

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
Fall 2007

WWS 501: The Politics of Public Policy

Instructors: Brandice Canes-Wrone, Emilie Hafner-Burton, Thomas Romer

Post-Doctoral Associate: Carmela Lutmar

Lectures: Thursdays, 10:40am – 12:00pm 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. A few copies of the books will be on reserve at the Stokes Library in Wallace Hall.

Required Text

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

POLICY MEMOS

Students are required to prepare four individual policy memos, two group memos, and two group oral presentations. 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 am 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 25	Ethanol	Individual Memo
October 2	NATO Intervention Kosovo	Groups 1, 2 (written & oral)
October 9	School Vouchers	Groups 3, 4 (written & oral)
October 16	NZ	Individual Memo
October 23	Anti-Poverty Initiative	Oral presentation ALL groups
November 6	Doha Round	Individual Memo
November 13	US Intervention in Iran	Groups 3, 4 (written & oral)
November 20	Sierra Club	Groups 1, 2 (written & oral)
December 4	MCC	Individual Memo

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 5th to December 13th. Roles will be assigned by November 20th.

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 December 13th.

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 11:20am to 12pm on September 18 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

<u>Brandice Canes-Wrone:</u> Phone: 8-9047	Fridays 10-12pm in Robertson 214 or by appointment Email: bcwrone@Princeton.edu
<u>Emilie Hafner-Burton:</u> Phone: 8-5931	Mon and Wed 1-2pm in Robertson 442 or by appointment E-mail: ehafner@princeton.edu
<u>Thomas Romer:</u> Phone: 8-1857	Thursday 3:30-4:30pm in Robertson 306 or by appointment. E-mail: romer@princeton.edu
<u>Carmela Lutmar:</u> Phone: 8-0730	Fridays 11-12:30pm in Robertson 302 or by appointment Email: clutmar@Princeton.edu
<u>Steve Frakt:</u> Sign-up sheets posted for appointments at Robertson 117 or Email: sfrakt@Princeton.EDU	
<u>Janet Churn:</u> Email: jchurn@Princeton.EDU	

SCHEDULE

Tuesday, September 18: *WWS501 Introduction, Blackboard Demonstration, and Writing Session*

10:40-11:20pm	Background information on WWS 501, including Blackboard Software Demonstration , Bowl 016 <i>All students must attend</i>
11:20-12pm	Writing session with Steve Frakt and Janet Churn, Bowl 016 <i>All students must attend</i>
12-12:30pm	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 20 *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 25 *Case: Ethanol*

Individual memos due Monday 9/24 by 10 am

- Yacobucci, “Fuel Ethanol: Background and Public Policy Issues,” 2006
- Daschle, “Follow the Farmers,” 2006
- Talent, “Senator Talent Urges President not to Lift Tariff on Imported Ethanol,” 2006
- Wald, “When it Comes to Alternate Fuels, All Gallons Aren’t Equal,” 2006
- Barrionuevo, “For Good or Ill, Boom in Ethanol Reshapes Economy of Heartland,” 2006
- Barrionuevo, “A Range of Estimates on the Benefits,” 2006
- Flalka and Kilman, “Energy Stalks: Big Players Join Race to Put Farm Waste Into Your Gas Tank – with Federal Push, Companies Propose Plants that Turn Husks, Grass into Ethanol – Delving into Elephant Dung,” 2006
- Runge and Senauer, “How Biofuels Could Starve the Poor,” 2007
- Richert, “Investment in Ethanol Called a Mixed Blessing,” 2007
- “The Craze for Maize,” *The Economist*, 2007
- Engelhaupt, “Clearing the air on Ethanol,” 2007

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

WEEK 2: Ethics and Public Policy

Thursday, September 27 *Lecture*

- Amstutz, “Morality and Foreign Policy,” pp. 7-19 and “Strategies of Ethical Decision-Making,” *International Ethics*, 2005, pp. 28-44.
- Religion and Ethics, Ethical Issues: Ethics of War, 2006, BBC:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/ethics/war/index.shtml>
Read the full list of articles in Ethics of War.
- Michael Ignatieff, “Getting Iraq Wrong”, *New York Times Magazine*, August 5th, 2007.
- Bruce Yandle, *Bootleggers and Baptists: The Education of a Regulatory Economist*, Regulation 7(3) 1983.

