

## **POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES (IRCO 400)**

**Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies  
University of California, San Diego**

**Fall 2012**

*This course is open only to IR/PS students*

Monday and Wednesday, 9:30 to 10:50 a.m. OR 11:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. in RBC Room 3201.

Professor Matthew Shugart; office SSB 390; office hours Monday 12:45–2:00 and Wednesday 2:00–3:30

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On-line discussion forum: PMP Conference on IR/PS First Class server (e-mail: [pmp@irpsmail.ucsd.edu](mailto:pmp@irpsmail.ucsd.edu))

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### **OVERVIEW**

The countries of the Pacific region are increasingly important to American and international business and to international relations more generally. In fact, the same can be said about all regions of the world: established industrial powers have undertaken reforms in an effort to enhance their competitiveness, and rising industrial powers are becoming major trading partners and, in some cases, competitors, for the more established powers. Whatever the student's home country and wherever she or he expects to work, it is more important than ever to acquire general skills for analyzing how governments represent the aspirations of their citizens (or fail to do so) and how they make policies that impact their own people and those of their trading partners and competitors.

There is great diversity in the cultures, languages, and government institutions among the countries of the Pacific, as well as other world regions. This course differs from the format of the conventional "Comparative Governments" course, which often has a country-by-country approach. Instead, we—yes, we, because learning at this level is a *collective* enterprise in which teachers are students and students are teachers—will seek to develop a more general approach that can be used to study policymaking in a wide variety of national settings. This course teaches tools for analyzing the logic of how policy decisions are made, why decision makers choose the policies they choose, and to whom they have to answer for the choices they make.

The course is divided into four analytical modules. In the first, we become acquainted with general principles of political organization and how the ideas of "collective action" and "principal-agent" theory, derived from economics and management studies, elucidate the ways in which complex organizations like governments work. In the second, we look into the chain of delegated authority from voters to politicians to bureaucrats. We then apply these concepts to several democratic systems in advanced industrial societies, including the United States (which is the biggest Pacific democracy), Japan, Britain, and New Zealand. These first two analytic modules take us up to the midterm examination. Then, in the third module, we look at the impact of adding to our basic delegation chain other complexities, principally federalism. We look at policy-making in two of the largest federal democracies in the developing world, India and Mexico. Finally, in the fourth module, we turn our attention to authoritarian systems, especially China.

### **REQUIREMENTS**

There is a set of required readings. Some will be assembled in a reader that can be purchased from University Readers ([www.universityreaders.com](http://www.universityreaders.com)) at the beginning of the quarter. Others will be provided electronically through the course conference (on the IR/PS First Class server). Some of the electronic resources will be provided only rather close to the corresponding course session, in order to maximize timeliness of the material.

Please note that *the reader has materials not included in readers from previous years*, although there is overlap. If you choose to buy or borrow a used reader from a student who took the course in a previous year, it is your responsibility to ensure that you are actually reading the correct materials. There is a homework assignment based on the reading due before your second class, so be sure you can get the reading somehow! (The item for that assignment is one of those that has been used for several past years, although the topic for the assignment will be different.)

**All students are expected to come to each session having read and studied that day's assigned reading.** Students are subject to being called "cold" at any time, and must be able to demonstrate orally an understanding of the issues raised in the reading.

## ASSESSMENT AND COURSE RULES

*Please read the following information early and often!* This is a very large course, so it is necessary to have some rules to make it run smoothly (Besides, this is a course partly on rules, so you should expect it to have some of its own!). These rules will not necessarily be covered in class, but are binding on all of you nonetheless. What follows is not a contract (or a constitution); it is subject to unilateral amendment by the Rulegiver, who will endeavor to provide adequate advance notice of changes in class or online.

The following are the assignments, with point values towards the final grade:

Homework assignment	(due Oct. 8—the second meeting of the class)	7
Short paper, due Oct. 31		18
Two in-class examinations	(Nov. 14 and a date to be announced)	75

The weight of the two exams will be approximately equal, or somewhat greater on the final; details will be provided later. The date of the final exam will be announced; note that IR/PS uses a schedule different from that of the main campus, and thus **the date and time of the final exam may not correspond to what is in the campus schedule**. Do not make any plans to leave San Diego at what you might think is the end of the quarter until the exam date has been announced. No make-up exams—for either the midterm or the final—will be offered under any circumstances other than actual emergencies, such as an accident, or serious illness of yourself or an immediate family member. If you are taking a final exam in a non-IR/PS course that conflicts with the PMP exam, you are expected to take the PMP exam at the announced time and arrange another time to take the other exam.

