

PSCI 4407A
PUBLIC POLICY: CONTENT AND CREATION
Tuesdays 11:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., Southam 318

Instructor:

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Office Hours:

Wednesdays 10:30 am to 1:00 pm
Fridays 10:30 am to 12:00 pm

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND LEARNING OUTCOMES:

In this course, we will examine the policy development process – agenda setting, formulation, decision-making, and feedback – as well as the ideas, actors and institutions that influence public policy. Throughout the course, a variety of theoretical approaches for understanding the content and creation of public policy will be explored and compared. We will examine a number of specific policy issues to illustrate and apply theoretical concepts from the public policy literature. Students are encouraged to pursue their own areas of policy interest through additional readings, seminar discussions and course work.

The main objective of this course is to prepare students in the foundations of public policy theory and its ‘real world’ applications. By the end of the course, students should have acquired skills that will enable them to:

- Synthesize theoretical concepts and integrate them with the policy process;
- Apply these concepts to the critical analysis of practical policy problems;
- Compare and contrast differences and similarities across a range of policy areas and/or polities, and identify patterns of policy development and policy change across cases and over time;
- Effectively communicate concepts and ideas through oral and written work;
- Demonstrate a strong capacity for critical thinking and independent learning.

EVALUATION AND GRADING:

1. Seminar Participation & Presentations: 20%

In a seminar format, student participation is critical, and a significant proportion of the final grade is assigned to reflect this. Regular attendance and thorough preparation for each seminar are minimum requirements for all students (see [Active Reading and Preparing for Seminar Discussions](#)). Therefore, attendance in seminars is mandatory and will be graded (10% of final grade). In addition, students are expected to take an active part in seminar discussions. Students will be asked to form small groups, and each group will present and lead discussion on the topic for a given week (10% of final grade).

2. Thought-pieces: 25% (5 @ 5%)

Five will be required throughout the semester. These should be no longer than two pages (double spaced) and a synthesis of, your responses to and critical reflections on at least two of the required readings. What issues did the authors raise? What do you think about those issues? How do the pieces relate to other readings in the course to-date? Do not simply summarize the readings – remember, I have read them already! Thought-pieces are due as indicated on the

syllabus and *before* the readings are discussed in class, and *may not* be written on the readings from case study classes. Students must submit at least two *before* the Reading Week break.

3. Essay Assignment: 30%

Students will be expected to prepare an original analytic paper exploring a specific public policy issue, drawn from topics discussed in class. Specific paper topics must be discussed with the Instructor, and outlined in a brief written submission. The essay will be no more than 20 pages, double-spaced. Additional details about and guidelines for the assignment will be distributed in class. The essay will be due in class on **Tuesday March 25, 2008**. Late papers will be penalized at 5/35 per day, to a maximum of 25/35. Papers submitted after 5 days past the due date (including weekends) will be given a 0.

4. Take Home Final Examination: 25%

The take-home exam will take an essay-style format. Students will be given four questions, and be required to answer two of their choosing. Further details will be distributed and discussed in class. The examination questions will be distributed at the end of class on Tuesday April 1 and completed exams will be due back to the instructor on **Tuesday April 8, 2008**.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14th, 2008** for April examinations.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the

Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at:
<http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

REQUIRED READINGS:

For students wishing to review some of the basic concepts in public policy analysis and theory, the following texts are recommended:

- Leslie A. Pal (2006). *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*. 3rd Edition. Toronto: Thomson-Nelson
- Howlett M. and Ramesh M. (2003). *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems* 2nd Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press

1. Required Texts

These books are available through [Haven Books](#) located at 43 Seneca Street (at Sunnyside), Ottawa and will also be on reserve at MacOdrum Library.

- Deborah Stone (2002). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. Revised Edition. New York: WW Norton.
- Miriam Smith (2005). *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*. Broadview Press.

