

## 7SPP002: COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY

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- Office:** Kingsway 22, First Floor.
- Lectures:** Wednesdays, 10:00-11:00, Room K.4U12
- Seminars** Wednesdays, 11-12 (Rooms C16, 2.28), 12-13 (Rooms B4, 4A).

### PRESENTATION

**Comparative Public Policy** is one of two core modules on the MA Public Policy. While *The Policy Process* given in semester 1 presents a variety of theoretical frameworks to analyse the different stages of the policymaking process, *CPP* provides a number of empirical applications of these theoretical frameworks in a comparative context (across countries and policy sectors).

*Comparative Public Policy* seeks to equip students with methodological and conceptual tools to explain differences and commonalities in public policies across countries. While many countries are faced with *similar* policy problems (population ageing, migration, structural unemployment, deteriorating public finances, to name a few), the policies implemented to solve them vary greatly. A number of relevant policy sectors will be analysed: welfare protection; migration; education; regulation; development; taxes and redistribution. Examples of questions tackled in the module include: Why is social protection more extensive in Scandinavia than in the UK? How have some countries managed to reform their pension systems despite the hostility of large parts of the population? Why do some countries admit more immigrants than others? Do privatization and liberalization mean the retreat of the state?

### OBJECTIVES

This module offers an introduction to the field of comparative public policy. Specifically, the course aims to:

- enable students to engage with a range of substantive policy problems, such as unemployment, aging, or migration, and investigate how the state intervenes in these domains in different countries.

- develop their analytical skills in systematic comparison and achieve valid generalizations and evaluations of public policy developments;
- introduce students to the logic and standards of comparative public policy research.

### **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

On successful completion of this course students will be able to:

- Identify the political, economic and institutional constraints influencing policymaking in a number of policy sectors;
- Understand differences in the way public policies are made in different countries;
- Use comparative methods to explain these differences;
- formulate relevant research questions in comparative public policy

### **ASSESSMENT AND MODULE REQUIREMENTS**

Students will be assessed on the basis of two elements:

a) a 1,500 word-essay (30% of the grade) covering the material of the lectures and readings. Students must answer **one** of the following questions:

1. Compare the role that institutional factors play in at least two policy areas presented in the module.
2. Inequality is an issue of growing concern. Explain how this issue is tackled (or not tackled) in at least two different countries, and explain these differences.
- 5 How can the comparative approach to policy analysis be useful to decision-makers? Give examples from the material provided in the module.

Deadline: **March 26<sup>th</sup> 2014**, before 5PM.

b) a 3,500 word research paper (70%). The task to be carried out for the research paper is the following:

- *Choose at least two countries where a similar policy problem (located in one of the policy areas covered in the module) is tackled in distinctly different ways. Outline how policies differ across these countries, and explain these differences by using relevant primary and secondary literature.*

Against the backdrop of this broad theme, students will have to identify their own research question and a title for the paper. The research paper should include a description of the relevance of the topic, a clear research question, a brief literature review, the main hypothesis to be tested, and a brief description of the research method. Finally, the research paper will also demonstrate theoretical and/or empirical findings. If you want to discuss a particular topic, you can email the module convenors, drop by during office hours or arrange an appointment.

Deadline: **May 14<sup>th</sup> 2014**, before 5PM.

Information for students about writing essays, avoiding plagiarism and proper citation can be found in the postgraduate handbook, available online at:

<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/politicaconomy/>

Students should note that attendance at lectures and seminars is mandatory and that all deadlines are absolute. Word limits are fixed (but do not include the references). The portion of papers exceeding the word limit will not be read.

## KEY TEXTBOOKS

Besides the readings required for each section, students are strongly encouraged to purchase the following textbook as accompanying reading for the module:

**Dodds, A. (2012) *Comparative Public Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.**

For their research papers, students should consult textbooks on both comparative politics and public policy:

*Comparative Politics*: Caramani, D. (ed.) (2008) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Landman, T. (2008) *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics*. London: Routledge; Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy : Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

*Public Policy Analysis*: John, P. (2012) *Analysing Public Policy*. London: Routledge; Knoepfel, P., C. Larrue, F. Varone, and M. Hill (2011) *Public Policy Analysis*. Bristol: The Policy Press; Parsons, W. (1995) *Public Policy. An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis*. London: Edward Elgar.

