

WWS 527b Political Analysis for Public Affairs
Graduate Program
Fall 2006

This class focuses on political strategy from the view point of high level practitioners of public affairs (PA), whether as managers, counselors, or advocates. Its primary objectives are to examine typical non-market issues facing PA professionals who operate in highly political environments, to develop a set of conceptual frameworks for analyzing political threats and opportunities, and to practice forming effective organizational strategies. The concepts, skills, and analytical tools that students learn in the course rest upon a foundation of economic principles, institutional analysis and, to a lesser extent, political and social psychology. They identify patterns of behavior and outcomes, ways of thinking about those patterns and outcomes, methods of analysis that facilitate understanding and prediction, and, ultimately, the shaping of strategies to improve the success of PA professionals and the organizations they serve.

Teaching Approach

We will use case discussions, general discussions and lectures to achieve the goals of the course. Your charge is to apply the frameworks, methods and tools introduced and contained in the readings and lectures to the cases discussed. The goal of each session is to augment your ability to evaluate, formulate or implement some facet of non-market strategy. In addition, we will have **two in-class simulations** that count as an additional component of your group work.

Much of the class discussion will be based on group work. During our first class session I will ask you to form study groups. Study groups typically have 3-6 members (4 is probably optimal). These groups are an integral component of class preparation and discussion. You are encouraged, but not required, to prepare the cases and the readings in groups. However, at regular intervals I will ask each group to prepare a presentation that will form the basis for class discussion.

For a case discussion to be a valuable learning experience, it is essential that you come prepared to discuss the cases and case related readings assigned for that class. During our case discussions, I ask that you deal with the cases as you find them: do not seek outside or post-case data, unless specifically directed to do so. If you have post-case or inside information, I will give you the opportunity to share it with the class at the end of our discussion. Let me know about such information in advance, and I will make a point to call on you at the appropriate time. If your group has not been asked to prepare a case for that week, you should nonetheless be prepared to ask probing questions of the group who does present, in the same way a principal should display analytical acumen when presented with recommendations by a consultant, working group, or subordinate.

Course Requirements and Grading

Course requirements will depend on the size of enrollment. If enrollment is small, grading will be based upon your class participation and case presentations (which will be frequent). If enrollment is large enough so that presentations are less frequent, there will be a final project in which you and your group craft a case study of a real event involving public affairs and non-market strategy. We will discuss these possibilities in class. Given the nature of the course, there is no mid-term, final, or academic paper as these poorly gauge your ability at applied political analysis.

Weekly Schedule

1. Introduction	9/14
2. Media and Public Opinion	9/21
3. Activists and Collective Action	9/28
4. Activists and Private Politics	10/5
5. Interest Groups, Firms, and NGOs	10/12
6. Voters & Electoral Politics (TUESDAY)	10/19
7. Legislators & Policy Evaluation	10/26
NO CLASS (Fall Break)	11/2
8. Legislative Procedure	11/9

The following is merely illustrative – we will finalize a set of topics for weeks 9 – 12 that reflect the interests of students, which may well include “international” topics (trade disputes, international law, the workings of international organizations, non-market strategy in Japan and the EU), which are not represented in the following topics.

9. Implementing Legislative & Electoral Strategies	11/16
NO Class (Thanksgiving)	11/23
10. Presidential policy making	11/30
11. Agencies and Bureaucratic Politics	12/7
12. Litigation Politics, Agencies & Courts	12/14

Weekly Readings

1. Introduction to Non-Market Strategy

Course overview. Logistical matters. Assignment of groups to roles for media relations.

David Baron, *Business and Its Environment* (4th edition) (2003), pp. 1-18, 29-33, 45-51

View Illinois Power Tape

Illinois Power Company (A) (Baron - 4th edition - pp. 88-89) (Baron – 5th edition – TBD)

2. Media & Public Opinion

Reading

Baron BIE pp. 61-84 (Baron 4th edition – Chapter 3: The News Media and Nonmarket Issues) (Baron 5th edition – TBD)

Assignment

Christine Todd Whitman at the EPA: The Arsenic Debacle

Woodrow Wilson School Case “Dangerous Waters: EPA Administrator Whitman and the Arsenic in Drinking Water Standard” (on Blackboard).

New York Times article (on Blackboard)

Assignment

1. It is late March 2001. *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* have run their (misleading) stories, the DNC has begun running TV ads bashing the Bush Administration using your decision, and various news programs have run very negative stories. You decide to hold a major news conference. What do you say and how do you say it?
2. You are a reporter from one of the following: *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Mother Jones*, *Business Week*, *Forbes*. Decide your general story **before** the conference and write 3 questions that will facilitate writing that story.

