

Introduction to Public Policy
POL 120
Spring 2011
MWF 10:30 – 11:20, BRWN 1154

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Office Hours: MW 11:30-12:20
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Course overview:

The most important and pressing challenges for the world today – the environment, civic participation, renewable energy, and anthropogenic global warming - are all public policy issues. This course investigates how governments (including Japan, France, and the United States) identify and respond to these and other problems. With a special focus on interest, ideational, and institutional frameworks, this course investigates how policy makers, NGOs, and citizens at home and abroad interact to create public policies. We will look at “wicked problems” such as controversial facilities (for example, plans to build new nuclear power plants) and over-population along with laying out forms of power and the official policy tools used by national governments to achieve their aims. By the end of the semester, students will select an area of public policy of interest to them (homelessness, health care, the environment, national defense, etc.) and write a short analytical paper using the skills developed in the course.

Student requirements:

1. An analytical research paper (6-8 pages) on a topic of your choice which will revolve around theories developed during class, makes a clear argument about why a policy outcome happened, raises and dismisses potential alternative explanations for that same outcome, and which references at least seven peer-reviewed articles or books.
2. A midterm and a final examination.
3. Preparation for and participation in class discussions along with occasional reading quizzes. You are expected to follow the Purdue University Class Attendance and Absence Reporting Policy, meaning that you are required to attend all lectures and events. Absences will be excused only for documented physical or mental illness, accident, or emergency as determined by the Dean of Students.

Evaluation: 100 – 94 A, 93-90 A-, 89-87 B+, 86-84 B, 83-80 B-, 79-77 C+, 76-74 C, 73-70 C-, 69-67 D+, 66-64 D, 63-60 D-, 59 (and below) F

Class attendance, participation and reading quizzes	25%
Research paper	25%
Midterm (11 March) and Final Exam (as scheduled)	50%

Readings: The following book should be purchased (new and used copies are available online at Amazon.com and bn.com); all other readings will be available on the Blackboard system.

Daniel P. Aldrich. 2008 or 2010. *Site Fights: Divisive Facilities and Civil Society in Japan and the West*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Course Schedule

Monday January 10 Introduction

Goals: To grasp the essentials of a strong research paper, to be able to identify common problems in research papers, and to get to know your classmates and the academic resources available to you here at Purdue.

Questions: What are the names of at least five of your classmates? What are the important parts of a research paper? How is an analytical approach different from a normative one? If you need academic assistance, where should you go?

Readings: Please purchase the text online (Amazon.com etc) or at the bookstore

Wednesday January 12 Ideas, Institutions, and Interests

Goals: To be able to recognize and define interest, institution, and idea-based approaches to problems. Additionally, to be able to predict how scholars of each stripe would see a new event, such as attempts to pass stricter gas mileage requirements for cars.

Questions: Which approach focuses on the material interests of principal actors? Are political economists still primarily concerned with class-based cleavages? What are some principal actors in the institutional approach? Which approach captures human interactions more effectively? In what way is politics a “struggle for the interpretation of interests”?

Readings: Peter A. Hall, “The Role of Interests, Institutions, and Ideas in the Comparative Political Economy of Nations,” in Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, eds. 1997. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Friday January 14 Library Resources

Goals: To know what resources are available to you at the Purdue library system

Questions: What is the name of the social science librarian who can assist you in researching your paper? What are some examples of databases that are relevant to our work on environmental policy? How many peer-reviewed sources must your final paper reference?

Readings: Come to the classroom ready to learn about where to find relevant materials for your research paper.

Monday January 17 NO CLASS

Wednesday January 19 Power: Forms, Bases, and Uses

Goals: To understand what power is, how it is used, and the impact it can have on us.

Questions: How does Wrong define power? What kind of power it is when Congressional leaders shelve a bill in anticipation of a presidential veto? How can subjects resist the power of a power holder? How is force different than authority or influence?

Readings: Dennis Wrong, *Power: Its Forms, Bases, and Uses* (Transactions Publishers, 1995), Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-34)

Friday January 21

Power: Powerlessness

Goals: To investigate how power was created and applied in coal mining communities in Appalachia.

Questions: Is Appalachia poor, or are its people poor? What is the difference between these two statements? Why have the workers been labeled “docile miners”? How have some explained the lack of civic responsibility in the area? What the “neglect” and “broken promises” approaches? How is the area like a colony? How do cultural values contribute to the field of power resources?

Readings: John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness* (University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 33-44 and 124-136

Monday January 24

Power: Responses to Problems

Goals: To understand how firms, governments, and other organizations learn about and handle problems.

