

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FALL-WINTER 2017-2018**

**POL 2318Y
COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY
Monday 2-4 pm Sidney Smith Hall 3130**

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Course Objectives:

This course provides an overview of developments in comparative public policy theory and the various methods used by public policy scholars. It concentrates on the major theories of comparative public policy that are directed to accounting for two matters: first, variations in public policies across policy sectors and jurisdictions; second, mechanisms and processes of policy development, including policy stability and policy change. The course literature is largely, but not exclusively, derived from those writing on public policies in industrialized democracies.

The course readings combine classics (frequently cited and theoretical breakthroughs) and more recent contributions to theories of public policy. They are representative of the different propositions regarding the underlying structure of causal relations in the political and policy-making arena, including the following. Is politics and policy-making constituted by strategic interactions among atomistic actors (either rational or boundedly rational) endowed with certain resources? Alternatively, are politics and policy-making highly structured processes in which actors relate to one another through embedded political-institutional, economic, and social/ideational structures? Just how do factors such as political institutions, advocacy coalitions, policy networks, and shared cognitive and normative frameworks—affect behaviour, politics and policy-making and via what mechanisms and processes? And do they do so consistently across time and place, or differently, depending upon the time period and place?

This course is the core course for PhD students who are specializing in Public Policy as one of their fields. Students planning to write the Major Field Exam (MFE) in Public Policy will need to supplement the readings for this course, not only with Further Readings listed here, but more comprehensively, with material on the Public Policy MFE Reading List. The latter is available from the instructors.

The course is also open to MA students. They are asked to consult with one of the instructors to ensure they've the background for the demands of the course.

Students are expected to have sufficient background in research design and methods to address, in seminar discussions and assignments, the merits of the methods (including large-n quantitative

studies, small-n case studies, formal theory, process tracing, and experiments) employed in the course readings.

Students with NO background in public policy should review an introductory text. We recommend one of the following:

Paul Cairney, *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Peter John, *Analyzing Public Policy* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2012.

Required Readings:

Please note that most of the required readings (listed by year of publication) are journal articles that are available for down-loading on the University of Toronto's E-library system. They can also usually be accessed through a simple Google search of the article title. Required readings that are not available online (i.e. are book chapters or unpublished papers) have also been made available on Blackboard. Please note, given how much we use these texts, I would strongly advise you to purchase:

Craig Parsons. *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford UP 2007.

Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible, eds. *Theories of the Policy Process*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2014.

Course Requirements:

Grades for this course will be based on the following requirements:

1. Seminar Participation: Cumulative throughout term: 20%
2. Critical reading responses/presentations: Three @ 15% each = 45%
3. Writing and Publishing a Good Article: 5%
4. Literature Review Essay: Due April 9, 2018: 30%

In order to ensure students receive feedback on their progress by the end of the first term, students are advised to space out their critical review responses and to complete AT LEAST one in the first semester.

1. Seminar Participation: 20%

Weekly attendance is mandatory. If it is impossible for you to attend a class, please email the instructors as much in advance as possible to explain why.

All students are expected to have done the required readings before class and to come to class prepared to discuss them. To facilitate seminar discussion, all students are expected to post 3 questions for discussion and/or points for further clarification on the readings by 10 pm Sunday on the course Blackboard/Portal website. Questions are expected to address the theoretical or methodological features of the article. Students should consult one another's posting prior to the

Monday class and be prepared to discuss them as well as the readings. The seminar participation grade will be determined on the basis of the quality and frequency of participation, including the presentation of analytical papers (see below). Frequency of participation will be determined by the regularity of intervention in class discussions. Quality of participation will be determined by demonstrated grasp of course readings, attentiveness to class discussion, and thoughtful comments and questions to move the discussion along.

2. Critical Reading Responses/Presentations: Three worth 15% each

Students will prepare three analytical papers on the readings for three separate weeks. Papers should develop an argument that appraises the major themes, concepts and methods of the readings, and situate the readings in the broader public policy sub-field. Papers should draw comparisons across the readings assigned for the week, highlighting their shared/different epistemological and ontological claims. The paper should conclude with two or three questions for class discussion. Papers should not exceed 10 double spaced pages (12 font). Students may, but do not have to, include readings from Further Readings in their analytical paper.

Please plan on presenting your paper in 10-15 minutes, and on leading the class discussion the day you present. *Students should email a copy of their paper to the instructors by 10:00 pm Sunday before the Monday class.*

3. Writing and Publishing a Good Article: 5%

The final week of the course will discuss effective presentation and evaluation of research in article form. We will read a few papers that have been written but not yet published. Each member of the class will be asked to provide a 1.5 – 3 page review of one of these papers, including a recommendation to publish, revise and resubmit, or reject. Students will send their review to the instructor by 5 pm Thursday, March 29th.

