

**School of Government**

**MAPP 523**

**POLITICS, PHILOSOPHY AND PUBLIC POLICY**  
(15 Points)

**Trimester Two 2007**

**COURSE OUTLINE**

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**Contact Details**

**Course Coordinator:** **Professor Jonathan Boston**  
Room RWW 308, Level 3, Railway Station, Pipitea Campus  
Telephone: (04) 463 5456  
Fax: (04) 463 4713  
Email: [jonathan.boston@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:jonathan.boston@vuw.ac.nz)

**Administrator:** **Darren Morgan**  
Room RH 802, Level 8, Rutherford House, Pipitea Campus  
Telephone: (04) 463 5458  
Fax: (04) 463 5454  
Email: [darren.morgan@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:darren.morgan@vuw.ac.nz)

**Module Dates, Times and Locations**

**Module Four:** Wednesday 22 August 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

**Module Five:** Wednesday 17 October 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

**Module Six:** Wednesday 21 November 2007 8.30am – 6.00pm

**Location:** Classes will normally be held on the Pipitea Campus of Victoria University and you will be advised of your classroom one week prior to each module by email.

## **Course Objectives**

The course is divided into two parts. The first, and larger, part examines the contribution of political, social and moral philosophy to an understanding of the role of the state. In so doing, it outlines some of the competing moral frameworks which influence ethical discourse on policy matters, examines some of the key values (e.g. liberty, justice, the minimization of harm, etc.) that need to be considered in evaluating alternative policy options, explores the meaning and possible application of concepts like ‘the public interest’ and ‘the common good’, and considers recent debates in New Zealand over the nature of biculturalism, preferential treatment and the policy implications of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The second part of the course explores some of the issues surrounding the application of social science theories and methodologies to the conduct of policy analysis including the different concepts of rationality and the ‘rationalist’ versus ‘incrementalist’ debate. Consideration is also given to the current debate over climate change policy – as an example of a large-scale collective action problem involving significant scientific uncertainties, major distributional issues, considerations of intergenerational justice and large policy and political risks.

By the end of the course it is expected that students will be able to:

- explain the strengths and weaknesses of a number of influential moral philosophies and highlight their relevance to policy making;
- apply specific ethical principles, such as the harm principle, to an analysis of particular policy issues;
- outline and apply difference decision rules when faced with competing values; and
- explain the various competing models of policy making and outline the key theoretical and methodological limitations to social-problem solving.

## **Course Content**

### **Part I: Philosophy and Public Policy: Some Key Issues and Concepts**

#### **1. Politics and Markets**

- the role of the state – contrasting views
- the respective contributions of the disciplines of politics and economics
- the differences between political and market choice mechanisms
- merit goods, public goods, collective action problems, externalities, etc.
- exit, voice and loyalty
- public policy and citizen participation

## **2. Values, Ethical Frameworks and Public Policy**

- consequentialist v non-consequentialist moral philosophies
- the strengths and weaknesses of utilitarianism
- the range of values and ethical considerations
- conflicting values and decision rules
- the ends of public policy: what is ‘the good society’?
- pluralism, diversity and the limits to tolerance

## **3. The Public Interest and the Common Good**

- the range of aggregative concepts
- an analysis of common goods, the common good and possible criteria for application
- the use and meaning of the public interest
- the role of the state in protecting the public interest and pursuing the common good

## **4. Liberty and the Grounds for Coercion**

- the nature and value of liberty
- the presumption in favour of liberty
- grounds for coercion by the state (and others)
- the harm principle and policy applications
- the offence principle and policy applications
- moral legalism and policy applications

## **5. Neutrality, Perfectionism and Paternalism**

- the debate over state neutrality versus perfectionism
- the meaning and value of neutrality
- arguments for and against neutrality
- forms of paternalism
- policy issues and implications

