Instructor Information

- John Gershman
- Email: john.gershman@nyu.edu
- Office Address: Puck Building, Room 3044
- Office Hours: Wednesdays, 4:00 -6:00 (in-person, in my office at Puck) and by appointment (which can be in-person or virtual depending on our mutual availability). I will typically be available to meet right after class. You can sign up for office hours through my google appointments page, which includes times in addition to my regular Wednesday 4-6 slot, but which may not be consistent week to week. My appointment page will note whether the appointment is in-person in my office or virtual. I am happy to schedule times round work, class, and family schedules, including on weekends. I will typically be available to meet after class.

Course Information

- Class Meeting Times: Tuesdays 2:00-3:40 PM
- Class Location: 194 Mercer Room 208

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 roles advocacy campaigns and ideas (sometimes 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 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. The 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 four sets of questions:

1. 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, and individuals interact to shape policy outcomes?
2. How do public service practitioners balance roles as an observer of the policymaking process and a participant in that process?
3. How do analysts balance (or not) concerns regarding efficiency, effectiveness, and equity? What indicators do we use to measure each of those objectives?
4. 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?
5. 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 the relationship between interests, ideas, and institutions in a policy process.
2. Clearly articulate and frame a policy issue in a way that calls attention to it and mobilizes action.
3. Develop the competence to identify the key stakeholders on an issue.
4. Develop capacity to evaluate and recommend a policy response to a specific policy problem using criteria of effectiveness, efficiency, and political feasibility.
5. Develop the capacity to orally communicate policy recommendations.

Learning Assessment Table

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<th>Corresponding Course Learning Objective</th>
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<td>Briefing memo; strategy memo</td>
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Course Requirements

Summary of Graded Components
1. Class Participation (5%)
2. Asynchronous Assessments (15%)
3. Op-Ed: (15%)
4. Stakeholder Memo, Options Memo, Strategy Memo (20% each)
5. Presentation: (5%)

Re-grading Assignments
If a student would like a re-grade of an assignment, the student should first speak with the TA and if that does not resolve the issue email Professor Gershman a one-page (maximum) response stating their reasons for a re-grade along with a copy of the original submission and its rubric within two weeks of receiving their grade. Professor Gershman will re-grade the entire assignment, which may result in a lower or higher grade than the original grade within one week of receiving the student’s re-grade letter.

Overview of Assignments:
Class Participation:
Class participation constitutes 5% of your final grade. This involves active participation in class
discussion, case discussion, simulations, and other activities. At the end of the semester I will ask you to
submit a suggested grade for your own class participation, accompanied by a one-page explanation of
why you think you should receive this grade. I will read and consider these self-evaluations when I assign
you a grade for participation. Attendance is clearly a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for effective
participation.

The course depends on active and ongoing participation by all class participants. In that vein, although
students are expected to be prepared to engage in every session, students

a) 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? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples that do not seem
consistent with the logic of the argument? Is the reading answering the questions you hoped it
would answer? If not, is it answering more or less interesting questions than you had thought of?
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 snarkiness, 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.

b) 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
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

c) There will be one simulation and numerous class case exercises and discussions. Your active participation is necessary for them to be substantive learning opportunities.

I do not take attendance in lecture. As a matter of professional courtesy, you should inform me if you will miss lecture and you should inform your TA, writing coach, and peer group members, as appropriate, if you will miss recitation. I do not “give permission” for missing lecture. You either have a university-sanctioned reason for being absent (e.g., illness, death in the family, religious observance, or work) or you are choosing to be absent. I understand that life may require you to miss lecture on occasion. You are adults and I trust you to evaluate the best use of your time. For absences due to other than university-sanctioned reasons, you are responsible for finding out what you missed.

**Asynchronous Assessments (3% Knowledge Checks, 12% Other Asynchronous Assessments)**
There are a series of asynchronous assessments required. There are several of them, so each individual assessment is low stakes. These are all online in the NYU classes site. These are a combination of “knowledge checks” which are ungraded but required (if you fail to do them you will not get the points, but the checks themselves are not graded). They should be done prior to doing the reading for the week. They are assessment tools to see what people know going into a session, and therefore required but ungraded. There are six such checks, combined worth 3% of your grade.

There are a range of other assessments, which include a stakeholder analysis based on a case (1) and three response papers (3). These either draw directly on the readings or ask you to apply concepts from the readings. (12% total).

**Memos: Options Memos (20%), Stakeholder Analysis (20%), Strategy Memo (20%)**
See the separate sheet on this semester-long assignment. We will discuss in greater detail in the second class and you will discuss these in-depth in your recitations.