Students will come to class having read the submitted articles and the reviews of them. The discussion will focus on the articles and reviews with the intent of furthering insight into the components of effective evaluation and presentation of articles. The following questions, used by Peter A. Hall in a 2009 assignment to his students in a course on Methods of Political Analysis, will be uppermost. What are the key tasks a good paper should accomplish? What are the major presentational challenges facing authors as they begin an article? How does the author frame the problem in the article? How does she interest the reader in its contents? What is the order in which the key elements of the article are presented? How is the empirical material presented relative to the theory? What does the conclusion do? Are there ways the presentation could have been more effective? What do you find least convincing in the article and what could have been done about that?

4. Literature Review Essay: Worth 30%

Students are to prepare a 20-25 page essay that reviews the literature relevant to their proposed public policy dissertation. This review essay should introduce your dissertation question/puzzle and then survey the literature relevant to solving it.

Late Assignments:

Assignments are due on the days assigned. The only exception is an adequately documented emergency and/or medical illness. Please contact either of the instructors *as soon as* the problem arises to inform them of the problem, and present your written documentation when you return. Without documentation and advance instructor permission, you will be assigned a late penalty of 2% per day, including weekends.

Please keep copies of rough and draft work, as well as of the written work you submit until the marked assignments have been returned. All graded assignments are to be kept by students until the grades have been posted on ROSI.

Academic Integrity:

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. The more obvious instances of plagiarism include copying material from another source (book, journal, website, another student, and so on) without acknowledging the source, presenting an argument as your own – whether or not it is a direct quotation – rather than fully acknowledging the true originator of the idea, having another person help you to write your essay, and buying an essay. All of these are instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously and they will result in academic penalty. Those penalties can range from failing the assignment, failing the course, having a notation on your academic transcript, and/or suspension from the university. For further information on the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, see:

<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>. To avoid problems in your assignments, please consult "How Not to Plagiarize" by Margaret Proctor:
<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

Office Hours and Email Policy:

Students are invited to meet with the instructors during their posted office hours or by appointment about any matter relating to the course. The instructors are also available by email – but please reserve email communication for scheduling appointments, rather than for discussing the substance of your course assignments.

Accessibility Needs:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom, or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible:
disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Course Modification Statement:

The instructors reserve the right to modify assigned readings during the term--with reasonable notice and with an explanation.

Schedule of Seminar Topics and Readings

Week 1: September 11 – Introduction to the Course & U of T Public Policy Scholars

Week 2: September 18 – The Study of Public Policy I: The Goal of Policy Science

Harold Lasswell. 1970. "The Emerging Conception of the Policy Sciences." *Policy Sciences* 1: 3-14.

Richard Simeon. 1976. "Studying Public Policy." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 9, 4: 548-580.

Peter De Leon. 1994. "Reinventing the Policy Sciences: Three Steps Back into the Future", *Policy Sciences* 27, 1: 77-95.

Michael Atkinson. 2016. "Richard Simeon and the Policy Sciences Project." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49, 4: 703-720.

Week 3: September 25 – The Study of Public Policy: Research Design and Methods

Peter A. Hall. 2003. "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research." In J. Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer, eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge UP: 373-404.

Craig Parsons. 2007. *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford UP. Pp. 3-46.

Tulia G. Falleti and Julia F. Lynch. 2009. "Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(9), 1143-1166.

Christian Breunig and John S. Ahlquist. 2015. "Quantitative Methods in Public Policy." In *Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*. Eds. Isabelle Engeli and Christine Rothmayr Allison. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 109-30.

Further Reading:

Isabelle Engeli and Christine Rothmayr Allison, eds. 2014. *Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, eds. 2015. *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*. New York: Cambridge.

Week 4: October 2 – The Behavioural Foundations of Public Policy

Kenneth A. Shepsle and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. New York: Norton: chapter 2, pp. 15-35.

James N. Druckman and Arthur Lupia. 2000. "Preference Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3: 1-24.

Bryan D. Jones. 2003. "Bounded Rationality and Political Science: Lessons from Public Administration and Public Policy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 13: 395-412.

Craig Parsons. 2007. *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. OUP. Chapter 2 (pp. 52-56) and Chapter 5, Psychological Explanations (pages 133-147).

Rick Wilson. 2011. "The Contribution of Behavioral Economics to Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 201-223.

Further Reading:

Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman. 1981. "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice." *Science* 211: 453-458.

Herbert Simon. 1985. "Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 72, 2: 293-304.

Herbert Simon. 1982. *Models of Bounded Rationality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Available online.

October 9: Thanksgiving – No Class

Week 5: October 16 – Institutionalist Accounts of Public Policy: Rational Actor Accounts

George Tsebelis. 1995. "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 289-325.

Peter A. Hall Peter and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. 1996. "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms." *Political Studies*, 44(5), 936-57.

Elinor Ostrom. 1999. "Coping with Tragedies of the Commons." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 493-535.

Terry Moe. 2005. "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 2: 215-233.