## **6. Justice: Formal and Material Principles**

- forms of justice: substantive v procedural, social, redistributive, retributive, restorative, commutative etc.
- formal principles (e.g. the principle of like treatment, etc.)
- material principles (e.g. equality, need, desert, etc.)
- criminal justice and theories of punishment

### **Sub-topic: Rawls and his Critics**

- justice as ‘fairness’
- Rawls’ methodology, principles of justice and applications
- a critical assessment of Rawls’ theory of justice
- alternative approaches - Barry, Hayek, Nozick, etc.
- the boundaries of justice: international distributive justice

### **7. Rights and Duties**

- the nature and limits of rights
- kinds of rights: human, moral, legal, individual, collective, natural, etc.
- negative and positive rights
- absolute rights
- conditional rights
- rights and duties
- the idea of a Code of Social and Family Responsibility

### **8. Biculturalism, Multiculturalism, Citizenship and the Treaty of Waitangi**

- liberalism, the rights of indigenous minorities and equal citizenship
- ‘cultural’ justice and the role of the state
- biculturalism v multiculturalism
- the implications of the Treaty for public policy in NZ
- the policy implications of increasing social and ethnic diversity
- arguments for and against preferential treatment/positive discrimination

## **Part II: Politics and Policy Analysis**

### **9. Models of Policy Making**

- different concepts of rationality in public policymaking
- the ‘rationalist’ versus the ‘incrementalist’ debate and attempts at theoretical resolution
- how to ‘muddle through’ better

### **10. Social Science and Social-Problem Solving**

- the nature of social science
- the contribution of social science to social problem solving
- a critique and defence of social science
- social science and lay probing

### **Sub-topic: Path Dependence**

- the nature of path dependence
- examples of increasing returns to scale
- contemporary cases
- the implications for policy analysis

### **11. Climate Change: Scientific, Economic, Political and Ethical Issues**

- the scientific debate
- the economics of climate change – collective action problems, discount rates, costs and benefits of actions
- the politics of climate change – domestic and global
- ethical issues – responsibilities for future generations, distributional issues

### **12. ‘The Third Way’ and its Critics**

- the nature of the Third Way
- strengths and weaknesses of the Third Way
- contemporary trends in political and social philosophy

Module 4: Topics 1-4

Module 5: Topics 5-8

Module 6: Topics 9-12

### **Learning Commitment**

The learning objectives set for each course are demanding and, to achieve them, candidates must make a significant commitment in time and effort to reading, studying, thinking, and completion of assessment items outside of contact time. Courses vary in design but all require preparation and learning before the first module. Regular learning is necessary between modules (students who leave everything to the last moment rarely achieve at a high level). Expressed in input terms, the time commitment required usually translates to 65-95 hours (excluding class contact time) per course.

### **Readings**

#### **General Comment on Reading Material for the Course**

I have set out below some general items of relevance for much of the course, together with some specific readings for each lecture. You are certainly not expected to read everything on the list, or even most things! Rather, I hope you will read at least two items (e.g. an article and a chapter, etc.) from each topic, and familiarize yourself with at least three of the books in the ‘general reading’ list (or works of a similar kind). In order to assist you, I have put an \* beside some of the more important, or accessible material. Many, but not all, of the items marked are included in the Course Readings. Other material not listed on the reading list will

also be provided as deemed necessary (e.g. important articles or short reports on relevant themes that are published during the year).

Further, please let me know if you come across material that you think it would be useful to distribute to the rest of the class, or if you have difficulty locating particular items.

One reason for having a moderately extensive list of readings is to assist you in the preparation of assignments and essays, and also to provide you with a source for future reference.

### **Some Useful General Reading**

Barry, B. (2005) Social Justice Matters Cambridge, Polity Press.

Beauchamp, T. (ed.) (1975) Ethics and Public Policy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Blondel, J. (1981) The Discipline of Politics London, Butterworths.

Christman, J. (2002) Social and Political Philosophy: A Contemporary Introduction London, Routledge.