No student will pass the course without having turned in each assignment on time—*paper copy*, submitted prior to the indicated deadline to the IR/PS paper drop ("R2D2").

The short-paper questions will be posted at the PMP conference about a week prior to the due date for the assignment. Because the homework assignment is due on the second day of class, obviously the question for it will be posted with less advance notice. The purpose of both writing assignments is to help you think about and apply concepts from the readings, and to allow you to monitor your own progress leading up to the exams. **Each homework assignment or short paper is due on the date noted at 9:15 a.m. in the depository provided for this purpose at IR/PS.** Please note that the same deadline applies regardless of which section you are enrolled in. The assignments must be handed in as "hard" paper copies.

**Maintaining Academic Integrity.** Students agree that by taking this course all required papers will be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms of use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com site.

The midterm and final examinations will be a series of questions on which you will be asked to write short answers (i.e., a paragraph or two). The midterm will be given during a regular class period, although not necessarily in the regular room (watch for announcements about the exam as the date nears). The final will be given during finals week on a date to be announced. The final will allow you to apply the tools you have learned throughout the course to two or more case studies. For both exams, there will be supplemental readings provided in advance. The midterm is a closed-notes, closed-books, closed-computers exam; for the final you may bring reference materials.

*No late assignments will be accepted and no make-up examinations will be offered without a University-approved and documented excuse.* Acceptable excuses include illness, which must be documented by the UCSD health service or your physician, or a death or serious illness in the immediate family. *It is very important that all students understand that no other excuses will be accepted aside from those recognized by standing University policy.* Please note that such excuses as personal (non-emergency) or employment-related travel are not valid reasons for being late with an assignment or missing an exam. Appropriate accommodations will be made for students with disabilities that are recognized by the relevant University authorities; however, it is the student's responsibility to notify faculty at least two weeks before a due date or exam date to ensure accommodation. Failure to meet this deadline will result in accommodation not being available. The same provisions also apply to any request related to religious observance that might require rescheduling an exam.

**Grading:** Because of the large size of this course and in an effort to provide as much feedback in the form of comments on exams as practical, there may be considerable delays in returning corrected work to students. Please understand! Every effort will be made to return your first homework assignment before the due date of the short paper, and the latter before the midterm review, but no specific turnaround date can be promised. The midterm examination will be returned before the final exam, but not necessarily before the last day of class.

Grading is split between the professor and two teaching assistants. When items are returned during the quarter, it will be announced who the grader was for the assignment or for specific questions. In the case of items graded by the professor, the grade is final and not subject to appeal (although grounds for the grade will be explained upon request, at office hours--not via e-mail). In the case of grades given by a TA, you may appeal, under the following conditions. First, appeals must be submitted *to the TA* who graded the item, in writing, with the original or a complete copy of the midterm exam or homework assignment in question. Second, the appeal must be submitted to the TA no later than one week after the date on which the item was returned. Third, the appeal must explain in writing why what you wrote (not what you *meant* to write!) on the homework or exam is, in fact, a correct answer to the question. Fourth, any appeal that makes reference to another student's response or grade shall be inadmissible. Finally, often there are a few students who, unfortunately, decide to argue with, insult, or question the authority of a TA. Naturally, such students are a tiny minority of any class, but that minority can really spoil the atmosphere for everyone else. Accordingly (we will call this the *common courtesy condition*), the TA is delegated the discretion to recommend to the professor that the student be failed on the item in question if the student is abusive in any way towards the TA. Any student who has serious concerns about the courtesy or competence of a TA (i.e., more than simply disagreeing with a grade), is welcome to discuss the matter confidentially with the professor.

*Important note: An appeal must not be a point-by-point response to the grader's comments. Rather, it is a short summary statement of why the grade is incorrect.*

An appeal that satisfies the above conditions will be reviewed first by the TA, and then by the professor, who makes the final decision. You will be notified of the decision if and only if a grade is changed. In the case of a multi-part question, all parts of the question will be reviewed, and not just the part being appealed. The final decision may be either a higher or lower grade on any parts reviewed. There is no deadline by which a decision will be rendered, except that it will be before final grades must be turned into the Registrar. No appeals will be permitted on the final examination or course grade, except to correct a clerical error.