Fritz Scharpf. 1997. *Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centred Institutionalism in Policy Research*. CUP, pp. 1-50.

Further Reading:

Douglass North. 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. CUP.

I. Katznelson and B.R. Weingast, 2005. *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and Rational Choice*. New York: Russell Sage: Introduction.

Week 6: October 23 – Structural Accounts and Organized Interests

Mancur Olson, 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, pp. 1-65.

Walter Korpi. 2006. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism." *World Politics* 58: 167-206.

Craig Parsons, 2010. *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. OUP, Chapter 2.

Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2010. "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political Organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States." Special Issue, *Politics and Society* 38, 2: 152-204.

And:

Fred Block and Frances Piven. 2010. "Déjà Vu, All over Again: A Comment on Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson." *Politics and Society* 38, 2: 205-211.

Silja Häusermann. 2010. "Solidarity with Whom? Why Organized Labour is Losing Ground in Continental Pension Politics." *European Journal of Political Research* 49, 2: 223-256.

Further Reading:

Pepper Culpepper. 2011. *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-81.

Nick Carnes. 2013. *White Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making*. University of Chicago Press.

Martin Gilens. 2014. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton UP.

Week 7: October 30 – Historical Institutional Account of Policy Development I

Either:

Kathleen Thelen. 1999. "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 369-404.

Or:

Kathleen Thelen. 2000. "Timing and Temporality in the Analysis of Institutional Evolution and Change," *Studies in American Political Development* 14, 1: 101-108.

Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Kelemen. 2007. "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism." *World Politics* 59: 341-369.

Jacob S. Hacker, Paul Pierson and Kathleen Thelen. 2015. "Drift and Conversion: Hidden Faces of Institutional Change." In *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*. Eds. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. New York: Cambridge UP: 180-208.

Giovanni Capoccia. 2016. "When Do Institutions 'Bite'? Historical Institutionalism and the Politics of Institutional Change." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, 8: 1095-1127.

Further Reading:

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen. 1996. "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions." *Governance* 9, 3: 247-264.

Colin Hay and Daniel Wincott. 1998. "Structure, Agency and Historical Institutionalism." *Political Studies* 46: 951-57.

James Mahoney. 2000. "Path Dependency in Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society* 29, 4: 507-548.

Kathleen Thelen. 2003. "How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis." In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Eds. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. New York: Cambridge University Press: 208-24.

Jacob S. Hacker. 2004. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States." *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 243-260.

Michael Howlett, 2009. "Process Sequencing Policy Dynamics: Beyond Homeostasis and Path Dependency." *Journal of Public Policy* 29, 3: 241-262.

Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2011. "Time Will Tell? Temporality and the Analysis of Causal Mechanisms and Processes." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 9: 1267-1297.

Week 8: November 6 – Historical Institutional Accounts of Policy Development II: Policy Feedback

Either:

Paul Pierson. 1993. "When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change" *World Politics* 595-628.

Or:

Paul Pierson. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94, 2: 251-267.

Or:

Pierson, Paul. 2000. Not Just What, But *When*: Timing and Sequence in Political Processes, *Studies in American Political Development*, 14, 72-92.

Eric Patashnik and Julian E. Zelizer. 2013. "The Struggle to Remake Politics: Liberal Reform and the Limits of Policy Feedback in the Contemporary American State." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, 4: 1071-1087.

Suzanne Mettler and Mallory SoRelle. 2014. "Policy Feedback Theory." In *Theories of the Policy Process*. 3rd ed. Eds Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible.. Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 151-182.

Alan M. Jacobs and R. Kent Weaver. 2015. "When Policies Undo Themselves: Self-Undermining Feedback as a Source of Policy Change." *Governance* 28, 4: 441-457.

Further Reading:

Andrea Louise Campbell. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eric Patashnik. 2003. "After the Public Interest Prevails: The Political Sustainability of Policy Reform." *Governance* 16, 2: 203-234.

Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss. 2004. "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship." *Perspectives on Politics* 2, 1: 55-73.

Vesla Weaver and Amy Lerman. 2010. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *American Political Science Review* 104, 4: 817-833.

Alan M. Jacobs. 2011. *Governing for the Long Term: Democracy and the Politics of Investment*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Andrea Louise Campbell. 2012. "Policy Makes Mass Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 333-351.

Moshe Maor. 2014. "Policy Bubbles, Policy Overreaction and Positive Feedback" *Governance* 27, 3: 469-487.

Grace Skogstad. 2017. "Policy Feedback and Self-reinforcing and Self-undermining Processes in EU Biofuels Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24, 1: 21-41.

Week 9: November 13 – Ideational Accounts of Public Policy

Peter A. Hall. 1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." *Comparative Politics* 25, 3: 275-296.

Either

Mark Blyth. 2001. "The Transformation of the Swedish Model: Economic Ideas, Distributional Conflict, and Institutional Change." *World Politics* 54: 1-26.

