# COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY POLSCI 783

Term 2, Winter 2019

Instructor: Peter Graefe Email: graefep@mcmaster.ca Seminar: Thursday, 8:30-11:20 Classroom: KTH-709 Office: KTH-512 Office Hours: Thursday, 11:30-12:30

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# **Course Description**

"Policy matters. In part at least, this is because policy involves social processes that are intertwined with people's lives, often in very profound, sometimes oppressive, and even violent ways" (John Clarke, Dave Bainton, Noémie Lendvai and Paul Stubbs (eds.) *Making Policy Move*, 2015, p. 9)

"Focusing on policy encourages a focus on substance. After all, the main reason politics matters is because those who exercise political authority make decisions that have profound effects on their societies. To understand patterns in public policy is to understand a great deal about the content of politics, of what people are fighting for and why, and of why and how some are more successful than others." (Paul Pierson, in *Comparative Political Studies*, 40:2 (2007), p. 156).

This course surveys a range of theoretical approaches to comparative public policy. It seeks to impart a basic understanding of approaches used in comparative public policy in terms of their basic concepts and the sorts of explanation they seek to provide. It also encourages course participants to situate the different approaches in relation to one another along a number of axes (e.g., assumptions, levels of analysis, ability to explain different phenomena).

# **Course Objectives**

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Describe and compare key approaches used in comparative public policy, particularly in terms of their basic concepts, their conception of what studying policy entails, and the sorts of explanation they seek to provide;
- Situate the different approaches in relation to one another along a number of axes (e.g., assumptions, levels of analysis, ability to explain different phenomena);
- Critically discussing the merits of the different approaches, and of situating their own research within this field of competing theories.

# **Required Materials and Texts**

• Most of the assigned course readings are journal articles that are available online through the library catalogue. Those readings that are book chapters will be made available either through Avenue to Learn.

# **Class Format**

 (i) Reading Preparation: Any week's required readings may include pieces devoted primarily to describing a particular approach to public policy, critiques of that approach, and illustrative applications of that approach, particularly when used in a comparative research design. For every reading before class, students should try to answer the following three basic questions in one sentence each: a) what is the reading's main research question; b) what is the answer to the research question; and c) what evidence is used to support that answer? Being able to identify the answers to each of these questions is the first step in preparing for class discussion.

- (ii) Class Preparation: This course surveys widely-used approaches to studying public policy. While it is important to come to an understanding of their shortcomings and limitations, it is also important to understand how they work, and why verifiably intelligent scholars have found them a useful way of understanding variations in policy over time and space. Before coming to class, students should have jotted down some notes on the following:
  - a. What are the key concepts in play, and how are these concepts assembled in order to produce explanations?
  - b. What are the strengths and limitations of this sort of explanation?
  - c. How is this approach similar to or different from other explanations encountered in the course?
- (iii) Class Procedure: The class will begin with the instructor creating a list of core concepts that students wish to have clarified. After that list is created, the student who has taken on the role of seminar leader for that week will draw at least two pictures/diagrams in an attempt to illustrate the arguments or approaches from the week's readings. They will then lead the class through the collective discussion of the identified concepts. Upon completing that discussion, which addresses point (a) above, they are invited to lead the class in addressing points (b) and (c).

# **Course Evaluation – Overview**

- 1. Term Paper Précis 10%, due by February 28
- 2. Term Paper 35%, due March 29
- 3. Take Home Exam 30%, distributed April 4, due April 8
- 4. Seminar Leadership 10%
- 5. Participation 15%

# Course Evaluation – Details

# Term Paper Précis (10%), due by February 28

As a step to ensure the timely completion of the term paper, students should submit a 4 pages précis, including a preliminary bibliography by February 28. This précis should precisely and clearly set out what the paper seeks to explain. In other words, what is the pattern of variation over time and/or space that is at the heart of the paper? In addition, it should present some of the arguments in the existing literature that will be mobilized in the paper.

## Term Paper (35%), due March 29

Students will provide a term paper that considers policy variation in time and/or space. The paper might try to explain why policies are the same/different across two polities, or why they change or stay the same across time.

This paper should normally be more a review of existing literature, rather than a fresh research paper. That is, the paper should engage existing accounts about how the outcome in question came to be. It should carefully describe the various claims of causality in the existing accounts, set out points of disagreement within them and evaluate the persuasiveness of the arguments in contention.

