POLICY ANALYSIS AND PUBLIC WELFARE
Fall 2022 T-Th 3:30-4:50pm RBC AUD

COURSE SYLLABUS

Professor: Zoltan Hajnal
Office Hours: Wednesday 11-12:30 RBC 1413
Email: zhajnal@ucsd.edu

TAs: May Xuyuan Han xuh042@ucsd.edu Office hours on Mondays 3:30-5pm Room 3130
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Peter Wilborn pwilborn@ucsd.edu Office hours Thursdays 5-6:30pm Room 3130

COURSE DESCRIPTION:
This course provides building blocks necessary to understand the policy process, policy analysis, and other higher-level courses at GPS. It explores the political and economic foundations of public policymaking by examining the processes through which the preferences of individuals are converted into public policy as well as the public's responses to policy. The first part of the course provides basic knowledge of rationality, individual decision making, cooperation, and problems with the market. The second part of the course provides a brief overview of each stage of the policy-making process. These lessons are then applied to specific policy areas in the third section of the class. The last part of the course consists of a series of public debates on current policy questions. By the end of the course you should have a reasonable understanding of the values and goals that underlie public policy decisions, the factors that constrain those decisions, and the analytical steps required to ultimately make those decisions.

The core aim of the course is to teach you to think analytically about the policy process. A second purpose of the course is to strengthen your writing and presentation skills. To that end, there will be a lot of writing and revising in this course and ample opportunity to present your arguments.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS:

Reading - Students are required to do all of the assigned reading BEFORE each class.

Attendance – Students are expected to attend class. While occasional absences do not require pre-clearance, excuse, or doctor's note, students who more than occasionally miss class will find their participation grade reduced. We do appreciate hearing that you will not attend class earlier rather than later. If you are having a personal situation that will lead you to miss more than one class in a row, you are encouraged to be in touch with the TAs or the professor about your situation.

Lecture Slides –I will post lecture slides on Canvas before each class starts.

BREAKDOWN OF COURSE GRADE

    A- **In Class Participation – 15%**
    B- **Writing Assignments -30%**
          -2 Policy Memos (15% each)
    C- **Midterm – 30%**
    D- **Presentation – 25%**

Participation -15 percent of your grade- Every student is expected to have sufficient familiarity with the readings and to be an active and informed participant. There will be two ways to engage in participation. First, you will receive participation points for *volunteering* your views and speaking *regularly* in class. The quality and quantity of that participation will be the focus of the grade. Second, students who have trouble volunteering to speak up can volunteer to be put on a list to get random cold call questions. Those questions will ask about basic elements from the readings. Early in the quarter, I will ask for a list of students who would like to be part of cold-calling.

Two Policy Memos – 30 percent of your grade total (15% for each memo) - You will write TWO policy memos addressing topics highlighted in the syllabus. Each memo should not exceed four pages double spaced, 12-point font. You will be graded on your logic and analysis as well as how clearly you present your case. Each policy memo should DIRECTLY address the prompt in the syllabus. You should ALWAYS take into account political feasibility when recommending/defending a policy. Outside reading and research is welcome but not required.

Each policy memo needs to be submitted TWICE – an ORIGINAL version and a REVISED version. First, each original policy memo needs to be submitted in paper in class and to Turnitin on the Canvas course website at the beginning of class on the day of the assignment. That original submission will be graded and will count for half of the policy memo grade.

Students will then be given comments on that submission and will be required to revise their policy memo. The revised memo will be graded both for how well it addresses the comments and for overall quality. The revised memo is due roughly two weeks after the original date of submission and will count for half of the policy memo grade. When submitting the revised memo, students need to submit in paper in class– the original memo, the comments on the original memo, and the revised memo. The revised memo also needs to be submitted to Turnitin on the Canvas course website

Memos handed in late will not be graded.

Midterm – 30 percent of your grade – An in-class quiz that will require understanding of the basic concepts in this course. It will also ask you to apply the concepts we have learned in class to real world problems.

