# POL 317H1(F): Comparative Public Policy

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This course serves as an introduction to public policy, with a focus on wealthy democracies. We will begin by spending two Classes looking at the questions that motivate many studies of policy:

- Who controls the actions of democratic states? Whose preferences are enacted?
- Why do policies differ across time and space? Why to they change?

These questions cut to the heart of all democratic theories. They are also crucial to understanding your roles as a participant in a democratic society, whether as a voter, a policy-maker, a tax-payer, or a service user.

The focus of the course is on big-picture policy questions. Since this course is meant to avoid too much overlap in POL474, where you will look more carefully at the policy evaluation process, we will spend less time here on policy outputs and more time on policy inputs. In other words, we will try to understand how policies come to be and how they change. We will examine four clusters of policies that are important in every country:

1. Social policy, or "Who gets what and how much"?
2. Labour and public employment policies, or "How is work life shaped by the state?"
3. Criminal justice policies, or "Against whom does the state wield force"?
4. Immigration and citizenship policies, or "Who is a part of our society"?

When we are finished, you will be able to **describe** policy variation on these issues. This description will enable you to **analyze** theories of policy formation, critiquing their strengths and weaknesses, and making a critical judgement about their explanatory power. Finally, you will also be able to **communicate** your description and analysis with others, both orally and in writing.

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*Note the 'James.' There is a Michael W. Donnelly in the Department, so be careful about emails.

# 1  Contact Information

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# 2  Prerequisites

Please see the 2020-2021 Faculty of Arts and Sciences Calendar to see the list of prerequisites.

# 3  Logistics

- MW 10:00am-12:00pm. Online synchronous, with some days asynchronous.

- Michael's Office hours: 10am on Thursdays.[1] Appointments by email are also available.

- Email policy: I will respond to all emails within **two working days**. If I have not gotten back to you by then, feel free to send a reminder. Do not email questions about an assignment fewer than three days before it is due.

# 4  Course Requirements

A note for students who have not taken a summer course before: the course workload is designed to mimic a course taught in the fall or spring semesters. Since this is a faster pace, you should anticipate about twice as much reading and writing per week.

Your final grade is based on participation, two short policy memoranda, and a long paper.

- **Participation** (20%): I expect you to come to class having read the assigned materials and prepared to discuss them. Synchronous attendance is mandatory.

  - Most class sessions will include both lecture and discussions. Your participation in the discussions is important to you and to your classmates. I expect most students to contribute on any given day, and all students to contribute multiple times over the course of the semester.

  - After each week of classes, please enter your participation **self-report** on Quercus. You will evaluate your own preparation (did you read?), attention (did you listen?), and contribution (did you offer insightful comments or questions?). I will show you how to do this at the end of class on the first day. I will check self-reports, so be honest!

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[1]These hours are subject to change. Check Quercus for announcements.

This must be done by 9:00am each Class for the previous Class. If you forget, I will NOT make the test available again. I suggest you do it at noon after Wednesday's class. I will use these, along with my notes, to give you a participation score.

– Absences: If you expect to miss class, or if you miss class unexpectedly, it is essential that you communicate with me. If you notify me of your absence, I will make a note. You are still responsible for filling out the participation self-report honestly. That is, if you did not attend, answer "I did not attend or did not pay attention" and I will adjust your grade at the end of the semester to reflect the excused absence.

– I expect discussions to be civil and respectful. You will disagree with me, with the readings, and with each other quite frequently. That is good. It means we are all thinking hard about public policy, one of the most controversial topics we can study. When you participate in class, be careful to consider your tone, and to avoid racist, sexist, homophobic, transphobic, or sectarian comments.

- **Policy Memoranda** (10% X 2): Twice over the course of the semester, you should write a 400 word (one side of one page, single-spaced) policy memo. This should examine a single policy in two countries, comparing and contrasting the policies of the two states. This exercise is **descriptive**, that is, your job is to tell me what the policy is in each country, not to analyze which is better. These memos are **self-scheduled**. You must turn in the first by Class 5 (May 23) and the second one by Class 11 (June 13).

- **Long Paper** (45%): This paper will be an in depth (2,500-3,500 words) examination of policies in an issue area of your choice. You will choose an area, describe the variation across at least three countries, and (try to) explain why the policies vary. A rough draft is due (on Quercus) at 10:00pm on June 9. The papers are due (on Quercus) June 21 by 5:30pm.