The final paper should be 16-20 pages, exclusive of bibliography. Students should choose a standard system of referencing and use it consistently.

## Take-Home Exam (30%), distributed April 4, due April 8

The take home exam will ask students to provide two 1000-1250 word essays. While four days are provided to complete the exam, the expectation is that students will spend about 4 hours in completing it.

# Seminar Leadership (10%)

Starting with week 3, students will play a large leadership role in the seminar. The class will begin with the instructor creating a list of core concepts that students wish to have clarified. After that list is created, the student who has taken on the role of seminar leader for that week will draw at least two pictures/diagrams in an attempt to illustrate the arguments or approaches from the week's readings. They will then lead the class through the collective discussion of the identified concepts. Upon completing that discussion, which addresses point (a) of class preparation (see p.4), they are invited to lead the class in addressing points (b) and (c).

# Participation (15%)

A central feature of a seminar is that students learn from each other through discussion. As such, it is essential that all students do the readings in advance of the seminar and come prepared to participate actively in the class discussion.

# Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Jan 10) Intro

Topic: Introduction to the course

Readings: n/a

Additional Readings:

Lodge, Martin. (2007). "Comparative Public Policy," in Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller and Mara J. Sidney (eds.) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics and Methods*. (New York: CRC Press), 273-288.

## Week 2 (Jan 17) Qs of Ontology, Epistemology & Method Topic: Questions of Ontology, Epistemology and Method

Readings:

Grix, Jonathan. (2002). "Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research" *Politics*, 22(3):175-86.

Dvora Yanow, "Qualitative-Interpretive Methods in Policy Research," in Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller and Mara J. Sidney (eds.) *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics and Methods* (New York: CRC Press, 2007), 405-415.

Wilder, Matt. (2016). "Whither the Funnel of Causality." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(4):721-741.

Daigneault, Pierre-Marc and Daniel Béland. (2015). "Taking Explanation Seriously in Political Science." *Political Studies Review* 13(3):384-392.

#### Additional Readings:

Boswell, John and Jack Corbett. (2015). "Embracing Impressionism: Revealing the Brush Strokes of Interpretive Research." *Critical Policy Studies* 9(2):216-225.

John, P. (2017). "Symposium on Keith Dowding's *The Philosophy and Methods of Political Science*". *Political Studies Review* 15(2):177-179.

Furlong, Paul and David Marsh. (2010). "A Skin Not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science." In David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan), 184-211.

Geddes, M. (2018). "<u>The Explanatory Potential of 'Dilemmas': Bridging Practices and Power to</u> <u>Understand Political Change in Interpretive Political Science</u>". *Political Studies Review*, September.

George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett. (2005). Chapter 10: Process Tracing and Historical Explanation. In Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press).

Hall, Peter. (2003). "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research." In Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences, (eds.) James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Lewis, Paul A. (2002). "Agency, Structure and Causality in Political Science: A Comment on Sibeon," *Politics* 22(1):17-23.

Mahoney, James. (2007). "Qualitative Methodology and Comparative Politics," *Comparative Political Studies* 40(2):122-144.

Mahoney, James, Erin Kimball and Kendra L. Koivu. (2009). "The Logic of Historical Explanation in the Social Sciences," Comparative Political Studies, 42(1):114-146.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. "Can One or a Few Cases Yield Theoretical Gains?" in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Seawright, Jason and John Gerring. (2008). "Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2):294-308.

Taylor, Mark Zachary. (2007). "Bivariate & Multivariate Regressions: A Primer." Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology, (unpublished paper).

## Week 3 (Jan 24) Power and Policy I Topic: Power and Policy I: Pluralism Readings

Readings:

Polsby, Nelson W. (1960). "How to Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative." *The Journal of Politics* 22(3):474-484.

Smith, Martin J. (1990). "Pluralism, Reformed Pluralism and Neopluralism: The role of pressure groups in policy-making," *Political Studies* 38(2):302-322.

Heinmiller, Timothy. 2013. "Advocacy Coalitions and the Alberta *Water Act.*" *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 46(3):525-547.

#### And one of

Lisa Kastner. (2018). "Business lobbying under salience – financial industry mobilization against the European financial transaction tax", Journal of European Public Policy, 25(11):1648-1666.

Eileen Keller (2018) Noisy business politics: lobbying strategies and business influence after the financial crisis, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(3):287-306.