Feinberg, J. (1973) Social Philosophy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Chapters 2-3.

Goodin, R. (1995) Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Goodin, R. and Pettit, P. (eds.) (1993) A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Kymlicka, W. (1990) Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction Oxford, Clarendon.

Lindblom, C. E. (1977) Politics and Markets New York, Basic Books.

Parsons, W. (1995) Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis Aldershot, Edward Elgar.

Singer, P. (ed.) (1991) A Companion to Ethics Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

Stewart, R. (ed.) (1986) Readings in Social and Political Philosophy Oxford, Oxford University Press.

\* = priority reading

## **Part I: Philosophy and Public Policy: Some Key Issues and Concepts**

### **1. Politics and Markets**

Barry, B. (1970) Sociologists, Economists and Democracy London, Collier-Macmillan.

Buchanan, J. et al. (1980) The Economics of Politics London, IEA.

Ellis, A and Kumar, K (eds.) (1983) Dilemmas of Liberal Democracies New York, Tavistock, Chs. 7 & 10.

\* Elster, J. and Hylland, A. (eds.) (1986) Foundations of Social Choice Theory Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hirsch, F. (1977) Social Limits to Growth London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

\* Hirschman, A. (1970) Exit, Voice and Loyalty Cambridge, Harvard.

Hirschman, A. (1986) Rival Views of Market Society and Other Essays New York, Viking Penguin.

\* Lindblom, C. E. (1977) Politics and Markets New York, Basic Books.

Lindblom, C. E. (1982) "The Market as Prison", The Journal of Politics, 44, pp. 324-336.

Parsons, W. Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 1995, Part 1.

\* Self, P. (1993) Government by the Market? Melbourne, Macmillan.

Self, P. (2000) Rolling Back the Market New York, St Martin's Press.

The Treasury (1987) Government Management Volume 1 Wellington, Government Printer, Ch. 1.

Udehn, L. (1996) The Limits of Public Choice London, Routledge.

### **2. Values, Ethical Frameworks and Public Policy**

Beauchamp, T. (ed.) (1975) Ethics and Public Policy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

Boston, J. (1994) "Love, Justice and the State" in J. Boston and A. Cameron (eds) Voices for Justice Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

Goodin, R. (1995) Utilitarianism as a Public Philosophy Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Part 1.

Goodin, R. (1995) "Political Ideals and Political Practice", British Journal of Political Science, 25, pp. 37-56.

\* Kymlicka, W (1990) Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction Oxford, Clarendon, Ch. 2.

\* Nussbaum, M. (2000) Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1.

Royal Commission on Genetic Modification (2001) Report and Recommendations Wellington, esp. Chs. 2 & 3.

\* Sen, A. (1987) On Ethics and Economics Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Sen, A. (1999) Development as Freedom Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Singer, P. (ed.) (1991) A Companion to Ethics Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

### **3. The Public Interest and the Common Good**

Bardach, E. (1981) "On Representing the Public Interest", Ethics, 91, 3, April, pp 486-490.

Barry, B. (1964) "The Public Interest", Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, Supp 38, pp 1-18.

\* Barry, B. (1965) Political Argument London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Chapters X-XV.

Benditt, T. (1973) "The Public Interest", Philosophy and Public Affairs, 2, Spring, pp 291-311.

Boston, J. and Cameron, A. (eds.) (1994) Voices for Justice Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, Ch 5.

\* Cochren, C. (1974) "Political Science and the Public Interest", Journal of Politics, 36, May, pp 327-355.

Connoll, W. (1981) "The public interest and the common good" in Appearance and Reality in Politics Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

\* Dahl, R (1989) Democracy and its Critics New Haven, Yale University Press, chapters 20 & 21.

Douglas, B. (1980) "The Common Good and the Public Interest", Political Theory, 8, 1, pp. 103-117.

Flathman, R. (1966) The Public Interest: an Essay Concerning the Normative Discourse of Politics New York, Wiley.