NOTE: We will hold the press conference in class. I will call on several people to play Whitman (taking turns). The other members of the class will play reporters, for specific newspapers and magazines. As reporters for your publication, you will draft a headline and the first paragraph of the story after the news conference. I will call on individuals to read their headline and paragraph.

Optional Social Science Reading

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), Chapter 3, Chapter 6, Chapter 7 (pp. 40-52, 97-150). A theory of opinion change, at the individual level. You may want to wander around in some of the other chapters, to see how he uses these ideas.

Morris Fiorina *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized Public* (2005), Chapters 1-3 pp. 1-33 (Chapters 4 and 5 highly recommended). How different are the red and blue states?

Very Very Optional Social Science Reading

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, “Public Opinion,” in their *The Macro Polity* (2002), pp. 193-236. Explaining opinion change at the macro level.

Shanto Iyengar, TV Book. Experiments and survey evidence: TV tells people what to think about. It doesn't (can't?) tell them what to think.

David Baron, “Persistent Media Bias,” working paper, Stanford GSB.

Analytic Frameworks

Simulations with the Zaller model. Single vs. conflicting messages. Media analysis.

3. Activists and Collective Action

Reading

Baron BIE pp. 128-133 (Baron 4th edition – within Chapter 5: Political Theory and Government Institutions) (Baron 5th edition – TBD). Read the sections entitled “The Connection Between the Market and Nonmarket Environment” and “Social and Political Dilemmas.”

Case: East L.A. Prison

Kennedy School Case C14-00-1541.0. “ ‘No Prison in East L.A.!’ Birth of a Grassroots Movement” (available at Stokes Library)

Assignment

Following the end of the 1986 session of the California State Legislature, the Ford Foundation agrees to pay your salary, to act as a political advisor to the community groups in East Los Angeles. After studying the situation, you have scheduled a meeting with Father John Moretta, Frank Villalobos, Juana Gutierrez and Aurora Castillo.

In your meeting, you will make a 10-15 minute presentation in which you frame a coherent strategy for the community for 1987. You should address coalition building, media strategy and themes, legislative strategy, organizational maintenance issues for the Mothers, legal strategy, and any other issues you identify as important.

Optional Social Science Reading

Suzanne Lohman, *World Politics* article.

Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in American* (1993). Read pages 1-127, skim pages 128-210, and then read pages 211-248. Why do people participate in politics?

Todd Sandler, *Collective Action*, selections.

Analytic Frameworks

Logic of collective action. Signaling theory of collective action.

4. Activists and Private Politics

Reading

Baron BIE p. 90-108 (Baron 4th edition – Chapter 4: Private Nonmarket Action) (Baron 5th edition – TBD)

Case: Nike and “sweat shop” labor. (Baron - 4th edition - pp. 113-116) (Baron – 5th edition – TBD)

Assignment

Group Type 1. Nike CEO Phil Knight has asked the general counsel of Nike to review the company’s political liabilities and its responses to the sweat shop issue. In turn, the General Counsel has turned to a rising star in the legal department to do the analysis: you. Draft a confidential memo to the General Counsel, formulating an effective response to the non-market issues facing Nike.

Group Type 2. Your law firm does pro bono work for various human rights groups, including Global Exchange. You become friendly with top managers there, and they ask you to draft a confidential memo outlining a plan for encouraging Nike to be more responsible in its labor practices (as they see it). Formulate a “private politics” action plan that Global Exchange can use – possibly in conjunction with other groups – to achieve its objectives.

Other Materials

Would Jesus drive an SUV? <http://www.whatwouldjesusdrive.org/intro.php>

Global Exchange web page <http://www.globalexchange.org/>

<http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/sweatshops/nike/index.html>

Nike web page <http://www.nike.com/main.html>

Optional Social Science

David Baron, “Private Politics, Corporate Social Responsibility, and Integrated Strategy” *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 10:7-45 (2001). Rather hard going, but defines the cutting edge in the study of private politics.

Analytic Frameworks

Activist analysis & media analysis. Boycott analysis.

5. Firms, Interest Groups, and NGOs

Reading

BIE 161-180. (Baron 4th edition – Chapter 6: Political Analysis for Business) (Baron 5th edition – TBD)

Case: The Copyright on Mickey Mouse

Daniel Diermeier, “Disney Case.”

<http://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/diermeier/ftp/other/disney.htm>

Assignment

Half the groups will play the role of Disney; half the groups will play the role of Jamie Love.

In either case, formulate a political strategy in the context of the legislation. How should you implement your strategy? HINT: Which interests are opposed to HR2589 (without the amendment), which interests would support it? How would the interest configuration change if the Sensenbrenner Amendment was adopted? In class, I will call on one Disney group and one Love group.