- John Kingdon (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd Edition. New York: A.B. Longman Publishers.
2. Required Courseware:
- Most required readings (other than the textbooks noted above) are available electronically through MacOdrum Library website and/or on the course web site.
 - There are a few required readings (apart from the required textbooks noted above) which are not available electronically; these are placed on reserve at MacOdrum and are marked with an asterisk (*) in the syllabus below.
3. Daily Newspaper(s)
- Students are required to read regularly at least one Canadian daily newspaper, such as the Globe and Mail, the National Post, the Toronto Star or the Ottawa Citizen. Policy issues in the news will be a regular part of seminar discussions. Daily newspapers are accessible at no charge on-line, with some restrictions; archived and other subscribed material is accessible electronically through the University's subscription to ProQuest.

TOPIC SCHEDULE AND READINGS

What is Public Policy?

1. January 8: Making Public Policy

Required:

- Lindblom, C.E. et al. (2005). Chapter 2: Public Policymaking. In Shafritz, JM, Layne, KS & Borick, CP (Eds). *Classics of Public Policy*. Toronto: Pearson Education Inc. *
- Torgerson, Douglas (1986). Between knowledge and politics: Three faces of policy analysis. *Policy Sciences* 19(1): 33-59.

Supplementary:

- Goodin, R.E., M. Rein. & M. Moran (2006). The public and its policies. In Moran, M., M. Rein & R.E. Goodin (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 3-35

Institutions, Interests and Ideas in the Policy Process

2. January 15: Constitutional Structures and Institutional Rules

Required Reading:

- Hall, P.A. & Taylor, R.C.R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44: 936-957.
- Immergut, E.M. (1998). The theoretical core of the new institutionalism. *Politics Society*, 26(1): 5-34.
- Banting K. (2005). Canada: Nation-building in a federal welfare state. In Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried & Francis G. Castles (eds). *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Influences*. Cambridge University Press. *

Supplementary Reading:

- March, J. G. & Olsen, J. P. (1996). Institutional perspectives on political institutions. *Governance*, 9(3):47-264.
- Bonoli G. (2000). Political institutions, veto points, and the process of welfare state adaptation. In Paul Pierson (ed.) *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 238-264.
- Pierson, P. (1995). Fragmented welfare states: Federal institutions and the development of social policy. *Governance* 8(4):449-478.
- Scharpf, FW (1988). The joint decision trap: Lessons from German federalism and European integration. *Public Administration* 66(Autumn): 239-278. [Available electronically]
- Thelen, K. and S. Steinmo (1992). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. In Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.

3. January 22: Collective Actors and Citizen Politics

Required Reading:

- Smith M. (2005). *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*. Broadview Press. Chapters 2, 4-6
- Stone, D. (2002). *Policy Paradox*. New York: Norton. Chapter 9: Interests
- Rayside D. (2001). The structuring of sexual minority activist opportunities in the political mainstream: Britain, Canada, and the United States. In Mark Blasius (ed.), *Sexual Identities, Queer Politics*. Princeton University Press. *

Supplementary Reading:

- Burstein P. and Linton A. (2002). The impact of political parties, interest groups and social movements organisations on public policy: Some recent evidence and theoretical concerns. *Social Forces* 81(2): 380-408.
- Richardson, J. (2000). Government, interest groups and policy change. *Political Studies*, 48(5): 1006-25.
- Lowi, T (1964). American business, public policy, case studies and political theory. *World Politics* 16(4): 677.
- Smith, MJ (1990). Pluralism, reformed pluralism and neopluralism: The role of pressure groups in policy-making. *Political Studies* 38(2).
- Smith, Miriam (2005). Social movements and judicial empowerment: Courts, public policy, and lesbian and gay organizing in Canada. *Politics and Society*, 33(2):327-353.

