

PubP&A 611: Comparative Public Policy<sup>1</sup> - Revised  
University of Massachusetts, Spring 2015  
Professor Joya Misra

Classroom: Gordon 302-4

CPPA Office: Gordon 112

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Course Webpage: <https://moodle.umass.edu/course/view.php?id=19214>

Meeting Times: Wed 4-6:30 pm

Office Hours: Wed 2-4

Regular Office: Machmer W33E

This course introduces the politics of public policy making, with an explicit comparative or cross-national focus. It satisfies the CPPA requirement in the politics of public policy for MPP/MPPA students, but also connects with comparative politics theory. Public policy is how government works to address issues in society. The politics of policy not only shares similarities in different parts of the world, but also diverges in interesting ways. Our aim will be to consider how the politics of the policy process plays out in different settings – with a view to developing a deeper understanding of how to engage with political processes effectively.

We will consider how political values, institutions, resources, and choices shape policy outcomes. A secondary but important concern will be how global and transnational processes affects countries' policy environments. The course is appropriate for both CPPA graduate students who want to consider policy outside of the US, and for other graduate students interested in public policy and politics in a variety of national contexts. While we will focus on a few countries in order to develop the depth to understand their political systems, there will be chances to broaden our scope in discussion and in your written work for this class.

READINGS: The following paperback book will be required and available at Amherst Books in downtown Amherst. Please buy the book there to support local, independent bookstores:

Jessica R. Adolino and Charles H. Blake, *Comparing Public Policies*, CQ Press, 2011.

Other readings are posted on the course Moodle website. You must do the reading BEFORE each class session. You are also responsible for being aware of changes to readings, which I mention in reading guidance handouts that I post and email prior to each seminar meeting.

#### Graduate School Statement on Academic Honesty

Every aspect of graduate academic life shall be conducted in an absolutely and uncompromisingly honest manner by graduate students. Apparent and alleged breaches in this policy are covered in the Graduate Student Academic Policy, see the full text at:

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<sup>1</sup> This syllabus draws on comparative analysis and selective incorporation of related, earlier syllabi developed by former or continuing CPPA colleagues, Profs. Brenda Bushouse, Eric Einhorn, Laura Jensen, David Mednicoff, and Katie McDermott, to each of whom I am grateful.

<http://www.umass.edu/ombuds/honesty.php/> If you are caught cheating or plagiarizing on an assignment for this class, you will receive a grade of F on the assignment; for memos, you will not be able to raise this grade by turning in additional memos.

#### COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING (please read carefully)

Class Participation (25% of grade): This course is a seminar. It relies on discussion, rather than lecture. While I may occasionally present and clarify material, most learning will advance through focused discussion. This seminar's success is in part your responsibility. I expect you to complete the assigned readings before each class, and to arrive prepared to engage in substantive discussions of the materials. Please arrive at each class prepared to raise at least one specific, substantive question that is triggered by the readings and discussion. This will frame my expectation of active participation during the seminar. Active participation can include both questions and comments. I evaluate participation based on a combination of the knowledge it shows of the relevant readings and issues and its use in helping the entire class learn and advance our shared goals and materials. A good participation grade does not necessarily reflect who spoke the most, but who advanced our understanding the most effectively.

Moodle Participation (10% of grade): Participating in threaded discussions on the course Moodle website is the second major way to raise your participation grade. The same guidelines for thoughtful, knowledge-based posts that advance discussion apply to posts on Web threaded discussions. Posting a good question prior to our class meeting that we may discuss in class is a part of my expectations for the on-line component of your participation requirement. This means that participation in class and over moodle makes up a third of your grade for this class. *If you are consistently skipping the readings, moodle posts, and class, you will fail this course.*

Memos (40% of grade): You will turn in four memos over the course of the semester. You may turn in each memo on one of two dates. Please take time now to circle the memos you plan to turn in. You may turn in more than four memos; only the four highest grades will count toward your final grade. Memos are due by Tuesday at 4 PM before the day before we discuss the readings; they should be uploaded as Word documents to the assignment box on moodle. Late memos will not be accepted. Detailed criteria for memos can be found in this syllabus. Each memo will be worth 10% of your grade.

