Policy Making Processes
IRCO 400
Professor David G. Victor
Spring 2015
RBC Auditorium

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course will introduce students to the theories and concepts that help explain how societies design and implement public policies. We will discuss the issues generally and in a wide variety of national settings. Most classes will include a —theory̶reading as well as a case study illustration. Cases will be drawn from around the world.

The course is divided into five analytical modules. In the first, we become acquainted with general principles of political organization such as —collective action̶and "principal–agent" relationships that help explain how complex organizations like governments work. In the second, we learn about the impacts of different governing systems. These first two analytic modules take us up to the midterm examination. The third unit looks into the roles of various actors in policy implementation. Then, in the fourth module, we look at the impact of the interactions between
public and private actors. The fifth unit looks at the role domestic politics plays in making foreign policy.

**REQUIREMENTS**

Students will write three memos. The first will briefly (up to 2 single-spaced pages) discuss how collective action relates to any humanitarian situation. This memo is due April 6 at 9:30a (before the beginning of class). You will submit your memo to turnitin.com and bring a paper copy to class. (Double sided please.)

The second and third memos will be policy memos of up to 4 single-spaced pages on a case from the class of your choosing. One of these will be due before the mid-term; the other after the mid-term. Each should be submitted to turnitin.com as well as a paper copy (double sided) handed in before the beginning of class (9:30am) on the day the case is covered. The policy memo will be addressed to a client—a head of a government agency or international institution, or a policy strategist at a firm or NGO—and will briefly summarize the state of play of existing policy, outline the policy options and explain how to choose among them. The idea behind these memos is not to do extensive additional research but to synthesize what you have learned about the case into a very compact space and to explain policy choices.

Students will submit their top 3 preferences for each of the second and third memos and will be assigned memos accordingly. Come prepared to the first day of class with your preferences. You will choose 3 topics from the classes up to the midterm and 3 after the midterm. The distribution will be even among all options, so if the entire class submits the last three topics, not everyone will get their desired topics. Once assignments are made, there will be no changes.

No student will pass the course without having turned in both assignments on time.

Students will take a mid-term and a final examination. The date of the final exam will be announced; note that IR/PS uses a schedule different from that of the main campus, and thus the date and time of the final exam may not correspond to what is in the campus schedule. Do not make any plans to leave San Diego at what you might think is the end of the quarter until the exam date has been announced. No make-up exams—for either the midterm or the final—will be offered under any circumstances other than actual emergencies, such as an accident, or serious illness of yourself or an immediate family member. If you are taking a final exam in a non-IR/PS course that conflicts with the PMP exam, you are expected to take the PMP exam at the announced time and arrange another time to take the other exam.

**Class participation: **Students are required to participate in class discussions. Students' responses to —cold calls!—will be tracked with the help of a TA. Some day’s class sessions will follow the outline of topics from the reading very closely. Other sessions will not track the readings, but instead will branch off from them and provide a different —angle! on the topic. Therefore, you should be prepared to demonstrate, via your cold call responses, both that you have made a good- faith effort to understand the argument made by the author(s) of all that day’s
assigned readings, and that you have thought about broader implications of the topic.

You are expected not only to be in class, but to be **attentive**. If students are regularly asking, —will you repeat the question?! —upon being cold called, valuable class time is wasted. Please understand that it will be at the professor's discretion whether to repeat a cold call question or simply move on to another student. Being attentive includes **not using class time to send and receive e-mail or read web pages or catch up on your work in other courses**! Students who abuse the convenience of our campus-wide wireless service, or who are otherwise inattentive, can expect to find their participation grades affected.

Only cold calls, rather than volunteered comments, will be tracked in order to maintain equity among different personality types, cultural backgrounds, and degrees of comfort with the English language. If volunteered oral comments were tracked, too, students who are especially eager to speak would be unfairly advantaged over their quieter classmates. However, students are encouraged to volunteer pertinent remarks and ask clarifying or probing questions during class. Naturally, basic standards of courtesy, i.e. **raising one's hand and waiting to be acknowledged**, are expected of students.

