomas Romer

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 14	Ethanol	Individual Students
September 21	Arizona Organ Transplants	Task Groups 1 and 2
September 28	Democratization in Bosnia	Individual Students
October 5	School Vouchers	Task Groups 3 and 4
October 12	Millennium Challenge Account	Individual Students
October 19	Oxfam	ORAL, Groups 1, 2, 3, 4
November 2	Electoral Reform in New Zealand	Individual Students
November 9	Brazil's Zero Hunger Program	Task Groups 1 and 2
November 16	Sierra Club	Individual Students
November 23	Afghanistan	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 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 2nd to December 9th. Roles will be assigned by November 12th.

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 9th.

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 7:00pm to 8:00pm on Wednesday, September 8th 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

David Lewis: Mondays and Thursdays 1:30-3:00 pm in Robertson 311 or by appointment
Phone: 8-0089 Email: delewis@Princeton.EDU

Grigore Pop-Eleches: Wednesdays 2:00-4:00 pm in Bendheim Hall 220 or by appointment
Phone: 8-8356 Email: gpop@Princeton.EDU

Thomas Romer: Thursdays 1:30-2:30pm in Robertson 306 or by appointment
Phone: 8-1857 Email: romer@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 Robertson 117 or
Email: sfrakt@Princeton.EDU

Janet Churn: Email: jchurn@Princeton.EDU

SCHEDULE

Wednesday, September 8: *WWS 501 Introduction, Blackboard Demonstration, and Writing Session*

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|--------------|---|
| 1:30-2:45 pm | Background information on WWS 501, including Blackboard Software Demonstration
Bowl 016: <i>All students must attend</i> |
| 7:00-8:00 pm | Writing session with Steve Frakt and Janet Churn
Bowl 016: <i>All students must attend</i> |
| 8:15-8:45 pm | Writing session continues for students who consider English to be their second language, Bowl 016 |

WEEK 1: Good Politics, Good Policy, Good Practice

Thursday, September 9 *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 14 *Case: Ethanol*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/13 by 10 am

- Yacobucci and Womach, "Fuel Ethanol: Background and Public Policy Issues," 2003
- Moore, "Push Ethanol Off the Dole," 1997
- Lugar and Woolsey, "The New Petroleum," 1999
- Morgan, "In Energy Bill, A Daschle Nod to Key Farm States; Ethanol Provision Spurs Lobbying Fight," 2002
- Simpson, "ADM Used European Wine For Ethanol—Government Subsidies Pave the Trail from Europe to Caribbean to U.S.," 2002
- "Roll Out the Pork Barrel," 2003
- Stell, "Ethanol 101," 2004
- Corridore and Ames, "Reliance on Foreign Oil Invites Terrorists to Destroy Us," 2004
- Rulon, "Ohio Farmers in Washington to Lobby for Stalled Energy Bill," 2004
- Dewar, "Bid to Revive Energy Legislation Via Unrelated Bill Fails in Senate," 2004
- Romero, "Brazil's Spreading Exports Worry Minnesota Farmers," 2004

WEEK 2: Ethics of Policy Making

Thursday, September 16 *Lecture*

- Gutmann and Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*, 1996, pp. 1-9, 165-198
- Kelman, "Cost-Benefit Analysis: An Ethical Critique," 1992, pp. 153-164
- Dworkin, "Taking Rights Seriously," 1977

Friday, September 17 *Memo Discussion Session* (optional)

11:00am-12:30pm: Discussion of first memo with WWS 501 Instructors in Bowl 016

Tuesday, September 21 *Case: Defunding Organ Transplants in Arizona*

Task Groups 1 and 2 memos due Monday, 9/20 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 23 *Lecture*

- Diamond, "Can the Whole World Become Democratic?" 2003
- Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," 1999
- Linz and Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," 1996
- Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," 2001

Tuesday, September 28 *Case: Democratization in Bosnia*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/27 by 10 am

