

PSCI 4407(B) – Public Policy: Content and Creation

Lectures: Wednesdays, 14:35 to 17:25

Lecture Format: ONLINE

Winter 2025 – January 06 to April 08

Department of Political Science: <https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

Instructor: Michael E. Campbell

Email: MichaelEcampbell@cunet.carleton.ca

Office Hours: by appointment

Teaching Assistant: N/A

Course Description:

The definition of ‘public policy’ remains contested, but there is a general agreement that it is not merely the outcome of government officials’ whims. Rather, public policy emerges from intricate, multifaceted processes shaped by various influences and stakeholders, all of whom operate within the constraints of institutional structures and prevailing ideas at a given political and social moment in time. As a result, numerous frameworks and theories have been developed to explain the content and creation of public policy, focusing on the processes that drive its formulation and implementation.

This course aims to critically examine the diverse theories and frameworks that explain how policies are formulated, evolve over time, and undergo evaluation and analysis. While the course is anchored in the traditional ‘policy cycle’ model, which highlights stages like agenda-setting, decision-making, policy implementation, and evaluation, it goes beyond this linear framework to address the complex realities of policymaking. A critical lens is applied to the policy cycle, and students will engage with literature that presents alternative models and solutions to mainstream policy challenges. These readings emphasize both the strengths and limitations of conventional approaches to public policy, providing a broader understanding of how policies are developed and assessed in practice.

Course Format:

This is an online course, and weekly lectures will be delivered synchronously via-Zoom. The focus of each lecture topic can be identified in the **Lecture and Reading Schedule**. Each week’s topic indicates assigned readings, which students are expected to read *before* lecture begins. There are also a number of recommended readings that provide additional insight into weekly topics. Given that this is a seminar class, students are expected to attend each course in its entirety and participate in class discussions. Aside from the textbook, all other readings can be found on ARES course reserves.

Lecture Outcomes:

In this course, emphasis is placed on familiarizing oneself with the core material and developing the critical thinking skills required to:

1. Gain a comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in the policymaking process, including key challenges in the development of public policy;
2. Recognize and critically assess the roles and influences of diverse actors in shaping public policy;
3. Develop a deep understanding of the functions of institutions and the constraints they impose on the policymaking process;
4. Clearly and effectively articulate policy concepts and analyses through written and oral communication;
5. Cultivate the ability to think critically about public policy, fostering skills to conduct rigorous analyses and evaluate policy-related issues from multiple perspectives.

Required Course Materials:

- Howlett, Michael, M. Ramesh and Anthony Perl. 2020. *Studying Public Policy: Principles and Processes*, 4th ed. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press **(Estimated Cost: \$121.99)**

Course Evaluation:

Late submission policy:

Any assignments that are submitted after the stated due dates, and without valid reason for extension, will be penalized five percent (5%) per day. Furthermore, any assignment submitted seven days following the stated due date will not be accepted, resulting in an immediate score of zero (0%). Extensions will be granted on a case-by-case basis, and at the discretion of the course instructor. Any requests for extensions must be submitted to the instructor at least 48-hours before an assignment’s indicated due date. This requirement will only be waived in the event of emergency. Valid reasons for extension include medical or emergency situations.

General Overview:

Assignment/Task:	Due Date:	Value:
Seminar Participation	Ongoing	20%
Research Proposal and Annotated Bibliography	12 February (11:59 PM)	15%
Critical Analysis 1	16 January to 13 February	15%
Critical Analysis 2	February 26 to 2 April	15%
Research Essay	2 April (11:59 PM)	35%

Assignments and Evaluation – Details:

- (a) Seminar Participation:** Students are expected to attend all classes and actively engage in discussions throughout the semester. Discussion is centered around assigned readings, which must be completed before each class. This will enable students to contribute thoughtfully to discussions, draw on relevant literature, and critically analyze the topics at

hand. When reviewing the readings, students should focus on understanding key arguments, as well as identifying similarities and differences between texts.