On cold calls, **you will be called by the name that is on the official University roster**. If you prefer to be called by a middle name or nickname, please notify one of the TAs, who will amend our records accordingly.

**WAIVING THIS COURSE**

*Waivers are rarely granted!* Petitions proposing to waive this course must be presented to the professor no later than 2:00 p.m. on the second day of class. They must include syllabi of courses that you believe show you have covered the bulk of the material of this course previously; you also should submit relevant papers from such courses. Even if you think you can waive, **you must turn in the first homework assignment**, unless your waiver has been granted before the assignment due date; if you really are qualified for a waiver, this assignment will be easy and will not even require you to (re-)read the readings for that class. Your performance on the assignment will be one factor in judging your petition.

**REQUIRED BOOKS AND MATERIALS**

All readings will be on the TED System. There are no books to purchase.

**COURSE RULES**

**Maintaining Academic Integrity.** Students agree that by taking this course all required papers will be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the
Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms of use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com site.

The midterm and final examinations will be a series of questions on which you will be asked to write short answers (i.e., a paragraph or two). The midterm will be given during a regular class period, although not necessarily in the regular room (watch for announcements about the exam as the date nears). The final will be given during finals week on a date to be announced. The final will allow you to apply the tools you have learned throughout the course to two or more case studies. For both exams, there will be supplemental readings provided in advance. The midterm is a closed-notes, closed-books, closed-computers exam; for the final you may bring reference materials.

No late assignments will be accepted and no make-up examinations will be offered without a University-approved and documented excuse. Acceptable excuses include illness, which must be documented by the UCSD health service or your physician, or a death or serious illness in the immediate family. It is very important that all students understand that no other excuses will be accepted aside from those recognized by standing University policy. In exceptional cases, university-sanctioned employment-related travel can be a valid reason for being late with an assignment or missing an exam but only with prior approval from the professor. Appropriate accommodations will be made for students with disabilities that are recognized by the relevant University authorities; however, it is the student’s responsibility to notify faculty at least two weeks before a due date or exam date to ensure accommodation. Failure to meet this deadline will result in accommodation not being available. The same provisions also apply to any request related to religious observance that might require rescheduling an exam.

**GRADING**

Final grades will be determined by the following formula:

1. Class participation 10%
2. Collective action memo 10%
3. Midterm 20%
4. Policy Memo (15% each) 30%
4. Final Exam 30%
COURSE OUTLINE

Unit 1: Fundamentals: Interests, Strategy, Collective Action, Delegation, Veto Points

Class 1: Introduction to the class (30 March)
  - You will not be cold-called on the content of these chapters but you should be comfortable with the ideas and be prepared to think about how it applies to other areas.

  Case Study: Nuclear Safety Policy in Japan and the US.

Class 2: Strategic Action and Coordination (1 April)

  Case Study: The Strategy of Stopping Deforestation in the Palm Oil Industry
- Paige McClanahan —Can Indonesia Increase Palm Oil Output without Destroying its Forest? The Guardian (11 Sept 2013)
  - Note: pay close attention in this case to the difference between palm oil producers (farmers) and the traders.
- Nathanael Johnson, —The Last Holdout Among Big Palm Oil Businesses Joins No-Deforestation Pledge, Grist (5 Dec 2014).
  http://grist.org/food/the-last-holdout-among-big-palm-oil-producers-joins-no-deforestation-pledge/

Class 3: Interest Groups and how they get organized1 (6 April)
- Olson, Mancur. The Logic of Collective Action, Harvard University Press, 1965. Introduction (pp. 1-4), Ch. 1 (pp. 5-16, 33-52), 132-135, 165-167. (40 pages total.)
  - Key questions: What is a public good, and why do they tend to be undersupplied? How do groups organize? What is the free-rider problem, and how can it be overcome? Why do some groups remain "latent"? What is Olson arguing against?