Or

Mark Blyth. 2007. "Powering, Puzzling, or Persuading? The Mechanisms of Building Institutional Orders." *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 761-777.

John Campbell. 2002. "Ideas, Politics and Public Policy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 21-38.

Craig Parsons. 2007. *How to Map Arguments in Political Science*. OUP, Chapter 4.

Alan M. Jacobs. 2014. "Process Tracing the Effects of Ideas." In Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel, eds. *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*. CUP: 41-73.

Further Reading:

Barry R. Weingast. 1995. "A Rational Choice Perspective on the Role of Ideas: Shared Belief Systems and State Sovereignty in International Cooperation." *Politics and Society* 23, 4: 449-464.

Randall Hansen and Desmond King. 2001. "Eugenic Ideas, Political Interests, and Policy Variance: Immigration and Sterilization Policy in Britain and the U.S." *World Politics* 53: 237-63.

Robert C. Lieberman. 2002. "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 96, 4: 697-712.

Alan M. Jacobs. 2009. "How Do Ideas Matter? Mental Models and Attention in German Pension Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, 2: 252-279.

Mandelkern, R. and Shalev, M. 2010. "Power and the Ascendance of New Economic Policy Ideas: Lessons from the 1980s Crisis in Israel." *World Politics* 62: 459-495.

Daniel Béland and Robert Henry Cox. 2011. *Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research*. Oxford University Press.

Martin Carstensen. 2011. "Paradigm Man vs. the Bricoleur: Bricolage as an Alternative Vision of Agency in Ideational Change." *European Political Science Review* 3, 1: 147-167.

Mark Blyth. 2013. "Paradigms and Paradox: The Politics of Economic Ideas in Two Moments of Crisis." *Governance*, 26, 2: 197-215.

P.M. Daigneault, 2014. "Reassessing the Concept of Policy Paradigm: Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Policy Studies." *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21, 3: 453-469.

Heike Klüber and Christine Mahoney. 2015. "Measuring Interest Group Framing Strategies in Public Policy Debates." *Journal of Public Policy* 35, 2: 223-244.

Journal of European Public Policy, 23(3), 2016 is a special issue on Ideas, Political Power and Public Policy. See especially articles by Carstensen and Schmidt, pp. 318-337; Parsons, pp. 446-463; and Blyth, pp. 464-471.

Week 10: November 20 – Interpretivist and Interpretivist-Institutionalist Approaches, Discursive Institutionalism

Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram. 1993. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *American Political Science Review*, 87: 334-47.

Vivien Schmidt. 2008. "Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 303-326.

Mark K. McBeth, Michael D. Jones, and Elizabeth A. Shanahan. 2014. "The Narrative Policy Framework." In *Theories of the Policy Process*. 3rd ed. Eds. Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible. Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 225-266.

Brendon Swedlow. 2014. "Advancing Policy Theory with Cultural Theory." *Policy Studies Journal* 42, 4: 465-483.

Moshe Maor. 2016. "Emotion-driven Negative Policy Bubbles." *Policy Sciences* 49: 191-210.

Further Reading:

M. A. Hajer. 1993. "Discourse Coalitions and the Institutionalization of Practice" in F. Fischer and J. Forester. 1993. *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis*. Duke UP.

Alan Finlayson. 2007. "From Beliefs to Arguments: Interpretive Methodology and Rhetorical Political Analysis." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9: 545-563.

Katharina T. Paul. 2009. "Discourse Analysis: An Exploration of Methodological Issues and a call for Methodological Courage in the Field of Policy Analysis." *Critical Policy Studies* 3, 2: 240-253.

Stephen Bell. 2011. "Do We Really Need a New 'Constructivist Institutionalism' to Explain Institutional Change?" *British Journal of Political Science* 41: 883-906.

Week 11: November 27 – Theories of the Policy Process: Agenda Setting, Punctuated Equilibrium Models, and Multiple Streams

John Kingdon. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. 2nd ed. New York: Addison Wesley Longman. Chapters 1, 4, and 8.

Bryan D. Jones and Frank Baumgartner. 2005. "A Model of Choice for Public Policy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15, 3: 325–351.

Or

Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2012 "From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing." *Policy Studies Journal* 40, 1: S1-S86.

Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Daniel Nohrstedt, Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. 2014. "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Foundations, Evolution, and Ongoing Research." In P.A. Sabatier, and C. M. Weible, eds. *Theories of the Policy Process*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview: 183-224.

Paul Cairney and Tanya Heikkila, "A Comparison of Theories of the Policy Process", pp. 363-390 in *Theories of the Policy Process*, 3rd eds, Paul A Sabatier and Christopher M Weible.

Heather Millar, Matt Lesch, and Linda A. White. "Linking Individual and Institutional Decision Making in Policy Process Theories." Draft article.

Further Reading:

Frank Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: U of Chicago Press.

Sarah Pralle. 2003. "Venue Shopping, Political Strategy, and Policy Change: The Internationalization of Canadian Forest Advocacy." *Journal of Public Policy* 23 (03): 233–60.