Optional Social Science Reading

Jack Walker, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, Chapter 5 “Origins and Maintenance of Groups” and Chapter 6 “Pathways to Influence in American Politics,” pp. 75-121. Who are American interest groups? What are their political tactics? What determines their political tactics?

Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, Jr., “Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics?” *Journal of Economics Perspectives* (2003), pp. 105-130 . Myths and realities about the role of money in American politics.

Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Income Redistribution and the Realignment of American Politics*. (AEI 1997). Entire (61 pages). American political elites: wing nuts have taken over American politics.

Analytical Frameworks

The distributive politics worksheet.

Interest group matrix.

Rent chains of firms.

6. Voters and Elections

NOTE: The work plan for your final case project is due at the beginning of class.

Simulation

Michael Laver, *Playing Politics: The Nightmare Continues*, pp. 73-81. We will first play the basic game, then play using the “party fusions” AND “first past the post” rules. We will then play a similar game using the following rules:

Charles Cameron, “Supplemental Rules for Playing with Ideologically Driven Candidates (the Calvert-Wittman Model)”

Other

Before class, please view “The Education of Maggie Lauderer” and “Street Fight.” This will take about two hours.

Optional Social Science

Cameron, “Handout on the Median Voter Theorem”

Morris Fiorina, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America* (2005), Chapter 6 “Have Electoral Cleavages Shifted?” pp. 65-72 and Chapter 7, “Reconciling Micro and Macro,” pp. 77-89.

Brandice Canes-Wrone, David Brady, and John Cogan, “Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members’ Voting,” *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 127-140 (2002). The electoral consequences for House members of polarized policy making.

Rebecca Morton. 1993. “Incomplete Information and Ideological Explanations of Platform Divergence,” *American Political Science Review* 87(2):382-392. Some theory behind the simulation – requires some knowledge of game theory.

Analytic Frameworks

Duverger’s Law

Median voter theorem

Calvert-Wittman model

7. Legislators and Policy Evaluation

Reading

Baron 138-149. (Baron 4th edition – within Chapter 5: Political Theory and Government Institutions) (Baron 5th edition – TBD) Read the section entitled “Institutions.”

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (1990), pp. 3-193, 265-276 [PUS, DES]. How legislators think about policy. This is the best book on congressional policy making, so make an effort to read as much as possible. Many of the examples and cases are quite vivid.

Optional reading:

Bruce C. Wolfe and Bertram J. Levine, *Lobbying Congress: How the System Works*, pp. 7-68, 89-98. Highly recommended, and easy reading. At a minimum, review the aphorisms.

Case: Jubilee Debt Relief

Kennedy School Case C15-01-1613.0, “Debt Relief for Poor Nations: The Battle in Congress”. (available at Stokes Library)

Assignment

Half the groups will advise Nancy Pilosi, half a (fictitious) evangelical Christian organization with strong links to southern Baptist churches (say, “Christians for the Jubilee.”)

If Pilosi: You are Nancy Pilosi’s chief of staff. Word reaches you that Representative Maxine Waters, an African-American firebrand liberal representing a poor district in California, intends to move an amendment that would restore funds for debt relief by reduce other funds for foreign aid. The targeted funds in the Waters Amendment will come largely from foreign military financing, particularly for Israel and Egypt. Should

Pelosi support the Waters Amendment? More broadly, what tactics should Pelosi adopt with respect to action on the floor?

If Christians for the Jubilee: You practice law in a large community in the South, and might want to run for political office there. Knowing your political expertise, a board member of Christians for the Jubilee approaches you and asks for your advice. Formulate an inside and outside political strategy for the organization. Who, specifically, should the group target and how should they do it? (In this case, it is fine to consult a 2000 edition of the *Almanac of American Politics* or CQ's *Congress and America* and conduct a few internet searches about specific congregations in specific localities.)

Optional Social Science

Eric Patashnik, "After the Public Interest Prevails: The Political Sustainability of Policy Reform," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* (2003), pp. 203-234 [ECR]. Why do some reforms last while others are reversed?

Analytic Frameworks

Political cost/benefit analysis. Chains of traceability. Fundamentals of lobbying.

8. Legislative Procedure

Simulation

Agenda game. Read Michael Laver, *Playing Politics: The Nightmare Continues* pp. 119-127.

Baron BIE 133-137. (Baron 4th edition – within Chapter 5: Political Theory and Government Institutions) (Baron 5th edition – TBD) Read the section entitled "Majority Rule Institutions."

Optional Social Science

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking* (1998). Preface, chapters 1 & 2, pp. 3-50. What are the consequences of separation of powers and divided government? A legislatively oriented view. Read the preface and chapters 1 and 2 with care. Skim the rest of the book, looking for ways to apply the argument to the real world.

Analytic Framework

Agenda trees. Veto players, pivots, and proposers.

TO BE CONTINUED