Theory and Practice in Public Policy
PUBP 700.002 Spring, 2005
Mondays, 7:20 to 10 pm

Instructor: A. Lee Fritschler

Time of Class: Mondays, 7:20 to 10 pm
Location: Arlington, Room #250

Office: Arlington, Room #213
Office Phone: 703-993-4909
Call to set up an appointment or stop by before class.
(If my door is open, please feel free to drop in anytime.)
Also, I am available by e-mail afritsch@gmu.edu or at home alfsusan@comcast.net

In case of emergency, you may call me at home before 10 p.m. at 301-365-3109.

Course Objectives

Theory and Practice in Public Policy, the gateway course for the Master's Program in Public Policy, introduces you to tools and concepts that will help you navigate in the world of public policy in two ways. First, we explore several types of theories and assess their strengths, weaknesses and applicability to public policy in order to understand different varieties of theory, their uses and application. Second, you will be introduced to several perspectives on the practice of policy analysis and be given an opportunity to engage in an analytical policy project that allows you to practice working in a team. Strong ethical and international components are built into the course.

The objective of this course is to help you become a more sophisticated policy professional with an ability to operate effectively and ethically in a political environment. While many of the applications will be U.S.-based, the theories apply more broadly to policymaking elsewhere. You will be presented with a variety of ways of looking at political phenomena, conceiving of relationships, and understanding outcomes. The course seeks to heighten your sensitivity to economic and political context and your appreciation of theoretical rigor, disinterested analysis, and empirical evidence for assertions. You will hone your skills in identifying assumptions, recognizing values, seeing multiple sides of issues, casting alternative frames to problems, understanding underlying interests, identifying stakeholders, and devising strategies for action. Finally, the course aims to enhance your proficiency in identifying and using appropriate, authoritative source material and in writing and speaking articulately, succinctly, logically, and convincingly. Upon completion of this course, you should be well underway toward becoming a policy analyst and well prepared for the remainder of the MPP program.

Assessment

You will be asked to work individually and in teams in order to demonstrate your facility with the theories and their appropriate use, as well as to hone your research, public presentation and writing skills. Papers and examinations are treated as pedagogical exercises to augment your learning in the course. Grades will be apportioned in the following manner:

*	One short paper (and web based analysis due 2nd Class)	10% of grade
*	Midterm exam	20%
*	Final exam	30%
*	Class discussions, attendance and quizzes	10% **
*	Brief written assignments (not to exceed one page)	10%
*	Group policy analysis project	20%

** It is difficult to imagine one receiving a grade of "A" if more than two classes are missed during the semester.

Details about these assessments will be covered in class.

Note Bene

All assignments are due by the beginning of class and must be turned in to me in both digital (WebCT) and printed forms. Written work should always be double-spaced with 12-point type and ample margins. Citations with page numbers should be provided in the proper form. (See Hacker) Assume the audience is a reasonably well-educated person with no prior knowledge of the subject matter you are addressing.

No cheating, plagiarizing, or other unprofessional conduct will be tolerated. (Please see SPP statement below.) These are defined in the University Catalog as follows:

"A. Cheating encompasses the following:

1. The willful giving or receiving of an unauthorized, unfair, dishonest, or unscrupulous advantage in academic work over other students

2. The above may be accomplished by any means whatsoever, including but not limited to the following: fraud; duress; deception; theft; trick; talking; signs; gestures; copying from another student; and the unauthorized use of study aids, memoranda, books, data, or other information

3. Attempted cheating

B. Plagiarism encompasses the following:

1. Presenting as one's own the words, the work, or the opinions of someone else without proper acknowledgment

2. Borrowing the sequence of ideas, the arrangement of material, or the pattern of thought of someone else without proper acknowledgment

C. Lying encompasses the following: The willful and knowledgeable telling of an untruth, as well as any form of deceit, attempted deceit, or fraud in an oral or written statement relating to academic work. This includes but is not limited to the following:

1. Lying to administration and faculty members
2. Falsifying any university document by mutilation, addition, or deletion…”

SPP Policy on Plagiarism

The profession of scholarship and the intellectual life of a university as well as the field of public policy inquiry depend fundamentally on a foundation of trust. Thus any act of plagiarism strikes at the heart of the meaning of the university and the purpose of the School of Public Policy. It constitutes a serious breach of professional ethics and it is unacceptable.

Plagiarism is the use of another’s words or ideas presented as one’s own. It includes, among other things, the use of specific words, ideas, or frameworks that are the product of another’s work. Honesty and thoroughness in citing sources is essential to professional accountability and personal responsibility. Appropriate citation is necessary so that arguments, evidence, and claims can be critically examined.

Plagiarism is wrong because of the injustice it does to the person whose ideas are stolen. But it is also wrong because it constitutes lying to one’s professional colleagues. From a prudential perspective, it is shortsighted and self-defeating, and it can ruin a professional career.

The faculty of the School of Public Policy takes plagiarism seriously and has adopted a zero tolerance policy. Any plagiarized assignment will receive an automatic grade of “F.” This may lead to failure for the course, resulting in dismissal from the University. This dismissal will be noted on the student’s transcript. For foreign students who are on a university-sponsored visa (eg. F-1, J-1 or J-2), dismissal also results in the revocation of their visa.

To help enforce the SPP policy on plagiarism, all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit student’s work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. The SPP policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace it or substitute for it. (http://www.gmu.edu/facstaff/handbook/aD.html)

Required Texts and Readings

Eugene Bardach, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving* (Chatham House Publishers, 2000.) (paper)

Simon Blackburn, *Being Good: A Short Introduction to Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.) (paper)

CapWIN [Capital Wireless Integrated Network (http://www.capwin.org/)], *CapWIN Governance Options* at http://www.capwin.org/extras/CapWINGovernanceOptionsfinal1.pdf

Howard Gardner, et.al. *Good Work: When Excellence and Ethics Meet (New York: Basic Books, 2001.)*

Diana Hacker, *A Pocket Manual of Style*, 3rd ed. or later (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000 or later).

Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Harvard University Press, 1970). (paper)

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists without Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 1998). (paper)

Charles E. Lindblom, *The Market System: What It Is, How It Works, and What to Make of It* (Yale University Press, 2001).

Giandomenico Majone, *Evidence, Argument, & Persuasion in the Policy Process* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.)

Mancur Olson. *Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Harvard University Press, Paperback Revised edition, 1971 (orig. pub. 1965)).

Deborah Stone, *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*, Revised Edition (W. W. Norton, 2002). (paper)

The New York Times (daily: all U.S., international and business news)

Highly Recommended Reading

The Economist (weekly), *Financial Times* (daily), *Wall Street Journal* (daily)

Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, eds. *Policy Dynamics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

David L. Weimer and Aidan R. Vining, *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1999).

John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd edition (Addison-Wesley, 1997).

Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), esp. pp. 21-52.

Roger Fisher and William Ury, with Bruce Patton, editor, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In*, (NY: Penguin Books, 1991).

Jon Elster, *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Irving Goffman, *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959).

Thomas C. Schelling, *Micromotives and Macrobehavior* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1978).

Michael C. Munger, *Analyzing Policy: Choices, Conflicts, and Practices* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

Dipak K. Gupta, *Analyzing Public Policy: Concepts, Tools, and Techniques* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2001).

David N. Ammons, *Tools for Decision Making: A Practical Guide for Local Government* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002).

Anthony Weston, A *Rulebook for Arguments,* 3rd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co. 2000).

