

**Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Fall 2005**

WWS 501: The Politics of Public Policy

Instructors: Brandice Canes-Wrone, Robert Hutchings, David Lewis

Post-Doctoral Associate: Carmela Lutmar

Lectures: Thursdays, 11am – 12:20pm 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. 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 or domestic bureaucracies. 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 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 topics during the semester. The first week provides an overview of how politics influences public policy, and future weeks delve into more specific topics that are grouped into three parts. The first of these parts will focus on conceptual frameworks that guide beliefs and practice in making “good” public policy. Ethical systems, market theory, and decision-making theory are addressed. The second part moves on to analyze how political factors that are fixed in the short term—such as institutions and interest groups--affect policy makers' choices and behavior. The third part focuses on issues of political management, such as implementation, negotiation skills and leadership.

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 for the lectures and the case studies, and those will be available online through e-reserves, as well as a book and one case available for purchase at the Princeton University Store. A few copies of the book will be on reserve at the Stokes Library in Wallace Hall.

Required Texts:

Charles Wolf Jr., *Markets or Governments: Choosing between Imperfect Alternatives* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993)

William Shakespeare, *The Henriad*, Classic Leadership Cases, The Hartwick Humanities in Management Institute

POLICY MEMOS

Students are required to prepare five individual policy memos, two group memos, and one group 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 5 pm 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 20	Mars Missions/ISS	Individual Students
September 27	Security vs Human Rights	Individual Students
October 4	School Vouchers	Oral, Task Groups 1, 2
October 11	Clinton and Health Care	Individual Students
October 18	Venezuela/Hugo Chavez	Group memo
October 25	Millennium Challenge Corporation	Individual Students
November 8	Greenpeace	No Assignment
November 15	Gulf War I and Gulf War II	Group memo
November 22	No Child Left Behind	Individual Students
December 1	Henry V; Additional Case on Hungary	Oral, Task Groups 3, 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 7th to December 15th. Roles will be assigned by November 18th.

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 15th.

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 to 8pm on Wednesday, September 14th in Bowl 016. The session will focus on individual memo writing.

COURSE GRADES

Three elements will comprise the final course grade:

- Case memos, including oral presentations—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. Our experience has been that it is easy to tell which students have done the readings, both case and theoretical, and these students have the highest participation grades.

OFFICE HOURS

Brandice Canes-Wrone: Fridays 9:30-11:30 in Robertson 214 or by appointment.
Phone: 8-9047 E-mail: bcwrone@Princeton.edu

Robert Hutchings: Thursdays 1:30-3:30pm in Robertson 439 or by appointment
Phone: 8-5306 Email: hutchngs@Princeton.edu

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

Carmela Lutmar: Fridays 10-12pm in Robertson 216 or by appointment
Phone: 8-0730 Email: clutmar@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 14: *WWS 501 Introduction, Blackboard Demonstration, and Writing Session*

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

WEEK 1: Introduction. Good Politics, Good Policy, Good Practice

Thursday, September 15 *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 20 *Case: Space Policy and Sending People to Mars*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/19 by 5pm

- Glenn, “Creating a World-Class Orbiting Laboratory”
- McCutcheon, “Bumpers’ Last Charge,” 1998
- “US ISS Contractors,” 2000

- The Economist, “The International Space Station is about to Receive its First Tenants,” 2000
- Anderson and Holley, “International Space Station Proves a Diplomatic Success, if Nothing Else,” 2003
- Oberg, “Humans in Space Serve Science, Future Citizens,” 2003
- Sponberg, “Environmental Science Sacrificed in Latest US Budget,” 2005
- Lawler, “Life Science Research on Space Station is Headed for Big Cuts,” 2005
- Spotts, “Why Man... and not Machine?,” 2005
- Petit, “Ready for Liftoff,” 2005

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

WEEK 2: Ethics and Public Policy

Thursday, September 22 *Lecture*

- Amstutz, “Strategies of Ethical Decision-Making,” *International Ethics*, 2005, pp. 28-44
- Gutmann and Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement*, 1996, pp. 1-9, 165-198
- Kelman, “Cost-Benefit Analysis: An Ethical Critique,” 1992, pp. 153-164
- King, “Letter from Birmingham Jail”
- Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, pp. 251-268

Friday, September 23 *Memo Discussion Session* (optional)

