

ROBERT F. WAGNER GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC SERVICE

EXEC-GP 2202

Global Public Policy Analysis Fall 2021

Instructor Information

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, 3:00-5:00 pm and by appointment.

Course Information

• Class Meeting Times: Every other Friday, 9/17 – 12/17, 11:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m

• Class Location:

Course Description

The goal of this course is to deepen students' understanding of the way in which public policy is made, with a particular emphasis on the various roles of citizens, advocates and analysts as well as elected officials and bureaucrats. A particular focus is on the role ideas (often shaped by policy analysis) play in that process. We will look at the processes of policy formation at three distinct levels of policymaking and governance: at the national level in the U.S. and other OECD countries, in the developing country context, and at the transnational (international, multilateral) level. The emphasis will be on social and environmental policy, with some discussions of other issues.

The academic public policy field is dominated by perspectives and approaches grounded in efforts to explain the U.S. policymaking process. Recently, more systematic efforts at the comparative analysis of policymaking are being developed, which has served to highlight the institutional exceptionalism of the United States – an outlier of sorts. Another goal of this course is to place the United States within a global and comparative context so as to gain a better understanding of the role that context plays in policymaking. In an era when "best practices" and policy innovations involve transnational communities of practice, it becomes increasingly important to understand the salience and significance of different lessons learned and policy experiences.

In addition to developing a solid understanding of the competing perspectives on explaining the relationships between power, knowledge, advocacy, and policymaking, we will explore **five sets of questions**:

- How do we disentangle the dynamics of power, policy, and politics in the policy process?
 Or, another way, how do we explain how interests, institutions, ideas, ideologies, and individuals interact to shape policy outcomes?
- How do public service practitioners balance roles as an observer of the policymaking process and a participant in that process?
- How do analysts balance (or not) concerns regarding efficiency, effectiveness, and equity? What indicators do we use to measure each of those objectives?
- Do analytical tools designed for studying policymaking in the U.S. and other OECD countries travel well or do we need to develop new ones?
- What, if anything, is distinctive about transnational policymaking processes?

Course and Learning Objectives

By the end of this course students should be able to:

- 1. Identify and explain various approaches to explaining the process of policy formation.
- 2. Clearly articulate the relative roles that framing, deliberation, and implementation play in the policy formation process.
- 3. Explain different ways that concerns regarding efficiency, effectiveness, and equity are incorporated into the policy process and how each is measured.
- 4. Develop the competence to identify ways in which institutional context conditions the transferability of "best practices" or lessons learned from one policy domain to another, or one country to another.
- 5. Develop an analytical understanding of the relationship between justice, inequality, and citizenship, especially in the domains of politics and policymaking.
- 6. Develop reflective tools for practitioners to be able to understand and evaluate their own normative commitments and to understand not only what those norms are, but how they shape their practice (as analysts, advocates, managers, or leaders) and the practice of others

Course Requirements

- Class participation: (35%, 15% overall and 10% per reading reaction)
- Op-ed: (15%)
- Final Project: (50% (35% final paper, 10% presentation, 5% feedback))

Class Participation: (30%)

The course depends on active and ongoing participation by all class participants.

Participation begins with effective reading and listening. Class participants are expected to read and discuss the readings on a weekly basis. That means coming prepared to engage the class with questions and/or comments with respect to the reading. You will be expected to have completed all the required readings before class to the point where you can be called on to critique or discuss any reading.
 Before approaching each reading, think about what the key questions are for the week and about how the questions from this week relate to what you know from previous weeks. Then skim over the reading to get a sense of the themes it covers and, before

reading further, jot down what questions you hope the reading will be able to answer for

you. Next, read the introduction and conclusion. This is normally enough to get a sense of the big picture. Ask yourself:

- Are the claims in the text surprising?
- o Do you believe them?
- Can you think of examples that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument?
- o Is the reading answering the questions you hoped it would answer?
- o If not, is it answering **more or less** interesting questions than you had thought of?
- o Finally, ask yourself: What types of evidence or arguments would you need to see in order to be convinced of the results?

Now read through the whole text. As you read, check to see how the arguments are used to support the claims of the author. It is rare to find a piece of writing that you agree with entirely. So, as you come across issues that you are not convinced by, write them down and bring them to class for discussion. Note when you are pleasantly (or unpleasantly) surprised; for example, when the author produces a convincing argument you had not thought of.