    – **Feedback** (15%):You will also be tasked with providing **written feedback** to two of your peers. We will do this using the peer review module on Quercus. Feedback is due on June 13. Note that this is a quick turnaround, so plan ahead.

## 4.1   Long Paper Details

The comparison should focus on the **causes** of the policies in question. You will examine three or four countries, describing the types of policies and how you might measure them in a broader selection of countries. You will not have space to describe every detail about each case, so you must make analytic choices about the most important aspects of the policy for determining the causes.

   You should clearly describe the theoretical framework in which you are working and provide initial evidence for your theory. Some potential issues are listed below. Feel free to pick an issue not on this list, but clear the topic with me by email before Class 5.

- Minimum wages
- Unemployment benefits
- Income taxes
- Consumption/value added taxes
- Taxes on capital

- Public sector union regulation
- Private sector union regulation
- Utility regulation
- Public sector procurement
- Anti-discrimination laws
- Drug regulation
- Divorce
- LGBT rights
- Abortion
- Prisons and punishment
- Domestic violence prevention
- Education funding
- Education curricula
- Teacher training
- Health care/insurance funding
- Food safety
- Trade policy
- Defense procurement

After you have chosen your topic, you should submit a short (about one page single spaced) topic selection memo (due Class 6). In this memo, you should:

1. Identify a topic

2. Identify cases (these may be tentative)

3. Describe a measurement strategy, including possible sources of those measurements (i.e. your own categorizations, using the OECD's measures, etc.)

4. Identify three scholarly works that are relevant to your topic and/or your cases.

Table 1 displays the criteria for the paper itself, while Table and 2 display the criteria for the feedback. An **A** paper or feedback packet will have more than one aspect falling into the "Excellent" category and none in the "Poor" or "Fair." A **C+** item will display mostly "Fair" performance, while a failing item will be mostly "Poor."

# 5   General rules for assignments

**Submission**   All other assignments will be submitted directly through Quercus,[2] but the rough draft of the paper and the feedback should be submitted through peer review function on Quercus. This will randomly give you access to two of your classmates' rough drafts for your comments. The final draft should be submitted to Quercus.

**Citations, formatting, and style**   In all written work, you may use any standard format and any citation approach (in-text, footnotes, endnotes, etc.) that works for you. Just be consistent, and cite anything that is not common knowledge. Since you are professionals, I will pay close attention to issues of grammar, diction, and clarity.

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[2]All written work should be turned in to Quercus in .doc/.docx/.pdf format. Do not use a format, such as .pages, that makes me do work to convert it if I am not on a Mac.

**Table 1:** Final Draft Criteria

| | Points | Poor | Fair | Good | Excellent |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Theoretical framework | 8 | Missing or incoherent | Coherent, but contains logical gaps, does not connect to other theories | Draws on existing literature, does not add to it or explain nuances. | Innovative or displaying clear grasp of underlying mechanisms and structures. |
| Connection to readings | 4 | Does not cite readings | Ignores some important readings on syllabus | Makes appropriate citations to readings on syllabus | Cites appropriate readings on and off syllabus |
| Case selection | 8 | Do not vary in key independent/dependent variables. Incorrect number of cases. | Vary on some IV's/DV's, but not those appropriate to the framework. | Well-chosen cases. | Well chosen cases displaying unusual or striking insight. |
| Measurement | 8 | Does not consider measurement issues. | Mentions measurement, but uses poorly designed measures. | Measures are appropriate for theory. | Measures display unusual insight. |
| Organization | 4 | Hard to follow, lacks an abstract. | May include an abstract, overall organization is good, but lower levels display incoherence | Well-structured, includes abstract, section headings | Good transitions and all parts are clearly linked to thesis |
| Writing and graphics | 8 | Many grammatical/spelling mistakes, poor or inappropriate graphics | Competent writing, reasonable graphics, poor link between the two | Well integrated writing and graphics | Exceptionally insightful and creative writing and graphics |

**Table 2:** Feedback Criteria

| | Points | Poor | Fair | Good | Excellent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engagement | 4 | Not tied to papers | Engages, but does not display a clear grasp of the theory and cases | Clear grasp of the paper | Displays critical evaluation and adds insight |
| Theoretical sophistication | 4 | Does not grasp theory or evidence | Displays understanding of theory and evidence, but does not add to it | Adds some insights | Adds many insights, will be especially beneficial to recipients |
| Tone | 4 | Is disrespectful | Is respectful but not critical | Includes respectful criticism. May include cliched compliments | Includes respectful criticism and useful compliments |

# 6   Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

Plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity will not be tolerated. See the university policies[3] for more details. The Writing Center[4] can also assist you in avoiding plagiarism.