Final Essay (25% of grade): You will respond to one integrative, final essay question. This will require you to consider one or more policy questions across several countries. You will receive the essay question by April 15; your answers will be due in May 6; this should mean that you can organize your work so that the final essay does not conflict with other final projects. Your answer will be worth 25% of your final grade.

Total grade: Each course component will receive a numeric grade based on its contribution to your final grade. Final total numeric grades will be converted to letter grades. The grading scale for this course is: **A=>93; A-=90-93; B+=87-90; B=83-87; B-=80-83, C+=77-80, C=<77.**

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| <b>Jan 21</b>                            | <b>Introduction to Class</b>  |
| <b>Jan 28</b>                            | <b>Theories of Policy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 1-46 (Intro, Chapters 1-2)</li> <li>• Stone, pp. 1-34.</li> <li>• Robert C. Lieberman. 2002. "Weak state, strong policy: paradoxes of race policy in the United States, Great Britain, and France." <i>Studies in American Political Development</i> 16(2): 138-161.</li> <li>• Ann Shola Orloff and Bruno Palier. 2009. "The power of gender perspectives: Feminist influence on policy paradigms, social science, and social politics." <i>Social Politics</i>. 16(4): 405-412.</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Feb 4</b>                             | <b>The Policy Process in Comparative Perspective</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 47-99 (Chapters 3-4)</li> <li>• Peter Haas. 2004. "When does Power Listen to Truth? A Constructivist Approach to the Policy Process." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 11(4): 569-592.</li> </ul> <p>CHOOSE two cases that you will follow as much as you can through the semester: US, Japan, Germany, France, UK, Italy, EU, India, South Africa, Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, or Egypt. Do background research on your case, and be prepared to fill the class in about the country's political structure, including courts, legislature, executive, provinces, etc.</p> <p><b>COMPARATIVE POLICY ISSUES AND APPROACHES ACROSS COUNTRIES</b></p> |
| <b>Feb 11</b><br><br><i>Memo One Due</i> | <b>Immigration Policy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 100-158 (Chapter 5)</li> <li>• In addition to the case studies in Adolino, read two of the case studies on migration: India, South Africa, Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, or Egypt on the moodle</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Feb 18</b><br><br><i>Memo One Due</i> | <b>Fiscal &amp; Taxation Policy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 159-233 (Chapter 7)</li> <li>• The Economist. "The Origins of the Financial Crash." September 7, 2013.</li> <li>• Christine LaGarde. "Managing the New Transitions in the Global Economy" International Monetary Fund.</li> <li>• Sven Steinmo. 2003. "The Evolution of Policy Ideas: Tax Policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century." <i>British Journal of Politics and International Relations</i>. 5(2): 206-236.</li> <li>• Vito Tanzi, and Howell H. Zee. 2000. "Tax Policy for Emerging Markets: Developing Countries." <i>National Tax Journal</i> 53(2): 299-322.</li> </ul>   |