Frank Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. 2006. *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. U of Chicago Press.

Christian Breunig. 2011. "Reduction, Stasis, and Expansion of Budgets in Advanced Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 8: 1060-1088.

Reimut Zohlnofer, Nicole Herweg and Friedbert Rub. 2015. "Forum Section: Theoretically Refining the Multiple Streams Framework: An Introduction." *European Journal of Political Research* 54, 3: 412-418.

Week 12: December 4 – Knowledge, Learning, Epistemic Communities and Advocacy Coalitions

Peter Haas. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* 46, 1: 1-35.

Christina Boswell. 2009. "Knowledge, Legitimation and the Politics of Risk: The Functions of Research in Public Debates on Migration." *Political Studies* 57, 1: 165-186.

Johannes Lindvall. 2009. "The Real But Limited Influence of Expert Ideas." *World Politics* 61, 4: 703-730.

Erick Lachapelle, Éric Montpetit, and Jean-Philippe Gauvin. 2014. "Public Perceptions of Expert Credibility on Policy Issues: The Role of Expert Framing and Political Worldviews." *Policy Studies Journal* 42, 4: 674-697.

Further Reading:

Philip Tetlock. 2006. *Expert Political Judgement*. Princeton University Press.

Christina Boswell. 2012. *The Political Uses of Expert Knowledge: Immigration Policy and Social Research*. CUP.

WINTER BREAK

Week 13: January 8 – Policy Networks and Public Policy

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." In *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press.

Michael Howlett. 2002. "Do Networks Matter? Linking Policy Network Structure to Policy Outcomes." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35, 2: 235-267.

Grace Skogstad. 2008. "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: Conceptualizing State-Societal Relationships in the Policy Process." In *The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science* eds. L. White et al. Vancouver: UBC Press: 205-220.

Michael D. Ward, Katherine Stovel, and Audrey Sacks. 2011. "Network Analysis and Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 245-264.

Hongtao Yi and John T. Scholz. 2016. "Policy Networks in Complex Governance Subsystems: Observing and Comparing Hyperlink, Media, and Partnership Networks." *Policy Studies Journal* 44, 3: 248-279.

Further Reading:

Diane Stone. 2004. "Transfer Agents and Global Networks in the 'Transnationalization' of Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, 3: 545-566.

Andrew Hindmoor. 2009. "Explaining Networks through Mechanisms: Vaccination, Priming and the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease Crisis." *Political Studies* 57, 1: 75-94.

Xun Cao. 2012. "Global Networks and Domestic Policy Convergence: A Network Explanation of Policy Changes." *World Politics* 64, 3: 375-425.

Week 14: January 15 – The Political Economy of the Welfare State I: Origins and Development

Gosta Esping-Andersen. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: pp. 9-54.

(re-read) Walter Korpi. 2006. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism." *World Politics* 58: 167-206.

Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2009. "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century." *World Politics* 61, 3: 438-486.

Desmond King and Robert C. Lieberman. 2009. "Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State." *World Politics* 61, 3: 547-588.

Keith Banting and John Myles. 2013. "Introduction: Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics," in *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics*, eds. Keith Banting and John Myles, pp. 1-39. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Jane Gingrich. 2015. "Coalitions, Policies, and Distribution: Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism." In *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*. Eds. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. New York: Cambridge UP: 67-96.

Further Reading:

Hall, Peter A. and David Soskice, eds. 2001. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Torben Iversen and John D. Stephens. 2008. "Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 4/5: 600-637.

Daniel Béland and André Lecours. 2014. "Fiscal Federalism and American Exceptionalism: Why Is There No Federal Equalisation System in the United States?" *Journal of Public Policy* 34, 2: 303-329.

Week 15: January 22 – The Changing Political Economy of the Welfare State

Silja Häusermann, Georg Picot, and Dominik Geering. 2012. "Review Article: Rethinking Party Politics and the Welfare State – Recent Advances in the Literature." *British Journal of Political Science* 43: 221-240.

Kathleen Thelen. 2012. "Varieties of Capitalism: Trajectories of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 2.1-2.23.

Kimberly J. Morgan. 2013. "Path Shifting of the Welfare State: Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-family Policies in Western Europe." *World Politics* 65, 1: 73-115.

Alexander Horn and Carsten Jensen. 2016. "When and Why Politicians Do Not Keep Their Welfare Promises." *European Journal of Political Research* 56: 381-400.

Elizabeth Rigby and Megan E. Hatch. 2017. "For Richer or Poorer: The Politics of Redistribution in Bad Economic Times." *Political Research Quarterly* 1-14.

Further Reading:

Jacob S. Hacker. 2004. "Privatizing Risk Without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 98, 2: 243-260.

Silja Häusermann. 2010. *The Politics of Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe: Modernization in Hard Times*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Christian Breunig and Marius R. Busemeyer. 2011. "Fiscal Austerity and the Trade-off between Public Investment and Social Spending." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, 6: 921-938.