#### Additional Readings:

Eising, Rainer. (2007). "The access of business interests to EU institutions: towards élite pluralism?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(3):384-403.

Farnsworth, Kevin and Chris Holden. (2006). "The Business-Social Policy Nexus: Corporate Power and Corporate Inputs into Social Policy." *Journal of Social Policy* 35(3):473-494.

Gilens, Martin and Benjamin I Page. (2014). "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3):564-581.

Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson. (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 (skim 152-167, focus on 168-204).

Marcel Hanegraaff & Joost Berkhout. (2018). "More business as usual? Explaining business bias across issues and institutions in the European Union," Journal of European Public Policy, 1-20.

Scott James. (2018). "The structural-informational power of business: credibility, signalling and the UK banking reform process, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(11):1629-1647.

Macdonald, Douglas. *Business and Environmental Politics in Canada* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2007), chapter 4.

# Week 4 (Jan 31) Power & Policy II Topic: Power and Policy II: Power Resources and Neo-Marxism

Readings:

Graefe, Peter "Political Economy and Canadian Public Policy," in Miriam Smith and Michael Orsini (eds.) Critical Policy Studies (UBC Press, 2007).

Korpi, Walter. "The Power Resources Model," in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds) The Welfare State Reader (Polity Press, 2000), 77-88.

Maisenbacher, Julia. (2015). "The Political Economy of Mobility Partnerships – Structural Power in the EU's External Migration Policy." *New Political Economy* 20(6):871-893.

Craig, Martin P.A. Craig. (2018). "<u>Treasury Control' and the British Environmental</u> <u>State: The Political Economy of Green Development Strategy in UK Central</u> <u>Government</u>." *New Political Economy*.

#### Additional Readings:

Dion, Michelle. (2005). "The Political Origins of Social Security in Mexico during the Cárdenas and Ávila Camacho Administrations." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 21(1):59–95.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. "Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism," in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds.) *The Welfare State Reader* (Polity Press, 2000), 154-169

Kalaitzake, Manolis. (2017). "Death by a Thousand Cuts? Financial Political Power and the Case of the European Financial Transaction Tax." New Political Economy 22(6):709-226.

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.

Mahon, Rianne. (1991). "From 'Bringing' to 'Putting': The State in late Twentieth-Century Social Theory," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 16(2):119-144.

Meckling, Jonas and Llewelyn Hughes. (2017). "<u>Protecting Solar: Global Supply Chains and Business</u> <u>Power</u>." *New Political Economy* 23(1):88-104.

Murphy, Emma C. (2017). "<u>A Political Economy of Youth Policy in Tunisia</u>." *New Political Economy* 22(6):676-691.

Winders, Bill. (2005). "Maintaining the Coalition: Class Coalitions and Policy Trajectories," *Politics & Society* 33(3):387-423.

## Week 5 (Feb 7) Power & Policy III Topic: Power and Policy III: Social Relations and Policy

Readings:

Orloff, Ann. (2017). "Gendered States Made and Remade." In Kimberly Morgan and Ann Orloff (eds.) *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Gurminder K. Bhambra & John Holmwood. (2018). "<u>Colonialism, Postcolonialism and</u> <u>the Liberal Welfare State</u>." New Political Economy, 23(5):574-587.

And two of:

Keskinen, Suvi. (2016). "From Welfare Nationalism to Welfare Chauvinism: Economic Rhetoric, the Welfare State and Changing Asylum Policies in Finland." *Critical Social Policy* 36 (3): 352-370.

Mulvihill, Natasha. (2018). "<u>The criminalisation of paying for sex in England and Wales:</u> <u>how gender and power are implicated in the making of policy</u>." *Journal of Public Policy*, 38(2):165-89.

Cook, Kay and Christine Skinner. (2018). "<u>Gender Equality in Child Support Policy:</u> <u>Fathers' Rhetoric of 'Fairness' in a Parliamentary Inquiry</u>." *Social Politics* (Summer), 1-24.

Additional Readings:

Banaszak, Lee Ann. *The Women's Movement Inside and Outside the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Bleich, Erik. (2002). "Integrating Ideas into Policy-Making Analysis: Frames and Race Politics in Britain and France." Comparative Political Studies 35(9):1054-1076.

Brush, Lisa D. Gender and Governance (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2003), chapters 1-2.

Kenny, Meryl and Fiona Mackay. (2009). "Already Doin' It for Ourselves? Skeptical Notes on Feminism and Institutionalism," *Politics & Gender* 5(2):271-80.

