Carleton University
Department of Political Science
https://carleton.ca/polisci/

Fall 2023

# PSCI 6407A Public Policy: Theory and Analysis

Seminars: Tuesdays 11.35- 2.25 in room LA 602

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Please note that all email communication must be done using your official Carleton university e-mail.

# I. Course Description

PSCI 6407 and PSCI 6408 together constitute the core course for doctoral students in the Public Affairs and Policy Analysis field in the Department of Political Science. The aims of these courses are first to provide students with a solid grounding in all aspects of theories and concepts relating to public policy and public affairs management; and second to prepare students for their comprehensive examinations at the end of their first year of doctoral studies. PSCI 6407 focuses on theories of public policy whereas PSCI 6408 focuses on public affairs management.

In this course we will undertake an exploration of the field of public policy by surveying a range of theoretical approaches for understanding and analyzing public policy. It is designed to familiarize students with the foundations of public policy theories — their basic concepts, constructs, and contributions to the field. Each seminar in the fall term is organized around seminal works and concepts in the field of public policy, beginning with the study of actors, institutions, and ideas, and ending with an examination of some critical approaches. Readings on each subject are selected with the aim of introducing students to the key theoretical concepts and debates that make up the field of public policy.

The objective of the course is to ground students in theories and approaches in public policy, and so the reading load is substantial. Students are encouraged to work together intensively and are required to come to each class prepared to discuss actively and in depth all assigned readings for that class. The course will be structured around weekly discussions of required readings, with one or two students responsible for facilitating discussion each week. All students are expected to come fully prepared to actively participate in discussions, regardless of whether they are presenting.

This course was developed by Professor Vandna Bhatia.

## II. Learning Outcomes

Over the course of the term, students should develop critical analytic skills in comparing the different approaches, assessing their strengths, weaknesses, and explanatory power, and applying them to specific policy issues or situations. By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Identify the core components, concepts, and assumptions of different theoretical approaches
- Synthesize and critically analyze the contributions and limitations of these approaches and the explanations or understanding of public policy they advance
- Apply these concepts to the analysis of practical policy problems, particularly in relation to your own research or area of study.

#### III. Assessments and Evaluation

#### Seminar Participation: 15%

Seminars are premised on the principle of learning through informed discussion. For this format to be effective, each of us should come to each session prepared to actively engage with one another to question, reflect on, and discuss the concepts and ideas in the assigned readings.

Component	Weight
Seminar Participation	15%
Seminar Presentation	10%
Critical Reviews (2 @ 15%)	30%
Review Essay	25%
Final exam	20%
Total	100%

<u>Active reading</u> in preparation is essential. This includes considering the following questions in relation to the assigned text:

- What is the author saying what is the main thesis or argument, what are the key concepts involved, how is the argument made?
- How effective or persuasive is the approach/theory/analysis? What makes is more/less compelling? What/how is evidence used to support the argument or conclusions?
- How does it relate to other readings from this week? From other weeks?

To facilitate discussion, students should submit <u>two discussion questions</u> based on the readings, prior to the upcoming class. Questions should make specific reference to the readings and should not be generic. Please post your questions to the Brightspace discussion board in advance of class, no later than Monday at 9:00 a.m. Before coming to class, consult the questions posted by others and think about how you might address them, in addition to your own, in the discussion. The seminar participation grade will be determined based on the quality and frequency of participation.

#### Critical Reviews (Short Papers): 2 x 15% = 30%

Each paper should be between 5-7 pages, double-spaced, and take the form of critical discussion of a theme or question related to the assigned readings for a given week. These papers are meant to be *critical reviews* of the work – not summaries – and may incorporate supplementary readings but should not include material that is not in the syllabus (except as brief citations as part of the review). Papers are due by 9:00 am on the day of the class for which the readings are assigned. At least one critical review must be submitted before the fall break.

# Seminar Presentations: 10%

Students will take a role in leading seminar discussions. Each week, one student will lead the class in a review of key concepts and ideas in the assigned readings, beginning with a brief presentation and followed by discussion. The presentation should identify the key concepts and ideas in the readings, and how they are used to understand and explain some aspect(s) of public policy. The discussion should focus on clarifying and explicating key concepts, the strengths and limitations of the ideas or approaches presented in the readings, and how they relate to other themes and topics of the course. Seminar leaders may draw upon discussion questions submitted by students as well as on their own critical review paper on the topic.