Patrick Emmenegger, Silja Häusermann, Bruno Palier, and Martin Seelieb-Kaiser, eds. 2012. *The Age of Dualization: The Changing Face of Inequality in Deindustrializing Societies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

David Rueda, Erik Wibbels and Melina Altamirano. 2015. "The Origins of Dualism." In *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*: pp. 89-111. Online DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316163245.004>

Week 16: January 29 – Public Opinion, Policy Feedback Effects, and Political Behaviour

Paul Burstein. 2003. "The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly* 56, 1: 29-40.

Benjamin Barber IV, Pablo Beramendi and Erik Wibbels. 2013. "The Behavioral Foundations of Social Politics: Evidence from Surveys and a Laboratory Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, 10: 1155-1189.

Melani Cammett, Julia Lynch and Gavril Bilev. 2015. "The Influence of Private Health Care Financing on Citizen Trust in Government." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, 4: 938-957.

Brandice Canes-Wrone. 2015. "From Mass Preferences to Policy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 147-165.

Further Reading:

Stuart N. Soroka and Christopher Wlezien. 2004. "Opinion Representation and Policy Feedback: Canada in Comparative Perspective." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37, 3: 531-559.

Jane Gingrich and Ben Ansell. 2012. "Preferences in Context: Micro Preferences, Macro Contexts, and the Demand for Social Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 45, 12: 1624-1654.

Jennifer Bachner and Kathy Wagner Hill. 2014. "Advances in Public Opinion and Policy Attitudes Research." *The Policy Studies Journal* 42: S51-S70

Jane Gingrich. 2014. Visibility, Values, and Voters: The Informational Role of the Welfare State." *Journal of Politics* 76, 2: 565-580.

Ling Zhu and Christine S. Lipsmeyer. 2015. "Policy Feedback and Economic Risk: The Influence of Privatization on Social Policy Preferences." *Journal of European Public Policy* 22, 10: 1489-1511.

Pablo Beramendi and Philipp Rehm. 2016. "Who Gives, Who Gains? Progressivity and Preferences." *Comparative Political Studies* 49, 4: 529-563.

Week 17: February 5 – Explaining Social/Redistributive Policies: Class, Ethnicity, Region

Rafaela M. Dancygier and Michael J. Donnelly. 2013. "Sectoral Economies, Economic Contexts, and Attitudes toward Immigration." *The Journal of Politics* 75, 1: 17-35.

Ben Ansell. 2014. "The Political Economy of Ownership: Housing Markets and the Welfare State." *American Political Science Review* 108, 2: 383-402.

Gerda Hooijer and Georg Picot. 2015. "European Welfare States and Migrant Poverty: The Institutional Determinants of Disadvantage." *Comparative Political Studies* 48, 14: 1879-1904.

Stuart Soroka, Richard Johnston, Anthony Kevins, Keith Banting, and Will Kymlicka. 2016. "Migration and Welfare State Spending." *European Political Science Review* 8, 2: 173-194.

Further Reading:

Ruud Koopmans. 2010. "Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:1, 1-26.

Ruud Koopmans. 2013. "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-national Comparison." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39: 147-169.

Rigby, Elizabeth and Gerald C. Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and the Representation of the Poor in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, 3: 552-565.

Jens Hainmueller and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 1-25.

Pablo Beramendi. 2014. *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Week 18: February 12 – Gender and Public Policy

Ann Shola Orloff. 2009. "Gendering the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: an Unfinished Agenda." *Sociological Theory* 27, 3: 317-343.

Kelly Kollman. 2009. "European Institutions, Transnational Networks and National Same-sex Unions Policy: When Soft Law Hits Harder." *Contemporary Politics* 15, 1: 35-53.

Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon. 2010. "When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality Policy." *Perspectives on Politics* 8, 1: 207-216.

Rosa von Gleichen and Martin Seeleib-Kaiser. 2017. "Family Policies and the Weakening of the Male Breadwinner Model." Paper prepared for the 29th annual conference of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, Lyon, 29 June-1 July.

Further Reading:

Julia S. O'Connor, Ann Shola Orloff and Sheila Shaver. 1999. *States, Markets, Families: Gender, Liberalism and Social Policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Amy Mazur, 2002. *Theorizing Feminist Policy*. Oxford UP.

Jean L. Pyle. 2006. "Globalization, Transnational Migration, and Gendered Care Work: Introduction." *Globalizations* 3, 3: 283-295.

Priscilla A. Lambert and Druscilla L. Scribner. 2009. "A Politics of Difference versus a Politics of Equality: Do Constitutions Matter?" *Comparative Politics* 41, 3: 337-357

Priscilla Lambert and Druscilla Scribner. 2010. "Constitutionalizing Difference: A Case Study Analysis of Gender Provisions in Botswana and South Africa." *Politics and Gender* 6, 1: 37-61.