Mazur, Amy. Theorizing Feminist Policy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), chapter 1.

Ann Shola Orloff. (2009). "Gendering the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: An Unfinished Agenda," *Sociological Theory* 27(3):317-343.

Randall, Vicky. "Feminism." In David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010):114-135.

Weldon, S. Laurel. (2006). "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender," *Politics & Gender* 2(2):223-235 and 235-248.

Williams, Fiona. (2016). "Critical Thinking in Social Policy: The Challenges of Past, Present and Future." *Social Policy and Administration* 50(6), 628-647.

Williams, Fiona. (1995). "Race/ethnicity, Gender, and Class in Welfare States: A Framework for Comparative Analysis," *Social Politics* 2(2):127-159.

## Week 6 (Feb 14) Power & Policy IV

#### **Topic: Power and Policy IV: Governmentality and Post-positivist Policy**

Readings:

Murray, Karen. (2007). "Governmentality and the Shifting Winds of Policy Studies." In Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith (eds.), *Critical Policy Studies*. (Vancouver: UBC Press), chapter 8.

Stone, Deborah. (1989). "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas." *Political Science Quarterly* 104(2):281-300.

Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). "Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy" *American Political Science* Review 87(2):334–347.

#### And one of:

Clarke, John, David Bainton, Noémi Lendvai and Paul Stubbs. (2015). *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage* (Bristol: Policy Press), chapter 2.

Morgan, Clara. (2017). "Constructing Educational Quality in the Arab Region: a bottomup critique of regional education governance." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 15(4):499-517.

Shpaizman, Ilana. (2018). "<u>Beyond the visible policy agenda: Problem definitions</u> disappearing from the agenda as nondecisions." *Journal of Public Policy*, 1-24.

Additional Readings:

Bhatia, Vandna and Michael Orsini. (2016). "Narrating Sustainability in Canadian Health Reform Discourse." *Social Policy and Administration* 50(3):297-315.

Murray, Karen Bridget. (2017). "The Violence Within: Canadian Modern Statehood and the Pan-Territorial Residential School System Ideal." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50(3):747-772.

De Bruycker, Iskander. (2017). "Framing and Advocacy: A Research Agenda for Interest Group Studies." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(5):775-787.

Cook, Kay, Lara Corr and Rhonda Breitkreuz. (2017). "The framing of Australian childcare policy problems and their solutions." *Critical Social Policy* 37(1):42-63.

Collins, Mary Elizabeth. 2018. "<u>Comparative Analysis of State Policymaking in Child Welfare: Explaining</u> <u>Policy Choices</u>." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 20(4):370-386.

Howarth, David, Jason Glynos and Steven Griggs. (2016). "Discourse, explanation and critique." *Critical Policy Studies* 10(1):99-104.

Kingdon, John. (1984). *Agendas, Alternatives and Public* Policies (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), chapters 1, 8.

Quinlan, Andrea and Sandra Smele. (2017). "The 'problem' of abuse in Ontario's Social Inclusion Act: A critical exploration." *Critical Social Policy* 37(1):85-104.

McGimpsey, Ian. (2017). "Late neoliberalism: Delineating a policy regime." *Critical Social Policy* 37(1):64-84.

Nedlund, Ann-Charlotte and Jonas Nordh. (2018). "Constructing citizens: a matter of labeling, imaging and underlying rationales in the case of people with dementia." *Critical Policy Studies*, 12(3):253-272.

Verna Smith & Jackie Cumming. (2017). "<u>Implementing pay-for-performance in primary health care: the</u> role of institutional entrepreneurs." *Policy and Society* 36(4):523-538.

Zahariadis, Nikolaso. (2008). "<u>Ambiguity and Choice in European Public Policy</u>," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(4):514-430.

## Week 7 (Feb 21) Winter mid-term recess, NO CLASS

## Week 8 (Feb 28) Institutions & Policy Topic: Institutions and Policy I: Rational Choice

Readings:

Geddes, Barbara. (2003). *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative* Politics (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press), chapter 5.

Driscoll, Amanda and Mona Lena Krook, (2009). "Can There Be a Feminist Rational Choice Institutionalism?" *Politics & Gender* 5(2):238-245.

#### And two of:

Meckling, Jonas and Jonas Nahm J. (2018). "<u>The power of process: State capacity and</u> <u>climate policy</u>." *Governance*. 31:741–757.