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o Key concepts: Lobby groups, interest groups, common interests, collective goods, non-market goods, inclusive groups, latent group, privileged group, selective incentives.

Case Study: Collective Action and Humanitarian Intervention

Assignment 1: Collective Action Memo, printed copy (prefer double sided) due beginning of class (9:30am) April 6 to turnitin.com and a printed copy handed in.
• Choose any example of a humanitarian intervention and write up to 2 pages (12-pt font, 11 margins, single-spaced) on how the logic of collective action applies. Identify the challenges inherent in each case and ways these have been, or could potentially be overcome. Draw ideas from the case and connect them with the theory from Olson. This is meant as an exercise to get you thinking about how theory and practice are linked, and to get you comfortable with this foundational theory in policy-making. About half your memo should summarize the logic of Olson and the second half should apply it to the case.

Class 4: Delegation and Principal-Agent Theory (8 April)
  o Key questions: What problems does organizational structure solve? What problems does it create? How are the problems created by delegation mitigated within an organizational structure?
  o Key concepts: Principals, agents, agency loss

Case Study: Who is Really Fighting in Ukraine?
• Mikhail Bushuev, —Evidence Mounting of Russian Troops in Ukraine,1 DW (4 March 2015)

**INTERMEZZO: Debrief on first memo; reading academic articles (10 April)
• Reading to be posted prior to class
• Debrief 1st memo and prepare for 2nd
• How to read an academic article and apply theory to policy
• Incentives for you to participate: if 75% of the class attends, the entire class will receive a 3 point bump on a policy memo.

Unit 2: Governing Systems

Class 5: Electoral Democracy I: Presidential vs. Parliamentary Systems (13 April)
  o Key questions: How, according to the authors, do bureaucratic structures differ in Britain and the United States? What is the logic of delegation that explains the different structures? Why are bureaucrats given more "autonomy" in Britain and why does the American bureaucracy operate under such strict procedures?

*Case Study: Presidential rule and budget deficits in Taiwan*

*Class 6: Electoral Democracy II: Federalism (15 April)*
  o This is based heavily on the foundational work of William Riker pioneered in the 1950s.
  o Key questions: Does a federalist system support or undermine the idea of —one person, one vote? Why is Stepan concerned with how federalist systems are —democratic-constraining? Are the four variables he discusses convincing? What is the role of political parties in Stepan's theory?

*Case Study: Mexican Federalism and the problem of police*

*Class 7: Electoral Democracy III: Voting Rules (20 April)*
  o Key questions: What are the goals of different electoral systems and what are the tradeoffs? How are different incentives shaped by the voting rules? Is one type better than others? Why?

*Case Study*: How voting rules changed policy incentives in New Zealand
• Daniel Nielson, "The Politics of Economic Reform in New Zealand" (IR/PS case study).

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Rev date 3/24/15
Class 8: Elections in liberal and illiberal democracies (22 April)
    o What is an illiberal election and why has there been such a sharp rise in illiberal elections?

Case Study: Mugabe’s calculus
  • Jenai Cox, —Zimbabwe: Mr. Mugabe’s seven steps to successful election rigging.‖ The Christian Science Monitor, November 15, 2013.

Class 9: Non-Democracies I: Selectorate and Accountability3 (27 April)
    o This has been a very powerful theory about the sources of accountability for a ruling party in authoritarian regimes. The key ideas to focus on are the selectorate and the winning coalition: who forms them, what are their incentives, and how/why does the ruler keep them satisfied. How does this affect the types of policies that get made?

Case Study: The impact of crises on the regimes of Indonesia and Malaysia
  • Thomas Pepinsky Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective, chapter 3: Authoritarian Support Coalitions. Read intro (p 40-42) AND Indonesia (p 42-61) OR Malaysia (61-77) AND Discussion (p 77-81).