Questions: What are the two routes for management to discover problems? How can slack help in political and management environments? How is exit neat and impersonal? How is voice messy and direct? Under what conditions does exit fail to cause revenue loss to firms? In what ways did exit-competition have disadvantages between the CIO and AFL unions?

Readings: Albert Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (Harvard University Press 1970) pp. 1 – 29

Additionally: Come to class with some topics of interest that you can think about as potential paper topics; we'll discuss them in groups.

Wednesday January 26 Official Actors: Cooperation and Collaboration

Goals: To understand why, even though all of members of a group may have the same goals, in the end they fail to act cooperatively.

Questions: Are organizations expected to further the interests of their members? Why isn't it rational for a producer to sacrifice time and money to support a lobbying organization? Why are taxes compulsory? Why must achieving a common goal be the same as providing a public/collective good? What does it mean that members of a group have no common interest in paying the

cost for collective goods? Why are smaller groups different than large ones in this analysis?

Readings: Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Harvard University Press 1965) pp. 1-38

Friday January 28 Agenda Setting and the Policy Cycle

Goals: To be able to argue for the importance of theory in studies of public policy.

Questions: Why should a theory be “empirically falsifiable?” What differentiates a model from a theory? What are the core tenets of actor-centered institutionalism? Why did Bendor find laboratory studies more persuasive than field studies? Why does Sabatier believe that scholars need to develop networks of researchers? How does this reading fit with the work that we read from Hall?

Readings: Paul A. Sabatier, “Fostering the Development of Policy Theory,” in Paul A Sabatier, ed. 1999. *Theories of the Policy Process*. New York: Westview Press.
Goals:

Monday January 31 Agenda Setting

Goals: To master one theory of policy creation through the lens of punctuated equilibria and agenda setting.

Questions: How can the American system display both stability and change? What does it mean that the American government structure is highly disaggregated? What are iron triangles, policy whirlpools, and subsystem politics? How do incrementalism and negative feedback work? In what way is issue definition a driving force in both stability and instability?

Readings: Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability* (University of Chicago Press 1993), pp. 3-24

Wednesday February 2 Agenda Setting Applied

Goals: To understand how the issue-attention cycle works in the US media.

Questions: Why can’t public attention remain on a single issue, such as pollution, for very long? What are the five stages of the issue-attention cycle? Why did attention paid to NASA plummet? How have changing aspirations altered our perception of the environment? Has “improving the environment” lost public attention, as Downs predicted? According to Anderson, what places issue on the agenda? How do political leadership and policy entrepreneurs figure in?

Readings: Anthony Downs. 1972. “Up and Down with Ecology: The ‘Issue-Attention Cycle.’” *Public Interest* 28 (Summer), p. 38-44 and James Anderson, *Public Policymaking* (Wadsworth, 7th Edition) pp. 90-99

Additionally: Come to class with a one paragraph written proposal for a paper topic including potential sources and arguments that you will raise. We will break into pairs to discuss these.

Friday February 4

Official Actors: Bureaucracy

Goals: To understand the history of the American bureaucracy in theory and in action.

Questions: How can power be “gathered undesirably” by an agency? Why did the status of the US Post Office as a monopoly inhibit its efficiency? Why has the military budget increased even as its numbers decrease? In what ways was the US system a “client oriented bureaucracy”? How do separated powers keep US institutions from changing? How do majoritarian politics help presidents intent on creating new programs? Why do agencies resist deregulation? What can you predict about environmentally-focused agencies?

Readings: James Q. Wilson. 1975. “The Rise of the Bureaucratic State,” *Public Interest* 41 (Fall), p. 77 - 103.

Monday February 7

Official Actors: The State as Leviathan

Goals: To envision the modern democratic state as autonomous and capable of pursuing its own goals.

Questions: Does Nordlinger find the state responsive to civil society? Do societal actors regularly sanction the state for acting contrary to their preferences? In what way has this approach challenged the fundamental empirical premise of liberal democratic theory? What does it matter than most voters manifest little or no political interest or awareness? What tensions and trade offs does Nordlinger raise in this chapter?

Readings: Nordlinger, *On the Autonomy of the Democratic State* (Harvard University Press 1982), Chapter 8 (pp.203-219)

Wednesday February 9 Official Actors: The State as Plan-Rational Leviathan

Goals: To comprehend what a “developmental state” is and to see what factors helped Japan become an economic powerhouse.

Questions: What was the Japanese miracle that appeared in 1962? What does the national-character explanation for Japanese success involve? What do believers in the “no miracle” school focus upon? What unusual Japanese institutions have other scholars seen? What does the developmental state approach argue? What are “plan rational” and “market rational” perspectives? What are some tools of industrial policy?