Patashnik, Eric. (2003). "<u>After the Public Interest Prevails: The Political Sustainability of</u> <u>Policy Reform</u>," *Governance* 16(2): 203-234.

Maggetti, Martino and Papadopoulos, <u>Yannis. (2018). "The Principal–Agent Framework</u> and Independent Regulatory Agencies." *Political Studies Review*, *16*(3):172–183.

Additional Readings:

Hall, Peter A. and Daniel W. Gingerich. (2009). "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(3):449-482.

Hall, Peter A. and Soskice, David. (2001). "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In Peter A. Hall and David Soskice (eds.) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1-68.

Hay, Colin. (2004). "Theory, Stylized Heuristic or Self-Fulfilling Prophecy? The Status of Rational Choice Theory in Public Administration," *Public Administration* 82(1):39-62.

Hindmoor, Andrew. (2010). "Rational Choice." In David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (eds.) *Theory and Methods in Political Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan):42-60.

Moe, Terry M. (2005) "Power and Political Institutions," Perspectives on Politics, 3(2):215-231.

Ostrom. Elinor. (2007). "Institutional Rational Choice: An Assessment of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework." in Paul Sabatier (ed.) *Theories of the Policy Process* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).

Sproule-Jones, Mark. (2002). "Institutional Experiments in the Restoration of the North American Great Lakes Environment." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35(4):835-857.

Tsebelis, George. (1995). "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto players in Presidentialism, pParliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(3):289-325.

Tsebelis, George and Eric C. C. Chang. (2004). "Veto players and the structure of budgets in advanced industrialized countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 43(3):449-476.

Shughart II, William F., Michael Reksulak and Laura Razzolini (eds.), *The Elgar Companion to Public Choice* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2001). See especially the editors' "Introduction: Public Choice at the Millenium," pp. xxi-xxxv.

Notes: February 28<sup>th</sup> is the last date to submit the term paper précis

# Week 9 (Mar 7) Institutions & Policy II Topic: Institutions and Policy II: Historical Institutionalism

Readings:

Boychuk, Gerard. (2016). "Studying Public Policy": Historical Institutionalism and the Comparative Method." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(4):743-761.

Mahoney, James and Kathleen Thelen. (2010). "A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change." In Mahoney and Thelen, (eds.) *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and* Power. (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1-37.

### And two of the following:

Mahon, Rianne. (2005). "Rescaling Social Reproduction: Childcare in Toronto/Canada and Stockholm/Sweden." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(2):341–357.

James, Scott & Lucia Quaglia. (2018). <u>"Brexit, the City and the Contingent Power of Finance</u>." *New Political Economy*.

Sloman, Peter. (2018). <u>Redistribution in an Age of Neoliberalism: Market Economics</u>, <u>'Poverty Knowledge'</u>, and the Growth of Working-Age Benefits in Britain, c. 1979–2010." *Political Studies*.

#### Additional Readings:

Daugbjerg, Carsten and Alan Swinbank. (2016). "Three Decades of Policy Layering and Politically Sustainable Reform in the European Union's Agricultural Policy." *Governance* 29(2):265-280.

Hall, Peter A. and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. (1996). "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms." *Political Studies*, 44(5):936-957.

Howlett, Michael and Jeremy Rayner. (2006). "Understanding the historical turn in the policy sciences: A critique of stochastic, narrative, path dependency and process-sequencing models of policy-making over time," *Policy Sciences* 39(1):1-18.

Ma, Shu-Yun. 2015. "Taking Evolution Seriously, or Metaphorically? A Review of Interactions between Historical Institutionalism and Darwinian Evolutionary Theory." *Political Studies Review* 14(2):223-234.

Pierson, Paul. (2000). "Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics." *American Political Science Review*, 94(2):251-267.

Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. (2002). "Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: W.W. Norton), 693-721.

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):117-47.

Schwartz, Elizabeth. (2016). "Developing Green Cities: Explaining Variation in Canadian Green Building Policies." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49(4):621-641.

Seeleib-Kaiser, Martin. (2015). "The End of the Conservative Welfare State Model." *Social Policy and Administration* 50(2), 219-240.

Streeck, W., & Thelen, K. A. (2005). *Beyond Continuity* (New York: Oxford University Press), see especially chapter 1.

