

SYLLABUS

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Office Hours: 3 p.m.-4:30 p.m. Mondays; 3:30 p.m.-5 p.m. Wednesdays; and by appt.

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Course Description

This course provides a comprehensive overview of comparative and international public policy. It examines major theories and approaches to public policy design and implementation in several major areas: international political economy (including the study of international trade and monetary policy, financial regulation, and comparative welfare policy), global public health and comparative healthcare policy, housing, public safety and education, human rights, institutional development (including democratic governance, accountability systems, public safety, and judicial reform), and environmental public policy. This course serves as the gateway for the Public Policy Minor and it provides a good basis for more advanced work in comparative and international public policy in the Political Science and Economics Majors.

What Is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. Outside of the classroom, this means that students must engage with the reading assignments and required audiovisual materials. Inside the classroom, the work in this class is highly interactive, involving much debate and discussion, sometimes in formal, timed settings, and sometimes in less formal formats. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and they will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and in their classroom discussions and debates. Although students' own life experiences and opinions are welcome and valued in this class, more frequently students will be asked to defend or analyze perspectives quite different from their own. The effectiveness of their arguments will be judged as rigorously as if they were personally held. Any student who believes that they will have difficulty taking on a particular position or listening to a certain point of view, ought to communicate their concerns to the professor before class or during office hours.

Materials

This course uses a variety of written and audiovisual materials that will all be available on Moodle.

Grading

Assessment of students in this course will be based on their performance on two light research papers, a group data analysis project with an oral presentation component, and classroom participation. The grade breakdown is as follows:

First writing assignment (25%)

Second writing assignment (35%)

Group policy prescription assignment (25%, the sum of a group dynamics score (10%) and the oral presentation of findings (15%))
Class participation (15%)

The Writing Assignments

Paper assignments in this course are of varying lengths. Yet all must be typed, paginated, and double-spaced with Times New Roman or Garamond font type, 12cpi font size, and one-inch margins. Failure to follow these style requirements will result in points deductions.

The writing assignments must be turned in as PDF files on Dropbox by 5 p.m. *Late work will receive no credit.* Students anticipating missing the deadline must contact the professor no fewer than 48 hours before the deadline. Since the ability to edit texts and produce concise argument is a touchstone for assessing and developing critical skills, students will not be allowed to surpass the required number of pages. A handout for each of these assignments will specify the parameters of each of these papers well before the due date. **Revisions to graded first drafts will be possible.**

Paper #1 Hypothesis-testing Project

Students will develop or select a hypothesis discussed during the first sections of the course. Using a mix of quantitative and qualitative empirical evidence, they will compose a 6-7-page analytical paper testing the selected hypothesis. Completing this assignment will require a light amount of independent research.

Paper #2 Policy-Position Paper

Based on their study of policy areas during section 3 of the course, students research a problem area of their choosing and develop a policy prescription to address this problem. This paper will follow the conventions of policy-position papers that define the problem, discuss the failures of extant policy responses, and then develop a *prescriptive* approach that unpacks a specific policy. The final section of the paper anticipates some of the problems with the proposed policy and suggests possible remedies or forbearances. This paper will be 8-10 pages and will require a longer period of research than is the case for paper #1. The work in this paper must not be closely related to the focus of the first paper or the group data analysis project.

Group Data Analysis Project

Students will be assigned to groups during the first sections of the course. In these groups, they will be given a policy profile and a research mission that crosses several areas of public policy. In most cases, the focus of the mission will be cross-national in its comparative scope, but focused primarily on a contemporary policy issue. Each group will work with the professor to determine the focus of each mission and what the group will do. Then they will organize to gather both qualitative and quantitative data on the subject and organize a presentation that follows the policy-position approach modeled in Paper #2. Quantitative work can be done in Excel, but more advanced work will require the use of a statistical package such as Stata or R. A detailed handout will describe the format and other aspects of this project during the first weeks of the course.