- "Overview: Bosnia and Herzegovina," 1998
- Borden et al., "Bosnia's Democratic Charade," 1996
- Soloway, "Bosnia's Freely Elected Fanatics," 1996
- Lyon, "Bosnia and Herzegovina: An Impossible Reconciliation?" 1999
- Knaus and Cox, "Whither Bosnia?" 2000/2001
- Chandler, "Bosnia: The Democracy Paradox," 2001
- Manning and Antic, "The Limits of Electoral Engineering," 2003
- Knaus and Martin, "Travails of the European Raj," 2003
- Perry, "Bosnia, An Intellectual Raj," 2003
- International Crisis Group, "Bosnia's Nationalist Governments: Paddy Ashdown and the Paradoxes of State Building," 2003
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, "OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina: Civil Society Policy," 2003
- Office of the High Representative, "General Information"

WEEK 4: States and Markets

Thursday, September 30 *Lecture*

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

Tuesday, October 5 *Case: School Vouchers*

Task Groups 3 and 4 memos due Monday, 10/4 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 5: Bureaucracy and Implementation

Thursday, October 7 *Lecture*

- Nielson and Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform," 2003
- Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, 1989, Ch. 3, 6, 9, 10
- Sabatier, "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis," 1986

Tuesday, October 12 *Case: Millennium Challenge Account*

Individual memos due on Monday, 10/11 by 10 am

- Lancaster, "Redesigning Foreign Aid," 2000
- Blustein, "Bush to Call for New Foreign Aid Agency," 2002
- Schaefer, "The Millennium Challenge Account: An Opportunity to Advance Development in Poor Nations," 2002
- Dao, "With Rise in Foreign Aid, Plans for a New Way to Give It," 2003
- "Background Paper February 5, 2003: Implementing the Millennium Challenge Account," 2003
- Radelet, "Will the Millennium Challenge Account be Different?" 2003
- Brainard, "The Millennium Challenge Account and Foreign Assistance: Transformation or More Confusion?" 2003
- "Opening Statement of Chairman Kolbe Before Hearing on the Millennium Challenge Account," 2003
- InterAction, "Emerging Trends," 2003
- Leahy, "A Poor Funding Strategy," 2003
- Larson, "The Launching of the Millennium Challenge Account," 2004
- Marquis, "New System Begins Rerouting U.S. Aid for Poor Countries," 2004

WEEK 6: Leadership

Thursday, October 14 *Lecture*

- Doig and Hargrove, “Leadership’ and Political Analysis,” 1990
- Shapley, “Robert McNamara: Success and Failure,” 1990
- Rockman, “The Leadership Question: Is There An Answer?,” 1991
- Burke and Greenstein, “Presidential Personality and National Security Leadership: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam Decision-making,” 1989

Tuesday, October 19 *Case: Oxfam*

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

- Scott, “Oxfam America: Becoming a Global Campaigning Organization,” 2004

WEEK 7: Electoral Incentives

Thursday, October 21 *Lecture* [Lecture lasts until 12:30 PM]

- Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, 1999, pp. 1-47, 116-170
- Cox, *Making Votes Count*, 1997, pp. 181-193
- Horowitz, “Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers,” 2003

FALL BREAK: NO CLASS Tuesday, Oct. 26 and Thursday, October 28

Tuesday, November 2 *Case: Electoral Reform in New Zealand*

Individual memos due on Monday, 11/1 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
- Watts, “Everything in Proportion,” 2002
- Small, “MMP Gaining Support,” 2002
- “Editorial: MMP Still Fails to Perform,” 2003
- Geddis, “New Zealand’s General Election of 2002,” 2004

WEEK 8: State Capacity and Reform

Thursday, November 4 *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
- Tendler and Freedheim, “Trust in a Rent-Seeking World: Health and Government Transformed in Northeast Brazil,” 1994

Thursday, November 4 4:30-5:45pm: Introduction to Policy Simulation
Bowl 016

Tuesday, November 9 *Case: Brazil's Zero Hunger Program*

Task Groups 1 & 2 memos due on Monday, 11/8 by 10 am

- 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
- Vincent, "Brazil's Zero Hunger Plan Proving Doubters Wrong: President da Silva Makes Good on Vow to Feed Nation's Poor," 2003
- Munk, "Lula's Dreams for Brazil are Delayed as Realities of Power Hit Home," 2003
- "Brazil's Lula 'Abandons' Zero Hunger Programme," 2004