Recommended Websites

http://www.gao.gov	Government Accounting Office	Legislative Branch Agency
http://www.cbo.gov	Congressional Budget Office	Legislative Branch Agency
http://www.cato.org	CATO Institute	Libertarian Think Tank
http://www.cia.gov/	Central Intelligence Agency	Executive Branch Agency
http://www.cbpp.org	Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	Progressive/Liberal Think Tanl
http://www.brookings.edu/default.htm	Brookings Institution	Middle of Road Think Tank (formerly Liberal)
http://www.heritage.org	Heritage Foundation	Conservative Think Tank

http://www.aei.org/research/research.htm	American Enterprise Institute	Conservative Think Tank
http://www.ctj.org	Citizens for Tax Justice	Labor-funded, Liberal
http://www.concordcoalition.org	Concord Coalition	For Balanced Budgets
http://www.ombwatch.org/execreport	OMB Watch	Liberal Advocacy
http://epinet.org	Economic Policy Institute	Economic Policy Group Focusing on Impact on Low and Middle Incomes
http://www.urbaninstitute.org	Urban Institute	Liberal Think Tank
http://www.nas.edu	National Academy of Sciences	Scientific Society
http://www.plainenglish.co.uk/	Plain English	Advocacy Organization Based in U.K.
http://www.oecd.org/home	Organization for Economic and Community Development	Intergovernmental/Internationa Think Tank: Good Source of Comparative Data
http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/	Office of Management and Budget	Official Governmental Website
http://europa.eu.int/index_en.htm	European Union	Official Website
http://www.firstgov.gov/Topics/Reference_Shelf.shtml	FirstGov	Official U.S. Gov. Website Featuring Reference Materials/ Data/ more
http://www.fedstats.gov/	Federal Statistics	U.S. Gov. Statistics Gateway from 100+ agencies
http://thomas.loc.gov/	Thomas	Legislative Information from Library of Congress

Writing Assistance

If you need help in improving your writing skills, be sure to re-read Diana Hacker (see required reading above). Assistance from the university's Writing Center (http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/) is also available. Another help, Writing Tips by Cynthia Harrison, can be found at the end of this syllabus. You should commit it to memory.

For citations and references, use one of the styles in the Hacker (2000) volume. An excellent software aid, EndNote, should prove useful to you throughout your graduate program and beyond, and is available at no charge for GMU students and faculty at http://cas.gmu.edu/tac/endnote/endnote.html

Schedule in Brief

January 24	First day of class.
January 31	Bardach, Hacker, web-CapWIN comparison. Preliminary team policy analysis topics due. Library visit.
February 7	Blackburn, Gardner, and class questions.
February 14	Olson, Gardner and class questions.
February 21	Keck and Sikkink, and class questions. Team policy analysis definition of problem and names of clients due.
February 28	First short paper due.
March 7	Lindblom and class questions.
March 14	Spring break (March 13-20).
March 21	Hirschman and class questions. Tentative bibliography for policy analysis due.
March 28	Midterm exam due. Read “Reading Critically” (in this syllabus).
April 4	Stone, play prisoner’s dilemma game, and class questions.
April 11	Stone and written analysis of *“Political Bias at The Times? Two Counterarguments”* by Daniel Okrent (reprinted in syllabus)
April 18	Majone and class questions.
April 225	All editorials and team projects due. Team presentations begin.
May 2	Team presentations.
May 9	Final exam due.

Class Schedule, Topics, and Assignments

The Fundamentals of Policy Analysis

I. Introduction: Distribution of the syllabus and class assignments January 24

Introduction to the course and to policy analysis
Discussion of required texts and recommended reading
Review of objectives and requirements
Discussion of policy analysis assignment
Discussion of plagiarism

What a policy professional does
Obligations of a policy professional
What does it mean to be a professional?
What is policy analysis?
Ethical obligations of the policy analyst

Using GMU's on-line library resources

DISCUSS GROUP PROJECTS AND BEGIN TEAMING PROCESS

II: The Practice of Public Policy: January 31

Assignments: 1. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis* (Be ready to discuss this book.)
2. Access a policy analysis on the web and compare it with CapWin, using guidance from Bardach. Turn this in at beginning of class (one page, typed).
3. First section of Hacker

Class questions (for discussion):

(1)You want to access a *New York Times* article that is over two weeks old. How do you accomplish this task without paying a fee?
(2) You want to cite a web site that you have used. What is the appropriate format?
(3) You have been asked to use a consistent citation style in your papers. How do you find and use an appropriate citation scheme?
(4) In your opinion, what are the five best electronic sources for public policy research? Explain.
(5) What is the difference between peer-reviewed articles and other information on the web?
(6) How do you distinguish good information from bad on the web?
(7) What do you consider to be Bardach's most important advice?
(8) Which of the websites above are most trustworthy? Trustworthy in what sense? How might the sites with particular points of view be appropriately used in a policy analysis?

Library visit.

Topics:

Bardach's Eightfold Path

Challenges facing the analyst
Gathering data for policy research
Best practices research
Putting Olson in context

Recommended reading:

Lencioni, Patrick. *The Five Dysfunctions of a Team: A Leadership Fable*. San Francisco, (CA: Jossey-Bass, 2002).

Beryl A. Radin, *Beyond Machiavelli: Policy Analysis Comes of Age*, (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2000).

David L. Weimer and Aidan R. Vining, *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1999).

Charles E. Lindblom and David K. Cohen, *Usable Knowledge: Social Science and Social Problem Solving*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Carol H. Weiss, ed., *Organizations for Policy Analysis: Helping Government Think*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1992. (See esp. the introductory essay.)

Edith Stokey and Richard Zeckhauser, *A Primer for Policy Analysis* (New York: Norton, 1978).

Duncan MacRae Jr. and Dale Whittington, *Expert Advice for Policy Choice: Analysis and Discourse* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1997).

III: Normative Theory as a Guide to Ethical Behavior, Acting Ethically: February 7

(Give me a list of team members and tentative policy analysis topic. I will meet with each team this day.)

Assignment: Blackburn (all)
Gardner, Part One, Either Part Two or Three (these parts will be assigned in class to two teams) and Part Four

Class questions (not to exceed one page, double-spaced; answer two):

(1) What do relativism, skepticism and nihilism have to do with policy analysis?
(2) What is the moral or ethical environment?
(3) How does morality differ from moralism? How does an ethical climate differ from a moralistic one?

(4) If "human beings are ethical animals," why does corruption seem to dominate our lives?
(5) What are the seven threats to ethics? In what way do they constitute threats? (counts as 2 questions)
(6) What is the source of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Does it merely reflect the hegemony of Western culture?
(7) What is subjectivism and what is its relevance to ethics?
(8) What is Grand Unifying Theory and why does Blackburn have disdain for this concept? Why does he claim that such theories are pessimistic?
(9) What, in the end, does Blackburn conclude?
(10) What are the differences between Reasons and reasons?
(11) What are deontological demands? What is their importance?
(12) How do deontological ethics differ from utilitarianism?
(13) Should all wrongdoings be unlawful? Why not? How does one decide when a wrongdoing should be unlawful and when it should not? Provide an example.
(14) What is utilitarianism? What is its most importance strength and limitation?
(15) How can crimes be committed in the name of common happiness?
(16) Is the distinction between positive and negative liberty really a distinction without a difference?
(17) Why is the "politics appropriate for societies of free individuals…above all democratic"?
(18) Is it possible to be good and live well? Explain.
(19) What are "the lies the privileged tell themselves"?
(20) What is the categorical imperative? What is its importance? How does it differ from utilitarianism?
(21) What does it mean to say that one should treat others only as ends and not as a means? Is this a realistic precept in the world of politics?
(22) What are the limits of Rawls' approach, according to Blackburn?
(23) What are the keys to successful teamwork?

Recommended Reading:

Guttmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson. Eds. Ethics & Politics: Cases and Comments. 3rd ed. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1997.

Moore, Mark H. and Malcolm K. Sparrow. Ethics in Government. The Moral Challenge of Public Leadership. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1990.

Understanding Groups

IV. Individuals in Concert: February 14

Assignment: Groups discuss assigned Gardner case, ie., Part Two or Three, and read *The Logic of Collective Action*, pp. 1-97.