- \* Friedrich, C. (ed.) (1966) The Public Interest New York, Atherton Press.
- Hague, D. (1975) Public Policy and Private Interests: The Institutions of Compromise London, Macmillan.
- Held, V. (1970) The Public Interest and Individual Interests New York, Basic Books.
- Lewin, L. (1991) Self-Interest and the Public Interest in Western Politics New York, Oxford University Press.
- Lilla, M. (1985) "What is the Civic Interest?", The Public Interest, 81, pp. 64-81.
- McEachern, A. and Al-Araved, J. (1984) "Discerning the Public Interest", Administration and Society, pp. 439-453.
- Oppenheim, F. (1975) "Self-Interest and the Public Interest", Political Theory, 3, pp 259-276.
- Simons, R. (1995) Competing Gospels: Public Theology and Economic Policy Alexandria, E.J. Dwyer (esp. Ch. 5).
- Smith, T. (1999) "Aristotle on the Conditions for and Limits of the Common Good", American Political Science Review, 93, 3, pp. 625-636.
- Schubert, G. (1960) The Public Interest: a Critique of the Theory of a Political Concept Westport Conn, Greenwood Press, reprinted 1982.
- Tullock, G. (1984) "A (Partial) Rehabilitation of the Public Interest Theory", Public Choice, 42, pp. 89-99.

#### **4. Liberty and the Grounds for Coercion**

- Ahdar, R. (2001) Worlds Colliding: Conservative Christians and the Law Aldershot, Ashgate.
- Beauchamp, T (ed.) (1975) Ethics and Public Policy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Part 5 (Moral Enforcement).
- Cohen-Almagor, R. (1993) "Harm Principle, Offence Principle, and the Skokie Affair", Political Studies, 41, pp. 453-470.
- \* Feinberg, J (1973) Social Philosophy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Chapters 2-3.
- Feinberg, J. (1980) Rights, Justice and the Bounds of Liberty: Essays in Social Philosophy Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Goodin, R (1990) "Liberalism and the Best-Judge Principle", Political Studies, 38, pp. 181-195.

Kymlicka, W (1990) Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction Oxford, Clarendon.

Mill, J S (1956 edition) On Liberty New York, Liberal Arts Press.

Raphael, D D (1976) Problems of Political Philosophy London, Macmillan, Ch. 5.

\* Sartorius, R (ed.) (1983) Paternalism, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, esp. Chs. 1, 2, 3 and 13.

\* Wilkinson, T M (1995) "Rationality, Efficiency and the Market", in J Boston (ed.) The State Under Contract, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books.

## **5. Neutrality, Perfectionism and Paternalism**

Ahdar, R. (2001) Worlds Colliding: Conservative Christians and the Law Aldershot, Ashgate.

Brighouse, H. (1995) "Neutrality, Publicity and State Funding of the Arts", Philosophy and Public Affairs, 24, pp. 35-63.

\* Caney, S (1992) "Consequentialist Defences of Liberal Neutrality", The Philosophical Review, 41, pp. 457-477.

Caney, S (1992) "Liberalism and Communitarianism: a Misconceived Debate", Political Studies, 40, pp. 273-289.

Caney, S. (1995) "Anti-perfectionism and Rawlsian Liberalism", Political Studies, 43, pp. 248-264.

Christman, J. (2002) Social and Political Philosophy: A Contemporary Introduction London, Routledge.

Clarke, S. (1999) "Contractarianism, Liberal Neutrality, and Epistemology", Political Studies, 47, pp. 627-642.

Davey, J. (2000) Another New Zealand Experiment: A Code of Social and Family Responsibility Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies.

Dworkin, R. (1985) A Matter of Principle Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, Ch. 11.

Galston, W. (1991) Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

\* Goodin, R and Reeve, A (eds.) (1989) Liberal Neutrality London, Routledge.