In class itself, the key to quality participation is listening. Asking good questions is the second key element. What did you mean by that? How do you/we know? What's the evidence for that claim? This is not a license for being snarky, but for reflective, thoughtful, dialogic engagement with the ideas of others in the class. Don't be shy. Share your thoughts and reactions in ways that promote critical engagement with them. Quality and quantity of participation can be, but are not necessarily, closely correlated.

Participants are also expected to follow the news, reading **at least** one major US newspaper daily, a newsweekly (The Economist, Time, Newsweek), and at least one major international newspaper (The Guardian, Financial Times, The Independent, Toronto Globe and Mail, Sydney Morning Herald for those who only read English; other papers for those able to read languages other than English).

You should also be familiar with the main journals in public policy and policy analysis. Depending on your particular area of expertise, these could include general journals like Public Administration and Development, Policy Sciences, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Journal of Public Policy, etc. For issues covered in developing countries, this would include World Development, Journal of Development Studies, Studies in Comparative and International Development, World Politics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Development and Change, New Political Economy, and Governance. For those with an explicit interest in International Organizations, in addition to the development journals listed above, you should look at International Organization, Global Governance, International Studies Quarterly, and Review of International Political Economy.

As part of this process, we will ask each participant to serve as the resource person for two class meetings (for which you will sign up in the first class). The resource person will be asked to prepare a reading reaction memo of 4-5 pages (including

discussion questions) and to play a leading role in promoting discussion and debate on the topic being covered. (See the separate sheet on formatting reaction memos) The reading reaction memo should:

- o compare and contrast key points that strike you from the reading(s);
- o **evaluate the arguments and evidence on the point(s) you cover**, identifying what was insightful, mundane, unclear, incomplete, contradictory, etc.; and
- o conclude with 3-4 questions for class discussion.

The reaction memo should not merely summarize the reading(s) you consider, but it should also demonstrate an active engagement with the point(s) you select to focus on, including how it (they) relate to your own experience, previous readings and/or with the larger set of issues covered in this course.

The reading reaction memo should be shared with the class members through NYU Classes by 5 PM the day before the class meeting during which the readings will be discussed.

Op-Ed: (15%)

One op-ed (typically 700-750 words, about 3 pages double-spaced) on an important current policy issue. See the separate op-ed packet that will be provided.

We will discuss this in the first class session. See the separate op-ed packet for details. The process will involve peer feedback and multiple drafts. For some additional guidance on writing an op-ed, see the Writing Resources folder under the "Resources" tab on the NYU Classes website. The op-ed piece should include a word count of the text of the op-ed. It should also contain a heading, a byline (your name), and a credit statement. The credit statement comes at the end of the op-ed piece and identifies you for the reader. (For example: "A student at the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, Jane Doe is a former Peace Corps volunteer and worked for a time on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.) The credit line has a 35-word limit.

Presentation and Individual Final Paper:

(50%: 10% for presentation and 35% for the paper, 5% for feedback) The final project topic can be negotiated with us as long as it is directly relevant for the subject matter of the course. It could, for example, represent the policy history of an issue, a briefing/strategy presentation to a putative (or actual) "client," an attempt to apply some analytical perspective covered in the course to a specific case, a critical examination of the literature on a relevant issue that we have not covered in class, or (for Global EMPA students) the review of literature with respect to your intended capstone. In any case the paper should be 8-10-pages, written in Times New Roman 12, doubled-spaced, with one-inch margins all around.

Each participant should prepare and submit a one-page abstract of the proposed topic (including the basic question or issue you wish to explore and sources you plan to use) by October 13 at 9 AM via email to the whole class. We will discuss them collectively in class on October 15 and you must clear the final topic with the course instructors by October 31.

Your final project can take multiple forms. However, each participant must make a 15-minute presentation (using PowerPoint or comparable format) during the last class meeting (**December 17**). A **draft** of your final paper should be circulated **one week in advance** of the presentation to the entire class. Each person must evaluate two other student's drafts and provide 1 page (250-500 words) of constructive written feedback to those students in advance of the final class. You will also be graded on the quality of your feedback to your classmates.

We are willing to consider other options as long as John or Paul approve. For Global EMPA students, you are welcome to use this as an opportunity to get a head start on your capstone topic. For people enrolled in both IGPSR and GPPA, it is possible to do a joint project that can be submitted for both courses (it would have to be longer of course). Speak with Paul or John if you are interested.