# Review Essay: 25%

For this review essay, students should compare and contrast two or three themes/theoretical approaches from the course, with a discussion and analysis of what and how they – both individually and together – contribute to our understanding of public policy. The review essay should develop a clear argument or question about the chosen theme and incorporate and respond to the related readings. The analysis should draw on both the assigned *and* additional supplementary literature from the syllabus and may be applied to a policy case study to illustrate or elaborate key points. Please note, this paper may not substantively duplicate work from critical reviews students have already written.

The essay will be 16-20 pages, double-spaced, excluding notes and bibliography. Additional details about and guidelines for the assignment will be distributed. The essay is due no later than Friday 8 December.

#### Final exam: 20%

This course will have a two hour final exam administered during the official exam period.

## IV. Course Materials and Readings

#### Course Materials and Readings

Most required and supplementary readings are available electronically through <u>MacOdrum Library</u>. Several texts from which we will be reading are available for purchase online (e.g., Chapters or Amazon) and on reserve at the library, including:

Beland, D and R. Cox (2011) *Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kingdon, J. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Boston: Little Brown Smith, K,B. and C.W. Larimer (2017). *The Public Policy Theory Promer*. Boulder CO. Westview Weible, CM and P. Sabatier (2018). Theories of the Policy Process, 4rth ed. Westview Press.

#### V. Seminar Schedule

September 12: Introduction: studying public policy

September 19: Theoretical foundations of public policy

September 26: Rational choice: the motivations of individuals and groups

October 3: Rational institutionalism: rules and rationality in the policy process

October 10: History and path dependence: historical institutionalist approaches

October 17: Ideas, institutions and explaining policy change

October 24: Fall Break: no class

October 31: Ideas as causal forces: discourse and policy frames

November 7: People, power, and public policy

November 14: Groups, power, and public policy

November 21: Class, power, and public policy

November 28: Mobilizing ideas: streams, punctuations, coalitions

December 5: Convergence, learning and diffusion of public policies

# VI. Detailed Schedule and Assigned Readings

## 1. INTRODUCTION – STUDYING PUBLIC POLICY (SEP 12)

Introduction to course: goal and organization. Opening discussion. What is public policy? Required Reading:

- Smith, K.B and C.W Larimer (2017). The Public Policy Theory Primer,. Boulder, CO: Westview
  - Chapter 1: Public Policy as a Concept and a Field (or Fields) of Study. Pp. 1-20
  - o Chapter 2: Does Politics Cause Policy? Does Policy Cause Politics. Pp. 23-42.
- Wilder, M. (2016). Whither the funnel of causality. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 721-741.
- Daigneault, P.M and D. Béland (2015). Taking explanation seriously in political science. *Political Studies Review* 13(3):384-392.

#### Further Reading:

• Capano, G. (2009) Understanding policy change as an epistemological and theoretical problem. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 11(1): 7-31

• Hoppe, R. and Colebatch, H. (2016). The role of theories in policy studies and policy work: selective affinities between representation and performation? *European Policy Analysis*, 2: 121–149.

# 2. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY (SEP 19)

From old to new approaches to understanding policy process: What are some of core assumptions of classical approaches to policy theory and analysis? How do contemporary theories reject, incorporate, or modify these assumptions?

# Required Reading:

- Stone, D. (2012). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Chapter 1: The Market and the Polis, pp. 19-36.
- Torgerson, D. (1986). Between knowledge and politics: Three faces of policy analysis. *Policy Sciences* 19(1): 33-59.
- Clarke, J., D. Bainton, N. Lendvai and P. Stubbs. (2015). *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage*. Bristol: Policy Press. Chapter 2: Translation, assemblage and beyond towards a conceptual repertoire, pp. 33-64

# Further Reading:

- Allison, G. and Zelikow, P. (1999). *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Second Edition. Addison-Wesley-Longman Publishing
- Cairney, P. (2012). Complexity theory in political science and public policy. *Political Studies Review*, *10*(3), 346–358.
- DeLeon, P. (2006). The Historical Roots of the Field. In M. Moran, M. Rein, R. E. Goodin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 39-57.
- Marsh, D., S.A. Ercan, P. Furlong (2018). A skin not a sweater: Ontology and epistemology in political science. In In Lowndes, V., D. Marsh and G. (eds.), *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan. Pp. 177-198.