MacLeod, C. (1997) "Liberal Neutrality or Liberal Tolerance?" Law and Philosophy, 16, pp. 529-559.

Neal, P and Paris, D (1990) "Liberalism and the Communitarian Critique: A Guide for the Perplexed", Canadian Journal of Political Science, 23, pp. 419-439.

Rawls, J (1988) "The Priority of the Right and Ideas of the Good", Philosophy and Public Affairs, 17.

## **6. Justice: Formal and Material Principles**

Barrett, Maxine (1988) "Standards and Foundations for Social Policy" in Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy Volume 111, Part 1 Wellington, Government Printer.

Barry, B. (2005) Social Justice Matters Cambridge, Polity Press.

Beauchamp, T (ed.) (1975) Ethics and Public Policy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Part 2 (Criminal Punishment).

Boston, J., Dalziel, P. and St John, S. (eds.) (1999) Redesigning the Welfare State in New Zealand Auckland, Oxford University Press, Ch. 2.

Braybrooke, D. (1987) Meeting Needs Princeton, Princeton University Press.

\* Copp, D. (1992) "The Right to an Adequate Standard of Living: Justice, Autonomy, and Basic Needs", Social Philosophy and Policy, 9, pp. 231-261.

Campbell, J (1988) Justice London, Macmillan.

\* Caney, S. (2001) "Review Article: International Distributive Justice", Political Studies, 49, pp. 974-997.

Dobson, A. (ed) (1999) Fairness and Futurity: Essays on Environmental Sustainability and Social Justice Oxford, Oxford University Press.

\* Feinberg, J (1973) Social Philosophy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Ch. 7.

\* Galston, W. (1980) Justice and the Human Good Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, Ch. 5.

Hurrell, A. and Woods, N. (eds) (1999) Inequality, Globalization and World Politics Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jacob, L. (2004) Pursuing Equal Opportunities: The Theory and Practice of Egalitarian Justice Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Miller, D. (1976) Social Justice Oxford, Clarendon.

\* Miller, D. (1999) Principles of Social Justice Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Miller, D. (2003) Political Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Rachels, J. (ed.) (1975) Moral Problems New York, Harper & Row, Part 5 (Punishment)

Raphael, D. D. (1976) Problems of Political Philosophy London, Macmillan, Ch. 7.

Report of the Commission on Social Justice (1994) Social Justice London, Vintage.

\* Scheffler, S. (1976) "Natural Rights, Equality and the Minimal State", Canadian Journal of Philosophy, 6, pp. 59-76.

Scott, J. et al., (2001) "Just Deserts: An Experimental Study of Distributive Justice Norms", American Journal of Political Science, 45, 4, pp. 749-767.

NZ Church leaders (1993) "Social Justice Statement", Wellington.

### **Sub-topic: Rawls and his Critics**

Barry, B. (1973) The Liberal Theory of Justice Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Barry, B. (1989) Theories of Justice: A Treatise on Social Justice, Volume 1 Berkeley, University of California Press.

de Crespigny, A. (1976) "F A Hayek: Freedom for Progress" in de Crespigny, A and Minogue, K (eds) Contemporary Political Philosophers London, Methuen and Co.

\* Gorovitz, S. (1975) "John Rawls: A Theory of Justice" in de Crespigny, A and Minogue, K (eds) Contemporary Political Philosophers London, Methuen, pp 272-290.

Hayek, F. A. (1973, 1976, 1979) Law, Liberty and Legislation London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jones, P. (1995) "Review Article: Two Conceptions of Liberalism, Two Conceptions of Justice", British Journal of Political Science, 25, pp. 515-550.

Lebacqz, K. (1986) Six Theories of Justice Minneapolis, Augsburg.

Nozick, R. (1974) Anarchy, State & Utopia Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Nozick, R. (1989) The Examined Life: Philosophical Meditations New York: Simon & Schuster.

Plant, R. (1985) "Welfare and the Value of Liberty", Government and Opposition, 20, Summer, pp 298-314.

\* Rawls, J. (1971) A Theory of Justice Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Rawls, J. (1993) Political Liberalism New York, Columbia University Press.

Rawls, J. (2001) Justice as Fairness: A Restatement Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

Raphael, D. D. (1980) Justice and Liberty London, Athlone Press, Ch. 7.

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) The Role of the State: Five Perspectives Wellington, March.

## **7. Rights and Duties**

Boston, J. (1998) "The Code of Social and Family Responsibility", Stimulus: The New Zealand Journal of Christian Thought and Practice, 6, pp. 43-47.

Dasgupta, P. (1986) "Positive Freedom, Markets and the Welfare State", Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 2, pp. 25-36.

Davey, J. (2000) Another New Zealand Experiment: A Code of Social and Family Responsibility Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies.

Dworkin, R. (1977) Taking Rights Seriously Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

\* Feinberg, J. (1973) Social Philosophy New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Chs. 4-6.

\* Geiringer, C. and Palmer, M. (2007) 'Human Rights and Social Policy in New Zealand' Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 30, March, pp. 12-41.

Kelman, S. (1986) "A Case for In-Kind Transfers", Economics and Philosophy, 2, pp. 55-73.

King, D. and Waldron, J. (1988) "Citizenship, Social Citizenship and the Defence of Welfare Provision", British Journal of Political Science, 18, 4, pp. 415-443.

Sen, A. (1984) Resources, Values and Development Oxford, Basil Blackwell, chs. 12-13.

\* Singer, P. (1979) "Rights and the Market", in T. Beauchamp and N. Bowie (eds) Ethical Theory and Business New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.

von Tunzelmann, A. (1996) Social Responsibility and the Company; A New Perspective on Governance, Strategy and the Community Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies.

Waldron, J (ed.) (1984) Theories of Rights Oxford, Oxford University Press.

## **8. Biculturalism, Multiculturalism, Citizenship and the Treaty of Waitangi**

Ahdar, R. (2003) "Indigenous Spiritual Concerns and the Secular State: Some New Zealand Developments", Oxford Journal of Legal Studies, 23, 4, pp. 611-637.

- Barry, B. (2001) Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Boston, J., Callister, P. and Wolf, A. (2006) The Policy Implications of Diversity Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies.
- Brash, D. (2004) "Nationhood". An address to the Orewa Rotary Club, 27 January.
- Esman, M. (1992) "The State and Language Policy", International Political Science Review, 13, pp. 381-396.
- Durie, M. (1998) Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination Auckland, Oxford University Press.
- \* Durie, M. (2005) 'Race and Ethnicity in Public Policy: Does it Work?' Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 24, pp. 1-11.
- Fabre, C. and Miller, D. (2003) "Justice and Culture: Rawls, Sen, Nussbaum and O'Neill", Political Studies Review, 1, pp. 4-17.
- Flera, A. and Elliott, J. (1992) The Nations Within: Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand Toronto, Oxford University Press.
- Held, D. and Kelly, P. (eds) (2002) Multiculturalism Reconsidered Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (1989) Liberalism, Community and Culture Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- \* Kymlicka, W. (1996) Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (eds) (2000) Citizenship in Diverse Societies Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Ladley, A. (2005) "The Treaty and Democratic Government", Policy Quarterly, 1, 1, pp. 20-27.
- Mulgan, R. (1989) Maori, Pakeha and Democracy Auckland, Oxford University Press.
- \* Mulgan, R. (1989) "Should Indigenous Peoples Have Special Rights?" Orbis, Summer, pp. 375-388.
- Oddie, G. and Perrett, R. (eds) (1992) Justice, Ethics and New Zealand Society Auckland, Oxford University Press.
- \* Quentin-Baxter, A. (ed.) (1998) Recognising the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Wellington, Institute of Policy Studies.
- Sharp, A. (1990) Justice and the Maori Auckland, Oxford University Press.