The final project should be based on a range of materials as appropriate for your topic--academic research, reports from think tanks and relevant agencies, government documents, personal interviews, etc. The final project (which may be revised after the class presentation and discussion) are due Monday, December 20 by 12 noon via Brightspace. (Although extensions will be easily available)

Assignment Format and Submission:

All assignments should be written in Times New Roman 12, doubled-spaced, with one-inch margins all around. Please submit assignments as Word documents via the Brightspace site. In the case of presentations, you can use whatever format (PowerPoint, etc.) you wish as long as it is easily readable.

WRITING

Writing is an important part of being a policy analyst and advocate. The Writing Resources Folder on NYU Classes has a number of pieces on how to approach policy writing (or writing in general). See in particular, **Michael O'Hare's memo** to his students in the spring 2004 issue of the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management. Also, see the chapter posted from for other resources see **Catherine F. Smith, Writing Public Policy: A Practical Guide to Communicating in the Policy Making Process** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). For an enjoyable and valuable (although not uncontested) critique of PowerPoint presentations as disastrous to effective communication, see **Edward Tufte, The Cognitive Style of PowerPoint** (on NYU Classes) and an excellent book **Better Presentations by Jonathan Schwabish**.

GRADING

Students are expected to turn in assignments on time. Extensions will be granted only for exceptional circumstances. This policy is adopted out of respect to those who have abided by deadlines, despite equally hectic schedules. Assignments handed in late without authorized extensions will be penalized one-third of a grade per day. There are acceptable reasons for submitting an assignment late, and all that is required is some communication from the student to inform us that such a situation has arisen.

This Course in the Wagner EMPA Context

This is one of the three (usually four) required courses for the NYU-UCL Global EMPA program and is an elective for other NYU Wagner EMPA students. It is not open to students in other NYU Wagner graduate programs without faculty permission.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and NYU. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by <u>Wagner's Academic Code</u>. All Wagner students have already read and signed the <u>Wagner Academic Oath</u>. Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to me. If any student in this class is unsure about what is expected of you and how to abide by the academic code, you should consult with John or Paul.

Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Students with Disabilities at NYU

Academic accommodations are available for students with disabilities. Please visit the Moses Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) website and click on the Reasonable Accommodations and How to Register tab or call or email CSD at (212-998-4980 or mosescsd@nyu.edu) for information. Students who are requesting academic accommodations are strongly advised to reach out to the Moses Center as early as possible in the semester for assistance.

NYU's Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays

NYU's Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. Please notify me in advance of religious holidays that might coincide with exams to schedule mutually acceptable alternatives.

Overview of the Semester

- Week 1
 - o Date: September 17
 - Topic 1: Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Individuals: Power, Politics and the Policymaking Process
 - o Topic 2: Op-ed Assignment Overview
- Week 2
 - o Date: October 1
 - o Topic 1: Ethics and Policymaking
 - o Topic 2: Peer Review of First Draft of Op-ed
 - Topic 3: Puzzling and Powering
 - Deliverables: Submit Proposals for Semester Long Project to Whole Class on October 13
- Week 3
 - o Date: October 15
 - o Topic 1: Where Do States Come From?
 - o Topic 2: Institutional Design Case for Representation
 - o Topic 3: Discussion of Semester-Long Project Proposals
- Week 4
 - o Date: October 29
 - o Topic 1: Agenda Setting and Framing
 - o Topic 2: Policy Design
- Week 5
 - o Date: November 12
 - o Topic 1: What's the Value of a Life? Cost Benefit Analysis
 - o Topic 2: Implementation
- Week 6
 - o Date: December 3
 - o Topic 1: Globalization, Populism, and Public Policy
 - o Topic 2: Policy Makes Politics
- Week 7
 - o Date: December 17
 - Presentations
 - o Topic: Evidence-Based Policy and Wrap-up

Date: Monday December 20 12 PM

Deliverable: Final paper due

Detailed Course Overview

WEEK 1:

Date: September 17

Topics:

 INTERESTS, INSTITUTIONS, IDEAS, AND INDIVIDUALS: POWER, POLITICS, AND POLICYMAKING PROCESS

Readings:

- o David von Drehle, Triangle: The Fire that Changed America
- o Richard Locke, <u>Boston Review and respondents</u> http://www.bostonreview.net/forum/can-global-brands-create-just-supply-chains-richard-locke
- o H&M Case http://globalens.com/casedetail.aspx?cid=1429373

Topics 2:

OP-ED ASSIGNMENT OVERVIEW

WEEK 2:

Date: October 1

Topic 1: ETHICS AND POLICY

Readings:

- o Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox, Introduction and Chapter 1.
- o A Duty to Leak? Purchase Case from https://case.hks.harvard.edu/a-duty-to-leak/.
- Divided We Stand: Gay Marriage Rulings and Official Disobedience
 Purchase Case from https://case.hks.harvard.edu/divided-we-stand-gay-marriage-rulings-and-official-disobedience/
- o Rosemary O'Leary, 2010, "Guerrilla Employees: Should Managers Nurture, Tolerate, or Terminate Them?" Public Administration Review 70(1): 8-19.
- o Anonymous, "I am part of the resistance within the Trump Administration," New York Times
 - https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/05/opinion/trump-white-house-anonymous-resistance.html

Topic 2: Op-ed Peer Review

Topic 3: POWERING, PUZZLING, AND POLICY Readings:

- Complexity and Public Policy [NYU Classes if you are in IGPSR you don't need to review it again]
- o Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones and *The Politics of Information*, Chapter 2
- o Sendil Mullanaithan, "Get Ready for Technological Upheaval by Expecting the Unimagined," New York Times, September 2, 2017.

 Mariana Mazzucato and Rainer Kattel, "COVID-19 and public-sector capacity," Oxford Review of Economic Policy

For further reading

- Joshua Newman & Brian Head, "The National Context of Wicked Problems: Comparing Policies on Gun Violence in the US, Canada, and Australia," Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis 2015.
- o Samuel Workman, Bryan D. Jones, and Ashley E. Jochim. 2009. "Information processing and policy dynamics." *Policy Studies Journal* 37(1): 75-92.
- Cynthia Gibson, Katya Smyth, Gail Nayowith, and Jonathan Zaff, "To Get to the Good You Have to Dance With the Wicked," SSIR Blog September 19, 2013
 http://www.ssireview.org/blog/entry/to_get_to_the_good_you_gotta_dance_with_the_wicked
- o PATHWAYS FOR CHANGE: 10 Theories to Inform Advocacy and Policy Change Efforts

WEEK 3:

Date: October 15

Topic 1: WHERE DO STATES COME FROM, WHY ARE THEY DIFFERENT, AND WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE?

Readings:

- o John Micklethwait and Adrian Woolridge, "The State of the State: The Global Context for the Future of Government," Foreign Affairs July/August 2014.
- Charles Tilly, 1990, Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.
- o Jeff Herbst, States and Power in Africa [excerpt]
- o Robert Wade, "The Developmental State: Dead or Alive," Development and Change Vol. 49. No. 2 (2018), pp. 518-546.

Topic 2: Institutional Design Case for Representation

Topic 3: Discussion of Semester Long project Proposals

WEEK 4:

Date: October 29

Topic 1: AGENDA SETTING AND FRAMING

Readings:

- o Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox, Chapter on Causes
- o Anthony Downs, "Up and Down with Ecology: The Issue Attention Cycle. Public Interest 28: 38–50, 1972.
- Molly Ball, "The Marriage Plot: Inside This Year's Epic Campaign for Gay Equality," Atlantic, Dec 11, 2012 [URL on NYU Classes]
- o Kingdon, John W. 1995. Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies. 2nd Ed. New York: Longman, chs. 4, 9.

o Films: *Freedom to Marry* and *How to Survive a Plague* (both available via the NYU Library for streaming online)

For further reading:

- o Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman, 2007, "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies," American Political Science Review 101(4): 637-655.
- o Frank R. Baumgartner, Suzanna Linn, and Amber E. Boydstun, 2010, "The Decline of the Death Penalty: How Media Framing Changed Capital Punishment in America," in Winning with Words: The Origins & Impact of Political Framing, Brian F. Schaffner and Patrick J. Sellers (eds.), New York: Routledge, 159-184.
- Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech, 2009, Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 9: "Washington: The Real No-Spin Zone," 166-189.
- o James N. Druckman, 2001, "On the Limits of Framing Effects: What Can Frame?" The Journal of Politics 63(4): 1041-1066.
- James N. Druckman and Kjersten R. Nelson, 2003, "Framing and Deliberation: How Citizens' Conversations Limit Elite Influence," American Journal of Political Science 47(4): 729-745.