At any time, you are free to speak to a TA or the professor during office hours (or other times, as arranged) about your answer to a midterm or homework question. We will be happy to discuss deficiencies in any answer and how you could have improved it, and how you can improve on future assignments. However, such discussions are outside of the appeal process. That is, nothing in such discussions shall be admissible in your appeal, if you choose to make one.

**Class participation:** Students are *required* to participate in class discussions. Students' responses to "cold calls" will be tracked with the help of a TA. Some day's class sessions will follow the outline of topics from the reading very closely. Other sessions will not track the readings, but instead will branch off from them and provide a different "angle" on the topic. Therefore, you should be prepared to demonstrate, via your cold call responses, both that you have made a good-faith effort to understand the argument made by the author(s) of all that day's assigned readings, and that you have thought about broader implications of the topic. When you speak in class, you must make your best effort to project your voice such that it can be heard throughout the classroom. If you can't be heard by all, you are not contributing to the collective learning process, and it is also not possible to give you credit for your cold call response. You may arrange to meet with the TA after a session in which you were cold called to find out the score and why that score was given; however, there is no appeal permitted.

You are expected not only to be in class, but to be **attentive**. If students are regularly asking, "will you repeat the question?" upon being cold called, valuable class time is wasted. Please understand that it will be at the professor's discretion whether to repeat a cold call question or simply move on to another student. Being attentive includes **not using class time to send and receive e-mail or read web pages or catch up on your work in other courses!** Students who abuse the convenience of our campus-wide wireless service, or who are otherwise inattentive, can expect to find their participation grades affected.

Only cold calls, rather than volunteered comments, will be tracked in order to maintain equity among different personality types, cultural backgrounds, and degrees of comfort with the English language. If volunteered oral comments were tracked, too, students who are especially eager to speak would be unfairly advantaged over their quieter classmates. However, students are encouraged to volunteer pertinent remarks and ask clarifying or probing questions during class. Naturally, basic standards of courtesy, i.e. *raising one's hand and waiting to be acknowledged*, are expected of students.

On cold calls, *you will be called by the name that is on the official University roster*. If you prefer to be called by a middle name or nickname, please notify your TA, who will amend our records accordingly.

**Absences:** You are expected to be in class every day. It is a short quarter, and absences can be quite costly to your performance. Be aware that the paper and examinations in this course do not test only your "book learning." That is, while understanding the essential points in all readings is absolutely critical to your success in this course, also critical is your attendance at class sessions. There may also be visual presentations at some sessions; these will not necessarily be available outside class, although some key materials shown in class will be posted for your later review.

As noted above, you are subject to a possible cold call on any day. If you have been cold called on a day that you were absent, you may submit an explanation to your TA (please, *not* the professor!). Except in the case of medical or other serious reasons beyond the student's control, excusing of the missed cold call is not automatic and will be granted, or not, at the professor's sole discretion.

**Sections:** This course meets in two sections. **You are responsible for ensuring that the section you are enrolled in through the University's online records system matches the one that you are attending.** Your cold calls will be made based on the session you are enrolled in formally, regardless of which one you attend!

If for some very compelling reason you must attend a section on some day that is not your regular section, notify your TA more than 24 hours in advance in order not to risk being cold called and considered absent that day in your regular section. If any students abuse this privilege ("section hopping" frequently), it is subject to being cut off for all.

## **WAIVING THIS COURSE**

*Waivers are rarely granted!* Petitions proposing to waive this course must be presented to the professor no later than 2:00 p.m. on the second day of class. They must include syllabi of courses that you believe show you have covered the bulk of the material of this course previously; you also should submit relevant papers from such courses. Even if you think you can waive, *you must turn in the first homework assignment*, unless your waiver has been granted before the assignment due date; if you really are qualified for a waiver, this assignment will be easy and will not even require you to (re-)read the readings for that class. Your performance on the assignment will be one factor in judging your petition.

# SCHEDULE OF TOPICS, READINGS, AND WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

If deviation from the schedule becomes necessary, changes will be announced at the PMP Conference.

\* Indicates an item included in the reader, which is available from [University Readers](#).

Other items are available from the online conference. The syllabus contains hyper-links, so you will need to refer to the version of the syllabus that is supplied electronically (at the conference) to access these.

## I. Basic Tools: Collective Action, Representation, and Organization

Note that there is no class meeting on Monday, October 1.

October 3

### 1. Introduction

Reading: Review this syllabus before class, but I promise no cold calling about its contents! (There may be some practice cold calling about general topics, though these will not be counted for or against your participation grade.)