Policy Presentations - 25 percent of your grade- Each student will do an in-class team presentation. Each team will consist of two or three members. Two teams will present on the same topic. One team will present the case in favor of a policy, while the other team will present the case against that same policy. Each member of the team must do part of the main presentation, although the team can decide how to divide the time. You will be assigned your presentation topic and side but you will asked for your topic preferences. The presentation topics are outlined in the syllabus. Each team will be required to do a six minute presentation. You will be allowed to use powerpoint. The presentations will be timed and if you exceed your time, you will be cut-off. Teams will be required to do a dress rehearsal of their 6 minute presentation. That dress rehearsal will be graded and teams will be offered advice on improving their presentations. Teams are encouraged to search for additional readings beyond those listed in the syllabus. You will get a team grade. We will go over the ground rules more during class.

REQUIRED BOOKS AND READINGS:
All readings are accessible through the Canvas system. There are no books to purchase.

Writing Tutor: Many of you will need help writing. The revision process for the policy memos is designed to help with your writing. The TAs and myself are available to help with *the substance* of policy memos, but our job is not to teach you writing mechanics or the elements of style. GPS also offers additional support. Katy Norris is the official writing tutor. Any student may use her office hours to brainstorm ideas, discuss how to approach an assignment, or ask general questions about writing. If you would like feedback or edits on a rough draft of a writing

assignment, email the prompt and your draft to her at kenorris@ucsd.edu. If you would like to discuss your draft, you may schedule an appointment time during the scheduled office hours. Please email your draft at least 24 hours before the appointment in order to receive the best quality feedback.

COURSE RULES:
Cell Phones: Use of cell phones during class is not allowed.

Plagarism and Cheating: Students are expected to honor the normal standards of academic integrity and to do their own work. All failures to honor that code will be reported to academic integrity. With the exception of the two quizzes, you may ask other students to read and comment on your work but all analytic work is expected to be your own. You will appropriately recognize and cite all sources of data or information you use. If you are unsure what constitutes plagiarism, please see UCSD's academic honesty policy here: http://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu/.

Late assignments: No late assignments will be accepted and no make-up examinations will be offered without a University-approved and documented excuse. Acceptable excuses include documented illness, or a death or serious illness in the immediate family.

Grade disputes: If you believe that we made an error or oversight in grading your work you may petition the TA who graded your assignment to have your grade changed. To do so you must submit a written memo of no more than 400 words explaining how we made an error and stating the grade you believe that you deserve. We will not entertain grade complaints beyond seven calendar days after the assignment has been returned to you. If you are not satisfied with the TA's response, you can submit a new memo to me.

Students with Disabilities: Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD), which is located in University Center 202 behind Center Hall. Students must present their AFA letters to Faculty (please make arrangements to contact me privately) so that accommodations may be arranged. Requests for accommodation must be made at least two weeks in advance of the midterm exam. Contact the OSD for further information: 858.534.4382; osd@ucsd.edu; http://disabilities.ucsd.edu

COURSE OUTLINE

PART I. UNDERSTANDING INDIVIDUALS, GROUPS, AND MARKETS

9/22	**Introduction**
	Core Topics: Why Public Policy? Policy Options. Memo writing. Grading and Assignments

9/27	**The Rational Actor Model**
	Core Topics: What is the rational actor approach? Thinking about behavior strategically. Is the rational actor model accurate?
	Kenneth Shepsle (2010) Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions Chapter 2
	Charles Murray (1984). *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980*. pp 154-177
	Joel Waldfogel "Evidence that Prison Doesn't Deter Crime" Slate.com Jan 30, 2007
	http://www.slate.com/articles/business/the_dismal_science/2007/01/the_irrational_18yearold_criminal.html
	Barbara Vobejda and Judith Havemann "Doing the Math on the Welfare 'Family Cap' Washington Post. Sunday March 30, 1997. Page A01**.**
	http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/welfare/stories/wf033097.htm