## Week 10 (Mar 14) Ideas, Cognition & Policy Topic: Ideas, Cognition and Policy

Readings:

Carstensen, Martin B. and Vivien A Schmidt. (2016). "Power through, over and in ideas: Conceptualizing Ideational Power in Discursive Institutionalism." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (3):318-337.

Jacobs, A. M. (2009). "How Do Ideas Matter?: Mental Models and Attention in German Pension Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(2):252–279.

#### And two of:

Boothe, Katherine. (2013). "The Limits on Program Expansion: The Failure of Nationwide Pharmacare in Canada Since 1944." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46 (2):419-453.

Oren, Tami & Mark Blyth. (2018). "From Big Bang to Big Crash: The Early Origins of the UK's Finance-led Growth Model and the Persistence of Bad Policy Ideas." New Political Economy.

Cairney, Paul & Mikine Yamazaki. (2018). "<u>A Comparison of Tobacco Policy in the UK</u> and Japan: If the Scientific Evidence is Identical, Why is There a Major Difference in Policy?" *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*. 20(3):253-268.

#### Additional Readings:

Bell, S. (2011). "Do We Really Need a New 'Constructivist Institutionalism' to Explain Institutional Change?" *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(4):883–906.

Bell, S. (2012). "Where Are the Institutions? The Limits of Vivien Schmidt's Constructivism." *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(3):714–719.

Daugbjerg, Carsten, Arlid Aurvag Farsund and Oluf Langhelle. 2017. "<u>The resilience of paradigm mixes:</u> <u>Food security in a post-exceptionalist trade regime</u>." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(11):1698-1715.

Kamkhaji, Jonathan C. and Claudio M. Radaelli. (2017). "Crisis, learning and policy change in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(5):714-734.

Schmidt, V. A. (2008). "Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1):303–326.

Schmidt, V. A. (2012). "A Curious Constructivism: A Response to Professor Bell." *British Journal of Political Science*, 42(3):705–713.

Wood, Matthew. (2015). "Puzzling *and* powering in policy paradigm shifts: politicization, depoliticization and social learning." *Critical Policy Studies* 9(1):2-21.

# Week 11 (Mar 21) Applications I Topic: Applications 1: Policy Change

Readings:

Béland, Daniel and Robert Henry Cox. (2016). "Ideas as coalition magnets: coalition building, policy entrepreneurs and power relations." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(3):428-445.

Mangla, Akshay. (2018). "Elite strategies and incremental policy change: The expansion of primary education in India." *Governance*. 31(2):381–399.

And two of:

Paquet, Mireille. (2017). "<u>Wicked problem definition and gradual institutional change:</u> <u>federalism and immigration in Canada and Australia</u>." *Policy and Society*, 36(3):446-463.

Hopkin, Jonathan and Kate Alexander Shaw. (2016). "Organized Combat or Structural Advantage? The Politics of Inequality and the Winner-Take-All Economy in the United Kingdom." *Politics and Society* 44(3):345-371.

Carstensen, Martin B. and Matthias Matthijs. (2018). "<u>Of paradigms and power: British</u> economic policy making since Thatcher." *Governance*. 31(3):431-447.

Burns, Charlotte Judith Clifton & Lucia Quaglia. (2018). "Explaining policy change in the EU: financial reform after the crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(5):728-746.

Additional Readings:

Béland, Daniel and Martin Powell. (2016). "Continuity and Change in Social Policy." *Social Policy and Administration* 50(2):129-147.

Jacobs, Alan M. and R. Kent Weaver. (2015). "When Policies Undo Themselves: Self-Undermining Feedback as a Source of Policy Change." *Governance* 28(4):441-457.

Rabe, Barry G. (2016). "The Durability of Carbon Cap-and-Trade Policy." *Governance* 29(1):103-119.

Rexe, Deanna. (2015). "Thawing the Tuition Freeze: The Politics of Policy Change in Comparative Perspective." *Canadian Political Science Review* 9(2):79-111.

## Week 12 (Mar 28) Applications II Topic: Applications II: Policy Transfer and Learning

#### Readings:

Rietig, Katharina & Richard Perkins. (2018). "Does learning matter for policy outcomes? The case of integrating climate finance into the EU budget." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(4):487-505.

de la Porte, Caroline & David Natali. (2018). "Agents of institutional change in EU policy: the social investment moment." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(6):828-843.

Jane Jenson. (2009). "Lost in Translation: The Social Investment Perspective and Gender Equality," *Social Politics*, 16(4):446-483.