Walter Korpi, Tommy Ferrarini and Stefan Englund. 2013. "Women's Opportunities under Different Family Policy Constellations: Gender, Class, and Inequality Tradeoffs in Western Countries Re-examined." *Social Politics* 20, 1: 1-40.

Merike Blofield and Juliana Martinez-Franzoni. 2015. "Maternalism, Co-responsibility, and Social Equity: A Typology of Work–Family Policies." *Social Politics* 22, 1: 38-59.

February 19 – READING WEEK – NO CLASS

Week 19: February 26 - Policy Diffusion and Convergence: Within Nation States

David Marsh and J.C. Sharman. 2009. "Policy Diffusion and Policy Transfer." *Policy Studies* 30, 3: 269-288.

Eric R. Graham, Charles R. Shipan and Craig Volden. 2012. "Review Article: The Diffusion of Policy Diffusion Research in Political Science." *British Journal of Political Science* 1-29.

Andrea Olive, Vagisha Gunasekara and Leigh Raymond. 2012. "Normative Beliefs in State Policy Choice." *Political Research Quarterly* 65, 3: 642-655.

Graeme Boushey. 2016. "Targeted for Diffusion? How the Use and Acceptance of Stereotypes Shape the Diffusion of Criminal Justice Policy Innovations in the American States." *APSR* 110, 1: 198-214.

Further Reading:

Andrew Karch. 2007. *Democratic Laboratories: Policy Diffusion among the American States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Graeme Boushey. 2010. *Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 20: March 5 - Transnational Diffusion of Public Policies and Policy Ideas

Kurt Weyland, 2005. "Theories of Policy Diffusion: Lessons from Latin American Pension Reform." *World Politics* 57: 262-95.

Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons and Geoffrey Garrett. 2007. "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 449-472.

Katharina Holzinger, Christoph Knill and Thomas Sommerer. 2008. "Environmental Policy Convergence: The Impact of International Harmonization, Transnational Communication and Regulatory Competition." *International Organization* 62, 4:553-87.

Katerina Linos. 2011. "Diffusion Through Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, 3: 678-695.

Matthew Paterson, Matthew Hoffmann, Michele Betsill, and Steven Bernstein. 2014. "The Micro Foundations of Policy Diffusion Toward Complex Global Governance: An Analysis of the Transnational Carbon Emission Trading Network." *Comparative Political Studies* 47, 3: 420-449.

Further Reading:

Kurt Weyland. 2006. *Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mitchell A. Orenstein. 2008. *Privatizing Pensions: The Transnational Campaign for Social Security Reform*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Katerina Linos. 2013. *The Democratic Foundations of Policy Diffusion: How Health, Family, and Employment Laws Spread Across Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 21: March 12 – Comparing Beyond Europe and North America

Geoff Wood and Ian Gough. 2006. "A Comparative Welfare Regime Approach to Global Social Policy." *World Development* 34 (10): 1696-1712.

Isabela Mares and Matthew E. Carnes. 2009. "Social Policy in Developing Countries." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 1: 93-113.

Melani Cammett and Lauren M. MacLean. 2014. "The Political Consequences of Non-State Social Welfare." In *The Politics of Non-state Social Welfare*. Eds. Melani Cammett and Lauren MacLean. Ithaca: Cornell UP: 31-53.

Joseph Wong. 2014. "Comparing Beyond Europe and North America." In *Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*. Eds. Isabelle Engeli and Christine Rothmayr Allison. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 163-184.

Further Reading:

Victoria Murillo. 2000. "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America." *World Politics* 52: 135-74.

Ian Gough et al. 2004. *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Joseph Wong. 2004. *Healthy Democracies: Welfare Politics in Taiwan and South Korea*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Nita Rudra. 2007. "Welfare States in Developing Countries: Unique or Universal?" *Journal of Politics* 69, 2: 378-396.

Antoinette Handley. 2008. *Business and the State in Africa: Economic Policy-Making in the Neo-Liberal Era*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Dan Breznitz. 2008. *Innovation and the State: Political Choice and Strategies for Growth in Israel, Taiwan and Ireland*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Joseph Wong. 2011. *Betting on Biotech: Innovation and the Limits of Asia's Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Judith Teichman. 2012. *Social Forces and States: Poverty and Distributional Outcomes in South Korea, Chile and Mexico*. Stanford University Press.

Cheol-Sung Lee. 2012. "Associational Networks and Welfare States in Argentina, Brazil, South Korea and Taiwan." *World Politics* 64, 3: 507-554.

Lynette Ong. 2012. *Prosper or Perish: The Political Economy of Credit and Fiscal Systems in Rural China*. Ithaca: Cornell UP.

Wilson Pritchard. 2015. *Taxation, Responsiveness and Accountability in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Dynamics of Tax Bargaining*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Week 22: March 19 – Policy Design and Instrument Choice

Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram. 1990. "Behavioral Assumptions of Policy Tools." *Journal of Politics* 52, 2: pp. 510-529.