Readings: Chalmers Johnson (RIP), *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (Stanford University Press 1982), Chapter 1

Friday February 11 Official Actors: The State as Stumbling Leviathan

Goals: To understand that many state-led plans for development, agriculture, and national policy have failed precisely because of their origin.

Questions: What is wrong with the state's narrow frame of reference on issues like timber? What was the state's goal with scientific forestry? What caused "forest death"? What is wrong with monocultures? Why was it a problem that the king's ministers confronted a patchwork of local measurement codes? Why was the "metrical revolution" possible? What is the value of the cadastral map?

Readings: James C Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (Yale University Press 1998), Chapter 1

Monday February 14 Official Actors: Congress and Institutional Design

Goals: To understand why gridlock is the normal setting for politics in Washington DC.

Questions: Is political gridlock rare or constant? Why don't existing theories capture the empirical reality found on the Hill? What is a unidimensional policy space? What kind of strategies are players expected to undertake? According to this model, why is policy change usually only incremental? When can gridlock be broken?

Readings: Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking* (University of Chicago Press 1998) Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 2-48).

Wednesday Feb.16 Wicked Problems: Unwanted Projects

Goals: To understand what "public pads" are, why they are problematic for governments around the world, and to see potential ways of handling them.

Questions: What kind of evidence does Aldrich bring to make his point? What kinds of responses do states face from communities being saddled with a "public bad"? What are public bads, and what are some examples? How do states initially handle controversy over siting? What determines the policy instruments used by states in handling conflict? Why is Japan used as a main case?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Preface and Introduction (pp.ix - 25)

Friday January 18 Wicked Problems: Overpopulation

Goals: To understand what a "tragedy of the commons" problem is, and to be able to recognize this phenomena in environmental politics in areas of conservation, pollution, and national parks.

Questions: Why does Hardin believe that the population problem has "no technical solution"? What does he mean when he says that "the most rapidly

growing populations on earth are...the most miserable?" In what ways is an open pasture a tragedy of the commons? If overgrazing is a problem, why don't the herdsmen stop adding animals? What are potential solutions to this problem? Should temperance be our goal? Is coercion effective? Is abandoning the "freedom to breed" good advice? Is China's one-child policy a good or bad example of Hardin's approach applied to real life?

Readings: Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162:3859 (Dec. 13, 1968), p. 1243 - 1250

Monday February 21 Wicked Problems: Overpopulation

Goals: To understand a sociological perspective on overpopulation and resource depletion.

Questions: Malthus was wrong; should we not worry, then? What is the override view in terms of compulsory birth control? How is it different from the collaborative approach? Is development the most reliable contraceptive? How have data on food production altered the argument? In what ways is Kerala a success? The Economist strengthen or weaken Sen's point? What does the number 2.1 symbolize? What connection do the 2009 Iranian riots have with this topic? Do higher standards of living reduce fertility?

Readings: Amartya Sen. 1994. "Population: Delusion and Reality," N.Y. Review of Books (Sept. 22).

The Economist "Go Forth and Multiply a Lot Less" 31 October 2009 pp. 29-31

Wednesday Feb 23 Policy Tools: Introduction

Goals: To understand the effectors and detectors used by modern democracies in interaction with citizens.

Questions: According to Hood, what does the government seek to do to us? What are detectors and effectors? What is NATO, and how does it relate to the toolkit of government? Why does the toolkit approach help us understand government more than other approaches? What trends have made focusing on the use of government tools more important?

Readings: Christopher Hood, *Tools of Government*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-15

Friday February 25 Policy Tools: Path of Least Resistance

Goals: To be able to articulate multiple theories about how developers and states choose locations for controversial facilities.

Questions: What are the six siting theories tested in this chapter? What are the quality and relative capacity of civil society? How did Aldrich test to see which of these theories are accurate? What was the relationship between civil society and siting of nuclear power plants and airports? What happens to the probability

of completion as the relative capacity of organizations declines? What is clustering, and what might cause it?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 1 "Picking Sites" (pp. 26-49)

Monday February 28 Policy Tools: An Overview

Goals: To understand how policy tools seek to create desired behaviors.

Questions: How do the authors cluster policy tools? What are authority tools, and what are some examples? What are incentive tools? How are capacity, symbolic, and hortatory tools different? How do political tools reflect the political culture of a nation?

Readings: Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram, 1990, "Behavioral Assumptions of Policy Tools," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 52 No. 2 May 1990, pp. 510-529

Wednesday March 2 Policy Tools: Personalistic Ties with House Members

Goals: To be able to understand how politicians must allocate constrained resources to maximize their goals.