Friday, September 28 *Memo Discussion Session* (optional)

10:00am-11:00pm: Discussion of first memo with WWS 501 Instructors in Bowl 016

Tuesday, October 2 *Case: NATO Intervention in Kosovo*

Task Groups 1 & 2 memos due 10/1 by 10am

- Amstutz, pp. 20-26, 2005
- Abrams, “Just War, Just Means?,” 1999
- Economist, “Defining NATO’s Aims,” 1999
- Denitch and Williams, “The Case against Inaction,” 1999
- Schwartz and Layne, “The Case against Intervention in Kosovo,” 1999
- “Is Military Intervention over Kosovo Justified?,” 1999

- Greenwood, “International Law and the NATO Intervention in Kosovo,” 2000
- “Kosovo: Intervention Needed,” 1998
- Roberts, “NATO’s Humanitarian War over Kosovo,” 1999

WEEK 3: States and Markets

Thursday, October 4 *Lecture*

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

Tuesday, October 9 *Case: School Vouchers*

Task Groups 3 & 4 memos due 10/8 by 10am

- Witte, *The Market Approach to Education*, 2000, Ch. 2, 7
- Malveaux, “School Vouchers: A Wedge Issue for African Americans?” 2003
- Neas, “The Voucher Veneer: the Deeper Agenda to Privatize Public Education,” 2003
- Dillon, “Report Defends Vouchers but Fails to Quell Debate,” 2003
- Rand “Charter School Operations and Performance,” 2003, Chapter 9
- Viadero, “DC Voucher Program Gets Mixed Reviews From Families,” 2005
- “Home is Where the Heart is: Can Cory Booker Save Newark’s Schools?,” 2006
- Cooper, “The Politics of Homeschooling: New Developments, New Challenges,” 2007
- Economist, “Free to Choose, and Learn,” May 3, 2007

POLITICAL CONTEXT

WEEK 4: Electoral Systems

Thursday, October 11 *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 16 *Case: Electoral Reform in New Zealand*

Individual memos due 10/15 by 10am

- Electoral Reform Society, “New Zealand and Electoral Reform,” 2000
- Key Dates in New Zealand Electoral Reform, 2005
- Vowles, Banducci, and Karp, “Forecasting and Evaluating the Consequences of Electoral Change in New Zealand,” 2005
- “Majority of Kiwis unhappy with election outcome, says poll,” 2005
- Luke, “Tuned for Ritual calls for Electoral Reform,” 2005
- Venter, “The MMP Revolution; MMP Report Card; What they Say,” 2006

- “Maori Party’s Reality Check,” 2007
- Maddison, “Ideas from ‘Across the Ditch’? Wedge Politics in the 2005 New Zealand Election,” 2007

WEEK 5: Public Opinion and Public Policy

Thursday, October 18 *Lecture*

- Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*, Preface and Introduction, 2006
- Jacobs and Shapiro, *Politicians don’t Pander*, pp. 114-152
- McCann and Lawson, “An Electorate Adrift? Public Opinion and the Quality of Democracy in Mexico,” *Latin American Research Review* 38(3): 60-81
- Brooks and Manza, *Why Welfare States Persist: the Importance of Public Opinion in Democracies*, Introduction, 2007