Plagiarism policies apply to **all** work, including memos and rough drafts.

# 7   Late Assignments and Appeals

Late assignments will receive deductions of 20% per day. Students are strongly advised to make rough drafts and hard copies before handing anything in and to keep those copies until after grades are posted on ROSI.

Grade appeals must be made within two weeks of receiving the grade. They must include a 100-200 word written statement of why the assignment deserves to be re-graded. The grade will change only in cases where the second grading is more than 10 points different from the first (i.e. a 60 will not be changed unless the second grading produces a score of 70+ or 50-). **Grades can go up or down on the second grading**.

# 8   Readings

Below, you will find a detailed listing of readings[5] for each class session. Most classes will be based on two to four assigned articles or book chapters (typically about three hours worth of careful reading, though a bit longer in Classes 2 and 3). You should read carefully and be prepared to discuss both the theory and the evidence. Some of the evidence is going to rely on knowledge - of history, politics, statistics, or past work - that you do not have. That is to be expected. If you read the evidence and cannot understand exactly what it means, make sure to bring that up in class.

We will use the following books, available at various bookstores or online through the library:

- Alberto F Alesina and Edward L Glaeser. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

- Ruud Koopmans et al. *Contested citizenship: Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005

The first one is available through Oxford Scholarship Online on the library website and the second is available as individual chapters on the library website through Proquest.

# 9   Course Outline

Class 1: Introductions, logistics, etc.                                              May 9

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[3]http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity

[4]http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/home

[5]There are also a few podcasts included as "readings." I refuse to call these "listenings," but the first student to suggest a term for readings and podcasts that is (1) clear and (2) doesn't sound ridiculous wins a prize.

- Amelia Hoover Green. *How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps.* 2013. URL: https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/howtoread.pdf

- Woodrow Wilson. "The Study of Administration". In: *Political Science Quarterly* 2.2 (1887), pp. 197–222

- Elinor Ostrom. "Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms". In: *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14.3 (2000), pp. 137–158. DOI: 10.1080/19390459.2014.935173. URL: http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/10.1257/jep.14.3.137

## Policy Causes

Class 2: Interests, institutions, and ideas: What causes variation in public policies? We discuss three sources of differing preferences and differing outcomes.                      May 11

- Sven Steinmo. "Political institutions and tax policy in the United States, Sweden, and Britain". In: *World Politics* 41.4 (1989), pp. 500–535

- Peter A Hall. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain". In: *Comparative Politics* 25.3 (1993), pp. 275–296

- Walter Korpi. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protaganists, Consenters, and Antagonists". In: *World Politics* 58 (2006), pp. 167–206

- "The Schematic State" *New Books in Political Science Podcast.* https://newbooksnetwork.com/debra-thompson-the-schematic-state-race-transnationalism-and-the-politics-of-the-census-cambridge-up-2016/

Class 3: Does public opinion shape the outcome of democratic politics? If so, whose preferences matter? Is it the rich? The media? Politicians?                      May 16

- Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens". In: *Perspectives on Politics* 12.3 (2014), pp. 564–581

- Lea Elsässer, Svenja Hense, and Armin Schäfer. "Not just money: unequal responsiveness in egalitarian democracies". In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 28.12 (2021), pp. 1890–1908. ISSN: 14664429. DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2020.1801804. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1801804

- Alan Renwick, Tom O'Grady, and Gary Lemon. "The Transformation of British Welfare Policy". In: *UCL Uncovering Politics Podcast* 47 (2022). URL: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/political-science/ps-online/ucl-uncovering-politics

Class 4: Analyzing policy causes as social scientists. What strategies do political and social scientists use to provide evidence for their theories? How do we measure key concepts?      May 18

NOTE: Asynchronous: I will provide a recorded lecture.