October 8

### 2. Collective Action: How People Get Together to Pursue 'Public' Goals (And Why They Don't)

Reading:

\*Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action, Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, pp 5-16, 33-36, 46-48, 132-135, 165-167.

Key questions: What is a public good, and why do they tend to be undersupplied? How do groups organize? What is the free-rider problem, and how can it be overcome? Why do some groups remain "latent"?

Key concepts: Lobby groups, interest groups, common interests, collective goods, latent group, privileged group, selective incentives.

**Homework due by 9:15 a.m.** (The question will be posted at the PMP online conference.)

October 10

### 3. Choosing Representatives: Overview of Major Alternative Electoral Systems

Reading:

\* Steven Taylor, Matthew S. Shugart, Arend, Lijphart, "Elections and Electoral Systems"; Focus your reading on pp. 5-12 ("Choosing and Electoral System"), 25-32, 38-61 (including studying the tables). You may skim (not skip!) the rest.

Key questions: Of the electoral methods introduced in readings, does any one seem like it might be "best"? Best *at what*? Are there any that seem especially *bad*? Is voting a form of collective action? If so, why does anyone vote (i.e. think about whether Olson's argument applies)?

Key concepts: Plurality (First-past-the-post), proportional representation (PR), single transferable vote (STV), district magnitude, Mixed-Member Proportional (MMP), Mixed-Member Majoritarian (MMM).

October 15

#### **4. Delegation and the Question of Who Has Ultimate Authority**

Reading:

\*Roderick Kiewiet and Mathew McCubbins, *The Logic of Delegation*, Chapter 2.

Key questions: What problems does organizational structure solve? What problems does it create? How are the problems created by delegation mitigated within an organizational structure?

Key concepts: Principals, agents, agency loss

## **II. Democracy's Delegation Chain: Parties, Legislatures, Executives, and Bureaucracies**

October 17

#### **5. Democratic Constitutional Systems: How the Structure of Agents and How They are (S)electd Affects How the Voters are Represented**

Reading:

\* Steven Taylor, Matthew S. Shugart, Arend, Lijphart, "Executives"

Note: you may skip the text box on Canada and New Zealand governments as we will come back to these topics; however, *be sure to read the text box on Germany (pp. 56-58)*. Study the tables and figures, especially Tables 8.2 & 8.9 and Figures 8.1 - 8.3. The chapter refers to "Figure 1.1"; this is the basic "chain of delegation" chart that you will have seen in class by this date.

Key concepts: Parliamentarism, Presidentialism, Semi-Presidentialism, Coalition, Minority Government, Grand Coalition, Divided Government, Cohabitation

Key questions: Thinking in terms of the delegation of authority, how do presidential and parliamentary systems structure authority differently? What does it mean to differentiate systems on the *origin* and *survival* of executive authority? How do political parties organize differently under different regime types?

October 22

#### **6. Political Parties, Policy Positions, and the Democratic Delegation Process**

Reading: \*Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard I. Hofferbert, and Ian Budge, *Parties, Policies, and Democracy*, Westview Press, 1994, Chapters 1 & 2.

Exercise: Go to *Political Compass* (<http://www.politicalcompass.org/>) and take the "test." (You do not need to reveal your results; this is a *purely private exercise*. Think about how your result relates to the readings.)

Key questions: Think about what it means to speak of a "position" regarding policy. Why do parties present detailed position papers? How do parties behave differently in different institutional contexts?

Key concepts: Left vs. Right, Policy program, Mandate, Social cleavages, Liberal vs. Conservative, Social dimension, Party brand (or "label" or reputation).

October 24

### **7. Public Administration: Delegation from Politicians to Bureaucrats, and the Design of Policy**

Reading: \*Terry M. Moe and Michael Caldwell, "The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government: A Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems."

Key questions: How, according to the authors, do bureaucratic structures differ in Britain and the United States? What is the logic of delegation that explains the different structures? Why are bureaucrats given more "autonomy" in Britain and why does the American bureaucracy operate under such strict procedures?

October 29

### **8a. Inter-electoral politics: Overview of Policy-Making between Elections**

#### **8b. Voter decision in US presidential elections**

Readings:

1. Taylor-Shugart-Lijphart-Grofman chapter on "Executives", Box 8.2 on Canada (pp. 59-60).
2. Some news items on recent policy-making in various countries will be posted.
3. Andrew Gelman and Gary King, "Why are American Election Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes Are so Predictable?," *British Journal of Political Science* 23, 4: 409–51, 1993.
4. It might be helpful (but is not required) to have skimmed the New Zealand readings; also review the appendix of the Taylor-Shugart-Lijphart-Grofman chapter on "Elections", where "MMP" is discussed.

