

PUBP 800 CULTURE AND PUBLIC POLICY SPRING 2003

INSTRUCTOR:

Professor David J. Armor

Finley 201B

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TIME & PLACE:

Tue 7:20 – 10 pm

Krug 209

This course provides a comparative overview of the interrelationships among culture, societal institutions, and public policy. It emphasizes the way in which basic values and beliefs play a role in the formation of institutions and policy, with a special focus on the way in which the United States is exceptional when compared to other mature industrial societies. It presents culture and values as explanatory variables in accounting for differences in institutions and public policy among nations. It is also intended to give an overview of the analytical methods used in comparative public policy research, and to provide background on the political environment in which national and global policy decisions are made.

Course Requirements

All students are expected to keep up with each week's required readings and to participate in class discussion. Students are required to complete a closed book final exam; two class presentations; and one 20-25 page research paper. The final grade will be comprised of the following components: final exam 40%, paper 30%, presentations and class participation 30%.

Required readings will be kept on reserve at the Johnson Center, except for journal articles, which will be available on electronic reserves. Instructions for accessing electronic reserves are available on the class web site.

The class presentations should provide an overview and critique of the week's required readings. Presentations should briefly discuss the major points made in the week's readings. *Do not* simply summarize the material; presentations should be considered as mini oral papers. Students making the presentations should divide the reading topics among themselves so as not to overlap. After the first week of class, student email addresses and a schedule of presentations will be posted on the course web site.

The research papers must compare two or more countries or group of countries with regard to a specific area of public policy and analyze the reasons for observed differences. Students should develop a substantial bibliography of materials on which the paper will be based. For the most part, materials will consist of secondary sources. It is not necessary to base the paper on the analysis of a major set of quantitative data, though obviously such data should be marshaled as appropriate and necessary. Students should have topics approved no later than the Spring recess, and papers are due on the course's final exam day.

REQUIRED BOOKS:

These books will be available at the GMU campus bookstore, but it may be easier (and cheaper) to buy them through an on-line bookseller like amazon.com.

- Almond, Gabriel, G.B. Powell and R. J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993)
- Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *The Global Resurgence of Democracy. Second edition* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). ISBN 0-8018-5305-2.
- Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, *Culture Matters*. (New York: Basic Books, 2000). ISBN 0-465-03175-7.

- Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*, paperback edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), ISBN 0393316149.
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Steve Grant (New York: Hackett Publishing, 2000) ISBN: 0872204944.

WEEK 1 (JAN 21) INTRODUCTION: PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE

- Geertz, Clifford, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), Chapter 1, pp. 3-30.
- Edgerton, Robert B., "Traditional Beliefs and Practices—Are Some Better than Others?" in *Culture Matters*, p. 126-140
- Harrison, Lawrence E., "Introduction: Why Culture Matters," in *Culture Matters*, p. xvii-xxxiv; also, Huntington, "Forward," in *Culture Matters*, p. xiii-xvi
- Shweder, Richard A., "Moral Maps, First World Conceits, and the New Evangelists," in *Culture Matters*, p. 158-177.

WEEK 2 (JAN 28) CULTURE: COMPARATIVE AND EXPLANATORY APPROACHES

Required Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel, G.B. Powell and R. J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), Chapter 1, "Issues in Comparative Politics," p. 1-22.
- Etounga-Manguelle, Daniel, "Does Africa Need a Cultural Adjustment Program?" *Culture Matters*, p. 65-79.
- Harrison, Lawrence E., "Promoting Progressive Cultural Change," *Culture Matters*, p. 296-308
- Inglehart, Ronald, "The Renaissance of Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* 82 (December 1988), pp. 1203-1230.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, *American Exceptionalism*, Introduction, p. 17-28.
- Orlando Patterson (2000) "Taking Culture Seriously," in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, *Culture Matters*, p. 202-218.

Suggested Readings:

- Inglehart, Ronald, and Paul R. Abramson, *Value Change in Global Perspective* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), pp. 1-23.

WEEK 3 (FEB 4) POLITICAL CULTURE

Required Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel, G.B. Powell and R. J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), Chapter 3, "Political Culture and Political Socialization," p. 43-62.