(b) Critical Analyses (1 & 2): Students will choose two weeks from the lecture schedule and write a critical analysis for each week's readings. These analyses are not research papers, nor are they summaries. Instead, students should develop a clear argument based on the readings for that week and support their position with evidence drawn from all assigned texts. Each critical analysis should be between 750 and 1000 words. While students have the flexibility to choose which weeks' reading to write about, the critical analyses must be submitted *before* the corresponding lecture. This ensures originality, as students should not rely on in-class discussions of the readings when crafting their analyses.

(c) Research Proposal and Annotated Bibliography: In this assignment, students will write a two-page research proposal aimed at evaluating a public policy of their choice through the lens of the policy cycle framework. Students will identify the country where the policy was implemented, which will serve as the foundation for a case study. Since the policy cycle framework is most commonly applied in Western liberal democracies, students are encouraged to select a policy and case from this context, although there is some flexibility beyond this.

This assignment serves as a foundation for the final research essay, helping students refine their focus on a specific public policy and its context of development and implementation. Students will articulate a research objective and preliminary thesis centered on the policy's trajectory within the policy cycle framework, and its overall success or failure. The aim is to explore how the policy emerged into the agenda, the key actors and institutions involved in its formulation and implementation, and how it progressed through the cycle.

In addition, students will also compile an annotated bibliography of 10 sources related to the topic. This will serve as a starting point for the final research essay.

(d) Final Research Essay: In this final essay, students will build upon the topics and case studies presented in their Research Proposal, offering a deeper analysis of their selected public policy through the lens of the policy cycle framework. The essay should examine the policy's history and trajectory, through the lens of the policy cycle framework. This includes exploring the conditions that brought the policy onto the agenda, the key actors and institutions involved in its formulation, the debates surrounding its adoption, challenges in implementation, and the overall evaluation of its outcomes (e.g., efficiency, effectiveness, unintended consequences, etc.).

Students should incorporate evidence from similar policies, including from other countries where comparable policies have been implemented. This will help contextualize their analysis and assess whether the policy in question requires revision or termination. Where relevant, critiques of the policy cycle framework should be acknowledged, and alternative perspectives on policymaking should be discussed (as it relates to the policy under review). The essay should be between 3500 and 4000 words in length, excluding the cover page, in-text citations, and works cited.

Lecture and Reading Schedule:

Lecture 1 (January 8) – Introduction to Course / Studying Public Policy

- **Chapter 1** “Public Policy and Politics,” in Kraft, Michael E. and Scott R. Furlong. *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*. Second Edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- **Chapter 2** “What is Policy and Policymaking?” in Cairney, Paul. 2019. *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues*. Second Edition. London, ENG: Red Globe Press.

Lecture 2 (January 15) – Introduction to the ‘Policy Cycle’

- **Textbook** – Chapter 1 “Methodology, Theory, and Context in Public Policy Research.
- Ronit, Karsten and Tony Porter. 2015. “Harold D. Lasswell, *The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis*,” pp. 54 to 68 in Martin Lodge, Edward C. Page, and Steven J. Bella eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Classics in Public Policy and Administration*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Deleon, Peter. 1999. “The Stages Approach to the Policy Process: What Has It Done? Where Is It Going?” pp. 19 to 32 in Paul A Sabatier ed. *Theories of the Policy Process*. First Edition. Westview Press: Boulder, CO.

Recommended:

- Brewer, Gary D. 1974. “The Policy Sciences Emerge: To Nurture and Structure a Discipline,” *Policy Sciences* 5: 239-244.

Lecture 3 (January 22) – Major Alternatives to the ‘Policy Cycle’

- **Chapter 2** “‘Stages’ Models” in John, Peter 1998. *Analyzing Public Policy*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Herweg, Nicole, Nikolas Zahariadis, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer. 2023. “The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications,” pp. 29 to 64 in Christopher M. Weible ed. *Theories of the Policy Process*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sabatier, Paul A. James L. True, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank Baumgartner. 2007. “The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications,” pp. 155 to 188 in Paul A. Sabatier ed. *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Recommended:

- Howlett, Michael, Allan McConnell, and Anthony Perl. 2016. “Weaving the Fabric of Public Policies: Comparing and Integrating Contemporary Frameworks for the Study of Policy Processes,” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*. 18, no. 3 (May): 273-289.