Questions: Why do representatives and prospective representatives think about their constituencies? How often did representatives go home according to Fenno? What is "home style"? Which resources are available to House representatives? Is the argument that representatives in electoral jeopardy spend more time at home supported? What are the best predictors of time allocation? Why might district staffs be larger in some states?

Readings: Richard Fenno, *House Members in Their Districts* (Boston: Little Brown and Company 1978), Chapter 2 pp. 31-41

Friday March 4 Policy Tools: Theory

Goals: To be able to argue why states chose certain policy instruments to handle problems.

Questions: What are "foxes" and "lions"? What are the four clusters of policy tools? What distinguishes them from each other? Why is coercion in the center of the bull's-eye of tools? What are some examples of hard social control tools? Under what conditions do states use these tools?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 2 "A Logic of Tool Choice" (pp. 50 - 69)

Monday March 7 Policy Tools: Coercion

Goals: To view alcohol control policies in Switzerland through quantitative analysis of policy tool use

Questions: How does Sager define regulation and economic policy instruments? According to Figure 1, have most policy instruments stayed the same or changed between 1999 and 2004? Do governments deliberately adopt restrictive premises to solve policy problems? Do governance actors follow a logic of consequentiality or appropriateness?

Readings: Fritz Sager, “Governance and Coercion,” *Political Studies* Vol. 57 2009 pp. 537-558

Additionally: Come to class with a one page description of your paper which includes your argument, support for your thesis and alternative approaches. We will break into pairs to discuss these.

Wednesday March 9 Policy Tools: Disaster Recovery and Social Capital [Note: class will meet in another location, currently set for Grissom 180, due to joint class discussion]

Goals: To view disaster recovery from a focus on social, not physical, infrastructure.

Questions: On what factors have most scholars focused? In what way does a comparison of the Kobe earthquake, Hurricane Katrina, and the Indian Ocean tsunami challenge these standard approaches? Who are usually the first responders? What is informal insurance? Why do information and signals from civil society matter? How can organized communities overcome collective action barriers? What are “lonely deaths” and how can they be prevented?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, “Fixing Recovery: Social Capital in Post-Crisis Resilience,” *Journal of Homeland Security* July 2010. Available online at http://works.bepress.com/daniel_aldrich/7/

Friday March 11 MidTerm Exam

Monday March 14 NO CLASS

Wednesday March 16 NO CLASS

Friday March 18 NO CLASS

Monday March 21 Cases: Nuclear Power in Europe

Goals: To view anti-nuclear activity through a focus on state structure in Europe.

Questions: What differentiates centralized from decentralized nations, and what are examples of each? What about levels of state-society differentiation; how do France and the United States compare? What is Boyle measuring when she counts the number of anti-nuclear court cases in each country? According to her, how were France and the U.S. similar? Can we apply her approach to different structures at lower levels of government?

Readings: Elizabeth Boyle. 1998. “Political Frames and Legal Activity: The Cases of Nuclear Power in Four Countries.” *Law and Society Review* 32:1, p. 141 – 174.

Wednesday March 23 Cases: Nuclear Power in France

Goals: To recognize how the French government handled anti-nuclear opposition over the post War era.

Questions: Why did the French state build early plants under a veil of secrecy? What did opposition to the plants gain for local residents? How did many landowners learn that their town was to host a nuclear facility? What is the 5 kilometer rule for local inquiries? How has the EDF sought to provide incentives to communities? What happened after the death of the activist at Creys-Malville?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 6

Friday March 25 Cases: Nuclear Power in Japan

Goals: To understand how the Japanese government has created one of the most successful nuclear power programs in the world but never relied on coercive tools while doing so.

Questions: Why did authorities call the postwar era the “period of the gods”? What kind of tool was the “pep talk”? What anti-nuclear power groups formed at the national level? Did government authorities have the power to use expropriation when building nuclear power plants? Which demographic groups were targeted for special policy tools?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 5

Monday March 28 Cases: Airports in Japan and France

Goals: To understand how strong civil society moves states toward certain policy instruments.

Questions: In which country – Japan or France – did protestors more regularly show strength against plans for airports? Why do airports generate only mild NIMBY responses? Was the resistance at Narita airport normal? What caused it? How have French authorities responded to resistance? Has the Japanese state moved away from land expropriation because of Narita?