**Op-Ed: (15%)**
There will be an entire presentation on the overall op-ed assignment in your first recitation section. The due dates for the op-eds and associated deliverables are contingent on your recitation.

**Presentation (5%)**
Students will (1) watch a video on creating presentations, (2) submit a PowerPoint slide deck regarding your Options Memo, (3) present the slide deck in recitation, (4) provide feedback to their peers on their presentations. The video and assignment will be discussed in recitation.

Class Participation:

Active and engaged participation in class and recitation will result in better learning outcomes and will be taken into account with respect to final grades. There are a number of case studies and simulations that require preparation and engagement. Failure to do so
will be taken into account in determining your participation grade. Peer review is an important part of the recitation sections and process for writing.

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

a) 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? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Is the reading answering the questions you hoped it would answer? If not, is it answering more or less interesting questions than you had thought of? 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 snarkiness, 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.

d) 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 poor 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.
e) There will be one simulation and numerous class case exercises and discussions. The simulation will require some additional writing and preparation that will count towards your participation grade.

Extra Credit (3%)
You may earn up to 3 points in extra credit by attending 4 hours total of a legislative or executive agency meeting or attending night court or other courtroom session for at least 4 hours, and writing a 1-2-page reflection on the experience, drawing as appropriate on issues and concepts raised in class. (Attending a conference is a not a substitute). The paper needs to be submitted by 9:00 AM, May 1 via NYU Classes. (In this case ONLY, submit to the lecture Brightspace site, NOT the recitation site.) Other options would include:

- Attending a NYC Board of Corrections meeting
  https://www1.nyc.gov/site/boc/meetings/meetings.page)
- Attend arraignments or a trial at Manhattan court (or other borough court). Manhattan’s “night court” runs from 5 PM -1 AM depending on volume (http://www.new-york-arraignments.com/manhattan/)
- Attend a NYC city council hearing or a participatory budgeting neighborhood assembly
  (http://council.nyc.gov/html/home/home.shtml) Or another option approved by me.

General vs. Individual Student Questions
It is very common for students to email the instructor and teaching assistants the same questions about the course. In order for Professor Gershman and the teaching assistants to maximize time spent on individual questions and minimize time spent on repeating general questions, please post general questions regarding the course lecture, recitation, and assignments on the discussion board under the “Discussion Board” tab on the NYU Classes class website.

For individual questions about the course lectures or university-approved absences, please email Professor Gershman.

For individual questions about the course recitation or assignments, please email your assigned Teaching Assistant. (If you skip this first step, Professor Gershman will forward your initial email to your assigned Teaching Assistant.) If the Teaching Assistant does not provide a sufficient response, email Professor Gershman and CC the teaching assistant.

Professor Gershman and the Teaching Assistants are not responsible for brainstorming, editing, or writing your assignments.

Professor Gershman and the Teaching Assistants will make every effort respond to emails within twentyfour hours after an email is received, excluding weekends.

Writing
Writing is an important part of being a policy analyst and advocate. For some useful thoughts on how to approach policy writing, see Michael O’Hare’s memo to his students in the spring 2004 issue of the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (available in the Writing Resources folder on NYU Classes). Also see the guidelines for memo writing, sample memos, a sample of the guidance to policy staffers at the US Department of Health and Human Services on how to write memos, and see the guidelines for writing op-eds and sample op-eds. Also see Catherine F. Smith, Writing Public Policy: A Practical Guide

**Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and the NYU community. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by Wagner’s Academic Code. All Wagner students have already read and signed the Wagner Academic Oath. Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to Professor Gershman. 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 Professor Gershman.

**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.

**Parents**

You may find yourself in situations where your childcare falls through or some other event that you need to bring your infant or child to class. [During the pandemic this will not be possible] Or that for online classes you may be also involved in childcare. This class is happy to make accommodations necessary for you to balance your student and childcare roles.

1) All breastfeeding and bottle-fed babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary to support the relationship. Because not all women can pump sufficient milk, and not all babies will take a bottle reliably, I never want students to feel like they have to choose between feeding their baby and continuing their education. You and your nursing baby (breast or bottle) are welcome in class anytime.

2) For older children and babies, I understand that minor illnesses and unforeseen disruptions in childcare often put parents in the position of having to choose between missing class to stay home with a child and leaving him or her with someone you or the child does not feel comfortable with. While this is not meant to be a long-term childcare solution, occasionally bringing a child to class in order to cover gaps in care is perfectly acceptable.

3) I ask that all students work with me to create a welcoming environment that is respectful of all forms of diversity, including diversity in parenting status.