- de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, Vol II, Book 2, Chapters 1-4, pp 503-513, Book 3, Chapters 1-4, pp 561-580.
- Fukuyama, Francis, "The Primacy of Culture," *Journal of Democracy* 6 No. 1 (Jan 1995): 7-14.

Suggested Readings:

- Thompson, Michael, Ellis, Richard and Wildavsky, Aaron "American Political Subcultures," in *Cultural Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 233-246.
- Greenstone, J. David, "Adams and Jefferson on Slavery: Two Liberalism and the Roots of Civic Ambivalence," in Calvert, ed., *The Constitution of the People*.
- Ruth, Lane, "Political Culture: Residual Category or General Theory," *Comparative Political Studies* 25 (1992): 362-387.
- Thompson, Michael, Ellis, Richard and Wildavsky, Aaron "Cultures are Plural, Not Singular," in *Cultural Theory*.

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Required Readings:

- Fukuyama, Francis, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York: Free Press, 1996), chaps. 5-6, pp. 43-57; pp. 255-266.
- Coleman, James S., "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 Supplement (1988): S95-S120.
- Fukuyama, Francis, "Culture and Economic Development," from the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (handout—5 pages).
- Landes, David (2000) "Culture Makes Almost All the Difference," in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, *Culture Matters*, p. 2-13.
- Dore, Ronald P., "Goodwill and the Spirit of Market Capitalism," *British Journal of Sociology* 34 (1983): 459-482.
- Weber, Max , "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," in From Max Weber: *Essays in Sociology*, ed. and translated by C. Wright Mills and Hans Gerth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 302-322.
- Gillon, Steven, "Introduction: American Exceptionalism and the Promise of Unintended Consequences, in Gillon, ed., *"That's not what we meant to do" : reform and its unintended consequences in twentieth century America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000).

Suggested Readings:

- North, Douglass C., *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), chaps. 9-12, pp. 73-117.

WEEK 4 (FEB 11)

AMERICAN CULTURE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Required Readings:

- de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence (New York: HarperPerennial, 1988), Vol. II, Book IV, chaps. 1-6, pp. 667-695.
- Huntington, Samuel P., "The Gap: The American Creed Versus Political Authority," in Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 31-60.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Formulating a National Identity," *The First New Nation* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 61-98.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, *American Exceptionalism*, chapters 1 & 2, p. 31-76
- Amenta, Edwin and Skocpol, Theda, "Taking Exception: Explaining the Distinctiveness of American Public Policies in the Last Century," in Castles, Francis G., *The Comparative History of Public Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 292-329.

Suggested Readings:

- Hartz, Louis, "United States History in a New Perspective," *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1964), chap. 4, pp. 69-122, 321-322.
- Huntington, Samuel P., "Political Modernization: America vs. Europe," in *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 93-139.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "A Changing American Culture," in *The First New Nation*, pp. 101-139.

RELIGION IN AMERICA

Required Readings:

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "The Impact of Religion, in *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York & London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 74-89.
- Bellah, Robert N., "Civil Religion in America," in *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 168-198.
- Bellah, Robert N., "Citizenship, Diversity, and the Search for the Common Good," in *The Constitution of the People: Reflections on Citizens and Civil Society* (Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 47-63.

Suggested Readings:

- Huntington, Samuel P., "The Protestantism of American Politics," in *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 154-166.

WEEK 5 (FEB 18)**INSTITUTIONS: THE STATE****Required Readings:**

- Almond, Gabriel, G.B. Powell and R. J. Mundt, *Comparative Politics: A Theoretical Framework* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), Chapter 2, "Concepts in Comparative Politics" p. 26-40.
- Kelman, Steven, "Conclusions and Implications," in *Regulating America, Regulating Sweden: A Comparative Study of Occupational Safety and Health Policy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), Chapter 7, pp. 221-237.
- Kelman, Steven, "Rule Making and the Social System," in *Regulating America, Regulating Sweden: A Comparative Study of Occupational Safety and Health Policy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), Chapter. 4, pp. 113-175.
- Wilson, James Q., "Culture," in *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do Them* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), Chapter 6, pp. 90-110.
- Wilson, James, Q., Chapter 16, "National Differences," in *Bureaucracy* (1989), pp. 295-312.
- World Bank, *The State in a Changing World*, chaps. 1-3, pp. 19-60

Suggested Readings:

- Selznick, Philip, "Routine and Critical Decisions," in *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation* (White Plains, NY: Peterson and Co., 1957), Chap. 2, pp. 29-64.