The “group dynamics” score will be determined based on confidential peer evaluations, professor’s observations or preliminary work. Emphasis will be placed on the demonstration of *consistent* effort by all group members. The group dynamics score will be based on a mean group score adjusted for varying levels of individual effort. In most cases, collective responsibility tends to cause all individual scores to mirror the group score, which is the goal.

Class Participation

It is not possible to be a consistently quiet observer in this course. The classroom work in this course requires constant communication of students’ insights into the subjects and materials of the class. Participation is an integral part of the way in which students prepare for graded assignments and are evaluated. Student participation will be assessed in both formal, structured exercises and more informal and open-ended assignments in class. In most cases, the parameters of participation assignments will be explained in handouts and during prior classes.

Assessment of student participation provides some data to measure student learning. This course will use other tools, including occasional “diagnostics,” that will ask students to respond to a small number of questions on the readings and presentations. The professor will follow up with students whose scores suggest some challenges with the materials or the schedule.

Attendance is required under normal circumstances. If health and/or continued quarantine prevent in-person attendance, students so affected will be provided with a variety of alternative opportunities for participation and assessment. These may include asynchronous assignments and synchronous activities such as oral exams. This course will attempt to avoid simultaneous, hybrid formats in the classroom as these are disruptive and unsustainable.

Students who know that they will be absent due to a scheduling conflict involving athletic events, Model U.N., forensics, job interviews, or any other activity, must communicate their scheduling conflicts to the professor via email/text/WhatsApp as soon as possible.

Finally, there will be a number of enrichment opportunities linked to this course. Guest speakers who are providing on-campus talks, panel presentations, webinars, and the occasional “Public Policy Breakfast Chat” in the 2nd floor lounge of Hasenstab before class, will add to the experience of this course. These are optional experiences, but I recommend that students avail themselves of at least one of these during the term.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:

98-100 A+
94-97 A
91-93 A-
88-90 B+
83-87 B
79-82 B-
76-78 C+
72-75 C
68-71 C-

67/below D/F

Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean of Students.

Special Needs

Carleton College is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. The Office of Accessibility Services (OAR) is the campus office that collaborates with students who have disabilities to arrange for reasonable accommodations. If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, autism spectrum, chronic health, traumatic brain injury and concussions, sensory, or physical), please contact Sam Thayer, Director of OAR, to arrange a confidential evaluation. This course will implement only accommodations first approved by the OAR.

Global Trigger Warning

The substantive content of this course involves issues, subjects, and materials that some students will find disconcerting and, perhaps, triggering. Whenever possible, I will do my best to provide forewarning, but I also ask that students communicate directly with me about any issues or subjects that are particularly concerning to them.

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

SECTION ONE

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT OF PUBLIC POLICY GOVERNANCE

Session 1: Anarchy, International Institutions, and Neoliberal Globalization

Anarchy and the Problem of Cooperation (Wednesday, January 4)

Joseph Grieco. 1988. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation." *International Organization* 42:3 Summer.

Robert Keohane. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapter 4.

On Moodle: Recommended Video - "Cooperation Under Anarchy"

Embedded Liberalism and Neoliberalism (Friday, January 6)

John Gerard Ruggie. 1983. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order." In *International Regimes*, Stephen D. Krasner, ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Miguel A. Centeno and Joseph N. Cohen. 2012. "The Arc of Neoliberalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 38: pp. 317-340.

Whither State Power in a Post-Neoliberal Age? (Monday, January 9)

Stephen Krasner and Thomas Risse. 2014. "External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction." *Governance* 27:4 (October).

J. Bradford DeLong, interviewed by Ezra Klein, "[Inflation Does More than Raise Prices – It Destroys Governments](#)." Ezra Klein Show podcast (Nov. 4, 2022).

On Moodle: Recommended Videos - "Money and Its Management" and "Exchange Rate Regimes"

Recommended: Adam Tooze, interviewed by Ezra Klein, "[How the Fed is Shaking the Entire System](#)." Ezra Klein Show podcast (Oct. 7, 2022). Note: Pay close attention to the concept of "[polycrisis](#)."