4. January 29: Ideas and Policy Framing

Required Reading

- Rochefort DA and Cobb RW (1993). Problem definition, agenda access, and policy choice. *Policy Studies Journal* 21(1): 56-71.
- Stone, D. (2002). *Policy Paradox*. New York: Norton. Chapters 4 & 5
- Ibrahim, M. (2005). The securitization of migration: A racial discourse? *International Migration*, 43, 163-187.

Supplementary Readings:

- Bacchi, C. (2004). Policy and discourse: challenging the construction of affirmative action as preferential treatment. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(1): 128-146

- Berman, S. (2001). Ideas, norms, and culture in political analysis. *Comparative Politics*, 33(2):
- Goldstein J. and Keohane R. (1993). Ideas and Foreign Policy: An Analytical Framework. In Judith Goldstein and Robert Keohane, (eds.) *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*. Cornell University Press, 3-30
- Karyotis, G. (2007). European migration policy in the aftermath of September 11: The security-migration nexus. *Innovation*, 20, 1-17.
- Moore MH (1988). What sort of ideas become public ideas? In Robert B. Reich, ed., *The Power of Public Ideas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 3, pp. 55-84
- Salter, M.B. (2007). Canadian post 9/11 border policy and spillover securitization: Smart, safe, sovereign? In M. Orsini & M. Smith (eds), *Critical Policy Studies*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

5. February 5: Policy Networks

- Richardson, J. (2000). Government, interest groups and policy change. *Political Studies*, 48(5): 1006-1025.
- Stone, D. (2002). *Policy Paradox*. New York: Norton. Chapter 3: Efficiency
- Ceccoli, S. (2002). Divergent paths to drug regulation in the United States and the United Kingdom. *Journal of Policy History*, 14(2):135-169.

Supplementary Reading

- Atkinson MM and Coleman WD (1996). Policy networks, policy communities and the problems of governance. In Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock, eds., *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 11, pp. 193-218.
- Börzel, Tanya (1998). Organizing Babylon: On the different conceptions of policy networks. *Public Administration*. 76(2):253-73.
- Light, Donald W. (2007). Misleading Congress about Drug Development. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 32(5): 895-913
- Wiktorowicz, M. E. (2003). Emergent patterns in the regulation of pharmaceuticals: Institutions and interests in the United States, Canada, Britain, and France. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy & Law*, 28(4): 615-658.

Case Study 1

6. February 12: Decriminalizing Marijuana Use in Canada

Required Reading:

- Hathaway AD and Erickson PG (2003). Drug reform principles and policy debates: harm reduction prospects for cannabis in Canada. *Journal of Drug Issues* 33(2): 465-495.
- Lafreniere, G (2004). *An Act to Amend the Contraventions Act and the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act. Legislative Summary*. LS-456E. Ottawa: Library of Parliament.
- CBC In Depth: Marijuana. Up in smoke? Canada's marijuana law and the debate over decriminalization. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/marijuana/index.html>

Supplementary Reading:

- Canada, Health Canada (2003). *Backgrounder: Cannabis Reform Bill*. Retrieved on August 5, 2003 from: www.hc-sc.gc.ca/english/media/releases/2003/2003_34bk1.htm
- Erickson, P.G., Riley, D.M., Cheung, Y.W., O'Hare, P.A. (1997). *Harm Reduction: A New Direction for Drug Policies and Programs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Hall, W. (2001). Reducing the harms caused by cannabis use: the policy debate in Australia. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 62:163–174
- MacCoun R. and Reuter P.(2002). The varieties of drug control at the dawn of the twenty-first century. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 582(1):7-19.
- Uitermark, J. & Cohen, P. (2005). A clash of policy approaches. The rise (and fall?) of Dutch harm reduction policies towards ecstasy consumption. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 16(1): 65-72.

The Policy Cycle

7. February 26: Agenda Setting and Policy Formulation

Required Reading:

- Kingdon JW (1995). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd Edition. New York: A.B. Longman Publishers. Chapters 1, 8, 9, pp. 1-20, 165-208.
- Birkland, T. A. (2004). “The World Changed Today”: Agenda-Setting and Policy Change in the Wake of the September 11 Terrorist Attacks. *Review of Policy Research*, 21, 179-202.

Supplementary Reading

- Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology – the ‘issue attention cycle’. *The Public Interest* 28: 38-50.
- Howlett M. (1997). Issue-attention and punctuated equilibria models reconsidered: An empirical examination of the dynamics of agenda setting in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30(1): 3-29.
- Soroka, S. (2007). Agenda setting and issue definition. In M. Orsini & M. Smith (eds), *Critical Policy Studies*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Sabatier, PA (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences*, 21(2-3) :129-68.

8. March 4: Decision-Making and Implementation – The Selection of Policy Instruments

Required Reading:

- Stone D. (2002). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. Revised Edition. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapters 10 – 15.
- Schneider A. and Ingram H. (1990). Behavioural assumptions of policy tools. *Journal of Politics* 52(2): 510-529.

Supplementary Reading:

- Bansak C & Raphael S (2007). The effects of state policy design features on take-up and crowd-out rates for the State Children’s Health Insurance Program. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 26(1).
- Cohen, M., March, J. and Olsen J. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice. *Administrative Sciences Quarterly* 17(1):1-25.
- Ellermann, A. (2005). Coercive capacity and the politics of implementation: Deportation in Germany and the United States. *Comparative Political Studies* 38(10):1219-1244.
- Elmore, RF (1987). Instruments and strategy in public policy. *Policy Studies Review*, 7(1): 174-186.
- Houston D.J. & Richardson LE (2004). Drinking-and-driving in America: A test of behavioral assumptions underlying public policy. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(1):53-64.

- Lindblom, C. (1959). The science of muddling through. *Public Administration Review*, 19:79-88.
- Paul A. Sabatier and D.A. Mazmanian (1980). The implementation of public policy: A framework of analysis. *Policy Studies Journal* 8: 538-560.

9. March 11: Policy Feedback and Change

Required Reading:

- Pierson. P. (1993). When effect becomes cause: Policy feedback and political change. *World Politics* 45(4): 292-328.
- Hall, P.A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning and the state. *Comparative Politics* 25(3): 275-96.
- Coleman, W. D., Skogstad, G., & Atkinson, M. M. (1997). Paradigm shifts and policy networks: Cumulative change in agriculture. *Journal of Public Policy*, 16, 273-301.

Supplementary Reading:

- Bennett, D.J. & Howlett, M. (1992). The lessons of learning: reconciling theories of policy learning and policy change. *Policy Sciences* 25: 275-294.
- Dolowitz, DP & March, D. (2000). Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance*, 13(1):5-24
- Greener, I. (2002). Understanding NHS reform: The policy-transfer, social learning, and path-dependence perspectives. *Governance*, 15(2):
- Rose, R. (2006). *Learning from Comparative Public Policy: A Guide*. Routledge
- Stone, D. (1999). Learning lessons and policy transfer across time, space and disciplines. *Politics* 19(1): 51-59

Case Study 2:

10. March 18: American Health Politics and Reform

Required Readings:

- Green-Pederson, C. & Wilkerson, J. (2006). How agenda-setting attributes shape politics: Basic dilemmas, problem attention and health politics developments in Denmark and the US. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(7): 1039-52.
- Hacker J. (2001). Learning from defeat? Political analysis and the failure of health care reform in the United States. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31:
- Marmor, T. (2007). Universal health insurance 2007. Can we learn from the past? *Dissent*, 54(3):52-57.

Supplementary Reading:

- Hacker J. (1998). The historical logic of national health insurance: structure and sequence in the development of British, Canadian and U.S. medical policy. *Studies in American Political Development* 12(Spring): 57-130.
- Quadagno, J. (2004). Why the United States has no national health insurance: Stakeholder mobilization against the welfare state, 1945–1996. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 45(Supplement 1): 25-44
- Ruger JP (2007). Health, health care, and incompletely theorized agreements: A normative theory of health policy decision making. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 32(1): 51-87.