# 3. RATIONAL CHOICE: THE MOTIVATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS (SEP 26)

What are the key tenets of rational choice theories? How does rationality explain the choices of individuals and of groups (the collective action problem)? What is the utility of behavioural rationality assumptions for understanding the policy process?

- Jones, B.D. (2017). Behavioral rationality as a foundation for public policy studies. *Cognitive Systems Research*, 43: 63-75.
- Hay, C. (2004). Theory, stylized heuristic, or self-fulfilling prophecy? The status of rational choice theory in public administration. *Public Administration*, 82(1): 39-62.

- Stone, D. (2012). *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Chapter 10: Interests, pp. 229-247.
- Ostrom, E. (1998). A behavioral approach to the rational choice theory of collective action: Presidential Address, American Political Science Association, 1997. American Political Science Review, 92: 1-22.

# Further Reading:

- Green, D.P. and I. Shapiro (1994). *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hindmoor, A. & B. Taylor (2018). Rational Choice. In Lowndes, V., D. Marsh and G. (eds.),
   Theory and Methods in Political Science, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 39-53
- Hirschman, A. (1970). Exit, Voice, and Loyalty. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Jones, B.D. (1999). Bounded rationality. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 297-321
- Lindblom, C. (1959). The science of muddling through. *Public Administration Review*, 19(2):79-88.
- Olson, M. (1965). The Logic of Collective Action. Boston: Harvard University Press. Pp. 1-65
- Pontusson, Jonas (1995). From comparative public policy to political economy: Putting
  political institutions in their place and taking interests seriously. Comparative Political Studies
  28(1):117- 147.
- Shepsle K.A. (2010). *Analyzing Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: WW Norton. Chapter 2: Rationality: The Model of Choice (pp. 13-35)
- Tversky, A. and D. Kahneman (1981). The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice. *Science* 211: 453- 458.
- Wilson, R. (2011). The contribution of behavioral economics to political science. *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 201-223.

# 4. RATIONAL INSTITUTIONALISM: RULES AND RATIONALITY IN THE POLICY PROCESS (OCT 3)

How do institutions modify and adapt rationality assumptions to explain strategic interaction and collective action by individuals and groups? To the extent that institutions establish the 'rules of the game,' how do different types of institutions define, constrain, and enable 'rational' policy decisions?

- Immergut, E.M. (2006). Institutional constraints on policy. In M. Moran, M. Rein, R. E. Goodin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp.
- Miller, G. (2000). Rational choice and dysfunctional institutions. *Governance*, 13(4): 535–547.
- Driscoll, A. and M.L. Krook, (2009). Can there be a feminist rational choice institutionalism? *Politics & Gender*

5(2):238-245.

• Meckling, J. and J. Nahm (2018). The power of process: State capacity and climate policy. *Governance*, 31:741–757.

#### Further Reading:

- Downs, Anthony (1960). Why the government budget is too small in a democracy. *World Politics* 12(4): 541-63.
- Levi, M. (2009). Reconsiderations of rational choice in comparative and historical analysis. In M.I. Lichbach, A.S. Zuckerman [eds.]. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure, 2nd Edition.* New York: Cambridge University Press
- Mahoney J. and K. Thelen (2010). A theory of gradual institutional change. In J. Mahoney and K. Thelen, eds.
   Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power, Cambridge University Press
- North, D.C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 to 11 (pp. 3-106)
- Pontusson, J. (1995). From comparative public policy to political economy: putting political
  institutions in their place and taking interests seriously. Comparative Political Studies
  28(1):117-47.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. (1997). Games Real Actors Play: Actor Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research. Boulder: Westview Press. Introduction & Chapter 1 (pp. 1-35)
- Shepsle, K. A. (1989). Studying institutions: Some lessons from the rational choice approach. *Journal of theoretical politics*, 1(2), 131-147.
- Tsebelis G. (1995). Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism, *British Journal of Political Science* 25(3): 289-325.
- Weingast, B. R. (1996). Political institutions: rational choice perspectives. *A New Handbook of Political Science*, 167-190.