9/29	**Individual Choices**

Core Topics: Understanding problems in group decision making. Strategic voting. Sophisticated voting.
Shepsle, Chapters 3, Chapter 4 (53-74), Chapter 5 (110-123), and Chapter 6 (156-170, 174-179)
12 Sanders Supporters Explain Why They Won't Vote for Hilary Clinton
https://www.yahoo.com/news/12-bernie-sanders-supporters-explain-132120416.html
Eli Watkins (2017) How Gary Johnson and Jill Stein helped elect Donald Trump - CNN
http://www.cnn.com/2016/11/10/politics/gary-johnson-jill-stein-spoiler/index.html

10/4   Cooperation and Collective Action
Core Topics: Problems with cooperation. Public goods. Prisoners Dilemma. Problems with collective action. Why we shouldn't contribute. How can we solve collective action problems?
Shepsle Chapter 8 and 9
Here's What Political Science Can Tell us About the Paris Climate Dea**l**
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/14/heres-what-political-science-can-tell-us-about-the-paris-climate-deal/
'Vaccine nationalism' threatens global plan to distribute COVID-19 shots fairly
https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2020/07/vaccine-nationalism-threatens-global-plan-distribute-covid-19-shots-fairly

POLICY MEMO #1: First Draft Due on Canvas before class on 10/6: Propose and defend a specific policy reform that might lead to greater cut-backs in emissions by signatories of the Paris Agreement. Your policy has to directly address the underlying collective action problem. EG Your policy should encourage collective action across nations. Explain clearly how your policy would do this. You can write your memo as either a) a key policy advisor to the president of a major international power or b) as a key policy advisor to the president of a small nation. Revised memo due 10/18

10/6   Aggregation Problems
Core Topics: How electoral systems shape outcomes. Is there a best system? Practical problems like redistricting.
Shepsle Chapter 7
Rachel Weiner. Court Strikes Down Virginia House Districts as Racial Gerrymandering. 2018. *Washington Post* June 26
https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/court-strikes-down-virginia-house-districts-as-racial-gerrymandering/2018/06/26/4e953752-7993-11e8-80be-6d32e182a3bc_story.html?utm_term=.1bd5e06a8870

10/11   The Market Economy
Core Topics: Preconditions for a market. The benefits of the market. Alternatives to the market.
Michael C. Munger *Analyzing Policy* 2000. W. W. Norton Chapter 3 (pages 54-69)
Paul Heyne *The Economic Way of Thinking* 1997. Eighth Edition. Prentice Hall Chapter 2
Forbes. India's Price Ceiling On Uber Rides Hurts Riders, Drivers And The Economy. 2016. May
https://www.forbes.com/sites/jonhartley/2016/05/31/indias-price-ceiling-on-uber-rides-hurts-riders-drivers-and-the-economy/#41935cc82e0e
New York Times. Why Rent Control Is a Lightning Rod, Oct 2018
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/12/business/economy/rent-control-explained.html

10/13   Market Failures
Core Topics: Assumptions for a perfect market. Public goods. Externalities. Information. Monopolies. Poor decision. Unequal initial distribution. Unacceptable preferences. Discrimination.

Kenneth Bicker and John T. Williams *Public Policy Analysis*. 2001. Houghton Mifflin. Chapter 7

Pager, D., et al. (2009). "Discrimination in a Low-Wage Labor Market: A Field Experiment." <u>American Sociological Review</u> 74(5): 777-799.

https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/bonikowski/files/pager-western-bonikowski-discrimination-in-a-low-wage-labor-market.pdf

Kirschenman and Neckerman "The Meaning of Race for Employers" pp 203-232 in *The Urban Underclass*. Christopher and Jencks and Paul E. Peterson (Eds). 1991. The Brookings Institution Press

PART II. STAGES OF POLICY ANALYSIS

Revised policy memo #1 on global warming is due *on Canvas before class on* 10/18.