Class 10: Non-Democracies II: Economic Policy and Authoritarian Rule (29 April)
    o This is a formal model of the ruler’s response to technological change. It illustrates with cases how these changes impact policy. Recall from the intermezzo our discussion of reading journal articles and applying theory to cases. Even if you don’t understand the math in the formal model you must identify the key ideas and logic.

Case Study: Why is China Reforming its Economy?
  • Nicholas Lardy 2014 Markets over Mao: The Rise of Private Business in China (Peterson Institute), Introduction and Chapter 1.

Class 11: IN-CLASS MIDTERM (4 May)

3 Optional if you want to read a response to a critique of the theory: James D. Morrow et al, —Retesting Selectorate Theory: Separating the Effects of W from Other Elements of Democracy.‖ The American Political Science Review, Vol. 102, No. 3 (Aug 2008): 393-400.
• Midterm will consist of both short answer and essay questions. A study guide will be posted to the class folder.

Unit 3: Public Administration and Policy Implementation

Class 12: Administrative Bureaucracy and Oversight (6 May)

Case Study: Agency Failure and Accountability: FEMA and Katrina

Class 13: Oversight through Administrative Law and Procedure (11 May)
  o Recall the discussion in class 4 about principle-agent theory. Why does administrative law exist, and how does it constrain what agencies can do? If you are not from the US, does your home country have a robust system of administrative law and how does it function?

Case Study: Improving accountability in South Korea

Class 14: Uncertainty, Learning and Policy Evolution (13 May)
  o This article is one perspective on how policy makers deal with problems when they don’t know what to do—when they don’t know how to set the right goals and

standards, and when firms don’t know the best strategies for response. The article is long; read it for the essential points if not all the details.

Case Study: How California Cleaned its Air with Electric Vehicles

Unit 4: Public/Private Interaction

Class 15: Agenda Setting and Windows of Opportunity7 (18 May)
  - How does Kingdon define agenda? Kingdon boils agenda-setting down to two categories: participants and processes. The book goes into more detail, but why do you think these are the most important? Think about how current issues have become part of the agenda and who the participants are and what processes are at work.

Case Study: Why is the Keystone XL pipeline a signature issue for environmentalists?
Ryan Lizza, —The President and the Pipeline. The New Yorker, September 16, 2013.

Class 16: Private Influences on Public Policy (20 May)
- Daniel Carpenter and David A. Moss, —Introduction in Preventing Regulatory Capture: Special Interest Influence and How to Limit it. 2014.
  - The authors seem to think that capture is not as often to blame as many would argue. What are some examples of strong vs. weak capture and why do the authors use this continuum? How do the authors define capture; what are the important elements? How do you know if capture exists?

Case Study: China’s exchange rate policy

HOLIDAY (No Class 25 May, Memorial Day)

Class 17: Private Governance (27 May)

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Case Study: Private governance in environmental policy
• Fred Pearce, —Monitoring Corporate Behavior: Greening or Merely Greenwash?l Yale Environment 360, January 27, 2014.

Unit 5: PMP in the Era of Globalization

Class 18: Domestic Politics and International Cooperation (1 June)
  o This continues to be a fundamental piece on international cooperation. What does Putnam mean by a —two-level gamel? Consider how domestic factors that we’ve discussed (ie voting rules) impact cooperation at the international level. Why are —win-setsl important and how do they influence bargaining?

CHOOSE ONE OF THE TWO CASE STUDIES

Case Study 1: How International Obligations Affected China’s Internal Trade-related policies

Case Study 2: What was Netanyahu doing in the U.S. Congress?
• Graham Allison, —Iran Already Has Nuclear Weapons Capability,l Foreign Policy (3 March 2015).

Class 19: Global Governance: Gridlock and its Remedies (3 June)
• Thomas Hale David Held and Kevin Young, 2014, —Gridlock,l chapter 1 in: Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation is Failing When We Need it Most (Cambridge: Policy Press)

Case Study: Should We Save Global Governance from the Global Diplomats? ?
• Current Negotiating text in the preparation for COP-21 (Paris). To be distributed.

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11