#### HISTORY AND PATH DEPENDENCE: HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALIST APPROACHES (OCT 10)

How (and how effectively) do past decisions, entrenched rules and norms, and feedback influence and/or explain contemporary policy processes? To what extent are past policies part of the 'institutional' context that shapes policy decisions? When, or under what conditions, do policies become institutionalized?

- Fioretos, O., Falleti, T.G. and Sheingate A. (2016). Historical institutionalism in political science. In Fioretos, Falleti, Sheingate (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, Oxford University Press, pp. 3-30
- Peters, G. B., Pierre, J., & King, D. (2005). The politics of path dependency: Political

conflict in historical institutionalism. Journal of Politics, 67:1275-1300

• Levin, K., Cashore, B., Bernstein, S. *et al.* (2012). Overcoming the tragedy of super wicked problems: Constraining our future selves to ameliorate global climate change. *Policy Science* 45: 123–152.

## Further Reading:

- Berman S. (1998). Path dependency and political action: Reexamining responses to the Depression.
   Comparative Politics, 30(4):379-400
- Capoccia G. & Kelemen R.D. (2007). The study of critical junctures: Theory, narrative, and counterfactuals in historical institutionalism. *World Politics*, 59(3): 341-369.
- Fürstenberg, K. (2016). Evolutionary institutionalism: New perspectives. *Politics and the Life Sciences*, *35*(1), 48-60
- Hall, P.A. and R.C.R. Taylor (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44: 936-957.
- Kay, A. (2005). A critique of the use of path dependency in policy studies. *Public Administration*, 83(3): 553- 571.
- Pierson, P. (2016). Power in historical institutionalism. In Fioretos, Falleti, Sheingate (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism, Oxford University Press, pp.124-141
- Pierson, P. (1995). Fragmented welfare states: Federal institutions and the development of social policy.
   Governance 8(4): 449-478.
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 369-404
- Waylen, G. (2009). What can historical institutionalism offer feminist institutionalists? *Politics & Gender* 5(2):245-53.
- Weir, M. (2006). When does politics create policy? The organizational politics of change. In Shapiro et al. (eds.)
   Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State, New York University Press. Pp. 171-186

# 6. IDEAS, INSTITUTIONS AND EXPLAINING POLICY CHANGE (OCT 17)

Institutional theories may be divided into those which explain human behaviour based on a logic of consequences or a logic of appropriateness. What is the role of ideas and norms in each of these logics? What does each contribute to our understanding of the behaviour of policy actors and policy change?

## Required Reading:

• March, J. and J. Olsen (1996). Institutional perspectives on political institutions. *Governance*, 9(3):

247-64.

- Carstensen, M. B., & Röper, N. (2019). Invasion from within: Ideas, power, and the transmission of institutional logics between policy domains. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(9), 1328–1363.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth 'new institutionalism'. *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), 1-25.
- Fitch-Roy, O., J. Fairbrass & D. Benson (2020) Ideas, coalitions and compromise: reinterpreting EU-ETS lobbying through discursive institutionalism, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(1): 82-101

#### Further Reading:

- Blyth, M. (2016). The new ideas scholarship in the mirror of historical institutionalism: a case of old whines in new bottles? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(3): 464-471
- Campbell, J. (1998). Institutional analysis and the role of ideas in political economy. *Theory and Society*, 27:377-409.
- Carstensen, M. B., & Schmidt, V. A. (2016). Power through, over and in ideas: conceptualizing ideational power in discursive institutionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(3), 318-337.
- Hall, P.A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state. *Comparative Politics* 25(3):275-96.
- Hay, C. (2006). Constructivist institutionalism. In R.A.W. Rhodes, S.A. Binder, B.A. Rockman (Eds.). The *Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Oxford University Press.
- Larsson, O. (2015). Using post-structuralism to explore the full impact of ideas on politics. *Critical Review* 27(2): 174–97.
- Lieberman, R.C. (2002). Ideas, institutions, and political order: Explaining political change. *American Political Science Review* 96(4): 697-712.
- Radaelli, C. M., Dente, B., & Dossi, S. (2012). Recasting institutionalism: Institutional analysis and public policy.
   European Political Science, 11(4), 537-550.