4) In all cases where babies and children come to class, I ask that you sit close to the door so that if your little one needs special attention and is disrupting learning for other students, you may step outside.
until their need has been met. Non-parents in the class, please reserve seats near the door for your parenting classmates.

5) In the case of online classes, the same general rules apply. If you need to breastfeed or bottle feed your child while we have class, or your child wants to be on your lap while we have class, that’s no problem as long as s/he/they aren’t disrupting anyone else. If you need to turn off your video or mute briefly to address childcare (or other) emergencies, please do so.

**Chinese and Hong Kong Residents**

China has imposed restrictions on speech. NYU cannot protect students who are abroad and cannot guarantee the security of the Internet. Should a student face difficulties related to academic speech, NYU will try to help, but has limited ability to intervene in legal systems outside the U.S.

**Required Texts**

David von Drehle, Triangle: The Fire that Changed America

All other readings available on NYU Classes unless otherwise indicated. There will be a small fee associated with some of the cases we will discuss in class.
Overview of the Semester

• Week 1
  o Date: September 7
  o Topic 1: Interests, Institutions, Ideas, and Individuals in the Power, Politics, and Policymaking Process  o  Recitations: NO
  RECITATIONS this week

• Week 2
  o Deliverable: Knowledge Check online, before doing reading
  o Date: September 14

  o Topic 1: Ethics and Policymaking

■ Week 3
  o Date: September 21
  o Topic 1: Actors, Policy, and Stakeholders  o  Topic 2: Seattle Case  o  Deliverable: Stakeholder Analysis  o  Deliverable: Reading Response

■ Week 4
  o Deliverable: Knowledge Check online, before doing reading
  o Date: September 28  o  Topic 1: Where States Come From  o  Topic 2: Redistricting Case

• Week 5
  o Date: October 5  o  Topic 1: Powering and Puzzling
  o Topic 2: ACA, Guest Lecture by Dean Sherry Glied

October 12 – NO CLASS, LEGISLATIVE MONDAY

• Week 6
  o Deliverable: Knowledge Check online, before doing reading  o  Date: October 19
  o Topic 1: Agenda Setting and Framing

• Week 7
  o Date: October 26  o 
  Topic 1: Simulation

• Week 8
Dated Course Overview

WEEK 1: INTERESTS, INSTITUTIONS, IDEAS & INDIVIDUALS IN THE POWER, POLITICS & POLICYMAKING PROCESS

Readings:
• Richard Locke, Boston Review and respondents. Read the piece by Locke and sample the others as you are interested.
• H&M Case Download the following case from http://wdi-publishing.com Remembering the Rana Plaza Workers: Change or Status Quo? by Mark Heuer, Ph.D., Lizette Smook
You will need to register for the site and then pay to download the case. Come to class having read the case and be prepared to discuss the question at the end of the case: "In the end, [Imeke] Zeldenrust realized, her role was to help preserve the dignity of human life especially in the face of preventable tragedies such as Rana Plaza. How would she do this?"
You DO NOT NEED TO DO ANY ADDITIONAL RESEARCH ON RANA PLAZA OR ADVOCACY EFFORTS ON GLOBAL COMMODITY CHAINS. Draw your conclusions from the data presented in the case and from the readings in the Boston Review and from your own personal experiences.

Questions to Keep in Mind

- What is the constellation of interests, institutions and ideas that shaped the response to the Triangle disaster? How are they similar to/different from the debates over global supply chains in this century, and Bangladesh in particular?
- Are there lessons to be drawn from the Triangle fire and response for Bangladesh (or similar situations)? If so, what are they? If not, what makes drawing lessons from that disaster difficult/impossible?
- More broadly, how might we think about drawing lessons for policy reform across time and space, as either analysts or advocates?

WEEK 2: ETHICS AND POLICYMAKING

Readings:

- 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-andofficial-disobedienc/

Questions:

- How do we evaluate the ethics of our actions as public service professionals?
- How do we evaluate the ethical/normative dimension of policies and programs?
- Is there anything that would constitute a red line for you in terms of making you decide to resign your position in an organization or agency? What would that be?

For further reading

- Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox, Introduction and Chapter 1.