Session 2: Global Capitalism and Transnational Networks

Macroeconomic Policy-making (Wednesday, January 11)

Michael Bordo and Harold James. 2006. "One World Money, Then and Now." *International Economics and Economic Policy* 3: 3-4 pp. 395-407.

Jeffrey A. Frieden. 2010. "Globalization and Exchange Rate Policy," in Jeffrey A. Frieden, David A. Lake, and J. Lawrence Broz, eds. *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth* 5th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton), pp. 286-296.

Recommended: McKinsey Global Institute. 2016. "[Digital Globalization: The New Era of Global Flows](#)" (read the summary and skim the full report, also accessible on this page)

Transnational Production, Trade, and Labor (Friday, January 13)

McKinsey Global Institute. 2019. "[Globalization in Transition: The Future of Trade and Value Chains](#)." (January 16 report article). (Full report is [here](#) – worth skimming).

Richard Baldwin. 2022. "[Globotics and Macroeconomics: Globalisation and Automation of the Service Sector](#)." NBER Working Paper #30317.

Transnational and "Glocal" Movements and Networks (Monday, January 16)

Paul Almeida and Chris Chase-Dunn. 2018. "Globalization and Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 44: 189-211.

Ludovic Terren and Roger Soler-i-Martí. 2021. "['Glocal' and Transversal Engagement in Youth Social Movements: A Twitter-Based Case Study of Fridays for Future-Barcelona](#)." *Frontiers in Political Science* 3.

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Ch. 1.

Human Rights, Basic Needs, and Human Security Regimes (Wednesday, January 18)

Nita Rudra. 2009. "Why International Organizations Should Bring Basic Needs Back In." *International Studies Perspectives* 10: 129-150.

Jennifer L. Miller and Patrice C. McMahon. 2018. "The Power of International Criminal Courts: Strategic Behavior and Accountability Networks." *Journal of Human Rights* 17:1: 25-43.

Marlies Hesselman and Lottie Lane. 2017. "Disasters and Non-state Actors: Human Rights-Based Approaches." *Disaster Prevention and Management* 26:5: 526-539.

Debating Globalization and Agency – States, Movements, Local and Transnational Networks and Communities (Friday, January 20)

Diagnostic #1 & Small Group Debates

SECTION TWO

VARIETIES OF STATES AND CAPITALISMS

Session 3: Types of States and Varieties of Capitalism

Liberal and Social Democratic States/Orders (Monday, January 23)

Jonas Pontusson. 2005. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe vs. Liberal America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chs. 1-2.

Roland Poirier Martinsson. 2012. "The Demise of the Driving Forces Behind the Liberal and Social Democratic Welfare State." *European View* 11: 47-53.

Gary Gerstle, interviewed on The Essential Podcast, "[The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order](#)" (June 30, 2022).

Developmentalist States and Hierarchical Capitalism (Wednesday, January 25)

Atul Kohli. 2012. "Coping with Globalization: Asian versus Latin American Strategies of Development, 1980-2010." *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy* 32:4 (October-December): 531-556.

Ben Ross Schneider. 2009. "Hierarchical Market Economies and Varieties of Capitalism in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41: 553-575.

Richard W. Carney. 2016. "Varieties of Hierarchical Capitalism: Family and State Market Economies in East Asia." *The Pacific Review* 29:2: 137-163.

Capitalist States and Democracy (Friday, January 27)

Ernesto Gallo. 2022. "Three Varieties of Authoritarian Neoliberalism: Rule by the Experts, the People, the Leader." *Competition & Change* 26:5 (October): 554-574.

Gábor Scheiring. 2021. "Dependent Development and Authoritarian State Capitalism: Democratic Backsliding and the Rise of the Accumulative State in Hungary." *Geoforum* 124: 267-278.

Session 4: Social Welfare Regimes, Poverty and Inequality

Social Welfare Regimes (Monday, January 30)

Gosta Esping-Andersen. 2015. "Welfare Regimes and Social Stratification." *Journal of European Social Policy* 25:1: 124-134.

Robert Jan Van der Veen and Wouter an der Brug. 2012. "Three Worlds of Social Insurance: On the Validity of Esping-Andersen's Welfare Regime Dimensions." *British Journal of Political Science* 43: 323-343.