#### 7. IDEAS AS CAUSAL FORCES: DISCOURSE AND POLICY FRAMES (OCT 31)

The role of ideas is also theorized as an independent causal factor in the policy process. What are the different ways ideas can influence policy? What do these approaches have in common and how do they differ? What are the challenges of studying ideas in political science?

# Required Reading:

Durnova, A., F. Fischer, P. Zittoun (2016). Discursive approaches to public policy: Politics, argumentation, and deliberation. In B.G. Peters & P. Zittoun [Eds.] Contemporary Approaches to Public Policy: Theories, Controversies and Perspectives. Palgrave Macmillan UK. Pp. 35-57

- Jacobs, A.A. (2009). How do ideas matter? Mental models and attention in German pension politics.
   Comparative Political Studies 42(2): 252-279
- Stone, D.A. (1989). Causal stories and the formation of policy agendas. *Political Science Quarterly*, 104(2): 281-300.
- Béland, D. and R.H. Cox. (2016). Ideas as coalition magnets: coalition building, policy entrepreneurs and power relations. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3):428-445.

## **Further Reading**

- Bacchi, C. (2000). Policy as discourse: What does it mean? Where does it get us? *Discourse*, 21(1): 45-57.
- Beland, D. & Cox, R.H., Eds. (2011) Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research. Oxford University Press. Especially Part I: Theory – Chapters 1 (Mehta: The varied roles of ideas in politics), 3 (Hay: Ideas and the construction of interests), 4 (Blyth – Ideas, uncertainty, and evolution)
- Berman, S. (2001). Review article: Ideas, norms, and culture in political analysis. *Comparative Politics*, 33(2):231-250.
- Carstensen, M.B. and V.A. Schmidt. (2016). Power through, over and in ideas:
   Conceptualizing ideational power in discursive institutionalism. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (3):318-337.
- Fischer, F. & H. Gottweis, Eds. (2012). *The Argumentative Turn Revisited. Public Policy as Communicative Practice*. Duke University Press.
- Hajer, M. A., & Wagenaar, H. (Eds.). (2003). *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-30).
- Peters, B. G., & Nagel, M. L. (2020). *Zombie Ideas: Why Failed Policy Ideas Persist*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rochefort, D.A. and R.W. Cobb (1993). Problem definition, agenda access, and policy choice. *Policy Studies Journal* 21(1): 56-71.
- Shanahan, E.A., Jones, M.D., McBeth, M., & Radaelli, C. M. (2018). The narrative policy framework. In Weible & Sabatier, *Theories of the Policy Process*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Westview Press, pp. 173-214

# 8. PEOPLE, POWER, AND PUBLIC POLICY (NOV 7)

How does public policy (re)shape the relationship between citizens and the state, and between individuals? What are the roles of emotion and policy discourse in the construction of agency and identity amongst target populations? (How) do the policy preferences of the public influence policy decisions?

- Banting, K., & Thompson, D. (2021). The puzzling persistence of racial inequality in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1-22.
- Campbell, A. L. (2012). Policy makes mass politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15, 333-351.
- Paterson, S. (2021). Emotional labour: Exploring emotional policy discourses of pregnancy and childbirth in Ontario, Canada. *Public Policy and Administration*, *36*(2), 252–272.
- Schneider, A. & H. Ingram (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy.
   American Political Science Review, 87(2):334–347.