Tuesday, October 23 *Case: Anti-Poverty Initiative*

Oral presentations by Task Groups 1, 2, 3, & 4 in class

- Iceland, *Poverty in America*, ch. 7 (pp. 118-142), 2006
- Skocpol, “Targeting within Universalism.” In *The Urban Underclass*, 1991
- National Survey on Poverty in America, 2001
- Freedman, “Poverty and Public Opinion,” April 2004
- Tanner, “More Welfare, More Poverty”, 2006
- Rector, “Welfare Reform and the Healthy Marriage Initiative,” 2005
- Weaver, *Ending Welfare as We Know It*, 2000, pp. 211-217
- Eagle Forum, Description of Organization, 2007
- Saxon, “Faith-Based Social Services,” 2004
- Obama, Plan for Urban Poverty, 2007
- Brooks, “Edwards, Obama, and the Poor,” 2007
- Glaeser, “Where Edwards is Right,” 2007
- Brookings, “Metropolitan Poverty in the US,” 2006

WEEK 6: Politics in the International Arena: Cooperation

Thursday, October 25 *Lecture*

- Oran Young, The Problem of International Cooperation, in *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment*, pp. 1-6.
- Joseph Greico, Realism, Neoliberalism, and the Problem of International Cooperation, in *Cooperation among Nations*, 1990, pp. 27-50.
- Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, 1984, pp. 5-17, 49-64.
- Moravcsik, “Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics,” 1997.

- Putnam, “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: the Logic of Two-Level Games,” 1988.

FALL BREAK: NO CLASS Tuesday, October 30 and Thursday, November 1

Tuesday, November 6 *Case: the Doha Round*

Individual memos due 11/5 by 10am

- Bergsten, “Rescuing the Doha Round,” 2005
- Kilman and Thurow, “Politics & Economics: US Farm-Subsidy Cuts a Long Shot as Doha Falts,” 2006
- Laws, “Farm Groups Resigned to WTO Collapse,” 2006
- Hanrahan and Schnepf, “WTO Doha Round: the Agricultural Negotiations,” 2006
- “Seven Questions: Can the Doha Round Rebound?” 2006
- Statement by the Office of the US Trade Representative, 2006
- Cincotta, “Schwab says Subsidy Cuts must be Accompanied by ‘Significant’ Market Access,” 2006
- The future of globalization: The wrecking of the world trade talks was senseless and short-sighted, *The Economist*, Jul 27th 2006
- In the twilight of Doha, *The Economist*, Jul 27th 2006
- Trade talks, Mangling trade, *The Economist*, Jun 28th 2007
- Potsdam's price, *The Economist*, Jun 28th 2007
- The Doha trade round: Just do it, *The Economist*, Jan 11th 2007

WEEK 7: Politics in the International Arena: Coercion

Thursday, November 8 *Lecture*

- Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Origins of War in Neorealist Thought*. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1988, 8:4, pp. 615-628.
- Robert J. Art. 1980. "The Four Functions of Force," excerpt from "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security*, 4:4, pp. 4-14.
- Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, from *The Einstein-Freud Correspondence (1931-1932)*, from *Einstein on Peace*, eds., Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden, 1960, pp. 186-203
- Daniel Drezner, *The Sanctions Paradox*, pp. 1-24.
- James Meernik, *Domestic Politics and the Political Use of Military Force by the United States*, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2001, 54:4, pp. 889-904.
- *Striking First: Preemptive and Preventive Attack in US National Security Policy*, 2006, Introduction and Chapter 1