Michael S. Barr, Sendhi Mullainathan, and Eldar Shafir. 2009. "The Case for Behaviorally Informed Regulation." In David Moss and John Cisternino, eds., *New Perspectives on Regulation*. Cambridge, MA: The Tobin Project: 25-61.

Paul J. Ferraro, Juan Jose Miranda, and Michael K. Price. 2011. "The Persistence of Treatment Effects with Norm-Based Policy Instruments: Evidence from a Randomized Environmental Policy Experiment." *American Economic Review* 101: pp. 318-322.

Michael Howlett. 2014. "From the 'Old' to the 'New' Policy Design: Design Thinking Beyond Markets and Collaborative Governance." *Policy Sciences* 47, 3.

Jonathan Craft. 2017. "The Twin Faces of Public Sector Design." Draft paper.

Further Reading:

Michael D. Cohen, James G. March, and Johan P. Olsen. 1972. "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17, 1: 1-25.

Johan P. Olsen. 2001. "Garbage Cans, New Institutionalism, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 95, 1: 191-198.

Cass Sunstein and Thaler, Richard. 2008. *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. New Haven: Yale University Press, passim.

Moshe Maor. 2012. "Policy Overreaction." *Journal of Public Policy* 32, 3: 231-259.

M. Considine, D. Alexander and J.M. Lewis. 2014. "Policy Design as Craft: Teasing Out Policy Design Expertise Using a Semi-experimental Approach." *Policy Sciences* 47: 209-225.

Week 23: March 26 – Policy Making in a Global Era

(re-read) Peter Haas. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." *International Organization* 46, 1: 1-35.

Kelly Kollman. 2007. "Same-Sex Unions: The Globalization of an Idea." *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 329-357.

Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore. 2012. "Complex Global Governance and Domestic Policies: Four Paths of Influence." *International Affairs* 88, 3: 585-604.

Graeme Auld, Stefan Renckens and Benjamin Cashore. 2015. "Transnational Private Governance between the Logics of Empowerment and Control." *Regulation and Governance* 9: 108-124.

Further Reading:

Grace Skogstad. 2000. "Public Policy and Globalization: Situating Canadian Analyses." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 805-28.

Jacqui True. 2003. "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy." *International Journal of Feminist Politics* 5, 3: 368-396.

Walter Mattli and Tim Buthe. 2003. "Setting International Standards: Technological Reality or Primacy of Power?" *World Politics* 56, 1: 1-42.

Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore. 2007. "Can Non-State Global Governance be Legitimate? An Analytical Framework." *Regulation and Governance* 1, 4: 347-371.

Klaus Dingwerth. 2008. "Private Transnational Governance and the Developing World: A Comparative Perspective." *International Studies Quarterly* 52: 607-34.

Tanya Borzel and Thomas Risse. 2010. "Governance Without a State: Can It Work?" *Regulation and Governance* 2010 4: 113-134.

Tim Büthe. 2010. "Private Regulation in the Global Economy: A (P)Review." *Business and Politics* 12, 3: 1328-37.

Jessica Green. 2014. *Rethinking Private Authority: Agents and Entrepreneurs in Global Environmental Governance*. Princeton UP.

Week 24: April 2 - Writing and Publishing a Good Article

Guidelines on Preparing Readings for Seminar Discussion

Seminar participation is a crucial component of learning. But achieving the benefits of seminar participation requires good preparation in advance of the seminar. Reading the listed materials carefully and thinking about them is necessary to have a good sense of what you know and what you are still uncertain about. To assist you in preparing readings for seminar, the following steps are recommended:

Step One: Do you understand the basic terms and concepts used by the author?

- : list the concepts with which you had difficulty
- : try to write an explanation or definition for a few of these

Step Two: What is the central point or argument that the author is trying to make?

- : what is most important about what the author has said?
- : what are the interesting questions or hypotheses being addressed?
- : try to write out in two sentences at most what you think the main point/most important point/most interesting questions or hypotheses of the reading

Step Three: How has the author organized his or her argument? What are the steps or major themes?

- : write down what you see to be the steps in the argument
- : ask yourself what would be the logical way to discuss the various sub-topics

Step Four: What evidence and methodology has the author used to support the argument?

Step Five: How does the reading relate to other material examined in the course?

- : play the devil's advocate and query whether the reading provides anything new
- : ask or state how the new material substantiates or contradicts point(s) raised in earlier readings or seminars

Step Six: How do you evaluate the presentation by the author?

- : now is the time for you to say what you think: is the author credible? What parts of the argument are persuasive and what parts are less so? Prepare to justify your conclusions.

This sequence of steps is designed to ensure you understand the author's concepts and his or her argument before you evaluate the author's claims. Evaluation thus follows comprehension. Keeping written notes as you proceed through the sequence of steps gives you the basis for active participation in the seminar.