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

Poverty and Inequality in Comparative Perspective (Wednesday, February 1)

Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo. 2011. *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*. New York: Public Affairs, chs. 1-4.

Nita Rudra and Jennifer Tobin. 2017. "When Does Globalization Help the Poor?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 287-307.

SECTION THREE

POLICY AREAS

Session 5: Health, Human Capital, and Quality of Life Issues

National Health Care Systems & Health Equity (Friday, February 3)

Geoffrey Wilkinson et al. 2017. "No Equity, No Triple Aim: Strategic Proposals to Advance Health Equity in a Volatile Policy Environment." *American Journal of Public Health* 107:53: 5223-5228.

Luca Lorenzoni, Annalisa Belloni, and Franco Sassi. 2014. "Health-care Expenditure and Health Policy in the USA versus Other High-Spending OECD Countries." *Lancet* 384: 83-92.

Paul Farmer and Nicole Gastineau. 2002. "Rethinking Health and Human Rights: Time for a Paradigm Shift." *Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics* 30: 655-666.

MIDTERM BREAK (Monday, February 6)

Pandemic Policy (Wednesday, February 8)

Diagnostic #2

Jeffery K. Taubengerger and David M. Morens. 2010. "Influenza: The Once and Future Pandemic." *Public Health Reports* 125:3: 16-26.

Marina B. Wasilewski et al. 2022. "Infection Prevention and Control Across the Continuum of COVID-19 Care: A Qualitative Study of Patients', Caregivers' and Providers' Experiences." *Health Expectations* 25: 2431-2439.

Nasib Babaei et al. 2022. "Interventions for Adapting Health Care Providers to New Situations in the Workplace during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Scoping Review for Developing a Policy Brief." *World Medical and Health Policy* 14 (1): 34-46.

Cyril Bennouna et al. 2021. "Pandemic Policymaking in Presidential Federations: Explaining Subnational Responses to COVID-19 in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51:4: 570-600.

Education Reforms (Friday, February 10)

Alex Elwick. 2017. "New Forms of Government School Provision: An International Comparison." *Journal of Education Policy* 33:2: 206-225.

Oscar Espinoza. 2017. "Paulo Freire's Ideas As An Alternative to Higher Education Neoliberal Reforms in Latin America." *Journal of Moral Education* 46:4: 435-448.

Labor Market Reform (Monday, February 13)

McKinsey Global Institute. 2017. "Jobs Lost, Jobs Gained: What the Future of Work Will Mean for Jobs, Skills, and Wages" <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/future-of-work/jobs-lost-jobs-gained-what-the-future-of-work-will-mean-for-jobs-skills-and-wages> (skim full report accessible on page) (November 28).

Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2021. "National Occupational Employment and Wage Estimates." (https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm#00-0000) (review patterns by playing around with the sorting)

Aina Gallego and Paul Marx. 2017. "Multi-dimensional Preferences for Labour Market Reforms: A Conjoint Experiment." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24:7: 1027-1047.

Housing (Wednesday, February 15)

Michael Atafo Adabre and Albert P.C. Chan. 2019. "Critical Success Factors (CSFs) for Sustainable Affordable Housing." *Building and Environment* 156: 203-214.

Sheelah Kolhatkar. "[What Happens When Investment Firms Acquire Trailer Parks.](#)" *The New Yorker* (March 8, 2021).

Cait Kelly. 2022. "[Not Mobile](#)" podcast on the case of Viking Terrace in Northfield, KYMN – The One 95.1 FM. Listen to the first episode, "Don't Sign Anything" (November 1, 2022). Other episodes are recommended.

Guest Speaker: Mar Valdecantos, Director, Rice County Neighbors United.

Policing, Public Security, and Social Resilience (Friday, February 17)

Eduardo Moncada. 2020. "The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 18:3 (September): 706-721

Eduardo Moncada. 2022. "Criminal Victimization and Social Resilience in Latin America." In Michael Glass, Philip Williams, and Taylor Seybolt, eds. *Urban Violence, Resilience and Security: Governance Responses in the Global South*. Edward Elgar Publishers, pp. 177-192.