- Béland, Daniel and Michael Howlett. 2016. “The Role and Impact of the Multiple-Streams Approach in Comparative Policy Analysis,” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*. 18, no. 3: 221-227.

Lecture 4 (January 29) – Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Public Policy

- **Textbook** – Chapter 2 “Understanding Public Policy: Theoretical Approaches”
- Sabatier, Paul A. 1991. “Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process,” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 24, no. 2 (June): 147-156
- Anyebe, Adam A. 2018. “An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Public Policy,” *International Journal of Political Science* 4, no. 1 (January): 8-17.

Recommended:

- Cairney, Paul. 2013. “Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: How do we Combine Insights of Multiple Theories in Public Policy Studies?” *Policy Studies Journal* 41, no.1: 1-21.

Lecture 5 (February 5) – Ideas, Actors, and Structural Constraints

- **Textbook** – Chapter 3 “The Policy Context: States and Societies”
- **Chapter 5** “Public Administration and Institutions: The Real World of Organizations and the Machinery of Government” in Inwood, Gregory J. 2014. *Understanding Canadian Public Administration: An Introduction to Theory and Practice*. Second Edition. Toronto, ON: Pearson.
- Foli, Rosina. 2024. “Ideas, Interests, and Institutions in Public Policymaking,” pp. 131 to 145 in Michael Kpessa-Whyte and James Dzisah eds. *Public Policy in Ghana: Conceptual And Practical Insights*. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended:

- Campbell, John L. 2002. “Ideas, Politics, and Public Policy,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 21-38.
- Raj, Chari. Gary Murphy and John Hogan. 2007. “Regulating Lobbyists: A Comparative Analysis of the United States, Canada, Germany and the European Union,” *The Political Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (July-September): 422-438.

Lecture 6 (February 12) – Agenda Setting

- **Textbook** – Chapter 4 “Agenda-Setting: Definitions and Problematics”
- Majone, Giandomenico. 2006. “Agenda Setting,” pp. 228 to 250 in Michael Moran, Martin Rein, and Robert E. Goodin. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Zahardiadis, Nikolas. 2016. "Setting the Agenda on Agenda Setting: Definitions, Concepts, and Controversies," pp. 1 to 22 in Nikolas Zahariadis ed. *Handbook of Public Policy Agenda Setting*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Recommended:

- Walgrave, Stefaan and Rens Vliegthart. 2010. "Why are Policy Agendas Punctuated? Friction and Cascading in Parliament and Mass Media in Belgium," *Journal of European Public Policy*. 17, no. 8: 1147-1170.

Winter Break (February 17-21) – No Classes

Lecture 7 (February 26) – Policy Formulation

- **Textbook** – Chapter 5 "Policy Formulation: Identifying and Assessing Policy Alternatives"
- Deleon, Peter. 1992. "Policy Formulation: Where Ignorant Armies Clash by Night," *Policy Studies Review*. 11, no. 3/4 (Winter): 389-405.
- Howlett, Michael. 2019. "Comparing Policy Advisory Systems beyond the OECD: Models, Dynamics and the Second-Generation Research Agenda," *Policy Studies* 40, no. 3-4: 241-259
- Sidney, Mara S. 2007. "Policy Formation: Design and Tools," pp. 79 to 87 in Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller and Mara S. Sidney eds. *Handbook of Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Recommended:

- Howlett, Michael and Ishani Mukherjee. 2014. "Policy Design and Non-Design: Towards a Spectrum of Policy Formulation Types," *Multidisciplinary Studies in Politics and Governance*. 2, no. 2: 57-71.

Lecture 8 (March 5) – Decision-Making and Public Policy

- **Textbook** – Chapter 6 "Decision-Making in Public Policy: Policy Selection and Choice"
- Treisman, Geert R. 2000. "Models for Research into Decision-Making Processes: On Phases, Streams, and Decision-Making Rounds," *Public Administration* 78, no. 4: 937-956.
- Graham, Allison T. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *The American Political Science Review*. 63, no. 3 (September): 689-718.

Recommended:

- Lindblom, Charles E. 1959. "The Science of "Muddling Through"," *Public Administration Review*. 6e, no. 3: (September): 79-88.

- Cohen, Michael D., James G. March and Johan P. Olsen. 1972. "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice," *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 17, no. 1 (March): 1-25.