Key items to think about: In what ways do you see the impact of institutional and political incentives affecting the policy disputes that you have read about? How, according to Gelman and King, do voters process campaign information when deciding how to vote for US President?

October 31

### **9. Policymaking in a Parliamentary System: New Zealand's Coalition Government and Climate-Change Policy**

Readings (each of which will be posted at the online conference):

1. Daniel Nielson, "The Politics of Economic Reform in New Zealand" (IR/PS case study)
2. Royce Carroll, "New Zealand Politics: The Multiparty Era"
3. News articles about recent politics and policy-making, including 2008 elections.

**Short paper due by 9:15 a.m.** (topic will be posted to the online conference)

November 5

### **10. Policymaking in a Parliamentary System: Majority-Party Coordination and Reform in Japan**

Reading (to be posted at the online conference):

1. \* Masahiko Tatebayashi and Margaret McKean, "Vote Division and Policy Differentiation of LDP Members under SNTV/MMD in Japan"
2. Some additional readings regarding the 2005 and 2009 elections and recent politics will be provided.

Key questions: Why did the Liberal Democratic Party need its candidates to differentiate themselves under SNTV? What are the different strategies used by various LDP members to adapt to the incentives of SNTV, and why? What is the significance of the way the LDP organized itself? How have the incentives changed under the new electoral system?

November 6: US Election Day.

November 7

### **11. Policymaking in a Presidential System: Delegating for Trade Policy in the United States**

Reading:

1. \* I. M. Destler, *American Trade Politics*, ch. 6 (Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1992);
2. Additional readings on a specific case of trade policy-making to be posted

Key questions: Why did the U.S. Congress delegate trade policy authority to the executive branch? What political problems did members of Congress solve for themselves by delegating? What controls did Congress, as principal, place on its agent in trade policy-making? Does this delegation make a difference in the policy that results?

November 12

### **12. First-half review and discussion**

Reading: None

Brief presentation, with opportunity for students to ask questions about material covered thus far. There may also be a second optional review session, led by one or both teaching assistants.

November 14

### **13. IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAMINATION**

*Room may be different from the regular classroom; details will be announced as the date nears.*

*It is **very** important that students pace themselves in order to finish a long exam in 80 minutes.*

Professor Shugart will attend the exam, but will not hold any office hours on this day.

## **III. Institutional Complexity: Federalism in Developed and Developing Countries**

November 19

### **14. Federalism: Multiple Levels of Delegation and Policy-Making**

Reading: \*Alfred Stepan, "Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, (Multi)Nationalism, and Democracy: Beyond Rikerian Federalism," in Stepan, ed., *Arguing Comparative Politics* (Oxford, 2001).

Key questions: What is the significance of federalism? What does Stepan mean by "demos-constraining" federalism? What institutions and party characteristics influence to the degree to which a federation is demos-constraining?

November 21

*Yes, the day before Thanksgiving is a class day, and you are expected to be in attendance. The material covered will definitely be on the final examination.*

### **15. Subnational Influences and Multiparty Politics: The Case of India**

Reading: to be posted

November 26

### **16. Federalism, the National Budget, and the Supreme Court: The Case of Mexico**

Readings and key questions will be posted at a later date

## IV. Delegation and Accountability in Authoritarian Political Systems

November 28

### 17. Institutions and Delegation in Authoritarian Systems: The Case of China

Reading: \*Susan Shirk, "Reciprocal Accountability and Delegation by Consensus."

Key questions: What makes a political system "authoritarian"? How does the logic of delegation work in authoritarian systems, and particularly in the Leninist system of China? What is reciprocal accountability, and how is it different from hierarchical accountability? Who are the principals in China, and who are the agents?

December 3

### 18. Authoritarian Systems, Continued; and Brief Course Wrap-UP

Reading:

1. Susan Shirk, "The 16<sup>th</sup> CCP Congress and Leadership Transition in China" (to be posted)
2. Readings related to recent Chinese politics and the upcoming 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress will be posted

December 5

### 19. Course Wrap-up and Review

#### Finals week: December 10-14

At the time of the preparation of the syllabus, the date and time of the final exam were unknown. As noted above, *the time of our final may not correspond to what you see in the general campus schedule.*

We will also attempt to find a suitable time for a detailed course wrap-up and pre-exam discussion some time between the last class meeting day and the date of the final examination.