Beyond these sources and key readings suggested below, journal articles present an up-to date analysis of public policies. The following journals merit special attention: *Journal of Public Policy, Governance; Policy Studies Journal, Journal of European Social Policy, Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis, European Journal of Political Research, Review of Policy Research, Public Administration, Journal of European Public Policy, Social Policy and Administration, Comparative Political Studies, etc.*

## LECTURE SCHEDULE AND WEEK-BY-WEEK READING LIST

### **Week 1 (15 January): Introduction to Comparative Public Policy (A. Afonso)**

This session will introduce students to the course aims, assessment requirements and main themes in comparative public policy.

#### **Readings:**

Dodds, A. (2012) *Comparative Public Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, Chapters 1 and 2.

Castles, F.G. (1998) *Comparative Public Policy: Patterns of Post-War Transformation*. Edward Elgar.

- Richardson, J. (ed.) (1982) *Policy Styles in Western Europe*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Compston, H. (2006) *King Trends and the Future of Public Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

## **Week 2 (22 January): Foundations of the Comparative Method (A. Afonso)**

This session will introduce comparative methods, comparative research design and strategies of comparative research. The readings for this session should be used as a methodological toolkit to write your research paper.

### **Questions**

- What are the trade-offs between small-N and large-N comparative research?
- How do the cases you select affect the answers you get?
- What is the “travelling problem”?

### **Readings (\*compulsory)**

- \*Dodds, A (2012) *Comparative Public Policy*. London: Palgrave, Chapter 14.
- \*Keman, H. (2008) “Comparative Research Methods”, in Caramani, D (ed) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 50-63.
- Scharpf, F.W. (1997) *Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research*. Boulder: Westview Press, Chapter 1.
- Peters, G. B. (2008) “Approaches in Comparative Politics”, in Caramani, D (ed) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 37-49.
- Seawright, J., and J. Gerring (2008) “Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options”, *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 294-308.
- Geddes, B. (1990) ‘How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics,’ *Political Analysis* 2(1): 131-50.
- Gerring, J. (2004) ‘What is a case study and what is it good for?’ *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 341-54.
- King, G., R.O. Keohane, and S. Verba (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3 and 4.
- Landman, T. (2005) *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction* (Third Edition). London: Routledge, Chapters 1-4.
- Lijphart, A. (1971) ‘Comparative Politics and Comparative Method’, *American Political Science Review*, 65(3): 682-693.
- Przeworski, A. and H. Teune (1970) *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: John Wiley.

## **Week 3 (29 January): Welfare State Policies (A. Afonso)**

This session will analyse the comparative politics of social policy reform with a particular focus on unemployment and pensions. It will emphasise differences in the coverage of social risks across countries, and political and institutional constraints on policy reforms in these domains.

## Questions:

- What explain differences in the extent of social protection across countries?
- Why is it so difficult to reform the welfare state?
- Which structural factors impose welfare state reforms?
- What is the difference between “old” and “new” social risks?