Lecture 9 (March 12) – Policy Implementation

- **Textbook** – Chapter 7 "Policy Implementation: Putting Policies into Effect"
- **Chapter 5** "Policy Implementation," in Wu, Xun, M. Ramesh, Michael Howlett, and Scott A. Frtizen. 2017. *The Public Policy Primer: Managing the Policy Process*. Second Edition. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Exworthy, Mark and Martin Powell. 2004. "Big Windows and Little Windows: Implementation in the 'Congested State'," *Public Administration*. 82, no. 2: 263-281.

Recommended:

- Saetren, Harald. 2014. "Implementing the Third Generation Research Paradigm in Policy Implementation Research: An Empirical Assessment," *Public Policy and Administration*. 29, no. 2 (April): 85-105.
- **Chapter 2** "Policy Implementation in Multi-level Systems," in Conteh, Charles *Policy Governance in Multi-level Systems: Economic Development and Policy Implementation in Canada*. Montreal, QC. McGill-Queen's University Press.

Lecture 10 (March 19) – Policy Evaluation

- **Textbook** – Chapter 8 "Policy Evaluation: Policy-Making as Learning"
- Preskill, Hallie and Shanelle Boyle. 2008. "A Multidisciplinary Approach of Evaluation Capacity Building," *American Journal of Evaluation*. 29, no. 4 (December): 44-459.
- McDonald, Bron, Patricia Rogers and Bruce Kefford. 2003. "Teaching People to Fish? Evaluation Capability of Public Sector Organizations," *Evaluation* 9, no. 1: 9-29.

Recommended:

- **Chapter 14** "Evaluation," in Johnson, William C. 1992. *Public Administration: Policy, Politics, and Practice*. New York, NY: The Dushkin Publishing Group.
- **Chapter 2** "Policy Analysis" in Pal, Leslie. 1987. *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* Agincourt, ON: Methuen Publications.

Lecture 11 (March 26) – Policy Change

- **Textbook** – Chapter 9 "Patterns of Policy Change: Between Punctuations and Increments"
- Bennett, Colin J and Michael Howlett. 1992. "The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change," *Policy Sciences* 25: 275-294.
- Weaver, R. Kent. 2010. "Paths and Forks or Chutes and Ladders?: Negative Feedbacks and Policy Regime Change," *Journal of Public Policy* 30, no. 2: 137-162.

Recommended:

- Wilson, Carter A. 2000. "Policy Regimes and Policy Change," *Journal of Public Policy*. 20, no. 3: 247-274.

Lecture 12 (April 2) – Communicating Policy

- Marsh, David and Paul Fawcett. 2012. "Branding Public Policy," pp. 329 to 341 in Jennifer-Lees-Marshment ed. *Routledge Handbook of Political Marketing*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Reynolds, J.P., K Stautz, M. Pilling, S. van der Linden and T.M. Marteau. 2020. "Communicating the Effectiveness and Ineffectiveness of Government Policies and their Impact on Public Support: A Systematic Review with Meta-Analysis," *The Royal Society Open Science*. 7, no. 1: 1-14.
- Lewandowsky, Stephan, K.H. Ullrich Ecker and John Cook. "Beyond Misinformation: Understanding and Coping with the "Post-Trust" Era," *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*. 6, no. 4 (December): 353-369.

Political Science Course Outline Appendix

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy: Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: Contact your Instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally scheduled exam (if applicable).

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

The last day to withdraw from full fall term and fall/winter courses with a full fee adjustment is **September 30th, 2024**. The last day for a fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter term courses or the winter portion of two-term courses is **January 31, 2025**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full fall and late fall courses is **November 15, 2024**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses is **March 15, 2025**.

WDN: For students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term the term WDN will be a permanent notation that appears on their official transcript.

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Fall courses: **December 9-21, 2024**. Winter and Fall/Winter courses: **April 11-26, 2025** (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton 2024-2025 Calendar](#).

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This can include:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in

- whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
 - using another's data or research findings;
 - failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
 - handing in "*substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.*"

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640 Loeb
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 th floor Library
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501 Nideyinàn
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory