

Comparative Public Policy
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Spring 2022

Political Science 976
BOL
Tuesdays: 4:30-7:10pm

Professor: Natasha Borges Sugiyama, Ph.D. Office Hours: TH 1-3pm
Office Hours Location: Bolton Hall 581 *OR VIRTUAL*¹
E-mail*: sugiyamn@uwm.edu (*NOTE SPELLING)

I. OVERVIEW

This class is concerned with the politics of public policy. Specifically, when why and how does government enact policy change? Further, what are the consequences of public policy change? To answer these questions, we will explore theories of the policy process developed by scholars in policy studies and comparative politics. We will also examine central debates on the origins and evolution of the welfare state. While much of the class will examine public policy outcomes, we also concerned with the ways in which policy feedback effects alter other features of politics.

This course starts with some analytic questions, including definitions of public policy and debates over theory-building exercises in political science. We then read works on the evolution of the welfare regimes as well as the role of institutions and ideas on policymaking. Connecting several subfields in political science (American, International Relations, and Comparative Politics), we read works that employ policy studies frameworks, such as a policy diffusion framework. The second part of the course explores several policy domains including: feminist policy, pension reform, public health, and social policy (poverty) reform. Throughout the semester, readings will draw on case studies from around the world, including the Asia, the United States, Europe, and Latin America.

Students will note the readings span across traditional disciplinary subfields by drawing on research developed in American (U.S. state politics, policy studies) and comparative politics. As such, this course should interest students of public administration, public policy, American, and comparative politics.

II. OBJECTIVES

The course is designed to introduce graduate students to some of the key debates in policy studies and social sector reform. By the end of this course, students should be able to:

¹ Due to COVID-19, office hours may be held virtually. Please e-mail ahead to inquire about location of office hours and/or to receive a link for a virtual meeting.

- 1) Explain the main currents in theory building exercises in policy studies, including the analytic strengths and weakness of the subfield.
- 2) Assess the competing approaches scholars have employed to explain policy continuity and change.
- 3) Explain why *place* (country, state, or other unit of analysis), *time*, *policy issue* may be important factors for understanding policy processes and outcomes.
- 4) Develop a research project to explain the politics of a comparative public policy topic, including a full review of the literature from complementary political science subfields.

III. GRADING

Class Participation: 20%

Analytic Essays (3): 30%

Research Proposal/Research Paper Draft: 10%

Research Proposal (Final)/Research Paper and Class Presentation: 40%

IV. IMPORTANT DATES

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|------------------------|---|
| February 1st: | ** Recommended** Submit first analytic essay on theories of the policymaking process. Students may select the material they wish write about for their second and third submissions. Those essays will be due in class on the day we discuss the material. |
| March 3rd | Target Deadline to discuss research proposal topics. |
| April 19 th | Draft Research Proposal Due (by 5pm) |
| May 10 th | Class Presentation |
| May 13 th | Final Research Proposal Due (by 5pm) |

V. ASSIGNMENTS

Class Participation:

Students are expected to actively participate in weekly class discussion. For effective participation, come to class having read all the assigned material and bring the assigned reading to class.

Each week, 2-3 students will guide the rest of the class in discussion. All students will serve as discussion leaders for at least 3 sessions.

Discussion leaders will present brief overviews of the readings (5 mins) and provide the class with questions to generate discussion. Handouts with summaries of core arguments and assessments of each article/book should be short (about 1-2 pages). Questions for

discussion should focus on core arguments and critiques of the works. Members of the group should meet before class to prepare presentations and questions for the session. *Recommended:* discussion leaders should circulate a set of questions prior to the class meeting. Please circulate discussion questions between 24-48 hours before we meet.

Analytic Essays (3): 30%

Analytic essays should address one week's readings and are due on the day we are scheduled to discuss them in class. Essays should be 4-5 pages in length and explore the central debates from the readings (e.g., conceptual and methodological approaches). Avoid excessive summary, instead focus on critiques of the books/articles and concentrate on the strengths and weaknesses of the analysis.

(Note: You may submit analytic essays on the weeks you are also serving as a discussion leader.)

Research Proposal/Research Paper Draft:

The draft research proposal is designed to provide early feedback on the final proposal. Plan to submit a complete first draft, including the entire narrative and references. You will also share your drafts with the rest of the class, circulating them one week prior to your oral presentations in class.

Final Research Proposal/Research Paper and Class Presentation:

Students will design a research project on a comparative public policy issue of their choice. Most students choose to submit a research proposal due to time limitations and data availability.

If submitting a proposal, it should include a discussion of the research question, scholarly significance (including relevant discussion of the scholarly literature), and methods you would employ to carry out the project. Each proposal should be 15 pages in length (not including bibliography).

Please read the following resource as you think about and write your proposals:

Przeworski Adam, and Frank Saloman. 1988/1995. The Art of Writing Proposals. Social Science Research Council. Available at:

http://www.ssrc.org/workspace/images/crm/new_publication_3/%7B7a9cb4f4-815f-de11-bd80-001cc477ec70%7D.pdf

Proposals developed must be original efforts designed specifically for this course. As this course focuses on "comparative public policy" projects should have some type of comparison in their research design (e.g. comparison across policy arenas, comparison across time, or comparison across place (e.g. subnational, cross-national). All students should discuss their research topics with Prof. Sugiyama by Spring Break.

If submitting a full research paper, students should draft a paper that includes all the elements included in a proposal along with core arguments/data testing and conclusion. Some students will want to pursue this option if they are advanced in their graduate program, have an idea for project that is feasible to complete in a semester, and/or would like to develop a paper for presentation at a professional conference. Please discuss this alternative assignment with the instructor.

Books to Acquire the following:

Please purchase/rent/borrow the following books:

Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0691135960 (New \$46.00) or Used \$9.79 on Amazon Marketplace)

Harris, Joseph. 2017. *Achieving Access: Professional Movements and the Politics of Health Universalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. ISBN-13: 978-1501709975 (New \$38.86 or Used 23.93 on Amazon Marketplace).

Htun, Mala A. and Laurel Weldon 2019. *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. Cambridge University Press: New York. ISBN-13: 978-1108405461 (New \$29.99).

Kruks-Wisner, Gabrielle. 2018. *Claiming the State: Active Citizenship and Social Welfare in Rural India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-13: 978-1107199750 New (34.99).

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books. ISBN-13: 978-0385720274 (New \$15.29 or Used \$2.47).

Articles and book Chapters:

Assigned articles and book chapters will be made available via the UWM Canvas course website.

VI. POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

CLASS POLICIES (READ CAREFULLY):

Attendance Policy: This course is designed to be an intensive seminar with active student participation and discussion. Thus, students are expected to attend all sessions. For covid-related exceptions and procedures, see below. If you're unable to make it class, please notify the instructor.

Office Hours: My office hours are Thursdays 1-3pm, or by appointment.

E-mail: The best way to contact me is via e-mail.

Academic Misconduct: Students who violate University rules on scholastic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary action and disciplinary sanctions by the University. Since such

dishonesty harms the individual, all students, and the integrity of the University, policies on scholastic dishonesty will be strictly enforced. If you are unfamiliar with university rules related to cheating and plagiarism, please consult:

<http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/OSL/DOS/conduct.html>

Special note on Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a form of academic misconduct. Don't do it! Be sure you know what constitutes plagiarism. For more information on plagiarism, see:

<http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml>,

<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/589/01/> and

<http://guides.library.uwm.edu/content.php?pid=217260&sid=1806375>. For information on UWM's policies on plagiarism, see:

http://www4.uwm.edu/acad_aff/policy/academicmisconduct.cfm

Disability Accommodations: At the beginning of the semester, students with disabilities who need special accommodations should notify the instructor by presenting a letter prepared by the Student Accessibility Center (SAC). To ensure that the most appropriate accommodations are provided, students should contact the SAC Office. For more information, see: <http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/DSAD/SAC/SACltr.pdf>

Religious Beliefs Accommodation: On occasion, students may find it necessary to miss class in order to observe a religious holiday. In order to ensure reasonable accommodation, students should inform the instructor of the conflict prior to the holiday.

http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/SecU/acad%2Badmin_policies/S1.5.htm

Military Duty: Students called up for active military duty should contact the instructor for accommodation. For more information on the university's policies, see:

<http://www3.uwm.edu/des/web/registration/militarycallup.cfm>

Discriminatory Conduct: For information on definitions of discrimination, harassment, abuse of power, and the reporting requirements of discriminatory conduct, see:

http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/SecU/acad%2Badmin_policies/S47.pdf

Dropping the Course and Incompletes: Be sure you know the university deadlines for dropping courses (see the UWM Calendar for details). Incompletes are only given under extenuating circumstances (e.g. serious illness or injury, family emergency, etc.).

Students must provide proper documentation and communicate with the instructor as soon as possible.

UWM Covid Policies:

Panther Community Health and Safety Standards: UWM has implemented reasonable health and safety protocols, taking into account recommendations by local, state and national public health authorities, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a member of our campus community, you are expected to abide by the Panther [Interim COVID-Related Health & Safety Policy](#), which was developed in accordance with public

health guidelines. These standards apply to anyone who is physically present on campus, UWM grounds, or participating in a UWM-sponsored activity:

- All individuals visiting UWM facilities must wear face coverings while indoors;
- Unvaccinated students coming to campus are required to test weekly for COVID-19; and,
- You should check daily for COVID-19 symptoms and not come to campus if you are feeling sick.

Additional details about student and employee expectations can be found on the [UWM COVID-19 webpage](#).

VI. READINGS SCHEDULE

PART I: Foundations

Week 1: Course Introduction - What is Public Policy?

January 25th

- Theodoulou, Stella Z. 1995. The Contemporary Language of Public Policy: A Starting Point In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, 1-9. Saddle River, NJ: Prentiss Hall.
- Sabatier, Paul A. 1995. Political Science and Public Policy In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, 10-15. Saddle River, NJ: Prentiss Hall.
- Lowi, Theodore J. 1995. Distribution, Regulation, Redistribution: The Functions of Government, In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, 15-25. Saddle River, NJ: Prentiss Hall.

Week 2: Theories of the Policymaking Process

February 1st

- Theodoulou, Stella Z. 1995. How Public Policy is Made, In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn. Pp. 86-96.
- Lindblom, Charles E. 1950. The Science of Muddling Through Public Administration Review 19 (Spring): 79-88. Reprinted in *Public Policy Theories, Models, and Concepts: An Anthology*, ed. Daniel C. McCool. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. Pp. 142-157.
- Sabatier, Paul A., and Christopher M. Weible. *Theories of the Policy Process*. – Selected Chapters.
- Pierson, Paul. 1993. When effect becomes cause: Policy feedback and political change. *World Politics*, Vol. 45(4): 595-628.

Recommended:

Kingdon, John W. 1995. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. New York: Harper Collins.
Sabatier, Paul A. and Hank Jenkins-Smith. *The Advocacy Coalition Approach*.

Week 3: Conceptualizing the Welfare State

February 8th

- Esping-Anderson, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1. 9-34.
- Goodman, Roger, and Ito Peng. 1996. The East Asian Welfare States: Peripatetic Learning, Adaptive Change and Nation Building, In Gøsta Esping-Anderson, Ed. *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*. New York: Sage.
- Huber, Evelyn and John D. Stephens. 2001. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1 & 2.
- Pierson, Paul. 2000. Three Worlds of Welfare State Research. *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7): 791-821.
- Esping-Anderson, Gøsta. 2002. A New Gender Contract, In *Why We Need a New Welfare State*, ed. Gøsta Esping-Anderson, Duncan Gallie, Anton Hemerijck, John Myels. Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp. 68-95.

Recommended:

- Huber, Evelyn and John D. Stephens. 2001. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Part II: Approaches

Week 4: Macro-Historical

February 15th

- Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press.
- Mahoney, James. 2003. Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 109(1): 50-106.

Recommended:

- Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Week 5: Institutions**February 22nd**

- Haggard, Stephan, and Matthew D. McCubbins. 2001. Political Institutions and the Determinants of Public Policy In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, 1-20. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Stephan Haggard. 2001. Institutions and Public Policy in Presidential Systems In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, 64-104. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Sabatier, Paul A. Theories of the Policymaking Process, 2nd Edition. Westview. Chapter 8: pp. 267-306.
- Baumgarner, Frank R., Bryan Jones, and John Wilkerson. 2016. Comparative Studies of Policy Dynamics. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.44(8).
- Guari, Varun, and Evan Lieberman. 2006. Boundary institutions and HIV/AIDS policy in Brazil and South Africa. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 41(3): 47-73.

Recommended:

- Gauri, Varun, and Daniel M. Brinks. 2008. *Courting Social Justice: Judicial Enforcement of Social and Economic Rights in the Developing World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thelen, Kathleen. 1999. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:369-404.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 2005. *Understanding Institutional Diversity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 6: Norms**March 1st**

- Stone, Deborah. 2005. How Market Ideology Guarantees Racial Inequality In *Healthy, Wealthy, and Fair: Health Care and the Good Society*, ed. James A. Morone and Lawrence R. Jacobs, 66-89. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kingdon, John W. 1999. *America the Unusual*, New York: Worth. pp. 23-57.
- Haas, Peter M. 1992. Introduction: Epistemic Communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization* 46(1):1-35.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization*, Vol. 52(4): 887-917.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Selected Chapters.

Recommended:

- Mossberger, Karen. 2000. *The Politics of Ideas and the Spread of Enterprise Zones*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Stone, Deborah. 2001. *The Policy Paradox*, 2nd Ed. New York: WW Norton.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 7: Policy Diffusion

March 8th

- Sabatier, Paul A. Theories of the Policymaking Process, 2nd Edition. Westview. Read: Part 4 (pp. 223-292). *Skim*.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1993. International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy. *International Organization* 47(4):565-597.
- Sugiyama, Natasha Borges. 2008. Theories of Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies* 41(2).
- Shipan, Charles R., and Craig Volden. 2008. The Mechanisms of Diffusion. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 840-857.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2007. *Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Selected chapters.

Recommended:

- Karch, Andrew. 2007. *Laboratories of Democracy: Policy Diffusion Among the American States*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.
- Simmons, Beth A., Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett. 2008. *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sugiyama, Natasha Borges. 2012. *Diffusion of Good Government: Social Sector Reforms in Brazil*. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press.

Part III: Public Policies & Outcomes

Week 8: Policy Reform – Social Sector

March 15th

**** Note: This session may be held synchronously via zoom due to a scheduling conflict. The Instructor will notify students ahead of time. ****

- Kaufman, Robert R. and Joan M. Nelson. Introduction: The Political Challenges of Social Sector Reform In *Crucial Needs Weak Incentives*, ed. Robert R Kaufman and Joan M. Nelson, 1-22. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Huber, Evelyne and John D. Stephens. 2010. Successful Social Policy Regimes? Political Economy, Politics, and Social Policy in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Costa Rica, In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully Eds. *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 155-209.
- Hunter, Wendy, and Natasha Borges Sugiyama. 2009. Democracy and Social Policy in Brazil: Advancing Basic Needs, Preserving Privileged Interests. *Latin American Politics and Society* 51(2).
- Kitschelt, Herbert. Partisan Competition and Welfare State Retrenchment: When do Politicians Choose Unpopular Policies?, In Paul Pierson, Ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Recommended:

- Huber, Evelyn and John Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Week 9: Spring Break
No new readings

March 21st

Week 10: Poverty Policy

March 28th

Fording, Richard C., Joe Soss, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. Race and the Local Politics of Punishment in the New World of Welfare. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 116(5); 1610-57.