Be prepared to discuss the following questions in class:

(1) What are the ethical obligations of a policy professional?
(2) You're a consumer -- and until business spending picks up, the economy is depending on you. Are you up to the job? Explain.
(3) What is rational actor actor theory?
(4) What is the theory of collective action?
(5) What is a free rider? What is the significance of this concept to the policy analyst?
(6) What difference does the size of a group make in predicting the likelihood of collective action?
(7) What is a latent group? Why is this concept important to Olson?
(8) What is the importance of a closed shop to a labor union?
(9) What is plagiarism? How do you avoid it? Why is this an important matter?
(10) What is the difference between a latent group and an organized group?
(11) How does Blackburn's concept of egoism relate to Olson's rational actor?

Topics:

What is theory? Why we need theory and why theory is inevitable
Consideration of types of theory, elements of theory, testing and applying theory
Levels and units of analysis
What constitutes an explanation?
Identifying assumptions
Application of rational actor theory to groups and organizations (deductive theory)
Concepts of collective or public goods, latent groups, incentives, and compulsion
Differences between large and small groups
Why individuals join groups, act in concert, provide for collective goods
Application to states, labor unions, membership associations
Consideration of implications for policy-making, NGOs, and public policy

Discussion of group projects

Recommended reading:

Steven E. Finkel and Edward N. Muller, "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 1. (Mar., 1998), pp. 37-49 (Available via JSTOR).

Amartya K. Sen, "Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 6: 4 (Summer 1977), 317-344 (available via JSTOR).

Jane Mansbridge, "Self-Interest in Political Life," *Political Theory*, 18:1 (February 1990), 132-153.

Hechter, Michael and Christine Horne, eds. *Theories of Social Order: A Reader*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Kiser, Larry L. and Elinor Ostrom. "Three Worlds of Action: A Metatheoretical Synthesis of Institutional Approaches," in Elinor Ostrom, ed., *Strategies of Political Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982, pp. 179-222.

V: Groups in Concert: Networks: February 21

Assignment: *Activists beyond Borders*, Preface, Ch. 1, 2, and 6; and choose one of the following: Ch. 3, 4 or 5 and be ready to present in class.

Teams turn in the name of their proposed client and the definition of their problem for their policy analysis project.

Short Paper Topic Distributed Due Next Week

Class questions (Turn in your answers to any two of these. Not to exceed one page total, double-spaced.):

(1) What is theory? Why do we need it?
(2) What are the limits of rational actor theory?
(3) Public or rational choice theory applied to economic activity seems to produce far more felicitous results than when applied to the social or political realm. Explain.
(4) What does it mean to "relax assumptions"? Why would a theorist want to do this?
(5) In what ways do Olson's and Keck and Sikkink's theories differ? Compare their usefulness.
(6) What is new about Keck and Sikkink's transnational advocacy networks? Haven't such formations been in existence since the 19th century?
(7) In what ways do Keck and Sikkink use social movement theory?
(8) What one or two examples have you found in *The New York Times* of anything relevant to this class?
(9) What optional chapter did you choose and how does the content illustrate Keck and Sikkink's theory?
(10) What is Keck and Sikkink's theory?
(11) Of what are networks composed? How are networks organized? Where is power located within networks?

Topics:

Network theory
Reconceptualizing international politics and the concept of sovereignty
Consideration of boomerang effects, international campaigns, issue framing, culture, political context, leverage, and elements of social movement theory
Creating social change: an international strategy of creating transnational advocacy networks (inductive and grounded theory)
Relationships among domestic actors, states, NGOs, international organizations, and foundations
Circumstances making creation of advocacy networks more likely
Role of leadership, political entrepreneurs, and past experience in networks
Network tactics
Impact of advocacy networks
Global public policy networks
Impact on state sovereignty

Recommended Reading:

Stephen D. Krasner, "Think Again: Sovereignty," *Foreign Policy* (Winter 2001). (Available online.)

Wolfgang H. Reinicke, "The Other World Wide Web: Global Public Policy Networks," *Foreign Policy* (Winter 2001). (Available online.)

Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Houghton Mifflin,1999).

Michael Ondaatje, *Anil's Ghost* (McClelland & Stewart, 2000).

Human Rights Websites:

Human Rights Online: http://oz.uc.edu/thro/Educ-Guide.html
Interview: http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people/Stover/stover-con99-0.html

VI: Comparisons between Logic of Collective Action and Activists beyond Borders: February 28

Assignment: First short paper due.

Be prepared to discuss Jan Martin Witte, Wolfgang H. Reinicke, and Thorsten Bennett, "Beyond Multilateralism: Global Public Policy Networks," *International Politics and Society* (2000/2). Available online at <http://www.fes.de/IPG/ipg2_2000/artwitte.html>.

Class questions (Be ready to discuss):

(1) What is the boomerang technique? Is it exclusively applicable to international activities?
(2) What does it mean to frame an issue? What is the importance of this concept?
(3) Why does the development of advocacy networks and global public policy networks bring state sovereignty into question? Is this a significant matter?
(4) What advice would you give someone who wants to change a public policy but who has no particular political connections and is not wealthy?
(5) What is inductive theory? How does it differ from deductive theory?
(6) What is the distinction between normative and empirical theory? Why make this distinction?
(7) What is the importance of global public policy networks?
(8) What techniques in Keck and Sikkink are used to influence public policy?

Topics:

Activists beyond Borders (cont'd)
Assessment of theory: parsimony, elegance, applicability, and breadth of explanation, assumptions
Testing theory: hypothesis testing, problems of measurement, operationalizing concepts, eliminating alternatives
Identifying unstated theories underlying analysis
Finding examples from articles in *The NY Times*

Recommended reading:

Robert Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42 (Summer 1988): 427-60. (Available via JSTOR)

Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (4th ed.) (New York: Free Press, 1995).

1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Jon Elster, *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Politics and Economics

VII: Economics: Understanding the Market Context: March 7

Assignment: *The Market System* (all)

Class questions (Turn in your answers to any two of these. Not to exceed one page total, double-spaced.):

(1) "[I]n our time the market system has become a global coordinator of cooperative performances of at least 2 billion people." Explain.
(2) How does Lindblom's view of entrepreneurs relate to corporate scandals of 2002?
(3) Between 1997 and 2001, U.S. companies spent $90 billion to lay 39 million miles of fiber optic cable - enough to circle the earth 1,566 times. Only 2.6% of that is currently in use. How might a capitalist explain this result in light of the putative efficiency of the market?
(4) How do markets work? Why does Lindblom consider the market system to be such a marvelous achievement?
(5) What are some alternatives to markets?
(6) Is a market system necessary for democracy?
(7) Does a market system inflict harm on democracy?
(8) What does Lindblom mean when he repeatedly says that the market system pertains to society, not merely the economy?
(9) You want to encourage saving (IRA's etc.): What factors would you want to take into account?
(10) How are normative questions, compared to empirical ones, addressed?
(11) What is the difference between a concept and its operationalization? Why is this distinction important?
(12) What is systematically collected, empirical evidence? What difference does it make?

Topics:

How markets work
Efficiency, inefficiencies, quid pro quo, freedom
Effects of the market system on personality and culture
The reach of the market system
Applicability of those ideas in public policy-making

Recommended reading:

Other works of Lindblom, including *Intelligence of Democracy: Decision Making through Mutual Adjustment*, (NY: Free Press, 1965).

HOLIDAY: March 14

VIII: Structuring Choice: March 21

Assignment: *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, pp. 1-61, 76-105, and 120-126**.**

Teams should turn in a tentative bibliography indicating sources that will be used for the policy analysis.

TAKE HOME MID-TERM DISTRITUTED AND DUE NEXT WEEK.