White, N. and Ladley, A. (2005) 'Claims to Treaty and other Rights: Exploring the Terms of Crown-Maori Negotiation', Policy Quarterly, 1, 2, pp. 3-9.

Wilson, M. and Yeatman, A. (eds.) (1995) Justice and Identity: Antipodean Practices Wellington, Bridget Williams Books.

## **Part II: Politics and Policy Analysis**

### **9. Models of Policy Making**

Dror, Y (1984) "Muddling Through - Science or Inertia?" Public Administration Review, 24, 3, pp. 153-157.

\* Gregory, R (1997) "Political Rationality or Incrementalism?" in M. Hill (ed.) The Policy Process: A Reader (2nd ed.) London, Prentice-Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Gregory, R. (2004) 'Political Life and Intervention Logic: Relearning Old Lessons?', International Public Management Journal, 7, 3, pp. 299-315.

Goodin, R E (1982) Political Theory and Public Policy Chicago, Chicago University Press, Chs. 2-3.

Howlett, M and Ramesh, M (1995) Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems New York, Oxford University Press, Chs. 7-9.

\* Lindblom, C E (1959) "The Science of Muddling Through", Public Administration Review, 19, 2, pp. 79-88.

\* Lindblom, C. E. (1979) "Still Muddling, Not Yet Through", Public Administration Review, 39, 6, pp. 517-26.

Parsons, W. Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis Aldershot UK, Edward Elgar, 1995, Part 3.

Premfors, R. (1981) "Review Article: Lindblom and Wildavsky", British Journal of Political Science, 11, pp. 201-226.

Wildavsky, A. (1979) Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis Boston, Little Brown & Co, Chs. 2 and 5.

### **10. Social Science and Social-Problem Solving**

Allison, G. T. (1971) Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis Boston, Little Brown & Co, Chapters 1-2.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

\* Lindblom, C. E. (1990) Inquiry and Change: The Troubled Attempt to Understand and Shape Society New Haven, Yale University Press

Lindblom, C. E. and Cohen, D. K. (1979) Usable Knowledge: Social Science and Social Problem Solving New Haven, Yale University Press.

Lindblom, C. E. and Woodhouse, E. J. (1993) The Policy-Making Process (3rd ed.) Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Paris, D. C. and Reynolds, J. F. (1983) The Logic of Policy Inquiry New York, Longman, Chapters 4-5.

### **Sub-topic: Path Dependence**

Alexander, G. (2001) “Institutions, Path Dependence and Democratic Consolidation”, Journal of Theoretical Politics, 13, 3, pp. 249-70.

\* Pierson, P. (2000) “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics”, American Political Science Review, 94, 2, pp. 251-267.

Pierson, P. (2000) “The Limits of Design: Explaining Institutional Origins and Change”, Governance, 13, 4, pp. 475-499.

## **11. Climate Change: Scientific, Economic, Political and Ethical Issues**

### *Scientific Issues*

Barrett, P. (2006) “Will Unchecked Global Warming Destroy Civilisation by Century’s End? What Three Degrees of Global Warming Really Means”, Policy Quarterly, 2 (1), pp. 5-9.

Challenor, P.G., Hankin, K.S. and Marsh, R. (2006) “Towards the Probability of Rapid Climate Change”, in Schellnhuber, H.J., Cramer, W., Nakicenovic, N., Wigley, T. and Yohe, G. (eds.) (2006) Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 55-63.

Chapman, R., Boston, J. and Schwass, M. (eds.) (2006) Confronting Climate Change: Critical Issues for New Zealand Wellington, Victoria University Press.

Diamond, J. (2006) Collapse London, Penguin Books.

Flannery, T. (2005) The Weather Makers Melbourne, Victoria, The Text Publishing Company.

\* Houghton, J. (2004) Global Warming: The Complete Briefing Third Edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

\* Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change – see Third and Fourth Assessment Reports. [www.ipcc.ch/](http://www.ipcc.ch/)



Kluger, J. (2006) "The Tipping Point", Time, April 3 (13) pp. 14-27.