- Bilge, S. (2013). Reading the racial subtext of the Québécois accommodation controversy: An analytics of racialized governmentality. *Politikon*, *40*(1), 157-181.
- Burstein, P. (2003). The impact of public opinion on public policy: A review and an agenda. *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (1): 29-40.
- Esses, V.M., Dovidio, J.F., Jackson, L.M. and Armstrong, T.L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: the role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57: 389-412.
- Ewert, B. (2021), Citizenship as a Form of Anticipatory Obedience? Implications of Preventive Health Policy in Germany. *Politics & Policy*, 49: 891-912.
- Jacobs, L.R., & Mettler, S. (2018). When and how new policy creates new politics: Examining the feedback effects of the Affordable Care Act on public opinion. *Perspectives on Politics*, *16*(2), 345-363.
- Lacroix, M. (2004). Canadian refugee policy and the social construction of the refugee claimant subjectivity: Understanding refugeeness. *Journal of refugee studies*, *17*(2), 147-166.
- Laperrière, M., Orloff, A., & Pryma, J. (2019). Commodification, vulnerability, risk: Gendered social policy developments in the United States, 1980–2018. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, 35(1), 41-58.
- Newman, J (2012) Beyond the deliberative subject? Problems of theory, method, and critique in the turn to emotion and affect. *Critical Policy Studies* 6: 465–479.
- Peterie, M., Ramia, G., Marston, G., & Patulny, R. (2019). Emotional compliance and emotion as resistance: Shame and anger among the long-term unemployed. Work, Employment and Society, 33(5), 794–811.
- Verhoeven, I. & J.W. Duyvendak (2016). Enter emotions. Appealing to anxiety and anger in a process of municipal amalgamation, *Critical Policy Studies*, 10:4, 468-485
- van Oorschot, W. (2006). Making the difference in social Europe: deservingness perceptions among citizens of European welfare states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(1), 23–42

How do groups affect the policy process? What is meant by 'power,' and what are its sources and effects in the policy process? What factors make groups more (or less) influential and successful? What are the limits of understanding policy as an outcome of group interactions with the state?

## Required Reading:

- Busemeyer M.R. (2020). Neo-corporatism and the responsiveness of democracy. In: Careja R., Emmenegger P., Giger N. (eds) *The European Social Model under Pressure*. Springer VS, Wiesbaden, pp. 15-30
- Dür, A., & De Bièvre, D. (2007). The question of interest group influence. *Journal of Public Policy*, 27(01), 1-12.
- Hacker, J. S., & Pierson, P. (2010). Winner-take-all politics: Public policy, political organization, and the precipitous rise of top incomes in the United States. *Politics & Society*, 38(2): 152-204.
- Orsini, M., & Smith, M. (2010). Social movements, knowledge, and public policy: the case of autism activism in Canada and the US. *Critical Policy Studies*, *4*(1), 38–57.

- Atkinson, M.M. and W.D. Coleman (1992). Policy networks, policy communities, and the problems of governance. *Governance*, 5(2): 154-180.
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1962). Two faces of power. *American Political Science Review*, 56(04): 947-952.
- Clapp, J. & G. Scrinis (2017). Big food, nutritionism, and corporate power. *Globalizations*, 14(4): 578-595
- Edwards, B. & Kane, M. (2014). Resource mobilization and social and political movements. In H.A. van der Heijden, ed., *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Gilens, M., & Page, B. I. (2014). Testing theories of American politics: Elites, interest groups, and average citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(3), 564-581.
- Jenkins, J. C. (1983). Resource mobilization theory and the study of social movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 527-553.
- Kastner, L. (2018) Business lobbying under salience financial industry mobilization against the European financial transaction tax, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:11, 1648-1666
- Olson, M. (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Richardson, J. (2000). Government, interest groups and policy change. *Political Studies*, 48 (5): 1006-1025.
- McFarland, A. S. (2007). Neopluralism. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 10: 45-66.
- Schwartz, N.S. (2021). Guns in the North: assessing the impact of social identity on

firearms advocacy in Canada. Politics Policy, 49: 795-818

- Skogstad, G. (2008). Policy networks and policy communities: Conceptualizing state-societal relationships in the policy process. In L. White et al. (eds.) The Comparative Turn in Canadian Political Science (pp. 205-220). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Smith, M. J. (1990). Pluralism, reformed pluralism and neopluralism: The role of pressure groups in policy- making. *Political Studies*, 38(2): 302-22.

## 10. CLASS, POWER, AND PUBLIC POLICY (NOV 21)

How does capitalism shape the policy process and outcomes? What is the role of class and power in these approaches, and (how) do they (still) matter? What are the limits of these analytic approaches for understanding the policy process and outcomes?