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| <p><b>Feb 25</b></p> <p><i>Memo Two Due</i></p>     | <p><b>Health Care Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 234-277 (Chapter 8)</li> <li>• David Squires. 2011. "The U.S. Health System in Perspective." <i>Issues in International Health Policy Report</i>.</li> <li>• Robert Marten et al. 2014. "An Assessment of Progress toward Universal Health Coverage in Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa." <i>Lancet</i>. 384(9960): 2164-71.</li> <li>• In addition to the case studies in Adolino, read two of the case studies on health policy: India, South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, Latin America, or Egypt on the moodle</li> <li>•</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>March 4</b></p> <p><i>Memo Two Due</i></p>    | <p><b>Social Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 278-320 (Chapter 9)</li> <li>• Gøsta Esping-Andersen. 1999. "Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-examined." Pp. 74-94 in <i>Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies</i>. New York: Oxford.</li> <li>• Stephanie Moller, Joya Misra, and Eiko Strader. 2013. "A Cross-National Look at How Welfare States Reduce Inequality." <i>Sociological Compass</i>. 7(2): 135-146.</li> <li>• International Labour Organization. 2014. "Social Protection, Living Standards, and Economic Development." Pp. 109-147 in <i>World of Work Report: 2014</i>. ILO.</li> </ul>   |
| <p><b>March 11</b></p> <p><i>Memo Three Due</i></p> | <p><b>Labor Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International Labour Organization. 2014. "Labour and Social Protection Institutions." Pp. 85-107 in <i>World of Work Report: 2014</i>. ILO.</li> <li>• Ton Wilthagen and Frank Tros. 2004. "The Concept of 'Flexicurity': a New Approach to Regulating Employment and Labour Markets." <i>Transfer: European Review of labour and research</i> 10(2): 166-186.</li> <li>• Kenneth Couch, Ed. 2011. "Point/Counterpoint: the Post-Recession Employment Situation" (four essays). <i>Journal of Policy Analysis and Management</i>. 31(1): 153-195.</li> <li>• Adriana Kugler. 2014. "Labor Market Analysis and Labor Policy in the Nation's Capital." <i>ILR Review</i>. 67(3): 493-607.</li> <li>• Jane Lewis. 2006. "Work/family Reconciliation, Equal Opportunities and Social Policies." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 13(3): 420-437.</li> </ul> <p>Read two of the case studies on labor: Sri Lanka, South Africa, Mexico, Brazil.</p> |
| <p><b>March 18</b></p>                              | <p>SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS</p>   |

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| <p><b>March 25</b></p> <p><i>Memo Three Due</i></p> | <p><b>Education Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 321-363 (Chapter 10)</li> <li>• OECD. 2013. Education at a Glance 2013: Highlights, OECD Publishing. <a href="http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag_highlights-2013-en">http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag_highlights-2013-en</a></li> <li>• Nisha Thapliyal, Salim Vally, and Carol Anne Spreen. 2013. " 'Until We Get Up Again to Fight': Education Rights and Participation in South Africa." <i>Comparative Education Review</i>. 57(2): 212-231.</li> <li>• Karen Mundy and Francine Menashy. 2014. "The World Bank and Private Provision of Schooling: A Look through the Lens of Sociological Theories of Organizational Hypocrisy." <i>Comparative Education Review</i>. 58(3): 401-427</li> <li>• Razia Fakir Mohammed and Harlech-Jones, Brian. 2008. "The fault is in ourselves: looking at 'failures in implementation'." <i>Comparative Education</i>. 38(1): 39-51.</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>April 1</b></p> <p><i>Memo Four Due</i></p>   | <p><b>Environmental Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 364-411 (Chapter 11).</li> <li>• Kathryn Harrison and Lisa Macintosh Sundstrom. 2007. "The Comparative Politics of Climate Change." <i>Global Environmental Politics</i>. 7(4): 1-18.</li> <li>• Clark Gibson and Fabrice Lehoucq. 2003. "The Local Politics of Decentralized Environmental Policy in Guatemala." <i>Journal of Environment and Development</i>. 12(1): 28-49.</li> <li>• In addition to the case studies in Adolino, read at least two of the case studies on environmental policy: Sweden, South Africa, Mexico, India, Brazil</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>April 8</b></p> <p><i>Memo Four Due</i></p>   | <p><b>Development Policy</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amartya Sen. 1988. "The concept of development." <i>Handbook of development economics</i> 1: 9-26.</li> <li>• Peter B. Evans. 1989. "Predatory, developmental, and other apparatuses: a comparative political economy perspective on the third world state." <i>Sociological Forum</i>. 4(4): 561-587.</li> <li>• Cornwall, Andrea, and Karen Brock. 2005. "What do buzzwords do for development policy? A critical look at 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'poverty reduction'." <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 26(7): 1043-1060.</li> <li>• Susanne Schech and Mochamad Mustafa. 2010. "The Politics of Gender Mainstreaming Poverty Reduction: an Indonesian Case Study." <i>Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State &amp; Society</i> 17(1): 111-135.</li> <li>• Arturo Escobar. 2003. "Displacement, development, and modernity in the Colombian Pacific." <i>International Social Science Journal</i> 55(175): 157-167.</li> <li>• Nicola Banks, David Hulme, Michael Edwards. 2015. "NGOs, States, and Donor Revisited." <i>World Development</i>. 66: 707-718.</li> </ul> |