WEEK 9: Interest Groups and Advocacy Groups

Thursday, November 11 *Lecture*

- Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, 1986, pp. 1-8, 20-28, 118-164, 187-199
- Moe, "The Organization of Interests," 1980
- Leech et al., "Organized Interests and Issue Definition in Policy Debates," 2002

Tuesday, November 16 *Case: Sierra Club*

Individual memos due Monday, 11/15 by 10 am

- Gottlieb, "Professionalization and Institutionalization: The Mainstream Groups," 1993, pp. 117-133; 143-5; 148-51
- Broydo, "Mutiny at the Sierra Club," 1998
- St. Clair and Cockburn, "Nature and Politics," 1999
- Carlton, "Sierra Club Faces a Revolt From Radicals," 2000
- McGrady, "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?"
- Bustillo, "Sierra Club Rift Opens Over Stance on Iraq," 2002
- "Letter to the Sierra Club's Board of Directors, from Past Sierra Club Presidents," 2004
- Campbell, "Anti Migrants Plan Coup at 100 Year Old Green Group: Extreme Concern for Future of U.S. Sierra Club," 2004
- Martin, "Board Election Divides Sierra Club," 2004

- Barringer, “Bitter Division for Sierra Club on Immigration,” 2004
- Eilperin, “Immigration Issue Sparks Battle at Sierra Club,” 2004
- “Sierra Club at A Crossroads,” 2004
- Bustillo, “Anti-Migrant Slate Rejected by Sierra Club,” 2004

WEEK 10: International Security and Development

Thursday, November 18 *Lecture*

- Collier et al., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development*, 2003, pp. 1-10, 53-83.
- Beeson and Bellamy, “Globalisation, Security and International Order After 11 September,” 2003
- McRae, “Human Security in a Globalized World,” 2001
- Homer-Dixon, “Scarcity and Conflict”, 2000

Tuesday, November 23 *Case: Afghanistan*

Task Groups 3 and 4 memos due Monday, 11/22 by 10 am

- Goodhand, “Aiding Violence or Building Peace? The Role of International Aid in Afghanistan,” 2002
- Goodson, “Afghanistan’s Long Road to Reconstruction,” 2003
- Council on Foreign Relations and the Asia Society, “Afghanistan: Are We Losing the Peace?” 2003
- “Afghanistan: Deteriorating Security Situation Threatens Human Rights,” 2003
- “IMF Says Afghan Opium Poppy Crops Should Be Destroyed,” 2003
- Retired General Barry R. McCaffrey, “Afghanistan’s Newest Challenge: U.S. Effort Will Fail Unless Link Between Terror, Drugs Overcome.” 2004
- McGirk, Ware, Duffy and Thompson, “Remember Afghanistan?” 2004
- Waldman, “Afghan Route to Prosperity: Grow Poppies,” 2004
- Gannon, “Afghanistan Unbound,” 2004

THANKSGIVING RECESS: NO CLASS on Thursday, November 25

WEEK 11: International Cooperation and Negotiation

Tuesday, November 30 *Lecture* [Lecture will last until 12:30pm] Bowl 016

- Abbott and Snidal, “Why States Act through Formal International Organizations,” 1998
- Lyons, “International Organizations and National Interests,” 2001
- Martin, “The Political Economy of International Cooperation,” 1999
- 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

Wednesday, December 1: Policy Simulation memo #1 due by 4:00pm

Thursday, December 2: NGO/ UN Educational Forum in Bowl 016, 10:40am-12:00pm

Friday, December 3: First Plenary Session in Bowl 016, 10:00am-12:00pm

Thursday, December 9: Final Plenary in Bowl 016, 10:40am-1:00pm

Thursday, December 9: Luncheon in Shultz Dining Hall, 1:00pm-2:00pm

When making travel plans, keep in mind that you must be here until the end of the policy project—2:00pm on Thursday, December 9th.

Tuesday, January 4, 2005: Policy Simulation memo #2 due by 4:00pm. Reflections on strategies and outcomes.

Thursday, January 6, 2005 at 4:00pm: Optional Policy Simulation discussion (room TBA)