Class questions (Turn in your answers to any two of these. Not to exceed one page total, double-spaced.):

(1) What does a reading of Hirschman suggest to you about the efficacy of privatization? Is he correct? Explain.
(2) How does loyalty influence the use of exit or voice? Provide examples.
(3) Under what circumstances is voice most effective?
(4) Under what circumstances should a policy professional quit a job?
(5) Would Hirschman endorse the practice of whistle blowing?
(6) Is it possible to retain personal integrity while working in institutions driven by political, economic and other values that may conflict with professional standards? Explain.

Topics:

Consideration of the concepts of exit and voice
Theory of loyalty
Assumptions underlying the theory
Role of public goods
Inside vs. outside strategies: fight from within or without? What are the trade-offs?
Application to education vouchers and privatization of postal services
Problems in devising workable public policies: skimming or creaming; paying people to do what they are already doing

Recommended reading:

Other works by Hirschman, including *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

Politics

IX: The Political Project: March 28

MID-TERM EXAM DUE

Assignment: Reading Critically (See below*)

* Reading Critically: What to Look for When Reading an Analysis of a Policy Problem

The Argument

- *What is it?*
- *What is the logical structure of the argument?*
- *Is the argument logical?*
- *Do you detect any logical fallacies?*

Assumptions

- *What are they? (stated and unstated)*
- *How do you find them?*
- *Are they reasonable?*
- *Clear?*
- *What values underlie the assumptions?*

Identifying Interests

- *Who is served by the argument?*
- *How do you know?*
- *Is there a conflict of interest involved?*
- *What difference do the answers make?*

Key Concepts

- *What are they?*
- *How are they measured or operationalized?*
- *How close is the measure to the concept?*
- *Are there multiple indicators?*

Is Causality Asserted?

- *Airtight cause-and-effect relationship shown?*
- *Causation or correlation?*
  - *What's the difference?*
  - *Have all the relevant factors been taken into account?*
  - *Might other factors be causing the apparent relationship?* Any intervening variables?
- *How much of the effect can be accounted for by the presumed cause? (I.e., What's the*

percentage of variance explained?)

Are You Convinced?

- *How well does this argument comport with other things you know?*
- *In what ways does the argument fit with or contradict other professional policy work?*
- *Are you satisfied with:*
  - *Argument*
  - *Evidence*
  - *Conclusions*

Next Steps

- *What research is needed now?*
- *Do the conclusions lead to feasible policy ideas?*
  - *Political feasibility*
  - *Administrative feasibility*
- *What do we need?*
  - *More data*
  - *Better analysis*
  - *Clearer arguments*
  - *Strategies for acceptance by public, policy making bodies, implementers, and those affected*

Recommended reading:

Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, eds., *Policy Dynamics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

E.E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).
John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

X: The Political Project (cont'd): April 4

Assignment: *Policy Paradox*, Introduction and Part I. Play the prisoners' dilemma game at http://serendip.brynmawr.edu/bb/pd.html

Divide Parts II, III and IV among the class for discussion next week.

Class Questions (Turn in your answers to any two of these. Not to exceed one page total, double-spaced.):

(1) What is the role of the public in policy making?
(2) Which comes first, the problem or the solution?
(3) What are the implications for policy analysis?
(4) What are the differences between the rationality project and the political project?
(5) Why does Stone contrast these two projects?
(6) What is the role of values in policy making, according to Stone?
(7) What is just, according to Stone?
(8) What is the difference between justice as a concept and its operationalization or measurement?
(9) What does it mean to say that conceptual boundaries are contested? Provide an example from Stone.
(10) Are equality and efficiency at odds with one another, according to Stone? Why is this an important question for public-policy makers?
(11) What does Stone mean when she says, "The definition of security, like other policy goals, is an exercise in political claims-making"?
(12) What is the difference between the positive and negative concepts of liberty? What implications might this distinction have for tax policy?
(13) What does it mean to say that problem definition is "the strategic representation of situations"?
(14) Why does Stone argue that "counting is metaphor-making"?
(15) Explain the idea that no fact speaks for itself. What are the hidden stories in numbers?
(16) What are the implications behind the following assertion: "Problems, then, are not given, out there in the world waiting for smart analysts to come along and define them correctly"?
(17) What is the relationship between counting and political mobilization?
(18) "People, unlike rocks, respond to being measured." So what?
(19) Why is the assignment of responsibility so important in politics?
(20) What is a teleological fallacy?
(21) What is the importance of causal stories in politics and what is the test of their success?
(22) What happened when you played the Prisoner's Dilemma game? What did you learn?

Topics:
- Introduction to Stone
- Understanding politics
- Rationality project
- Polis model
- Decision making models: rational choice, bounded rationality, incrementalism The role of the public in policy making: the importance of audience and intensity
- Political vs. market models: what distinguishes the polis from the market?
- Conflicting claims of normative goals: equity, efficiency, security and liberty

Essence of policy making in political communities: struggle over ideas
Multiple understandings of a single concept and political strategy to shape understandings
Finding hidden arguments
Alternatives to rational actor assumptions

Highly recommended reading:

James Madison, *Federalist #10* (available on the Internet)

U.S. Constitution (Internet)

Recommended reading:

See last week.

Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

XI: The Political Project (cont'd): April 11

Assignment: *Policy Paradox*, Parts II, III **or** IV.
Everyone reads pages 376-414.
Read the *New York Times* article, "Political Bias at The Times? Two Counterarguments" by Daniel Okrent (see below). Turn in your analysis of the two views presented. Include the answers to the following questions:
What is the argument of each?
Is the argument logical?
What evidence is brought to bear?
Is the evidence adequate for the claims being made?
On balance, which is the better argument?
Explain your reasoning.

Class questions (for discussion):

(1) When the Catholic Church's problem with abusive priests became public, how did that affect the outcome?
(2) What are some reasons that unintended consequences might result from a well-intentioned policy? What are some ways that you would recommend to minimize the likelihood of producing results that are unwanted and unintentional? What are the drawbacks to using these techniques?
(3) "It is important to represent both sides of the issue." What is defective about this characterization?

(4) How are effects converted into political interests?
(5) In what ways does the theory of collective action fail as a theory of political mobilization?
(6) Which is prior: policy issues or political contests? Explain.
(7) How does language affect policy problems?
(8) What are the deficiencies of decision analysis, according to Stone?
(9) What are the five policy strategies discussed by Stone?
(10)Find an example in *The New York Times* to illustrate a main point in Stone's chapter "Facts".
(11)What does Stone mean when she says that rights are "dependent on and subject to larger politics"?
(12) Stone says that "Policy analysis is political argument." Explain.
(13) Compare Bardach's policy tools with those of Stone.
(14) Can a professional be both strategic and ethical at the same time?
(15) How might the policy analyst incorporate Stone's ideas?
(16) What might be an example of a conflict of interest that a policy analyst might confront? What are some other examples of conflict?

Topics: *Policy Paradox* (cont'd)

Problem definition: strategic representation of situations
Narrative stories, metaphors, and ambiguity
Manipulation of numbers
Assigning responsibility for problems: causal interpretation
Mobilization of interests
Why the logic of collective action does not pertain in the polis
Group strategies to define issues
Who has the power to decide?
Controlling the alternatives
Decision models
Cultural frameworks
Policy instruments that are central in democracies: inducing people to act in prescribed ways
Inducements, rules, facts, rights, and powers
Why "reasoned analysis is necessarily political"
What is political reason?
Recommended reading:

Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1992.

Minogue, Kenneth. *Politics: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Competing analyses of Social Security Commission's recommendations:
http://www.cbpp.org/6-18-02socsec-pr.htm
http://www.socialsecurity.org/pubs/ssps/ssp-27es.html

XII: An Alternative View of the Policy Process: April 18

Assignment: Read all of Majone

Class Questions (Answer #1. or any 2 of the others. Response should not exceed one page, double-spaced.):

1. Majone argues that the following dichotomies are partly if not wholly artificial. For any three of these, explain why and explain the significance Majone's position.