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| <p><b>April 15</b></p> <p><i>Memo Four Due</i></p> | <p><b>Courts &amp; Parties</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tom Ginsburg. 2008. "The Global Spread of Constitutional Review." Oxford Handbook of Law &amp; Politics.</li> <li>• Benedict Kingsbury, et al. 2004. "Global governance as administration-national and transnational approaches to global administrative law." New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers. Paper 17.</li> <li>• Alan Ware. 2011. "Exceptionalism, Political Science, and the Comparative Analysis of Political Parties." <i>Government and Opposition</i>. 46(4): 411-435.</li> <li>• Richard Gunther, and Larry Diamond. 2003. "Species of political parties a new typology." <i>Party Politics</i> 9(2): 167-199.</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>April 22</b></p>                             | <p><b>No Class – Monday Schedule</b></p>   |
| <p><b>April 29</b></p>                             | <p><b>Comparing Public Policy across Borders and Regime Types</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adolino pp. 412-18 (Chapter 12)</li> <li>• Janine R. Wedel, Cris Shore, Gregory Feldman, Stacy Lathrop. 2005. "Toward an Anthropology of Public Policy." <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>, Vol. 600: 30-51.</li> </ul>   |

## Guidelines for Writing Memos

Memos are meant to assist you in carefully considering the readings, and what they suggest about the politics of the policy process. These memos take the place of exams, so you should spend an appropriate amount of time reading and reflecting on the assigned materials before putting together your memo. Memos should be 2 single-spaced pages in length (no longer), and are due by 4 pm on the day before the class session. They should be uploaded as Word files to the course moodle. You are required to turn in four memos; you may turn in more than four memos if you wish; only the four highest grades will count toward your final grade in the course. Late memos will not be accepted.

The memo should **present an argument based on the readings for the week**. *This argument may be in answer to a question I pose about the readings.* The grading rubric for memos follows; here I summarize the main elements of the memo<sup>2</sup>:

*Focus:* After completing the readings, you should develop one clear argument based on the readings (this argument may be in response to a question I pose). Resist the temptation to write about several different issues after you've done the reading, since the memos are too short for you to do this effectively. Instead, decide what one argument or claim you want to make, and then organize the whole paper around it. Be sure to state this argument in the first paragraph.

*Structure of argument:* Your paper should be organized effectively. This includes a clear introduction, which states your argument, the body of the paper presenting evidence for your argument in a clear and logical fashion, and a concluding paragraph that wraps it all up (rather than making new points). Writing a good memo always requires revision – revision helps you organize your thoughts effectively and convey your arguments with brevity and clarity.

*Evidence:* While you do not need to bring in outside research for the memos, you do need to make specific reference to the readings to back up your arguments and points. Your paper needs to be based on the readings, and should show that you are familiar with all of the readings for a given week. Familiarity should mean that you have thought carefully about the reading, going beyond pure description to integration and analysis. If you agree with a particular argument, explain why by pointing to specific points the author made; if you disagree, point to things the author said as evidence in support of your critique. Avoid “ad hominem” arguments: those that appeal to your reader’s imagined prejudices, or attack somebody’s arguments because of who that somebody is.

*Quotations/Citations:* You should use citations (noting the author and year of a piece in either a footnote/endnote or parentheses) and quotations (noting author, year, and page number of the quotation) to support or illustrate your points. Be sure all direct quotations include quote marks and page numbers. Be careful to ensure that any citations or quotations directly relate to

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<sup>2</sup> These guidelines and rubric were adapted from materials developed by Katie McDermott.

the argument you are making. Do not use overly long quotations. Your interpretation of the authors' words (properly attributed) is what matters.

Make sure that the author's words are used in correct context. By this, I mean that you are using the quotation or citation consistently with the author's apparent intent. This requires careful reading. It's quite common for an author to spend some time outlining a set of beliefs that he or she does not hold, and then going on to critique those beliefs. If you quote something from the initial presentation of the beliefs that the author means to criticize as if the author actually holds those beliefs, then you're quoting out of context.