Readings: Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights* (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 3 (pp. 70 -94)

Wednesday March 30 NO CLASS

Friday April 1	NO CLASS
Monday April 4	Cases: Airports in Japan (continued)
	<i>Goal:</i> To test notions that link Japanese responses to facilities with Japanese culture, and to open up a new area of comparison with cases involving airports and waste facilities in Japan.
	<i>Questions:</i> Does Japanese culture prevent the formation of anti-project groups? What factors may damp down resistance? What factors do Apter and Sawa stress as creating a confrontation over Narita? How can we explain the especially violent response from local anti-airport farmers? Who else participated in the anti-Narita activities, and why? Are there connections to the time period during which the airport was proposed?
	<i>Reading:</i> David Apter and Negayo Sawa, <i>Against the State</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1984, Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-40).
	Additionally: Come to class with a full draft of your paper. Your draft must have an identifiable thesis statement, evidence supporting it, raise at least one if not more alternative explanations, and show seven peer-reviewed sources. We will break into pairs to provide feedback.
Wednesday April 6	Cases: Dams in Japan and France
	<i>Goals:</i> To understand the application of coercive tools and hard social control instruments to the siting of water control projects.
	<i>Questions:</i> What sort of resistance did the Japanese Ministry of Construction encounter since WWII? Was resistance in France long-lasting or short lived? Why has there been little coverage of anti-dam sentiment in Japan? What was the “decide, announce, defend” approach in siting? What prompted Diet members to begin cutting funds for dams? How did the state seek to create obstacles to collective action?
	<i>Readings:</i> Daniel P. Aldrich, <i>Site Fights</i> (Cornell University Press 2008 and 2010), Chapter 4 (pp. 95-118)
Friday April 8	Cases: Environmental Degradation
	<i>Goals:</i> To understand the tragedy of the Minamata disease from a social science perspective.
	<i>Questions:</i> Did Japanese government officials seek to shut down the factory which was polluting the area around Minamata? How long did it take for the company itself to take responsibility? Why were patients shunned? What techniques did the Shin Nitchitsu company use to evade blame? How did MITI and the national government see the Japanese chemical industry?

Readings: Timothy George, *Minamata* (2001, Harvard University Press), pp. 45-70

Monday April 11 NO CLASS

Wednesday April 13 Policy Tools: Environmental Degradation

Goals: To challenge typical “individualizing” ways of responding to environmental problems.

Questions: In what way does the ending of The Lorax exemplify the American response to the environmental crisis? What is the problem with this approach – that is, why aren’t simple living and militant recycling sufficient? What does IPAT stand for, and how does IWAC differ from it? What is the consumption problem he refers to?

Readings: Michael F. Maniates. 2001. “Individualization: Plant a Tree, Buy a Bike, Save the World?” *Global Environmental Politics* 1:3 (Aug. 2001), p. 31 –

Additionally: By class time, upload your full-length revised paper (including a bibliography with all sources) to SafeAssign for comments and feedback.

Friday April 15 Policy Tools: Environmental Degradation

Goals: To recognize and understand arguments for free market environmentalism.

Questions: How do the authors explain the failure of earlier pessimistic forecasts? What sits at the heart of “free market environmentalism” and how does it view human nature? According to this approach, can a central planner know the best solutions? What is wrong with models like FORPLAN? Why does efficiency matter more in the private sector? What role do property rights play in this approach?

Readings: Terry L. Anderson and Donald R. Leal. 2001. *Free Market Environmentalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-23.

Monday April 18 Policy Tools: Crime

Goals: To understand how urban design – and not police firepower - can reduce crime through the creation of “defensible space.”

Questions: What is the problem with heterogeneity in urban environments? How can residential environments inhibit crime? What role does the stoop play in Sudan? Why might poorly designed buildings have crime rates three times higher than adjacent projects? How are these tools those of “self help”? According to Newman, what has produced high crime rates? How is the high rise apartment tower the “villain” of the piece?

Readings: Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1972) pp. 1-25

Wednesday April 20 NO CLASS

Friday April 22 NO CLASS

Monday April 25 NO CLASS

Wednesday April 27 NO CLASS

Friday April 29 Class Wrap Up

Additionally: Final draft of paper must be uploaded by class time to SafeAssign on BlackBoard. No late papers will be accepted.

Final Exam as scheduled by the Registrar's Office

Note: This syllabus is a living, organic creation, and it may change over the course of the semester in response to changing classroom and campus conditions. More specifically, in the event of a major campus emergency, course requirements, deadlines and grading percentages are subject to changes that may be necessitated by a revised semester calendar or other circumstances. Use the Blackboard Vista web page to keep track of the most recent version of the syllabus along with my email address daldrich[at]purdue.edu to get information.