    Policy vs. administration
    Political vs. technical policy issues
    Policy analysis vs. policy advocacy
    Discovery vs. justification
    Norm setting vs. norm using
    Policy vs. meta-policy
    Experts vs. political actors
    Standard setting vs. standard using

2. What does the author mean when he writes about accountability?
3. What is Majone's theory of policy development?
4. What does Majone mean by, "The history of democratic government is, in a real sense, the history of various procedures devised to institutionalize and regulate public deliberation"?
5. Choose a public policy (other than U.S. Social Security and British health policy under the National Health Service). Identify the core and periphery of the policy you choose. Explain the grounds on which you identified the core and periphery and the significance of this distinction.
6. Why do analysts use subjective criteria? What are the psychological and practical reasons for using subjective criteria? Why is this a problem? What might be a corrective?

Suggested Reading:

Edward R. Tufte, ed., *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970).
David C. Hoaglin, et al., *Data for Decisions* (Cambridge, Mass.: Abt, 1982).
Martin Greenberger, Matthew A. Crenson, and Brian L. Crissey, *Models in the Policy Process* (NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 1976)

Edward E. Leamer, "Let's Take the Con out of Econometrics," *American Economic Review* 75, no. 1 (March 1983): 31-43.
Erich W. Streissler, *Pitfalls in Econometric Forecasting* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1970).
E.J. Mishan, *Twenty-One Popular Economic Fallacies* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1971).
I. J. Good on statistical fallacies in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.
W.S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Reivew* 15 (1950): 351-57.
Majone and Edward S. Quade, *Pitfalls of Analysis* (New York: Wiley, 1980).

XIII: Group Presentations: April 25

Assignment: **First group of team presentations**

Written policy analyses and editorials due for all groups.

XIV. Second Group of Presentations: May 2 (Last day of class)

Assignment: **Second group of team presentations**

Take Home FINAL Exam Distributed

XV: Final exam due: May 9

Description of Team Projects

1. Each team is to develop a **policy analysis** along the lines of Bardach's *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis*. The deliverables include a written policy analysis of approximately 20 double-spaced typed pages (exclusive of appendices). The analysis should include:

- An executive summary of the report
- A succinct discussion of the problem (including history, component parts, reason for the problem, some relevant academic literature and related matters)
- Identification of the client for whom the project is undertaken
- Identification of the stakeholders
- Presentation of any data that you may have collected (primary or secondary) that you want to bring to bear on solving the problem
- Assessment of possible solutions and possible opposition
- Conclusion and recommendation (provide reasons)
- Evaluation: How should the policy solution be evaluated if it is implemented

In an **<u>appendix</u>**, append a list of the name of each member of the class and the parts of the team project for which each person was responsible. In a **<u>second appendix</u>**, provide a one-page assessment of your client's background, interests, financial support, political leanings and purpose of commissioning your analysis. Then indicate how these factors influenced your policy advice. Finally, include footnotes and a complete bibliography.

Due date for the written analysis is the day of the group's oral presentation to the class**.** Kindly email me an electronic copy and deliver a paper copy at the beginning of class. In addition, interim assignments include the name of the intended client and topic of the policy analysis and a proposed bibliography indicating the sources that will be used are due as indicated in the Class Assignments section above.

2. Each team is to prepare a **<u>strategic analysis</u>** of how successfully to affect the policy advice in your policy analysis. The deliverables include: An in-class **<u>PowerPoint presentation</u>** (emailed to me via an attachment) and an **<u>editorial</u>** for a relevant newspaper (about 2-3 pages maximum emailed to me and to all the members of the class prior to the presentation) using the arguments that you have recommended to the client. The presentation should not exceed 20 minutes. A Q&A period of about 20 minutes will follow immediately after the presentation.

   Include in the oral report:

   - A brief summary of the policy problem and the advice you offered your client
   - Relevant elements of strategies and tactics from the class readings
   - A persuasive argument concerning the strategy you are proposing
   - A step-by-step presentation of the strategy clearly indicating how the strategy (and accompanying tactics) will lead to the desired outcome

Keystones of Analysis

- *Efficiency*
  - **Effectiveness**
  - **Constitutionality**
- *Equity*
- *Political Feasibility*
  - **Public Acceptance**
- *Administrative Feasibility*
- *Cost*
  - **Bang for the buck**
  - **Cost-benefit analysis**

The problem: How does one operationalize these concepts in a specific case?

Some Hints to Assist You in Your Policy Analysis Assignment

- Use your common sense.
  Use what you already know but watch out for your prejudices, biases, point of view.
- Examine assumptions.
- Examine the fundamental facts first—often they hold great explanatory promise.
  - Eg, to account for differences between the House and Senate, first consider basic characteristics like size, timing of elections, and congressional district vs. state vote cumulation.
  - Eg, to explain why the industrial revolution started in England, consider its geographic size, its geography (that it is an island), mode of transportation—canals in 1780's— and its unitary government with no internal tariffs and tolls (unlike French lands, for example)

- Always compare (with what)?
- Compared to what?

The New York Times
nytimes.com

October 17, 2004

THE PUBLIC EDITOR

Political Bias at The Times? Two Counterarguments.

By DANIEL OKRENT

Last week, I argued in this space that The Times is not systematically biased in its campaign coverage - a position that necessarily invites rebuttal. I consequently asked two prominent critics of The Times to take a whack at it. Leading off, Todd Gitlin, a professor of journalism and sociology at Columbia University and the author most recently of "Letters to a Young Activist"; batting second, Bob Kohn, a California lawyer and the author of "Journalistic Fraud: How The New York Times Distorts the News and Why It Can No Longer Be Trusted." Next week, comments from readers.

FROM THE LEFT
By Todd Gitlin

The Times is not pro-Bush in the way that The Washington Times is pro-Bush, slamming John Kerry with Vietnam falsehoods week after week.

But The Times's decorous approach to the news has often helped President Bush in three significant ways: by equating his gross deceptions with Mr. Kerry's minor lapses; by omitting or burying news of administration activities and their consequences; and by missing the deep pattern of Mr. Bush's prejudices and malfeasances.

First of all, The Times's news columns are loath to call untruth. (Space being short, I will skip over the nice question of when Mr. Bush is knowingly lying, when he is half-lying, when he is clumsily improvising, when he is deluding himself, and when he is asserting what a reasonable person would know to be untrue.) Stenography often substitutes for research. Look at The Times at its most pungent - a rare roundup piece that landed on Page A19, Oct. 8, headlined: "In New Attacks, Bush Pushes Limit on the Facts."

The article explains that "the White House has charted new ground with the sweep of its negative campaigning," taking its "attacks to a blistering new level," so that, "several analysts say, Mr. Bush pushed the limits of subjective interpretation and offered exaggerated or what some Democrats said were distorted accounts."

New level? Pushed the limits? What some Democrats said? The authors, Adam Nagourney and Richard W. Stevenson, offer evidence that President Bush exaggerated and distorted what Mr. Kerry meant by pre-emptive attacks' passing a global test. Then why mince words?

The Times's generosity toward government claims about Al Qaeda-Saddam connections and Iraqi W.M.D. has been amply documented, even, belatedly, in The Times itself. But on other fronts as well, The Times cuts Mr. Bush plenty of slack. One reason is that The Times, like other top media, scants the substance of the candidates' views in favor of their tactics and strategies. But when the president is a serial obfuscator and fabricator - not to say flip-flopper - this inside-dopester coverage works to his advantage.

Consider the disproportion between The Times's attention to Mr. Kerry's Vietnam battles and its inattention to Mr. Bush's business career of failing upward: improving his fortunes while his companies failed. How did he succeed in making big money when his oil company, Harken Energy, nearly collapsed? Too often, as the president himself might say, Mr. Bush can run, and The Times lets him hide.