## Required Reading:

- Ibsen, C. L., & Thelen, K. (2017). Diverging solidarity: Labor strategies in the new knowledge economy. *World Politics*, 69(3): 409-447.
- Korpi, W. (2006). Power resources and employer-centered approaches in explanations of welfare states and varieties of capitalism: Protagonists, consenters, and antagonists. World Politics, 58(2), 167-206.
- Gingrich, J., & Häusermann, S. (2015). The decline of the working-class vote, the reconfiguration of the welfare support coalition and consequences for the welfare state. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 25(1), 50–75

- Bradley, D. et al. (2003). Distribution and redistribution in postindustrial democracies. *World Politics*, 55(2):193-228.
- Cameron, D.R. (1978). The expansion of the public economy: A comparative analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 72(4): 1243-61.
- Esping-Andersen, G (1990). *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gindin, S. & J. Stanford (2003). Canadian labour and the political economy of transformation. In W. Clement &
  - L. Vosko, Eds., *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Graefe, P. (2007). Political economy and Canadian public policy. In M. Orsini and M. Smith, Eds., *Critical Policy Studies*. Vancouver: UBC Press
- Hall, P.A. & K. Thelen (2009). Institutional change in varieties of capitalism, *Socio-Economic Review*, 7(1): 7–34
- Haddow, R. (2014). Power resources and the Canadian welfare state: Unions, partisanship and interprovincial differences in inequality and poverty reduction. *Canadian Journal of Political*

- *Science*, *47*(04), 717–739.
- Mares, I. (2001). Strategic bargaining and social policy development: unemployment insurance in France and Germany. In B. Ebbinghaus & P. Manow, Eds. Comparing Welfare Capitalism: Social Policy and Political Economy in Europe, Japan and the USA. Routledge.
- McCarty, N. and Pontusson, H.J. (2011). The political economy of inequality and redistribution.
   In: B. Nolan, W. Salverda, and T.M. Smeeding (Eds.). The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality.
   London: Oxford University Press, pp. 665-692.
- Streeck, W. (2011). Taking capitalism seriously: Towards an institutionalist approach to contemporary political economy. *Socio-Economic Review*, 9(1): 137-167.

## 11. MOBILIZING IDEAS: STREAMS, PUNCTUATIONS, COALITIONS (NOV 28)

Kingdon uses the concept of multiple streams to analyze 'an idea whose time has come'. What are the various elements or conditions in a polity that must come together for an idea to be mobilized and placed on the government agenda? What keeps new ideas from moving onto the agenda? Reflecting on readings from the past few weeks, how effectively do these approaches capture and explain the policy process?

#### Required Reading:

- Petridou, E. (2014). Theories of the policy process: contemporary scholarship and future directions. *Policy Studies Journal*, *42*, S12-S32.
- Ingram, H., P. DeLeon, A. Schneider (2016). Public Policy Theory and Democracy: The Elephant in the Corner. In
  - B.G. Peters & P. Zittoun [Eds.] *Contemporary Approaches to Public Policy: Theories,*Controversies and Perspectives. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 175-197 [open access e-book]
- And also from Peters & Zittoun (2016), one of:
  - Weible, C.M. & H.C. Jenkins-Smith, Chapter 2 The advocacy coalition framework: An approach for the comparative analysis of contentious policy issues, pp. 15-35
  - Eissler, R., A. Russell, B.D. Jones, Chapter 4 The transformation of ideas: The origin and evolution of punctuated equilibrium theory
  - Zahariadis, N., Chapter 9 Bounded rationality and garbage can models of policy-making, pp. 155-169

- Béland, D. (2015). Kingdon reconsidered: Ideas, interests and institutions in comparative policy analysis.
  - Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice, 6988(January): 1–15.
- Heikkila, T. & P. Cairney (2018). Comparison of Theories of the Policy Process. In C.M. Weible
   & P.A. Sabatier [eds.]. Theories of the Policy Process, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. Westview Press.
- Cairney, P. & Jones, M.D. (2016). Kingdon's multiple streams approach: What is the empirical impact of this universal theory? *Policy Studies Journal*, 44(1), 37-58

- Cohen, M., March J. & Olsen J.P. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17: 1-25
- Downs, A. (1972). Up and down with ecology: The issue attention cycle. *Public Interest* 36 (2): 40-50.
- Haas, P. M. (1992). Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, 46(1), 1-35.
- Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2012). From there to here: Punctuated equilibrium to the general punctuation thesis to a theory of government information processing. *Policy Studies Journal*, 40(1): 120
- Kingdon, J. (1984) Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies. Boston: Little Brown. Chapters 1, 5-8.
- Matti, S., & Sandström, A. (2013). The defining elements of advocacy coalitions: Continuing the search for explanations for coordination and coalition structures. *Review of Policy Research*, 30 (2), 240-257.
- Mukherjee, I., & Howlett, M. (2015). Who is a stream? Epistemic communities, instrument constituencies and advocacy coalitions in public policy-making. *Politics and Governance*, 3(2), 65-75.