## Readings

- \*Pierson, P. (1996) “The New Politics of the Welfare State”, *World politics* 48(2): 143-179.
- \*Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press (Chapter 1: pp. 9-34).
- \*Korpi, W., and J. Palme (1998) “The Paradox of Redistribution and Strategies of Equality: Welfare State Institutions, Inequality, and Poverty in the Western Countries”, *American Sociological Review* 63: 661-687.
- Clasen, J., and D. Clegg (2006) “Beyond Activation: Reforming European Unemployment Protection Systems in Post-Industrial Labour Markets”, *European Societies* 8(4): 527-553.
- Starke, P. (2006) “The Politics of Welfare State Retrenchment: A Literature Review”, *Social Policy & Administration* 40(1): 104-120.
- Bonoli, G. (2005). “The politics of the new social policies: providing coverage against new social risks in mature welfare states” *Policy & Politics*, 33(3), 431-449.
- Weishaupt, J.T. (2011) *From the Manpower Revolution to the Activation Paradigm: Explaining Institutional Continuity and Change in an Integrating Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Häusermann, S. (2006) “Changing Coalitions in Social Policy Reforms: The Politics of New Social Needs and Demands”, *Journal of European Social Policy* 16(1): 5.
- Häusermann, S. (2010) *The Politics of Welfare State Reform in Continental Europe: Modernization in Hard Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allan, J.P., and L. Scruggs (2004) “Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies”, *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 496-512.
- Korpi, W. (1983) *The Democratic Class Struggle*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Books.
- Estevez-Abe, M., T. Iversen, and D. Soskice. (2001) “Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State” in Hall, P.A., and D. Soskice (eds.) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 145–183.
- Afonso, A (2014) “Choosing Whom to Betray: Populist Right-Wing Parties, Welfare State Reforms and the Dilemma Between Office and Votes”, unpublished manuscript.

## **Week 4 (5 February): Migration Policies (A. Afonso)**

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This session will deal with the comparative politics of immigration policy, focusing on the role of institutions and interest group politics.

## Questions

- Why is there a gap between immigration policy goals and outcomes?
- How can we explain differences between countries in patterns of immigration control?
- How does public opinion shape immigration policies?
- Are we moving towards “Fortress Europe”?

## Readings

- \*Freeman, G.P. (1995) “Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States”, *International Migration Review* 29(4): 881-908.
- \*Joppke, C. (1998) “Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration”, *World Politics* 50(2): 266-293.
- \*Alonso, S., & da Fonseca, S. C. (2012) “Immigration, Left and Right” *Party Politics*, 18(6), 865-884.
- Bartram, D. (2004) “Labor Migration Policy and the Governance of the Construction Industry in Israel and Japan”, *Politics & Society* 32(2): 131-170.
- Menz, G. (2009) *The Political Economy of Managed Migration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Soysal, Y.N. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship : Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, Mass ; London: Harvard University Press.
- Cornelius, W.A. (ed.) (2004) *Controlling Immigration : A Global Perspective*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Cornelius, W.A., and M. Rosenblum (2005) “Immigration and Politics”, *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 99-119.
- Hollifield, J.F. (2000) “The Politics of International Migration: How Can We “Bring the State Back in”?” in Brettell, C., and J.F. Hollifield (eds.) *Migration Theory : Talking Across Disciplines*. New York: Routledge: 137-186.
- Brochmann, G. (1999) *Mechanisms of Immigration Control. A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policies*. Oxford: Berg.
- Afonso, A. (forthcoming) “Why and How Do Mainstream Parties Advocate More Restrictive Migration Policies? Advocacy Coalitions and Belief System Change in Swiss Migration Policy (1990-2012)”, *Comparative European Politics*.

## **Week 5 (12 February): Education Policies (A. Howes)**

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This session will explore the comparative politics of human capital formation. It will focus on the roles of economic and political institutions in determining education policies.

## Questions

- How does the economic structure of a country affect the amount it spends on human capital?
- How do electoral institutions, party politics, and the level of democracy in a country affect education policy?

- What types of education policy other than education spending levels might be affected by differing economic and political institutions, and how?