So can Vice President Dick Cheney. Though Mr. Cheney has denied it, Halliburton, during the years he headed it, did $73 million of business with Saddam Hussein. The Washington Post looked into the story thoroughly. Over the past four years, The Times hasn't once done so in its news pages. Would The Times have let Bill Clinton get away with trading with tyrants? Wouldn't such a story have been at least as newsworthy as the disastrous Whitewater investment that the paper examined endlessly on its front page?

Indeed, The Times frequently buries revelations of administration malfeasance. Coverage of declining environmental standards is spotty, though sometimes extensive. The subject of climate change has made the front page seven times in the past two years; some will think this more than enough, but if the issues are really as grave as most scientists believe, it's the least a serious newspaper ought to do.

Third, The Times leaves dots unconnected. The Republican Party doesn't incidentally or occasionally stoop to please big corporations. It does so systematically. The administration and its Congressional allies regularly permit lobbyists to write the regulations by which they themselves are to be regulated. Last May, The Denver Post reported: "President Bush has installed more than 100 top officials who were once lobbyists, attorneys or spokespeople for the industries they oversee." But the infrequent Times article citing examples of such fox-henhouse cohabitation in coal, say, does not refer to examples from drug, hospital, utility, oil and gas and other sectors (as did The Post).

It was refreshing, nevertheless, to see The Times last week devoting front page space to the Senate's $136 billion corporate tax cut ("House Passes Corporate Tax Bill Providing $136 Billion in Breaks," Oct. 7). Where are the similar rundowns of who benefits from other government policies? True, an on-again, off-again watchdog is better than no watchdog at all. But Times readers should not have to settle for a watchdog with laryngitis.

FROM THE RIGHT
By Bob Kohn

IS The New York Times systematically biased against President Bush? Of course it is.

I was recently introduced to a radio audience as someone who hates The New York Times. Hate was too strong a word; I love this newspaper, and if you are reading this, you love it, too. To love this paper is to care what happens to it. We want it to be there for us -

always - especially every Sunday morning with that cup of coffee, and we hope to hand the experience down to our children, so that they too may be informed and delighted by its pages.

Several weeks ago, Daniel Okrent, this paper's public editor, courageously stated the obvious: of course The New York Times is a liberal newspaper ("Is The New York Times a Liberal Newspaper?" July 25). And he wasn't just talking about an editorial page he finds "thoroughly saturated in liberal theology" or the Sunday carvings of Frank Rich, who "slices up" President Bush and friends in the Arts & Leisure section.

More incisively, the public editor demonstrated how The Times - in its purportedly objective news pages - leans left on the social issues, showing by example how The Times presents same-sex marriages in a tone that approaches "cheerleading." Now, turning to politics, the public editor would have us believe there is no systematic bias against either presidential candidate.

This divide-and-conquer approach - separating The Times's advocacy of liberal causes from its campaign coverage - masks the powerful means this paper employs to undermine the Bush campaign.

Same-sex marriage, abortion, stem-cell research, gun control, environmental regulation, capital punishment and faith-based initiatives - are these not issues in the presidential election? Hoist with his own petard, the public editor has already demonstrated how The Times, by advocating its liberal social agenda, systematically slants the news against President Bush.

Now, let's assume that what the public editor asserted here last week is correct - that The Times's campaign coverage, viewed in its entirety, is providing a fair presentation of President Bush's views. What does such fairness mean when the very same news pages are advocating the opposite?

To readers, it means that President Bush is wrong, not only because the editorial page of The Times says he's wrong, but because the president's views fly in the face of what are being presented as objective facts. No technique of bias is more powerful - more useful as a means of influence - than presenting a candidate's unadulterated views through a prism of advocacy passed off as hard news.

And the practice is by no means limited to the social questions. The justification for the Iraq war, now John Kerry's top campaign issue, provides a poignant backdrop for how The Times systematically uses its front page to undercut President Bush's credibility. In fact, the bias against Bush on Iraq has become so acute that two of the paper's own Op-Ed columnists have established a virtual annex to the public editor's office.

When The Times in a banner headline this summer declared ("Panel Finds No Qaeda-Iraq Tie," June 17) William Safire fired back: "All wrong." While Republicans charged The Times with bias, Safire blamed the Sept. 11 commission. I would have gone along with Safire had the paper's editors corrected the story in a typeface as large as the one they had used to distort it. They haven't. Not even in small type.

When The Times front page recently proclaimed, ("U.S. Report Finds Iraqis Eliminated Illicit Arms in 90's," Oct. 7) David Brooks, referring to the general media coverage, came unglued: "I have never in my life seen a government report so distorted by partisan passions." Despite Mr. Brooks's efforts, a report that made it "crystal clear" why Saddam Hussein had to go instead became a talking point for Kerry - courtesy of The New York Times.

What kind of newspaper will we leave to our children? If you still don't believe it's the wrong kind, put yourself in my slippers: imagine how your Sunday morning coffee encounters with The Times would sour if the front page of the Arts & Leisure section were turned over to, say, Ann Coulter. Is that the kind of paper you want? That's the paper you have.

The public editor serves as the readers' representative. His opinions and conclusions are his own. His column appears at least twice monthly in this section.

Examples of Past Exam Questions

I. Answer all 10 questions in this section I. in one or two sentences. (4 points each)

1. The reason for exit is directly correlated with the timing of exit. Explain.
2. Why might a monopoly prefer competition?
3. “Market transactions do not start from scratch.” Explain the meaning and importance of this statement.
4. In what way is transaction termination inefficient? Explain.
5. Why might states set their election dates for the presidential primaries early in the calendar year even though their doing so may not be beneficial to the political parties or, perhaps, to the nation?
6. Why might Keck and Sikkink consider Freedom of Information Act requests to be of urgent importance?
7. Are preferences endogenous or exogenous factors in a market system model, in Olson’s rational actor model, and in Keck and Sikkink’s model?

8. In granting corporations many of the rights of citizens, the Supreme Court has chosen the wrong unit of analysis. Explain.

9. What is the role of compulsion in a market system, according to Lindblom? Explain.
10. Which is better for motivating worker productivity, according to Lindblom, the rule of quid pro quo or the welfare state? Explain.

II. Answer all 10 of the questions in this section II in a paragraph or so each. (6 points each)

1. Keck and Sikkink talk about one form of sovereignty and Lindblom another. Explain the meaning and significance of each.

2. Both Lindblom and Hirschman discuss the inevitability and value of slack. Explain.

3. Is efficiency a normative or an empirical concept? Explain.

4. How might the market-enhancing work of the International Monetary Fund pose problems for democratic government? How might the power of the IMF be dealt with?

5. According to a recent article in *The Economist* America's 25,000 cotton farmers receive $4 billion of government subsidies in return for producing $3 billion-worth of cotton. What is the importance of this fact for the functioning of the market system?

6. Based on the abstract below, identify the causal relation and causal mechanisms that account for the asserted relation.

ABSTRACT:
The risk of an unwanted pregnancy represents one of the major costs of sexual activity. When abortion was legalized in a number of states during the late 1960s and early 1970s (and nationally with the 1973 Supreme Court case of Roe v. Wade), this cost was reduced as women gained the option of terminating an unwanted pregnancy. We predict that abortion legalization led to an increase in sexual activity, accompanied by an increase in sexually transmitted diseases. Using CDC data on the incidence of gonorrhea and syphilis by state, we test the hypothesis that judicial and legislative decisions to legalize abortion lead to an increase in sexually transmitted diseases. We find that gonorrhea and syphilis incidences are significantly and

positively correlated with abortion legalization. According to our estimates, abortion legalization might account for as much as one third of the average disease incidence.