- Steinmo S. and Watts J. (1995). It's the institutions, stupid! Why comprehensive national health care reform always fails in America. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 20(2): 329-372.
- Skocpol, T. (1997) *Boomerang: Health Care Reform and the Turn Against Government*. New York: WW Norton.

11. March 25: Internationalization and Public Policy

Required Reading:

- Hay, C. (2006). Globalization and public policy. In In Moran, M., M. Rein & R.E. Goodin (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 587-604. *
- Drache D. & Froese M.D. (2006). Globalisation, world trade and the cultural commons: Identity, citizenship and pluralism. *New Political Economy*, 11(3):361-382.
- Skogstad G.(2000). Globalization and public policy: situating Canadian analyses. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 33(4): 805-828.

Supplementary Reading:

- Coleman WD and Perl A (1999). Internationalized policy environments and policy network analysis. *Political Studies* 47(4): 691-709.
- Crelinsten RD (2001). Policy making in a multi-centric world: the impact of globalization, privatization and decentralization on democratic governance. In Gordon Smith and Daniel Wolfish, eds., *Who is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 3, pp. 89-130.
- Doern, GB, Pal LA and Tomlin BW, eds. (1996). *Border Crossings: The Internationalization of Canadian Public Policy*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-26.
- Drezner DW (2005). Globalization, harmonization, and competition: the different pathways to policy convergence. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(5):841-859.
- Reinicke, W. H. (1998). Globalization and Public Policy: An Analytic Framework. In *Global Public Policy: Governing without Government?* (pp. 52-74). Washington: Brookings Institute.

Case Study 3:

12. April 1: The Climate Change Debate

Required Reading:

- Haas, P. M. (2000). International institutions and social learning in the management of global environmental risks. *Policy Studies Journal*, 28, 558-575.
- Litfin, K. T. (2000). Advocacy coalitions along the domestic-foreign frontier: globalization and Canadian climate change policy. *Policy Studies Journal*, 28, 236-252.
- Orr, S.K.(2006) Policy Subsystems and Regimes: Organized Interests and Climate Change Policy, *Policy Studies Journal* 34 (2), 147–169.

Supplementary Reading:

- The Hill-Times. Policy Briefings: The Environment.
 - March 2007: http://www.thehilltimes.ca/policy_briefings/031907_pb.pdf
 - August 2006: http://www.thehilltimes.ca/policy_briefings/080706_pb.pdf
- CBC News Indepth: [Climate Change](#)
- Globe and Mail News Indepth: [Climate Change](#)

- Bernstein, S. (2002). International institutions and the framing of domestic policies: The Kyoto Protocol and Canada's response to climate change. *Policy Sciences* 35(2): 203-236.
- Betsill, M.M. (2007). Regional governance of global climate change: The North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation. *Global Environmental Politics*, 7(2):11-27.
- Brown, L. (2000). Scientific uncertainty and learning in European Union environmental policymaking. *Policy Studies Journal*, 28, 576-596.
- Bulkeley, H. & Moser, S.C. (2007). Responding to climate change: Governance and social action beyond Kyoto, *Global Environmental Politics*, 7(2):1-10
- Centre for Research and Information on Canada [CRIC], Climate Change Resource Page http://www.cric.ca/en_html/guide/climate/climate_change.html
- Jordon, A. & Lorenzoni, I. (2007) Is there now a political climate for policy change? Policy and politics after the Stern Review. *The Political Quarterly*, 78(2):310-319.
- Lisowski, M. (2002). Playing the Two-Level Game: US President Bush's Decision to Repudiate the Kyoto Protocol. *Environmental Politics*, 11, 101-119.
- United Kingdom (2007). *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review*. London: Cabinet Office - HM Treasury. [Executive Summary \(Full\)](#).