Guest Speaker: Eduardo Moncada, Assoc. Prof. of Political Science, Barnard College and Carleton's Wynia Lecturer for 2023.

Session 6: Regulating Natural Resources and the Environment

Natural Resource Governance and Social Development (Monday, February 20)

Diagnostic #3

Nita Rudra and Nathan M. Jensen. 2011. "Globalization and the Politics of Natural Resources." *Comparative Political Studies* 44:6: 639-661.

Max Koch and Martin Fritz. 2014. "Building the Eco-social State: Do Welfare Regimes Matter?" *Journal of Social Policy* 43:4: 679-703.

Elena Paglialunga, Andrea Coveri, and Antonello Zanfei. 2022. "Climate Change and Within-Country Inequality: New Evidence from a Global Perspective." *World Development* 159: 1-22.

Energy Policy and Renewables (Wednesday, February 22)

Bill McKibben, interviewed by Ezra Klein, "[The Power That Could Save the Planet.](#)" Ezra Klein Show podcast (Nov. 15, 2022).

Kacper Szulecki. 2018. "Conceptualizing Energy Democracy." *Environmental Politics* 27:1: 21-41.

Soren Becker and Matthias Naumann. 2017. "Energy Democracy: Mapping the Debate on Energy Alternatives." *Geography Compass* 11: 1-13.

Transnational Environmental Networks (Friday, February 24)

Debate #1

Alexander Thompson. 2006. "Management Under Anarchy: The International Politics of Climate Change." *Climatic Change* 78: 7-29.

Thomas G. Weiss and Martin J. Burke. 2011. "Legitimacy, Identity and Climate Change: Moving from International to World Society?" *Third World Quarterly* 32:6: 1057-1072.

Monica Di Gregorio, Kate Massarella, Heike Schroeder, Maria Bockhaus, and Thuy Thu Pham. 2020. "Building Authority and Legitimacy in Transnational Climate Change Governance: Evidence from the Governors' Climate and Forests Task Force." *Global Environmental Change* 64: 1-9.

Henner Busch, Lena Bendlin, and Paul Fenton. 2018. "Shaping Local Response – The Influence of Transnational Municipal Climate Networks on Urban Climate Governance." *Urban Climate* 24: 221-230.

Session 7: Democratic Governance

Democratic "Backsliding" and Securing Political Freedoms (Monday, February 27)

Anna Luhrmann and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. "A Third Wave of Autocratization Is Here: What Is New About It?" *Democratization* 26:7: 1095-1113.

Kurt Weyland. 2017. "Autocratic Diffusion and Cooperation: The Impact of Interests vs. Ideology." *Democratization* 24:7 (December): 1235-1252.

Zhaotian Luo and Arturas Rozenas. 2018. "The Election Monitor's Curse." *American Journal of Political Science* 62:1 (January): 148-160.

The Rights of Minorities, Women, LGBTQ, and Indigenous Peoples (Wednesday, March 1)

Matti Jutila. 2017. "New National Organization of Europe: Nationalism and Minority Rights After the End of the Cold War." *International Relations* 31:1: 21-41.

Manuela Lavinas Picq. 2012. "Between the Dock and a Hard Place: Hazards and Opportunities of Legal Pluralism for Indigenous Women in Ecuador." *Latin American Politics and Society* 54:2 (Summer): 1-33.

Michelle L. Dion and Jordi Díez. 2017. "Democratic Values, Religiosity, and Support for Same-Sex Marriage in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 59:4 (Winter): 75-98.

Debating the Erosion of Democracy (Friday, March 3)

Debate #2

Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk. 2019. “Democratic Deconsolidation in Developed Democracies, 1995-2018.” CES Open Forum Series.

SECTION FOUR

STUDENT GROUP RESEARCH PROJECTS

Group Project Presentations (Monday, March 6 and Wednesday, March 8)

Breakfast meetings with data analysis groups (Friday, March 10)