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

Tuesday, September 27 *Case: Security vs Human Rights*

Individual memos due Monday, 9/26 by 5pm

- Hutchings, “X+9/11”, 2004
- “Preserving Security and Democratic Freedoms in the War on Terrorism,” Harvard University Long-Term Strategy Project 2004), pp. 1-21, 33-50
- Martinez, “Detention of Suspected Terrorists: Balancing Security and Human Rights,” 2004
- Scheffer, “Options for Prosecuting International Terrorists,” 2001
- Council of Europe Guidelines on Human Rights and the Fight against Terrorism, 2002
- Judgment of the Court of Appeal for England and Wales in the Case of Abassi et al, 2002, pp. 1-6

WEEK 3: States and Markets

Thursday, September 29 *Lecture*

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

Tuesday, October 4 *Case: School Vouchers*

Groups 1 and 2 presentations in class

- 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
- Moore and Mutti, “School Choice after Cleveland,” 2002
- Winerip, “What Some Much-Noted Data Really Showed About Vouchers,” 2003
- Neas, “The Voucher Veneer: the Deeper Agenda to Privatize Public Education,” 2003
- Malveaux, “School Vouchers: A Wedge Issue for African Americans?” 2003
- Hess, “Vouchers Without Competition,” 2004
- Alpert, “School Voucher Program still on the table: Success may hinge on DC Program,” 2005

WEEK 4: Decision Making

Thursday, October 6 *Lecture*

- Dixit and Nalebuff, *Thinking Strategically*, 1993, Ch. 2,3
- George, *Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy*, 1980, Ch. 5, 9-12
- Lindblom, “The Science of Muddling Through,” *Public Administration Review* 1959, 19(2): 79-88
- Bazerman, *Judgment in Managerial Decision Making*, 1997, Ch. 1,2 (optional)

Tuesday, October 11 *Case: Clinton and Health Care*

Individual memos due 10/10 by 5pm

- Jacobs and Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander*, pp. 75-120
- Rubin, “Clinton: Task Force All ears On the Subject of Overhaul,” 1993
- Tumulty and Chen, “Blame for Health Plan’s Collapse Falls Everywhere Legislation: The Administration Task Force, Interest Groups, Congress and Public all Had a Hand in the Failure,” 1994
- Fallows, “A Triumph of Misinformation,” 1995

POLITICAL CONTEXT

WEEK 5: Electoral Systems

Thursday, October 13 *Lecture*

- Horowitz, “Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers,” 2003
- Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, 1999, Ch. 1-3
- Shugart and Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*, 1992, pp. 28-49

Tuesday, October 18 *Case: Venezuela and Hugo Chavez*

Task Group memos due on Monday, 10/17 by 5pm

- Padgett, “Mystery Man,” 1999
- The Economist, “The Americas: Between the Caudillo and the Democrat,” 1999
- Maggs, “A Third Day for Dictators,” 1999
- Rother, “A Divided Venezuela Votes on New Charter Today,” 1999
- Rother, “Venezuelans Give Chavez All the Powers he Wanted,” 1999
- McGirk, “Hugo Chavez Frias,” 1999
- Herrera, “Venezuela, US share same values,” 2003
- The Economist, “Chavez administers the last rites to the rule of law,” 2004
- The Associated Press, “Events Leading Up to Venezuela Recall Vote,” 2004
- Toothaker, “Allies of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez Mull Possible Amendments to Constitution,” 2004
- McCoy, “One Act in an Unfinished Drama,” 2005
- The Economist, “Is the United States’ nightmare of ‘a second Cuba’ coming true in Venezuela?,” 2005

WEEK 6: Executive Branch

Thursday, October 20 *Lecture*

- Kaufman, *Red Tape*, 1977, Ch.2
- Moe, “The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure” in *Can the Government Govern?* Edited by Chubb and Peterson, 1989
- Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, 1989, Ch. 3, 6, 9, 10.

Tuesday, October 25 *Case: Millennium Challenge Account*

Individual memos due Monday, 10/24 by 5pm

- 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
- InterAction, “Emerging Trends,” 2003
- Larson, “The Launching of the Millennium Challenge Account,” 2004
- Marquis, “New System Begins Rerouting U.S. Aid for Poor Countries,” 2004
- Kady II, “When Good Intentions Meet Budget Realities,” 2005

WEEK 7: Advocacy and Interest Groups

Thursday, October 27 *Lecture*

- Kollman, *Outside Lobbying*, 1998, Ch.2
- Moe, "The Organization of Interests," 1980
- Thomas, *First World Interest Groups*, 1993, Ch. 2,3