10/18 **Introduction to Different Stages, Agenda Setting, Problem Definition**
Core Topics: The stages of policy analysis, agenda setting, framing, problem definition
James Anderson *Public Policymaking* 2003. Fifth Edition. Houghton. Chapter 3 (79-101)
Shanto Iyengar. "Television News and Citizens' Explanations of National Affairs" 81 *APSR* (1987):815-832
Politico. Five Problems the Wall Won't Solve. 2017. February
https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/02/trump-wall-mexico-problems-immigration-214837
Mark H. Moore "Anatomy of the Heroin Problem" Policy Analysis 1976 Fall 2(4): 640-662

10/20 **Identify Alternative Policies**
Core Topics: Types of policy. More vs less coercive policies. Targeting vs universal policies.
James A. Anderson *Public Policymaking* 2003. Fifth Edition. Houghton Mifflin. Chapter 6 (220-230)
Jeanne Sahadi "Taxing the fat in Your Food" CNN.com July 28, 2009
https://money.cnn.com/2009/07/28/news/economy/health_care_reform_obesity/index.htm
Vox Juul, the vape device teens are getting hooked on, explained. August 2018
https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2018/5/1/17286638/juul-vaping-e-cigarette

10/25 **Evaluation Criteria**
Core Topics: Efficiency vs equity, security, liberty, dignity, and feasibility.
Deborah Stone *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making* 1997 W.W. Norton. Chapters 2,4, 3 (pages 61-71), & 5
Paying Kidney Donors: Time to Follow Iran? McGill Journal of Medicine. 2008. 11(1):67-69
https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2322914/

POLICY MEMO #2 due on Canvas before class on 10/27: Explain why a system where governments pay donors for their kidneys is (or is not) a good idea. Make sure to consider and include a range of evaluation criteria in assessing the policy. Revised policy memo due on 11/10.

10/27 **Cost-Benefit Analysis and Decision Making**
Core Topics: The steps in cost-benefit analysis. Valuing a life. Criteria Alternatives Maximization. Different models of decision making.
James A. Anderson *Public Policymaking* 2003. Fifth Edition. Houghton Mifflin. Chapter 4 (119-144). Chapter 7 (264-269)
Dana Kamerud "Benefits and Costs of the 55 MPH Speed Limit" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 1988 Vol 7 No 2 341-352.
Gardiner Harris "British Balance Benefit vs Cost of Latest Drugs" 2008. New York Times. Dec 3rd

11/1   Implementation, Evaluation
   Core Topics: Barriers to Implementation - principal-agent problem, costs to implement, sanctions for non-compliance. Types of evaluation – impressionistic, process evaluation, systematic evaluation, experiments.

   James A. Anderson *Public Policymaking* 2003. Fifth Edition. Houghton Mifflin. Chapters 6 (193-220, 230-238) & 7 (245-264)

   Frustrations Abound in First Year of Prop. 227. Los Angeles Times. 1999
   https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-jun-21-me-48752-story.html

   Chetty, R., et al. (2016). "The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children: New Evidence from the Moving to Opportunity Experiment." <u>American Economic Review</u> **106**(4): 855-902.
   https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.20150572

PART III APPLIED ANALYSIS

11/3   Analyzing Welfare Policy in the US
   Core Topics: What are US policies to combat poverty? Why does the US do so little to alleviate poverty? What can the US do better?

   Poverty in the United States https://aspe.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/154286/50YearTrends.pdf

   Alesina, A., E. Glaeser, et al. (2001). "Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State?" <u>Brookings Papers on Economic Activity</u>.
   https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/12502088/1209137.pdf?sequence=2

   Economic Policy Institute. Raising the federal minimum wage to $15 by 2024 would lift pay for nearly 40 million workers. 2019 https://www.epi.org/publication/raising-the-federal-minimum-wage-to-15-by-2024-would-lift-pay-for-nearly-40-million-workers/

   American Enterprise Institute. Why we shouldn't raise the minimum wage
   http://www.aei.org/publication/why-we-shouldnt-raise-the-minimum-wage/

11/8   Who or What Drives Policy in American Democracy?
   Core Topics: What should representation look like? Principal-agent problems. Does public opinion drive policy? Whose views drive policy?

   Miller, and Stokes. 1963. " Constituency Influence in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 57: 45-57.

   Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2015. Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*

<u>**Revised policy memo #2 on kidney donation is due *on Canvas before class on* 11/10.**</u>

11/10   Analyzing Voter Turnout
   Core Topics: Who votes? Does it matter? What factors shape who votes and when they vote? Election timing. Compulsory Voting

   Who Votes, Who Doesn't, and Why Regular Voters, Intermittent Voters, and Those Who Don't PEW 2006
   http://www.people-press.org/2006/10/18/who-votes-who-doesnt-and-why/

   Jack Citrin, Eric Schickler, John Sides "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections" AJPS (2003)

   Zoltan Hajnal. 2018. *"Why Does No One Vote in Local Elections?" New York Times*
   https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/opinion/why-does-no-one-vote-in-local-elections.html

   Fred Smith. A Case Against Mandatory Voting. *The American Spectator*
   http://spectator.org/37230_case-against-mandatory-voting/

   A Case for Compulsory Voting (2014) *The Washington Post*
   https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/ruth-marcus-a-case-for-compulsory-voting/2014/11/04/9b486afe-6463-11e4-836c-83bc4f26eb67_story.html?utm_term=.c5f0aa3d5851

Students to meet with debate teammates near the end of class.

11/15 **Quiz**

11/17 **Racial Policy**

> **Do the "Race IAT" - Implicit Association Tests at:**
> **https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html**
> Paul Sniderman and Edward Carmines (1997). *Reaching Beyond Race*. Pp 99-139.
> Donald Kinder and Lynn Sanders (1996). *Divided By Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Pp 12-34, 92-127.
> Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2020. "Reducing Exclusionary Attitudes through Interpersonal Conversation: Evidence from Three Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 114: 410-25. NOTE THIS READING IS NOT ON CANVUS BUT CAN BE ACCESSED ON THIS LINK:
> https://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~broockma/kalla_broockman_reducing_exclusionary_attitudes.pdf

PART IV. PRESENTATIONS

11/22 **Debate Team draft presentations – Each team will be assigned times for today's class session. To fit everyone in we will have to extend the class session an hour beyond 4:50pm today. Please let me know well in advance if your team cannot present after 4:50pm today.**

11/24 **Happy Thanksgiving – No Class**

11/29 **Presentations**

12/1 **Presentations**

The Topics
1. *Resolved: The US should have free trade with China*
2. *Resolved: A two state solution is the best outcome for Israel*
3. *Resolved: Soda should be taxed*
4. *Resolved: E-cigarettes should be banned*
5. *Resolved: Rich countries should provide their citizens a guaranteed and universal basic income*
6. *Resolved: China should end all reliance on coal*
7. *Resolved: Developing nations should institute a cap and trade program for carbon emissions*
8. *Resolved: Abortion should be illegal*
9. *Resolved: The death penalty should be abolished*
10. *Resolved: Terminally ill patients should be allowed to end their lives via assisted suicide*

PRESENTATION GUIDELINES

Teams
Students will be given an opportunity to list their first, second, and their choices for topics. Students will be randomly assigned to teams based on their preferences and whether they are attending synchronously. Synchronous students will be assigned to the same debates. Asynchronous teams will be assigned to different debates. All students will be randomly assigned to the side of the debate. EG You could be debating against your own position on the topic.

Format
Pro Team Presentation – 6 minutes
Con Team Presentation – 6 minutes
Class votes on which side presented a better argument.

Trial Run
Each team will be required to do their presentation in front of the TAs/professor and the opposing team several days BEFORE their presentation. This trial run will be graded and teams will be given feedback to improve their presentations. Dates and times of trial runs to be determined.

Presentations
Students can use powerpoint slides to help with their arguments. Powerpoint slides must be emailed to the professor and TAs before the beginning of class.

Grades
Each team will receive a grade.
All members of a team will receive the same grade. The one exception to this rule is for people for whom it is obvious little or no effort was exerted.

Guidelines
-Treat this as a challenge. The better you prepare, the more rewarding this experience will be.
-Teams will be rewarded for conducting themselves in a professional manner.
-Time deadlines are strict. Teams will be rewarded for keeping within the given time limits.