## 12. CONVERGENCE, LEARNING AND DIFFUSION OF PUBLIC POLICIES (DEC 5)

The concept of policy learning is often used to explain how and why policy change may occur. How do different authors use the concept of 'learning'? How do actors and/or different jurisdictions learn from one another? Under what conditions do policies "spread" beyond national boundaries?

# Required Reading:

- Dobbin, F., B. Simmons, and G. Garrett (2007). The global diffusion of public policies: Social construction, coercion, competition or learning? *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 449-72
- Dunlop, C.A. and Radaelli, C.M. (2018). Does policy learning meet the standards of an anaytical framework of the policy process? *Policy Studies Journal*, 46: S48-S68
- Gilardi, F. and F. Wasserfallen (2019), The politics of policy diffusion. *European Journal of Political Research*, 58: 1245-1256.

- Bennett, C. J. and M. Howlett (1992). The lessons of learning: Reconciling theories of policy learning and policy change. *Policy Sciences*, 25(3): 275-294.
- Dolowitz, D. and D. Marsh (2000). Learning from abroad: the role of policy transfer in contemporary policy- making. *Governance*, 13(1): 5-24.
- Drezner, D. (2005). Globalization, harmonization, and competition: The different pathways to policy convergence. *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(5): 841-859.
- Gilardi, F. (2010). Who learns from what in policy diffusion processes? American Journal of

- *Political Science*, 54(3): 650-666.
- Hall, P.A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning and the state. The case of economic policymaking in Britain.
   Comparative Politics 25: 275–96.
- Heikkila, T., & Gerlak, A. K. (2013). Building a conceptual approach to collective learning: Lessons for public policy scholars. *Policy Studies Journal*, 41(3): 484-512.
- Kennett, P. & N. Lendvai (2014). Policy paradigms, gender equality and translation: scales and disjuncture.
   Journal of international and Comparative Social Policy, 30(1), 6-16.
- Marsh, David and J.C. Sharman. (2009). Policy diffusion and policy transfer. *Policy Studies* 30(3): 269-288.
- Obinger, H., Schmitt, C., & Starke, P. (2013). Policy diffusion and policy transfer in comparative welfare state research. *Social Policy & Administration*, *47*(1), 111-129.
- Rose, R. (1991). What is lesson-drawing? *Journal of Public Policy* 2(1): 3–30.
- Smith, M. P. (2013). The global diffusion of public policy: Power structures and democratic accountability. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1(2): 118-131.
- Stone, D. (2012). Transfer and translation of policy. *Policy Studies*, 33(6), 483-499.

VII. Academic Accommodations & Regulations

# **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):** <a href="https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/">https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/</a>

#### 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, <a href="http://www.crisisline.ca/">http://www.crisisline.ca/</a>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <a href="https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/">https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/</a>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <a href="https://good2talk.ca/">https://good2talk.ca/</a>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

# **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:

**Pregnancy accommodation:** Please 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, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).

**Religious accommodation:** Please 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.

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or <a href="mmc@carleton.ca">pmc@carleton.ca</a> for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, <a href="mailto:click here">click here</a>.

**Accommodation for student activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please 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 information, please <u>click</u> here.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

# **Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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: <a href="mailto:carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support">carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support</a>.

# **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's <u>Academic Integrity Policy</u> addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

# **Plagiarism**

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- · Using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

# Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

# **Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations**

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly

with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <a href="https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/">https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/</a>.

# **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).

# **Submission and Return of Term Work**

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

# Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	Α	11	63-66	С	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	В	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

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.

# **Carleton E-mail Accounts**

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

# **Carleton Political Science Society**

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model

Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <a href="https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/">https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/</a>.

#### **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.

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