WEEK 6 (FEB 25)**PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS****Required Readings:**

- Juan J. Linz, chapter 9, "The Perils of Presidentialism," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 124-142.
- Lijphart, Arend, "Executive-Legislative Relations: Patterns of Dominance and Balance of Power," in Lijphart, Arend, *Democracies: patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in 21 countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), chap. 5, p. 67-89.
- Neustadt, Richard E., "The Power to Persuade," in Neustadt, Richard E., *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* (New York: Free Press, 1990), chap. 3, p. 29-49.
- James P. Pfiffner, *The Modern Presidency, Third Edition* (Boston/New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), chapters 1 & 3, p. 1-14, 44-84.
- Mayntz, Renste, "Executive Leadership in Germany: Dispersion of Power or Kanzlersdemokratie," in *Presidents and Prime Ministers* (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1980), p. 138-170.
- Rose, Richard, "British Government: The Job at the Top," in Suleiman, Ezra N. and Rose, Richard, eds., *Presidents and Prime Ministers* (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1980), p. 1-49.

Suggested Readings:

- Ezra N. Suleiman, "Presidential Government in France," in *Presidents and Prime Ministers* (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1980), pp. 94-138.
- James W. Davis, "The President as Overseer of the Economy," in James W. Davis, *The American Presidency* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), pp. 269-297.

WEEK 7 (MAR 4) INSTITUTIONS: LEGISLATURES AND PARTY SYSTEMS**Required Readings:**

- Almond, et al, "Interest Aggregation and Political Parties," chap. 6, p. 104-128.
- Donald L. Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems," Diamond and Plattner, p. 143-149
- Juan J. Linz, "The Virtues of Parliamentarism," in Diamond and Plattner, p.154-161.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Scully, Timothy R., *Building democratic institutions: party systems in Latin America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), chap. 1.
- Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies," in Diamond and Plattner, p.162-174.
- Guy Lardeyret, "The Problem with PR," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 175-180.
- Quentin Quade, "PR and Democratic Statecraft," in Diamond and Plattner. p 186-186.
- Ken Gaddish, "The Primacy of the Particular," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 194-206.

Suggested Readings:

- Polsby, Nelson W., "Consequences for Political Parties: Competition between the Major Parties," in *The Consequences of Party Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 85-88.
- Caeser, James W., "Political Parties—Declining, Stabilizing, or Resurging," in King, Anthony, *The New American Political System*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1990).

WEEK 8 (MAR 11) SPRING RECESS**WEEK 9 (MAR 18): FEDERALISM AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS****Required Readings:**

- Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), chapters 1-2, pp. 3-54.
- James P. Pfiffner, "Federalism," in *Governance and American Politics* (New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995), pp. 54-59.
- Glendon, Mary Ann, *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse* (New York: Free Press, 1991), chaps. 1-3, pp. 1-75.

- Lijphart, Arend, "Division of Power: The Federal Unitary and Centralized-Decentralized Contrasts," in *Democracies: patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in 21 countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), Chap. 10, pp. 169-186.
- Wildavsky, Aaron, "A Double Security: Federalism as Competition," *Cato Journal* 1990 (1990): 39-58.

Suggested Readings:

- Packer, Herbert, "Two Models of the Criminal Process," *University of Penn. Law Review* 113 (1964): 1-68.
- Nathan, Richard, "Federalism—The Great Composition," in King, Anthony, *The New American Political System*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1990).

WEEK 10 (MAR 25): DEMOCRATIZATION

Required Readings:

- Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 3-25.
- Henry S. Rowen, "The Tide Underneath the Third Wave," in Diamond and Plattner. p. 307-319.
- Adam Przeworski and Michael Alvarez, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 295-311.
- Claude Ake, "Rethinking African Democracy," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 63-75.
- I. William Zartman, "The Cultural Dialectic: Democracy and Islam," in Bernard E. Brown and Roy C. Macridis, *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings, Eighth Edition* (Belmont, MA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1996).
- Larry Diamond, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," *American Behavioral Scientist* 15 (1992): 450-499.