7. Based on the account below (**at the end of this exam**) provided by Tripp Baltz of the Bureau of National Affairs Daily Labor Report, identify the causal relation(s) and causal mechanisms that account for the asserted relation(s). (See article entitled "AFL-CIO Head Urges State Lawmakers To Protect Worker Rights, Health Benefits.")

8. What implications do Hirschman's ideas hold for institutional design in general and for privatization of public functions specifically?

9. The author in the abstract below is bringing empirical evidence to bear on a normative question. Explain. Is this a legitimate practice? Aren't normative questions unanswerable by empirical evidence?

ABSTRACT:
Computer software and recorded music publishers claimed losses of nearly $16 billion to piracy in 1999. Theoretically, however, piracy may raise the legitimate demand for information products through positive demand-side externalities, sampling, sharing, and other effects. Accordingly, the actual impact of piracy on the legitimate demand is an empirical issue. We address this issue in the context of recorded music. We develop and test hypotheses from theoretical models of end-user and re-seller piracy on international panel data for music CDs and cassettes. Empirically, we find that the demand for both music CDs and cassettes decreased with piracy, suggesting that "theft" outweighed the "positive" effects of piracy. We estimated that the average loss of CD sales to piracy was 15% higher than the number published by the music industry. Further, we estimated that, accounting for both the demand loss and adjustments to pricing, the industry might have lost 19% of revenue to piracy.

10. What predicts the success of TANs? What's necessary and sufficient?

For question # 7.":

AFL-CIO Head Urges State Lawmakers
To Protect Worker Rights, Health Benefits

DENVER--Unions, along with government, are the best watchdogs against the current spate of corporate abuses, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney told state lawmakers July 25.

And the "corporate crime wave sweeping the country" has angered American workers and their families, Sweeney said at a plenary session of the National Conference of State Legislatures' annual meeting in Denver.

"They're angry because they are losing jobs, and their wages are stagnant again," Sweeney said. "And when they get their 401(k) statements in mid-October, they are going to know they've been had by the big corporations, the big banks and investment and accounting firms, and their big co-conspirators in the U.S. Congress, again."

Sweeney praised the work of state lawmakers, saying because of congressional inaction, legislatures and assemblies truthfully can claim with chagrin--rather than pride--that the "buck stops here."

"Congress is busy right now passing the buck to you on critical issues like prescription drugs, retirement security, election reform and corporate accountability," he said.

States historically have been leaders with legislation affecting working families, Sweeney said. They are "on the move," he said, while the Bush administration and the House of Representatives acted to slow federal attempts to "rein in corporations and auditors and investment analysts who are fudging, cheating and shredding their way to higher profits."

"While the Administration and the Congress have deadlocked on the spiraling costs of prescription drugs, states like California, Florida, Kentucky, Hawaii, Mississippi, New Mexico, Minnesota, West Virginia and Maine have already moved to lower drug costs and help millions of our citizens cope better with the vagaries of old age," Sweeney said.

While Congress waited six months after Sept. 11 to expand unemployment benefits for those affected, "states like California, Oregon, Hawaii and Wisconsin moved ahead and addressed the problem," he said.

Colorado, Maine, Minnesota, and North Carolina have passed laws to force corporations that "receive tax dollars to meet standards of pay, benefits, ethics and disclosure--or pay the money back," Sweeney said.

Action Urged on Health Care, Pensions

States can and should act on health care access, costs, and HMO reform, Sweeney said. "Our federal Patient's Bill of Rights has been all but forgotten in the maelstrom of the war on terrorism and our imploding economy," he said.

Sweeney also urged lawmakers to address pensions, mandatory overtime, welfare reform, and election reform. "And if you want to make a big first move towards rejuvenating our economy, put some real money in people's pockets by creating a state minimum wage if you don't already have one, or by raising the one you have," he said.

Sweeney also challenged states to "force the Bush Administration to put its money where its mouth is" by seeking more resources at the state level for homeland security along with an increase in federal Medicaid.

Labor unions will continue to push for regulatory reforms and for repeal of "the outrageous tax cuts th at rocked our federal budget and rolled our states into a fiscal box," Sweeney said.

"The repeal of the estate tax and the [approval of] accelerated bonus depreciation for corporations have been most hurtful to the states," he said. "Devolution without revenue is a zero sum game and we have to change the rules by decoupling federal tax laws as a majority of states have."

Union Influence on Voting Cited

State lawmakers who find themselves "in the middle" on issues important to the labor movement should be mindful of the following, Sweeney said:

In the 10 states where unions are strongest, average household income in 2000 was $46,378, as opposed to $38,854 in the 10 states where unions are weakest.

In the 10 strongest union states, 11.8 percent of the population was without health insurance, as opposed to 15.1 percent in the 10 weakest union states.

In the presidential election, 55.2 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in the 10 strongest union states, while 49.2 percent voted in the 10 weakest union states.

"By every measure of society, families in states with a high union density are better off--and I'm talking about education, health care, worker health and safety, the gender pay gap, the poverty level, the economy, public safety, and civic participation," Sweeney said.

Sweeney also told lawmakers that the AFL-CIO has pushed for union members to serve in elected office. The organization set a goal of getting 2,000 union members elected, "and we are at almost 3, 000," he said.

Union members "drive a healthy economy, they make more money, so they can spend and save and invest more money," he said. "They don't have to depend on charity care when they get sick or public resources when they get old."

California Sen. Jim Costa (D), past president of the NCSL, said Sweeney's appearance marked the first time an AFL-CIO president had addressed the meeting.

Exam: Dec., 2003

Problems

1. Analyze those portions of the Medicare conference report that are most relevant to class readings and lectures. Make the relevance explicit. Consider both the substance and politics of the matter. (not to exceed 500 words, 20 points)[1]

2. Analyze those portions of the energy conference report that are most relevant to class readings and lectures. Make the relevance explicit. Consider both the substance and politics of the matter. (not to exceed 500 words, 20 points)

3. Will the D.C. school voucher legislation, should it be implemented, have the effect predicted by Albert O. Hirschman? Explain. (not to exceed 200 words, 10 points)

4. Using relevant class readings, write a memorandum to the International Labor Organization explaining what happened at the conferences in Cancun and Miami with regard to the Free Trade Area of the Americas. (not to exceed 400 words, 20 points)

5. Write an editorial for *The New York Times* in which you discuss the impediments to the highest performance in public service and how they might be overcome. (not to exceed 400 words, 20 points)

6. In light of the recent determination of the World Trade Organization that U.S. Tariffs on steel are illegal, how would you advise President Bush to respond? What factors should he take into account? Explain. (not to exceed 200 words, 10 points)

Bonus Question: Provide advice both to teams and team leaders on what they should do in order to construct an effective policy analysis and oral presentation. (not to exceed 200 words, up to 3 points)

1. Between 1997 and 2001, U.S. companies spent $90 billion to lay 39 million miles of fiber optic cable - enough to circle the earth 1,566 times. Only 2.6% of that is currently in use. How might a proponent of the market system explain this result in light of the putative efficiency of the market? (Answer within a few sentences.) (4 points)

2. What is the most apt advice you could give someone who wants to change a public policy but who has no particular political connections and is not wealthy? (a few sentences) (4)

3. When the Catholic Church's problem with abusive priests became public, how did that affect the possible outcome? (a few sentences) (4)

4.Why do externalities arise? What is another word for externalities? Provide some examples. Why are externalities often objects of public policy? (a few sentences) (4)

5. Discuss briefly in light of Stone's analysis:
"Evoking images of the corner grocery store and main street America, small business frequently resonates as a reason for easing off regulation. Yet

[1] To obtain a word count, go to Tools, and click on Word Count.

the legal definition of "small" -- which is what really matters -- is actually quite big: for instance, it includes a general contractor with as much as $17 million in annual revenue, a chemical company with as many as 1,000 employees, and a petroleum refinery with as many as 1,500 employees." (from OMBWatch) (a few sentences) (4)