## Readings

- \*Ansell, Ben W. "Traders, Teachers, and Tyrants: Democracy, Globalization, and Public Investment in Education." *International Organization* 62, no. 2 (April 1, 2008): 289–322.
- \*Iversen, Torben, and John D. Stephens. "Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4–5 (April 1, 2008): 600–637.
- Bussemeyer, Marius R. "Asset Specificity, Institutional Complementarities and the Variety of Skill Regimes in Coordinated Market Economies." *Socio-Economic Review* 7, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 375–406.
- . "Determinants of Public Education Spending in 21 OECD Democracies, 1980–2001." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, no. 4 (2007): 582–610.
- . "Inequality and the Political Economy of Education: An Analysis of Individual Preferences in OECD Countries." *Journal of European Social Policy* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 2012): 219–240.
- Castles, Francis G. "Explaining Public Education Expenditure in OECD Nations." *European Journal of Political Research* 17, no. 4 (1989): 431–448.
- Hega, Gunther M., and Karl G. Hokenmaier. "The Welfare State and Education: A Comparison of Social and Educational Policy in Advanced Industrial Societies." *German Policy Studies / Politikfeldanalyse* 2, no. 1 (2002): 143–173.
- Helgøy, Ingrid, and Anne Homme. "Path-Dependent Implementation of the European Qualifications Framework in Education. A Comparison of Norway, Germany and England." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 0, no. 0 (2013): 1–16.
- Klitgaard, Michael Baggesen. "Do Welfare State Regimes Determine Public Sector Reforms? Choice Reforms in American, Swedish and German Schools." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 4 (2007): 444–468.
- Stasavage, David. "Democracy and Education Spending in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 2 (April 2005): 343–358.
- Verner, Joel G. "Socioeconomic Environment, Political System, and Educational Policy Outcomes: A Comparative Analysis of 102 Countries." *Comparative Politics* 11, no. 2 (January 1, 1979): 165–187.
- West, Martin R., and Ludger Woessmann. "'Every Catholic Child in a Catholic School': Historical Resistance to State Schooling, Contemporary Private Competition and Student Achievement across Countries\*." *The Economic Journal* 120, no. 546 (2010): F229–F255.

## **Week 6: Reading Week**

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No lecture and seminars during reading week.

## **Week 7 (26 February): Regulatory Policies (A. Afonso)**

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This session will analyse the regulation of markets in comparative perspective.

### **Questions:**

- What does the shift from a “positive” to a “regulatory state mean?
- Why do politicians delegate power to independent regulatory authorities (IRAs)?
- Are IRAs really independent?

### **Readings**

- \*Giandomenico Majone (1997). “From the positive to the regulatory state: Causes and consequences of changes in the mode of governance.” *Journal of Public Policy* 17 (2): 139-168.
- \*Mark Thatcher (2002). “Delegation to independent regulatory agencies: Pressures, functions and contextual mediation.” *West European Politics* 25 (1): 125-147.
- \*Yandle, B. (1983) “Bootleggers and Baptists: The Education of a Regulatory Economist”, *Regulation* 7(3): 12-16.
- Gilardi, F. (2002) “Policy Credibility and Delegation to Independent Regulatory Agencies: A Comparative Empirical Analysis”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(6): 873-893.
- Maggetti, M. (2007) “De Facto Independence After Delegation: A Fuzzy-Set Analysis”, *Regulation & Governance* 1(4): 271-294.
- Levi-Faur, D., and J. Jordana (2005) “The Making of a New Regulatory Order”, *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences* 598): 6-9.
- Gilardi, F. (2005) “The Formal Independence of Regulators: A Comparison of 17 Countries and 7 Sectors”, *Swiss Political Science Review* 11(4): 139-167.
- Afonso, A. (2012) “Employer Strategies, Cross-Class Coalitions and the Free Movement of Labour in the Enlarged European Union”, *Socio-Economic Review* 10(4): 705-730.

## **Week 8 (5 March): Development Policies (R. Ruiz-Rufino)**

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This section will explore the main debates around economic development. In particular, the role of political institutions will be explored in order to understand why some countries develop faster than others.

### **Questions**

- Discuss the emphasis on the protection of property rights that institutionalists use to explain economic success?
- How do colonial institutions help explain different models of economic development?
- Is economic development higher in democracies than in dictatorships?



## Readings

- \*J. D. Sachs. 2003. "Institutions don't rule: direct effects of geography on per capita income." National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 9490 (<http://www.nber.org/papers/w9490.pdf>).
- \*Robinson, James A., Daron Acemoglu, and Simon Johnson (2005) "Institutions as a Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth." In *Handbook of Economic Growth* ed. P. Aghion and s. N. Durlauf. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Rodrik, Dani, A. Subramanian, and F. Trebbi (2004) "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Growth* 9:131-65.
- North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast (1989) "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (4):803-32.
- Sokoloff, Kenneth L., and Stanley L. Engerman (2000) "History Lessons: Institutions, Factors Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14 (3):217-32.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi (1993) "Political Regimes and Economic Growth." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (3):51-69

## **Week 9 (12 March): Taxes and Redistribution (R. Ruiz-Rufino)**

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This section focuses on two related issues: taxation and redistribution. First, the main ideas to understand the logic of taxation will be introduced. Second, the attention will be in turn to issues related to redistribution and inequality.