WEEK 11 (APR 1) CIVIL SOCIETY

Required Readings:

- Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone," in Diamond and Plattner.
- Larry Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (1994): 5-17.
- de Tocqueville, Alexis, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence (New York: HarperPerennial, 1988), vol. 2, part 2, chaps. 5-8, pp. 513-528.
- Almond, et al, "Interest Groups and Interest Articulation, chap. 5 p. 84-103.
- Everett Ladd, *The Ladd Report* (New York: Free Press, 1999), chapter 3, pp. 25-60.
- Bronislaw Geremek, "Civil Society, Then and Now," in Diamond and Plattner, p. 241-250.

- Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), chaps. 1, 4, 5, pp. 83-162.

WEEK 12 (APR 8): MAKING POLICY: THE WELFARE STATE

Required Readings:

- Theodore Marmer, et al, eds., *America's Misunderstood Welfare State* (New York: Basic Books, 1990). Chapter 7, "How Not To Think About the Welfare State."
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, *American Exceptionalism*, chap. 3, p. 77-112.
- Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United State: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), Chapter 6, "The Limits of the New Deal System and the Roots of Contemporary Welfare Dilemmas," pp. 209-227.
- Assar Lindbeck, *The Swedish Experiment* (Stockholm: SNS Forlag, 1997), pp. 12-30, 72-89.
- "The Burdens of Old Age," in Derek Bok, *State of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1996), pp. 276-291.
- "Helping the Poor," in Derek Bok, *State of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1996), pp. 334-356.
- Robert Goodin, et al, eds., *The Real Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Chapters 4, pp. 56-86, "National Embodiments," 13, pp. 240-45, "The U.S. as a Liberal Welfare Regime," 15, pp. 253-58, "Germany as a Corporatist Welfare Regime."

WEEK 13 (APR 15): SOCIAL POLICY I: RACE, POVERTY, HEALTH

Required Readings:

- Lockhart, C (1981) "Values and Policy Conceptions of Health Policy Elites in the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 6(1) 98-119.
- Martin Marger, *Social Inequality* (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1999). Chapters 3, pp. 49-78 "Poverty and the Poor," and 7, pp. 164-189 "Public Policy and the Changing State."
- Christopher Jencks, *The Homeless* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 1-20 "The Numbers," and pp. 103-122, "Reversing The Trend."
- Soydan, H (1995) "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of How Social Workers in Sweden and England Assess a Migrant Family," *Scandinavian Journal of Social Welfare*, 4(2) 85-93.
- Christopher Jencks, *Rethinking Social Policy: Race, Poverty, and the Underclass* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993), "Introduction," and Chapter 1, "Affirmative Action or Quotas," pp. 1-79.

WEEK 14 (APR 22): LAW AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Required Readings:

- World Bank, *The State in a Changing World*, chapter 6, pp. 99-109.

- Moses Naim, "The Corruption Eruption," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 2 (1995): 245-261.
- Robert E. Klitgaard, *Controlling Corruption* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 1-48.
- S. M. Lipset and Gabriel Lenz, "Corruption, Culture, and Markets," in Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "Law and Deviance," in *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York & London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 90-116.
- Steel, Brent S. and Steger, Mary Ann E., "Crime: Due Process Liberalism Versus Law-and-Order Conservatism," in Tatlovich, Raymond and Daynes, Byron W., eds., *Social Regulatory Policy: Moral Controversies in American Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), Chap. 3, pp. 74-100, 235-238.
- "Violent Crime," in Derek Bok, *State of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1996), pp. 217-234.

WEEK 15 (APR 29): SOCIAL POLICY II: EDUCATION, FAMILY

Required Readings

- Kahlenberg, Richard, ed., *A Notion at Risk* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 2000), Chapter 1 (1-8), Chapter 6 (169-222); Wells, Amy, et al, "Charter Schools..."
- Peterson, Paul E. and Bryan C. Hassel, eds., *Learning from School Choice* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1998) Chapter 1 (1-32), Chapter 15 (395-407)
- Waite, Linda, and Maggie Gallagher, *The Case for Marriage*, (New York: Doubleday, 2000), Chapters 1-4 (p. 1-64), 14 (p. 186-203)
- Fukuyama, Frank, *The Great Disruption*, (New York: Free Press, 1999), Chapter 1 (3-26), Chapter 16 (263-283)