Thursday, November 8 4:30-5:45pm: Introduction to Policy Simulation – Bowl 1

Tuesday, November 13 *Case: US Intervention in Iran*

Task Groups 3 & 4 memos due 11/12 by 10am

- Newsweek, “War-Gaming the Mullahs: The U.S. weighs the price of a pre-emptive strike,” 2004
- Bush: Iran Report 'Wild Speculation' April 10th, 2006, CBS News (Article and Video):
- Seymour M. Hersh, The Iran Plans: Would President Bush go to war to stop Tehran from getting the bomb? April 17th, 2006, The New Yorker
 - The Economist, Special Issue on Iran, 19th July, 2007:
 - The riddle of Iran
 - The big squeeze
 - Only engage
 - The revolution strikes back
- Art, *A Grand Strategy for America*, 2007, pp. 172-176
- Boot, “Iran’s Threat, Bush’s Dilemma,” *LA Times*, 2006
- Haass, “Regime Change and its Limits,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2005
- Logan, “War with Iran is not the Answer,” *USA Today*, 2007
- Freedman, “A Foreign Policy built on Do-Overs,” *New York Times*, 2007
- McFaul, Milani, and Diamond, “A Win-Win US Strategy for Dealing with Iran,” *Washington Quarterly*, 2007
- Taheri, “Getting Serious about Iraq,” *Commentary*, 2006
- Knopf, “Deterrence or Preemption?” *Current History*, 2006

WEEK 8: Advocacy and Interest Groups

Thursday, November 15 *Lecture*

- Kollman, *Outside Lobbying*, 1998, Ch.2
- Thomas, *First World Interest Groups*, 1993, Ch. 2
- Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, pp. 1-7, 118-148, 187-195
- Zeleny, “As Guard Changes in Congress, Lobbyists Scramble,” 2006

Tuesday, November 20 *Case: Sierra Club*

Task Groups 1 & 2 memos due 11/19 by 10am

- McCloskey, “Are Compromises Bad?”
- Official Sierra Club Population Policy, 2000
- 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 US 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
- Bustillo, “Anti-Migrant Slate Rejected by Sierra Club,” 2004
- Meyerson, “Policy View: Immigration, Population Policy, and the Sierra Club,” 2004
- Kuper, “Comment on Frederick Meyerson,” 2005
- Sierra Club, “Our Stance on Migration,” 2005
- Knickerbocker, “For Environmentalists, a Growing Split over Immigration, “ 2006
- Hudson, “Environmentalists Divided on Bush Immigration Plan, “ 2006
- Richardson, “De-greening Immigration; Ecologists duck Issue of Illegals, “ 2006

THANKSGIVING RECESS: NO CLASS on Thursday, November 22

POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

WEEK 9: Bureaucracy and Implementation (Nov 27) & Leadership and Negotiation (Nov 29)

Tuesday, November 27 *Lecture*

- Moe, “The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure” in *Can the Government Govern?* Edited by Chubb and Peterson, 1989, pp. 267-297
- Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*, 1989, Ch. 5, 6, 9, 16
- Kaufman, *Red Tape*, 1977, Ch. 2

Thursday, November 29 *Lecture*

- Keohane, “On Leadership,” 2005
- Rosener, “Ways Women Lead,” in *Harvard Business Review*, 1990, pp. 3-10
- Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: the Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, 1991, Chs. 1-3
- Shell, *Bargaining for Advantage*, 1999, pp. 76-114
- Ikle, *How Nations Negotiate*, 1987, Ch. 1, 9
- Hopmann, “Bargaining and Problem Solving,” 2001

WEEK 10: Case (for the Bureaucracy and Implementation Lecture)

Tuesday, December 4 *Case: Millennium Challenge Account*

Individual memos due 12/3 by 10am

- 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
- Marquis, “New System Begins Rerouting U.S. Aid for Poor Countries,” 2004
- InterAction, Where is the MCC Now: Two Years Down the Road, 2006
- Tarnoff, “Millennium Challenge Account,” 2007
- Washington Post editorial, July 16, “The Millennium Challenge” 2007

WEEK 11-12: Policy Simulation

Wednesday, December 5: Policy Simulation memo due by midnight.

Thursday, December 6: NGO/ UN Educational Forum in Bowl 016, 10:40am-12:00pm

Friday, December 7: First Plenary Session in Bowl 016, 10:00am-12:00pm

Thursday, December 13: Final Plenary in Bowl 016, 10:40am-1:00pm

Thursday, December 13: 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 13th.