## Questions

- Are countries with low taxes economically more efficient than countries with high taxes?
- India is growing fast and yet has great levels of inequality. What is the relationship between economic development and inequality?
- Is the European Welfare system in crisis? Discuss this question thinking in terms of how welfare state policies have evolved and how political parties have adapted those policies across time.

## Readings

- Gould, Andrew C., and Peter J. Baker. 2002. "Democracy and Taxation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:87-110.
- \*Glaeser, Edward L. 2006. "Inequality." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, ed. B. R. Weingast and D. A. Wittman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \*Beramendi and Anderson (2008) "Income Inequality and Democratic Representation" in Beramendi, P., and C. Anderson, eds. 2008. *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective*: Russell Sage Foundation.
- \*Atkinson, Anthony B., Thomas Piketty, and Emmanuel Saez (2011) "Top Incomes in the Long Run of History." *Journal of Economic Literature* 49 (1):3-71.

- \*Alesina, Alberto, Edward L. Glaeser, and Bruce Sacerdote (2001) "Why doesn't the United States have a European-style Welfare State?" *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2:187-277.
- Moene, Karl Ove, and Michael Wallerstein (2003) "Earnings Inequality and Welfare Spending: A Disaggregated Analysis." *World Politics* 55 (4):485-516.
- Meltzer, Allan H., and Scott F. Richard (1981) "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government." *Journal of Political Economy* 89 (5): 914-27.

### **Week 10 (19 March): Institutional Policies: the role of political representation (R. Ruiz-Rufino)**

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This section will focus on how political representation shapes some economic outcomes like trade, openness or corruption.

#### **Questions**

- Why do electoral systems change?
- What is the relationship between political accountability, electoral rules and economic outcomes like growth or redistribution?
- Discuss the relationship between good governance and electoral rules. Is there such a thing as an "ideal" electoral system?

#### **Readings**

- \*Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3):373-91.
- \*T. Iversen and D. Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalition: Why some Democracies Redistribute more than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2):165-181.
- \*Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Trade and the Variety of Democratic Institutions." *International Organizations* 41 (2):202-24.
- \*Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93 (3):609-24.
- von Hagen, Jürgen. 2006. "Political Economy and Fiscal Institutions." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, ed. B. R. Weingast and D. A. Wittman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini. 2006. "Electoral systems and economic policies." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, ed. B. R. Weingast and D. A. Wittman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chang, Eric C. C., and Miriam A. Golden. 2007. "Electoral systems, district magnitude and corruption." *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (1):115-37.
- Knutsen, C. H. 2011. "Which democracies prosper? Electoral rules, form of government and economic growth." *Electoral Studies* 30 (1):83-90.

### **Week 11 (26 March): Beyond Comparative Policies: Diffusion, Learning and Convergence (A. Afonso)**

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In this session, we will touch upon the interdependence between countries in matters of public policy, and notably the diffusion of policies between countries.

## Questions

- Can public policies in different countries be analysed independently from one another?
- What are the main mechanisms of policy diffusion?
- Is the diffusion of policies always beneficial?

## Readings

\*Shipan, C.R., and C. Volden (2012) "Policy Diffusion: Seven Lessons for Scholars and Practitioners" *Public Administration Review* (Online early publication)

\*Shipan, C. R., & Volden, C. (2008) "The mechanisms of policy diffusion" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 840-857.

Gilardi, F. (2010) "Who Learns From What in Policy Diffusion Processes?", *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3): 650-666.

Shipan, C.R., and C. Volden (2006) "Bottom-Up Federalism: The Diffusion of Antismoking Policies From US Cities to States", *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 825-843.

Simmons, B., F. Dobbin, and G. Garrett (2007) "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, Or Learning", *Annual Review of Sociology* 33:449-472.