FALL BREAK: NO CLASS Tuesday, November 1 and Thursday, November 3

Tuesday, November 8 *Case: Greenpeace*

- Baron, *Business and its Environment*, 2002, pp. 109-113

No assignment for this week

WEEK 8: Politics in the International Arena

Thursday, November 10 *Lecture*

- Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," in Viotti and Kauppi (eds) *International Relations Theory, 3rd edition*, pp. 280-296
- George, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*, pp. 3-18
- Keohane and Nye Jr., "Realism and Complex Interdependence," in Viotti and Kauppi (eds), *International Relations Theory, 3rd edition*, pp. 307-318
- Moravcsik, "Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining," in Evans, Jacobson, and Putnam (eds), *Double-Edged Diplomacy*, pp. 3-42

Tuesday, November 15 *Case: Gulf War I and Gulf War II*

Group memos due on Monday, 11/14 by 5pm

- Pew Case Study #349 ("Diplomacy During the Persian Gulf War"), pp. 1-12
- Pew Case Study #354 ("Forging Consensus"), pp. 1-11
- Pew Case Study #278 ("Going to the UN: George W Bush and Iraq"), pp. 1-9
- Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," 2002
- Baker, "The Right Way to Change a Regime," 2002
- Kristol, "The Axis of Appeasement," 2002

POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

Thursday, November 10 4:30-5:45pm: Introduction to Policy Simulation – Time and Location TBA

WEEK 9: Implementation

Thursday, November 17 *Lecture*

- Moore, *Creating Public Value*, 1996, Ch. 4

- Nielson and Tierney, “Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform,” 2003
- Tendler and Freedheim, “Trust in a Rent-Seeking World: Health and Government Transformed in Northeast Brazil,” 1994

Tuesday, November 22 *Case: No Child Left Behind*

Individual memos due Monday, 11/21 by 5pm

- Rudalevige, “No Child Left Behind: Forging a Congressional Compromise,” 2003
- Ripley and Steptoe, “Inside the Revolt Over Bush’s School Rules,” 2005
- Task Force on No Child Left Behind – Final Report, 2005
- Friel, “Making the Grade?,” 2003
- Davis, “Spellings Puts Her Stamp on Department,” 2005
- Sack, “Progress Report on ‘No Child’ Law Shows Hits and Misses,” 2005
- Kersten, “‘No Child Left Behind’ Implementation is Numbers Game,” 2004
- Hoff, “Chiefs’ Group, Federal Department on Better Terms,” 2005
- Spellings, “‘Growing Pains’ Won’t Sidetrack No Child Left Behind,” 2005
- Harkness, “States and Localities: Class Actions,” 2005

THANKSGIVING RECESS: NO CLASS on Thursday, November 25

WEEK 10: Leadership and Management

Tuesday, November 29 *Lecture*

- Burns, *Leadership* 1977, pp. 9-28 and 422-443
- Kotter, “What Leaders Really Do,” *Harvard Business Review*, 2001, pp. 37-60
- Kouzes and Posner, *The Leadership Challenge* 2002, pp. 3-21
- Rosener, “Ways Women Lead,” in *Harvard Business Review*, 1990, pp. 3-10

Thursday, December 1 *Case: Shakespeare’s Henry V; Additional Case on Hungary*

Groups 3 and 4 presentations due on Monday, 12/5 by 5pm

- “The Henriad,” Harwick Classic Leadership Cases
- Case on Hungary, Kennedy School Case Study #C16-92-1123.0

WEEK 11: Negotiation

Tuesday, December 6 *Lecture* [Lecture will last until 12:30pm]

- Cohen, *Negotiating Across Cultures*, 1993, pp. 25-37, 135-161, and 215-226
- Hampson, *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment*, 1995, pp. 23-51

- Shell, *Bargaining for Advantage*, 1999, pp. 76-114

No case this week

WEEK 11-12: Policy Simulation

Wednesday, December 7: Policy Simulation memo #1 due by 4:00pm

Thursday, December 8: NGO/ UN Educational Forum in Bowl 016, 10:40am-12:00pm

Friday, December 9: First Plenary Session in Bowl 016, 10:00am-12:00pm

Thursday, December 15: Final Plenary in Bowl 016, 10:40am-1:00pm

Thursday, December 15: 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 15th.

Tuesday, January 3, 2006: Policy Simulation memo #2 due by 4:00pm. Reflections on strategies and outcomes.

Thursday, January 5, 2006 at 4:00pm: Optional Policy Simulation discussion in Bowl 016