Pribble, Jennifer, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens. 2009. Politics, Policies, and Poverty in Latin America. *Comparative Politics* 41(4).

Magaloni, Beatriz, Chapter 2: Poverty Relief in Mexico: A Geographic Approach. Pp. 45-66.

Holland, Alisha S. 2018. Diminished Expectations: Redistributive Preferences in Truncated Welfare States. *World Politics*, 70(4): 555-94.

Week 11: Pensions/Social Security

April 4th

Madrid, Raúl. 2002. The politics and economics of pension privatization in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 37(2): 159-182

Pal, Leslie A., and R. Kent Weaver. 2003. The Politics of Pain in *The Government Taketh Away: The Politics of Pain in the United States and Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and R. Kent Weaver.

Weaver, R. Kent. 2003. Cutting Old Age Pensions in *The Government Taketh Away: The Politics of Pain in the United States and Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and R. Kent Weaver.

Bonoli, Giuliano. 2003. Two Worlds of Pension Reform in Western Europe. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 35(4): 399-416.

Recommended:

Madrid, Raúl. 2003. *Retiring the State: The Politics of Pension Privatization in Latin America and Beyond*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Weyland, Kurt. 2007. *Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Selected chapters.

Week 12: Gendered Outcomes

April 11th

Htun, Mala A. and Laurel Weldon 2019. *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Croll, Elizabeth. 2001. "Amaryta Sen's 100 Million Missing Women. *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol 29(3).

Mushaben, Joyce Marie. 2001. Challenging the Maternalist Presumption: The Gender Politics of Welfare Reform in Germany and the United States in *Women and*

Welfare: Theory and Practice in the United States and Europe, ed. Nancy J. Hirschmann and Ulrike Liebert. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Recommended:

Orloff, Ann S. (1996). Gender in the Welfare State. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 22:51-78.

Skocpol, Theda. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Week 13: Health

April 18th

Harris, Joseph. 2017. *Achieving Access: Professional Movements and the Politics of Health Universalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

McGuire, James W. 2010. *Wealth, Health and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 and 2.

Lieberman, Evan S. Ethnic Politics, Risk, and Policy-Making: A Cross-National Statistical Analysis of Government Responses to HIV/AIDS, *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(12): 1407-1432.

**** DRAFT Research Proposals Due: Friday, April 19th by 5pm ****

Week 14: Citizenship Development

April 25th

Kruks-Wisner, Gabrielle. 2018. *Claiming the State: Active Citizenship and Social Welfare in Rural India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bruch, Sarah K., Myra Marx Ferree, and Joe Soss. 2010. From Policy to Polity: Democracy, Paternalism, and the Incorporation of Disadvantaged Citizens. *American Sociological Review* Vol. 75(2): 205-226.

Hunter, Wendy, and Natasha Borges Sugiyama. 2014. Transforming Subjects into Citizens: Insights from Brazil's Bolsa Família. *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 12(4): 829-845.

Recommended:

Mettler, Suzanne. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 15: Capabilities

May 2nd

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Nussbaum, Martha. 2000. *Women and Human Development: A Capabilities Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

Dréze, Jean, and Amartya Sen. 2013. 'The Centrality of Education,' In *An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp 107-142.

**** Reminder – send classmates your proposal drafts by May 3rd ****

Week 16: Student Research Workshop

May 9th

In-Class Student Research Presentations

**** Final Research Projects Due: May 13th ****