And one of:

Fuji Johnson, Genevieve. (2015). "Governing sex work: an agonistic policy community and its relational dynamics." *Critical Policy Studies* 9(3):259-277.

Lendvai, Noémi. (2015). "Soft governance, policy fictions and translation zones: European policy spaces and their making." In John Clarke, David Bainton, Noémi Lendvai and Paul Stubbs (eds.) *Making policy move: Towards a politics of translation and assemblage* (Bristol: Policy Press).

#### Additional Readings:

Hall, Peter A. (1993). "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." Comparative Politics, 25(3):275-296.

Béland, Daniel. (2006). "The Politics of Social Learning: Finance, Institutions, and Pension Reform in the United States and Canada," *Governance* 19(4):559-583.

Bennett, Colin J. and Michael Howlett. (1992). "The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change." *Policy Sciences* 25(3):275-94.

Dolowitz, David and David Marsh (2000). "Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy- Making," *Governance* 13(1):5-24.

Dobbin, F., Simmons, B., and Garrett, G. (2007). "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social

Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" Annual Review of Sociology 33:449-472.

Illical, Mary and Kathryn Harrison. (2007). "Protecting Endangered Species in the US and Canada: The Role of Negative Lesson Drawing," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40(2):367-394.

James, Oliver and Martin Lodge. (2003). "The Limitations of 'Policy Transfer' and 'Lesson Drawing' for Public Policy Research," *Political Studies Review* 1(2):179-93.

Notes: Term Paper due March 29<sup>th</sup>.

# Week 13 (Apr 4) Applications III Topic: Applications III: Internationalization and Globalization

**Readings:** 

McBride, Stephen. (2016). "Constitutionalizing Austerity: Taking the Public out of Public Policy." *Global Policy* 7(1):5-14.

Trommer, Silke. (2018). "<u>Watering Down Austerity: Scalar Politics and Disruptive</u> <u>Resistance in Ireland</u>." *New Political Economy*.

Vivien A Schmidt and Mark Thatcher. (2013). "Theorizing Ideational Continuity: The resilience of neo-liberal ideas in Europe" in Schmidt and Thatcher. *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

### OR

Carstensen Martin B. and Vivien A. Schmidt. (2018). "Power and changing modes of governance in the euro crisis." *Governance*. 31(4):609–624.

#### Additional Readings:

Stephen McBride. 2010. "The New Constitutionalism: International and Private Rule in the New Global Order", in Gary Teeple and Stephen McBride eds. *Relations of Global Power: Neoliberal Order and Disorder* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Hanegraaff, Marcel & Joost Berkhout. (2018). "More business as usual? Explaining business bias across issues and institutions in the European Union." Journal of European Public Policy.

Stone, Diane. (2008). "Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities, and Their Networks," *Policy Studies Journal* 36(1):19-38.

Princen, Sebastien. (2007). "Advocacy Coalitions and the Internationalization of Public Health Policies," *Journal of Public Policy* 27(1):13-33.

Teichman, Judith. 2007. "Multilateral Lending Institutions and Transnational Policy Networks in Mexico and Chile." *Global Governance* 13(4):557-573.

Wilkinson, Rorden. (2011). "Measuring the WTO's Performance: An Alternative Account", *Global Policy* 2(1):43-52.

Notes: Take-home exam distributed April 4, due April 8

## **Course Policies**

## **Submission of Assignments**

Papers should be submitted to the appropriate assignment folder on the course's Avenue to Learn page by 11:59 of the due date.

## Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	А
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	В
70-72	B-
69-0	F

### Late Assignments

Late papers will be assessed a penalty of two percentage points per day.

## Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Students should alert the instructor of any absences in advance of class. Students are expected to make efforts to catch up on missed work due to absences or illness.

## **Avenue to Learn**

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

### Turnitin.com

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal plagiarism. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically to Turnitin.com and in hard copy so that it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work to Turnitin.com must still submit a copy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, etc.). To see the Turnitin.com Policy.

# **University Policies**

## **Academic Integrity Statement**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behavior in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behavior can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the <u>Academic</u> <u>Integrity Policy</u>.

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

- 1. Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which credit has been obtained.
- 2. Improper collaboration in group work.
- 3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

## Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail <u>sas@mcmaster.ca</u>. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for <u>Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.</u>

## Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all email communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

## **Course Modification**

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.