WEEK 3: ACTORS and INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROCESS

Readings:

• An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning
  Therein” - Sabatier (1988)
• Mancur Olson. The Logic of Collective Action Selections
• Paul, Pierson Path Dependence
• Seattle Minimum Wage Case (come prepared to discuss)
• You will receive your assignments for the Redistricting Simulation in this Class

For further reading:
• Kevin B. Smith and Christopher W. Larimer, 2009, “Public Policy as a Concept and a Field (or
  on Gun Violence in the US, Canada, and Australia,” Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis
  2015.
• PATHWAYS FOR CHANGE: 10 Theories to Inform Advocacy and Policy Change Efforts
  Excerpts TBD
• Samuel Workman, Bryan D. Jones, and Ashley E. Jochim. 2009. “Information processing and

WEEK 4: 1) WHERE DO STATES COME FROM and 2) REDISTRICTING SIMULATION
Topic 1:
• John Micklethwait and Adrian Woolridge, “The State of the State: The Global Context for the
• Vesla Weaver, “Racial Authoritarianism in America” Science 2020 Addicted to Fines
Topic 2: Redistricting Simulation

WEEK 5: 1) POWERING AND PUZZLING and 2) Guest Lecture, Dean Glied on the ACA and Actors
and Institutions (continued) Readings:

Topic 1: POWERING AND PUZZLING
• Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones and The Politics of Information, Chapter 2
  of Economic Policy

Topic 2: Affordable Care Act
• Podcast on How Bill Becomes a Law
• Other Readings TBD
• Also check out the podcast Staffer of interviews with Congressional Staffers (not required)

For further reading:
• Radley Balko, “How municipalities in St. Louis County profit from poverty,” Washington Post
  stlouis-county-missouri-profits-from-poverty/
• Samantha Sunne, 2017, “Louisiana DAs offer motorists a deal: Write us a check and we’ll
  dismiss your speeding ticket,” The LensNOLA
  http://thelensnola.org/2017/07/27/louisiana-das-offer-motorists-a-deal-write-us-a-check-and-
  welldismiss-your-speeding-ticket/
WEEK 6: AGENDA SETTING AND FRAMING

Readings:

- Deborah Stone, Policy Paradox, Chapter on Causes
- Molly Ball, “The Marriage Plot: Inside This Year's Epic Campaign for Gay Equality,” Atlantic, Dec 11, 2012 [URL on NYU Classes]

For further reading:


Other courses that address these issues: Strategic Communication (multiple professors)

WEEK 7: SIMULATION

WEEK 8: POLICY DESIGN
Readings:
- Sendhil Mullaniathan and Eldar Shafir, Scarcity, (NY: Macmillan, 2013) selections
- “When Should a Child Be Taken from His Parents?” http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/08/07/when-should-a-child-be-taken-from-hisparents

Other readings
- BIT, Behavioral Governance

Other classes that explore these issues: Behavioral Economics (Professor Tatiana Homonoff)

WEEK 9: RULEMAKING
A Brief Overview of Rulemaking and Judicial Review - CRS _2017_.pdf Sweet-Talking the Fourth Branch - Yackee _2006_.pdf
War on the EPA
The Trump Administration Is Reversing 100 Environmental Rules. Here’s the Full List.
More TBD

WEEK 10: STRATEGIC LITIGATION AND JUDICIALIZATION OF POLITICs
Readings: Guest Lecturer (TBD)

WEEK 11: ADVOCACY CASE STUDY: Coalitions in Action
- The Ban the Box Case (purchase from Kennedy School Caseweb)
- Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals, Selections
Kingdon, TBD

- Watch the film How to Survive a Plague (access through the NYU Library to stream online) Clarissa Rile Hayward, "Disruption: What is It Good For?" Journal of Politics, 2020

For more reading

- Frances Fox Piven, Challenging Authority, Chapters 1,2, 5, 6 and epilogue.

Other courses that address these issues: Community Organizing (multiple professors), Advocacy Lab (David Elcott), Participatory Policymaking (multiple professors)

WEEK 12: IMPLEMENTATION Readings:

- Bernard Zacka, “Bureaucrats to the Rescue: Are Bureaucracies a Public Good?” Boston Review
- Katrina Case, TBD

For further reading:


Other courses that explore these issues in more detail: Intersection of Operations and Policy (Professors Gordon Campbell and Warner; Performance Measurement and Management (multiple professors)

WEEK 13: HOW POLICY MAKES POLITICS

Readings:


For further reading:

Other courses that address these issues: Policy Formation (Professor Mona Vakilifathi), Politics of International Development (John Gershman)

WEEK 14: EVIDENCE-BASED POLICYMAKING
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]
• Mechanisms and Experiments

For further reading:

Other courses that address these issues: Program Analysis and Evaluation (multiple professors), Estimating Impacts (multiple professors), Public Economics (multiple professors), International Economic Development (multiple professors), Advanced Empirical Methods for Policy Analysis (Professor Rajeev Dehejia)