- Chapter 3 of Gary King, Robert O Keohane, and Sidney Verba. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994

- Irwin Garfinkel, Lee Rainwater, and Timothy M Smeeding. "A Re-examination of Welfare States and Inequality in Rich Nations: How In-kind Transfers and Indirect Taxes Change the Story". In: *Policy Analysis* 25.4 (2006), pp. 897–919

- APSA - Migration and Citizenship. "Symposium: How to Measure Immigration Policies". In: *Migration and Citizenship* 1.2 (2013), pp. 4–53

## Social Policy

Class 5: How much and to whom?                                                      May 23

- Paul Pierson. "The New Politics of the Welfare State". In: *World Politics* 48.2 (1996), pp. 143–179

- Daniel Béland and André Lecours. "The Politics of Territorial Solidarity". In: *Comparative Political Studies* 38.6 (2005), pp. 676–703

- Kathleen Thelen. "Varieties of Capitalism: Trajectories of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity". In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 15.1 (2012), pp. 137–159

Class 6: Why do some states "care" more than others?                    May 25   **Topic selection memo due**

- Chapters 3-6 Alesina and Glaeser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe*

- Evelyne Huber, Charles C Ragin, and John D Stephens. "Social democracy, Christian democracy, constitutional structure, and the welfare state". In: *American Journal of Sociology* (1993), pp. 711–749

- **JacZho22**

## Labour, Public Employment, and Bureaucracies

Class 7: How do states influence the labour market?                                 May 30

- Jonas Pontusson, David Rueda, and Christopher R Way. "Comparative Political Economy of Wage Distribution: The Role of Partisanship and Labour Market Institutions". In: *British Journal of Political Science* 32.2 (2002), pp. 281–308

- Peter A Hall and David Soskice. "An introduction to varieties of capitalism". In: *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Chap. 1, pp. 1–69

Class 8: Who works? For whom?                                                        June 2

- Florence Jaumotte. "Labour Force Participation of Women: Empirical Evidence on the Role of Policy". In: *OECD Economic Studies* 37.2 (2003), pp. 51–107

- Claire L Adida, David D Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. "Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France." In: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 107.52 (2010), pp. 22384–90. ISSN: 1091-6490

## Criminal Justice

Class 9:  Politics and Crime                                                                                       June 6

- Nicola Lacey, David Soskice, and David Hope. "Understanding the determinants of penal policy: Crime, culture, and comparative political economy". In: *Annual Review of Criminology* 1 (2018), pp. 219–234. ISSN: 25724568. DOI: [10.1146/annurev-criminol-032317-091942](10.1146/annurev-criminol-032317-091942)

- Felipe Estrada. "The Transformation of the Politics of Crime in High Crime Societies". In: *European Journal of Criminology* 1.4 (2004), pp. 419–443

- Eva-Maria Euchner et al. "From 'morality' policy to 'normal' policy: framing of drug consumption and gambling in Germany and the Netherlands and their regulatory consequences". In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 20.3 (2013), pp. 372–389

Class 10:  Inequalities                                                                              June 9   **Draft due**

- John R Sutton. "Imprisonment and Social Classification in Five Common-Law Democracies, 1955-1985". In: *American Journal of Sociology* 106.2 (2000), pp. 1955–1985

- Bruce Western. "Poverty Politics and Crime Control in Europe and America". In: *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 40.3 (2011), pp. 283–286

## Immigration and Citizenship Policy

Class 11:  Who can come? Who can stay?                                                        June 13   **Feedback due**

- Read the introduction and two or three chapters of Koopmans et al., [*Contested citizenship*](Contested citizenship)

- Chapter 2 Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012

- Hakhverdian, Armen. *Stuk Rood Vlees Podcast.* "Episode 40: Immigration and elections, with Maria Sobolewska and Sergi Pardos"

   [http://stukroodvlees.nl/stuk-rood-vlees-podcast-episode-40-immigration-and-electi](http://stukroodvlees.nl/stuk-rood-vlees-podcast-episode-40-immigration-and-electi)

Class 12:  How do natives respond?                                                           June 16   **Final draft due next Monday**

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

- Chapter 2 of Rafaela Dancygier. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010