All citations should be in a consistent, recognizable format. You may choose to use footnotes, endnotes, or parentheses within the text, as long as you are consistent. Whenever you quote an author directly, provide the page number the quotation comes from. Make sure that everything you use in a parenthetical citation in the text, or a footnote, also appears in the list of sources or bibliography at the end of the paper. When in doubt, cite. Representing the words or ideas of another without citation or as one's own work is plagiarism. Due to previous issues in this class and others, I will be looking closely for plagiarism in the memos and final paper so please be careful and if you have questions about what requires citation, ask me.

*Writing Style:* The paper should be 2 single-spaced pages – and no longer, as it is an important skill to write with brevity. Use the smallest number of words, and most concrete words possible, to make your points. Avoid “throat-clearing” (example: “it is the opinion of this author that...”). If you use a word whose meaning isn't obvious, like “democracy” or “oppression,” make sure you tell me how you're defining it. Use the active voice whenever you can. For example, “Banks refused to make mortgage loans in poor urban neighborhoods” is a statement in active voice. “Poor urban neighborhoods were discriminated against” is in passive voice, and leaves us wondering who was doing the discriminating.

It is fine to write in the first person if the alternative would sound silly. For example, “I had an experience with this issue when I worked in a Senator's office” is a much better sentence than “this author had an experience with this issue in a Senator's office.” Keep in mind, however, that you often don't need to use the first person. Try to avoid starting sentences with phrases like “I believe”; if you're starting with “I believe” because you are not completely comfortable with the conclusion you're drawing, then look for more evidence to support it.

You may choose to use headings in the paper to guide me through your argument, though it is not necessary. However, a well-organized argument *necessary*; be sure also to use transitions between sections.

**Grading:** I will rate your memo in each of five areas – focus, structure of argument, evidence, quotations/citations, and writing style, as noted on the rubric (2 points for exemplary, 1.5 for acceptable, 1 for needs improvement, and .5 for unacceptable). Total points possible are 10.

### Memo Evaluation Criteria

|   | 2—Exemplary   | 1.5—Acceptable   | 1—Needs improvement  | .5—Unacceptable in this form   |
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| Clear focus on one of the assigned questions, or on a different but relevant topic      | Your argument is clear within the first paragraph, and the rest of the paper stays on-topic.  | Question or topic is unclear at the beginning, but by the end of the paper I think I know what you're talking about.                 | Question or topic is initially clear, but your attention to it wavers later in the paper.  | Paper doesn't identify or stick to a question or topic.  |
| Structure of the argument   | Paper states a main thesis or argument, presents evidence in support of it, and draws a logical conclusion.   | Introduction or conclusion doesn't do what it's supposed to, or body of paper doesn't develop an argument – just describes readings. | Body of paper fails to present evidence, or drifts away from original topic, or contains arguments that seem to contradict each other.                 | Organizational logic is unclear.   |
| Evidence of having carefully read and thought about the assigned materials for the week | Response is clearly based on integration of readings (whether or not you agree with them). References to multiple points from all of the readings, integrated with your own argument. | Memo uses all or most of the assigned readings, but reference to them aren't well integrated; description rather than integration.   | Connections to reading are less clear (for example, reading is only tangentially related to argument, or paper neglects to mention relevant readings). | Mentions of assigned readings aren't connected with argument, or paper contains one or more factual errors about reading, or no reference to assigned reading. |
| Appropriate use of quotations/citations   | Quotations or citations are used to illustrate or support your points; author's words are used in correct context*; all direct quotations include the page number of the original.    | Reason for a citation or quotation isn't clear, or quotations are longer than necessary to back up your point.                       | One or more out-of-context quotation.  | Direct quotation without a page number.  |
| Writing Style   | Adheres to writing guidelines completely or almost completely.  | Author makes one or two mistakes in a particular category, but also writes correctly elsewhere.                                      | Same as for a "3," but in more than one category, or else makes consistent errors in one category  | Multiple patterns of errors.   |