Topic 2: POLICY DESIGN

Readings:

- Weimer, David L. 1992. "Claiming Races, Broiler Contracts, Heresthetics, And Habits: Ten Concepts For Policy Design." *Policy Sciences* 25: 135-159.
- o Schneider et al on Democratic Policy Design: Social Construction of Target Populations
- Cass R. Sunstein, Simpler: The Future of Government, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013) selections,
- o Sendihl Mullaniathan and Eldar Shafir, Scarcity, (NY: Macmillan, 2013) selections
- Eldar Shafir, <u>Living Under Scarcity</u>, TEDX Talk <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?</u>
 v=gV1ESN8NGh8

For more reading:

o BIT, Behavioral Governance

WEEK 5:

Date: November 12

Topic 1: WHAT'S THE VALUE OF A LIFE? COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS Readings:

- o Amy Sinden. "the Cost-benefit Boomerang," American Prospect July 25, 2019
- o Cass Sunstein, Simpler, selections
- o Matthew Hutson, "<u>Calculating the Value of a Life</u>," New Yorker, October, 2013 http://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/calculating-the-value-of-a-life
- o Susan Rose- Ackerman, 2011, Putting Cost-Benefit Analysis in Its Place:

- o Rethinking Regulatory Review
- o Stuart Shapiro, "<u>Better Policy Analysis Makes for a Better World</u>" https://www.theregreview.org/2016/03/14/shapiro-better-policy-analysis/

For further reading

- Lisa Heinzerling, Frank Ackerman, Rachel Massey, 2005, Applying Cost-Benefit to Past Decisions: Was Environmental Protection Ever a Good Idea?
- Stuart Shapiro, 2010, The Evolution of Cost-Benefit Analysis in U.S. Regulatory Decision-making
- Cost-Benefit Analysis, http://www.evidencecollaborative.org/toolkits/cost-benefitanalysis
- o <u>Cost benefit analysis can help or hinder good policy</u>, https://theconversation.com/cost-benefit-analysis-can-help-or-hinder-good-policy-30147

Topics 2: IMPLEMENTATION Readings:

- Michael Lipsky, 2010, Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, selections
- o Charles Sabel, 2013, "Rethinking the Street-Level Bureaucrat: Tacit and Deliberate Ways Organizations Can Learn," in Economy in Society: Essays in Honor of Michael J. Piore, edited by Paul Osterman, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 113-142.
- Paul Smoke, "Recentralization in developing countries: Forms, Motivations, Consequences,"

For further reading:

- Peter McGraw, Alexander Todorov, and Howard Kunreuther, 2011, "A policy maker's dilemma: Preventing terrorism or preventing blame," Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes 115: 25-34.
- o Charles F. Sabel and William H. Simon, "Due Process of Administration: The Problem of Police Accountability, "manuscript, 2014.

WEEK 6:

Date: December 3

Topic 1: GLOBALIZATION, POPULISM, AND PUBLIC POLICY Readings:

- Dani Rodrik, Populism and the Economics of Globalization," Journal of Business Policy (2018)
- o Laurence Helfer, "Populism and International Human Rights Institutions: A Survival Guide," iCourts Working Paper Series, No. 133, 2018
- o Watch the Film American Factory on Netflix
- Other readings TBD

Topic 2 POLICY MAKES POLITICS Readings:

- Joe Soss and Donald Moynihan. "Policy Feedback and the Politics of Administration,"
 Public Administration Review (2014).
- o Marie Gottschalk, 2015 "Bring It On: The Future of Penal Reform, the Carceral State, and American Politics," Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law (Spring).
- Suzanne Mettler, 2010, "Reconstituting the Submerged State: The Challenges of Social Policy Reform in the Obama Era," Perspectives on Politics 8(3): 803-824.

WEEK 7:

Date: December 17

FINAL PRESENTATIONS, EVIDENCE and WRAP UP

Topics: EVIDENCE-BASED POLICY

Readings:

- Michael Callen, Adnan Khan, Asim I. Khwaja, Asad Liaqat and Emily Myers, "These 3 barriers make it hard for policymakers to use the evidence that development researchers produce," Monkeycage (Washington Post), August 17, 2017 [Link also on NYU Classes]
- IDInsight, <u>Evaluations with impact: decision-focused impact evaluation as a practical policymaking tool</u> (presentation) https://www.youtube.com/watch?
 v=dpfBgzAHdmU&feature=youtu.be
- o [If you are interested in the paper on which this presentation is based, it's on Brightspace]
- A useful summary of the IDInsight paper with some additional implications is Lant Pritchett, "Using Random Right," Center for Global Development, December 10, 2015
 [Link on NYU Classes]
- Ezra Klein Interview with Dan Kahan, "How politics makes us stupid," Vox.com (2014).
 [URL on NYU Classes]
- o Heidi McNally Linz, SSIR
- o BG Peters et al, "Zombie Ideas: Why Failed Policy Ideas Persist"