6. The current discussion about future tax cuts suggests that this issue could be a wedge issue for either the Democrats or the Republicans, depending on what kinds of tax cuts, if any, are enacted. Explain. Be specific. Be sure to define "wedge issue." (one or two paragraphs) (8)

7. In the article, "Is Litigation a Blight, or Built In?" (*The New York Times*, Saturday, November 23, 2002), Daphne Eviatar discusses litigiousness in the U.S. What is the underlying problem that poses regulation against adversarial legalism? (one or two paragraphs) (8)

8. What is the role of values in the making of public policy, according to Stone? In your opinion, is she correct? (one or two paragraphs) (8)

9. Based on class lecture and discussions, what would you say are the most important ethical precepts that policy analysts must follow? (one or two paragraphs) (8)

10. Under what circumstances should a policy professional quit a job? (Base your answer on your reading of Hirschman.) (one or two paragraphs) (8)

11. Public or rational choice theory applied to economic activity seems to produce far more felicitous results than when applied to the social or political realm. Explain. Provide examples. Why, then, is rational choice theory in such widespread use among public policy analysts? (one or two paragraphs) (14)

12. If the European Union wanted individuals to form Europe-wide academic associations, what would you advise the E.U. to do? Outline a strategy using rational actor theory. (two or three paragraphs) (13)

13. A good-government group has employed your services to help it determine whether a better legislative product would result from increasing citizens' ability to directly vote on policies or from strengthening the policy-making capabilities of Congress, by for example, improving the quality of public opinion data and the amount of expert advice available to the legislative branch. Which of the assigned class readings would be most applicable to this problem and what considerations would you recommend your client take into account? Explain. Be sure to identify your assumptions. (two or three paragraphs) (13)

Answer the First 3

1. One of the characters in Nadine Gordimer's *None To Accompany Me* commented, "Exploitation is another name for the law of supply and demand…" Analyze this statement from both Lindblom's and Stone's points-of-view. Would they agree? Why would or wouldn't they? What are the possible similarities and differences in the way each would assess this statement? (Answer not to exceed one page. 20 points.)

2. Analyze the word "efficiency" from the points-of-view of Hirschman, Lindblom, and Stone. Identify and define all the uses of this word by these authors. What are the differences and similarities and what accounts for the differences within and among these authors' books? Why is this concept a significant one? (Answer not to exceed two pages. 20 points.)

3. Apply the framework of *Good Work* to the field of public policy. At the conclusion of your answer assess the effect of 9/11 on the field. (Answer not to exceed two pages. 20 points.)

Choose Any 4 of the following 5

4. What is the commons? What is the tragedy of the commons? What is its importance for public policy? Who else besides Stone talks about this idea (at least implicitly) and how does that person or persons differ from Stone's treatment of the concept, if at all? (Answer not to exceed one page. 10 points.)

5. The financial newspaper *Barron's* recently reported, "Together, Federal Express and United Parcel Service currently control 80% of the U.S. market for ground and air parcels." So what? Use all relevant authors in your answer. (Answer not to exceed one page. 10 points.)

6. Explain the concepts of administrative and political feasibility. What are they? What is their importance? Provide an example of each from your reading of *The New York Times*. (Answer not to exceed one page. 10 points.)

7. In an April 28, 2003 article in *The New York Times* entitled "E-Mail Service Providers Unite in Bid to Stop Spam," Saul Hansell reports on one effort to control spam. Using the assigned readings, assess the strategy of these providers as it is presented in this article. (Answer not to exceed one-half page. 10 points.)

8. On April 20, 2003, Daniel Altman wrote a business column in *The New York Times* entitled "Efficiency and Equity (In the Same Breath)." Using the assigned readings, provide an analysis of this article. Assess the assertions in the article from the points-of-view of those authors whose ideas you deem relevant here. (Answer not to exceed two pages. 10 points.)

EXAMPLE OF A SHORT PAPER ASSIGNMENT

Based on your understanding of Mancur Olson's *Logic of Collective Action*, assess President Bush's likelihood of success in inducing the participation of the remaining NATO allies in establishing a functioning government and economy in IRAQ. What suggestions would you have to increase the probability of Bush's succeeding? Make your assumptions clear. Provide specific grounds for your assessment. Cite Olson (by page) and any sources you use where appropriate. Direct your paper to an intelligent layperson that is unfamiliar with either the details of the Iraqi situation or Olson.

WRITING TIPS
By
Cynthia Harrison

1. Use active verbs – have the subject of the sentence perform the action. Use "to be" in all its forms sparingly.
   Passive voice: "Class time was devoted principally to discussion of the readings. All students were expected to read thoughtfully and to share their insights and observations with the class."

   Active voice: "This class devoted meeting time principally to discussion of the readings. Students shared insights and observations with the class."

   Note that "passive voice" and "past tense" are different.
   "He threw the ball" uses an active verb in the past tense.
   "The ball is thrown" uses a passive verb in the present tense.
   In the first sentence you know who is performing the action; you don't know who is throwing the ball in the second sentence.
2. Avoid using "this" as pronoun; follow it with a noun to eliminate confusion about what you mean.
   Vague: "Despite data to the contrary, the American public believes that women receiving welfare have a higher birth rate than non-recipients. This is because the media focus on women who do not represent the average welfare mother accurately."
   Clearer: "Despite data to the contrary, the American public believes that women receiving welfare have a higher birth rate than non-recipients. This misperception comes from a media focus on women who do not represent the average welfare mother accurately."
   NEVER use the phrase "This is because . . . ." It is both vague and syntactically irregular. ("This is so because . . . ." fixes the syntactical problem but it remains vague.)
3. Avoid labels, jargon, slang, colloquialisms. Use the word "incredible" only when you mean the person genuinely can't be believed.
4. Quotations: Whenever you use someone else's words, you must enclose them in double quotation marks. (If the selection is longer than five lines, indent *instead of* using quotation marks. Don't use italics to indicate a quote. Italics denote foreign phrases, court cases, and titles; they are also used for emphasis.) You must also include a citation to the source, including a page number. You should use direct quotations from sources rarely – only when the precise wording is essential to your point. Otherwise, synthesize and paraphrase. However, when you do quote from either a secondary or a primary source, you must

introduce the quoted material in the text explaining who the speaker is, not just drop it in without warning.

Examples of introductions:

As historian Alice Kessler-Harris noted: ". . . ." [or]

In the words of political scientist Cynthia Burack, ". . . . "

In addition, quotations must fit syntactically in the sentence. Add words in brackets or delete words and use ellipses, if necessary. **NOTE: A quotation within a quotation requires single quotation marks; quoted material within the body of an indented quotation requires double quotation marks.**

5. Ellipses: Omit ellipses at the beginning and end of quotations. Use three periods, each separated by a space [. . .], for omissions within sentences and four periods [. . . .] for omissions that include the end of a sentence. (Do not include the brackets.)
6. Don’t repeat yourself. Vary your choice of words. (See examples of introductions to quotations, above.)
7. Spell out numbers of one or two words; use numerals for others, except at the beginning of a sentence. If you must use a number as the first word in a sentence, spell it out. Use numerals with “percent” and spell “percent” rather than using the percent sign.
8. Use apostrophes to denote possession EXCEPT for “its.” “It’s” means ONLY “It is.” The possessive form of “its” has no apostrophe. Plurals do not use apostrophes. E.g. “The Harrisons came to dinner.” But: “This is Professor Harrison’s class.”
9. Avoid the word “things,” as in “Things changed rapidly.” Use a specific phrase: “The political context changed rapidly.”
10. Avoid the first person in formal writing (“I think the evidence fails to support the thesis”). The statement “The evidence fails to support the thesis” suffices. If you must include your own response, use the third person: “This reader finds that the evidence fails to support the thesis.”
11. Avoid contractions in formal writing.