The Lavoisier Group Inc. (2006) Comment on Scientific Issues in the Stern Reviews Papers March, [www.lavoisier.com.au](http://www.lavoisier.com.au)

Lovelock, J. (2006) The Revenge of Gaia London, The Penguin Group.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (2006) "Report Reconciles Atmospheric Temperature Trends", 2 May, [www.climate.gov/Library/pressreleases/pressrelease2may2006.htm](http://www.climate.gov/Library/pressreleases/pressrelease2may2006.htm), accessed 5 April 2006.

Rehmatof, S. (2004) "The climate sceptics", Munich Re, Weather Catastrophes and Climate Change.

\* Schellnhuber, H.J., Cramer, W., Nakicenovic, N., Wigley, T. and Yohe, G. (eds.) (2006) Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Van der Lingen, G.J. (2005) "The Anthropogenic Global Warming Doctrine", Newsletter of the Geological Society of New Zealand, 138 (November), pp. 60-64.

\* Weaver, S. (2006) "A Scientific Backdrop to Climate Change Policy", Policy Quarterly, 2 (1), pp. 10-20.

Wright, R. (2004) A Short History of Progress Melbourne, Victoria, The Text Publishing Company.

#### *Policy Issues*

Chapman, R., Boston, J. and Schwass, M. (eds.) (2006) Confronting Climate Change: Critical Issues for New Zealand Wellington, Victoria University Press.

Congressional Budget Office (2003) The Economics of Climate Change: A Primer Washington, D.C., Congressional Budget Office.

Helm, D. (ed) (2005) Climate-change Policy Oxford, Oxford University Press.

House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs (2005) "Government Response to the Economics of Climate Change", 3<sup>rd</sup> Report of Session 2005-06 London, The Stationery Office Ltd.

New Zealand Government (2005) Review of New Zealand's Climate Change Policies Wellington, November.

Pachauri, R. (2005) "Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change", in Schellnhuber, H.J., Cramer, W., Nakicenovic, N., Wigley, T. and Yohe, G. (eds.) (2006) Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-5.

Schneider, S.H. et al. (eds) (2002) Climate Change Policy: A Survey Washington, Island Press.

Schneider, S.H. and Lane, J. (2006) “An Overview of ‘Dangerous’ Climate Change”, in Schellnhuber, H.J., Cramer, W., Nakicenovic, N., Wigley, T. and Yohe, G. (eds.) (2006) Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 7-23.

\* Stern, N. (2006) The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Ward, M. (2006) “Is There Now a Role for Economic Instruments in New Zealand’s Domestic Climate Change Policy?”, Policy Quarterly, 2 (1), pp. 21-24.

\* Watson, R.T. (ed.) (2001) Climate Change 2001: Synthesis Report, A Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

*Some relevant websites*

[www.ipcc.ch](http://www.ipcc.ch)

[www.climateark.org](http://www.climateark.org)

[www.realclimate.org](http://www.realclimate.org)

[www.vuw.ac.nz/sog/events/info-climate.aspx](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/sog/events/info-climate.aspx)

[www.climatechange.govt.nz/resources/reports/policy-review-05](http://www.climatechange.govt.nz/resources/reports/policy-review-05)

## **12. ‘The Third Way’ & Conclusions**

Chatterjee, S. et al., (1999) The New Politics: A Third Way for New Zealand Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

\* Giddens, A. (1998) The Third Way London, Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (2000) The Third Way and its Critics London, Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (ed.) (2001) The Global Third Way Debate London, Polity Press.

Scanlon, C. (2001) “A Step to the Left? Or Just a Jump to the Right? Making Sense of the Third Way on Government and Governance”, Australian Journal of Political Science, 36, pp. 481-498.

Other reading material will be provided as required.

## **Assessment Requirements**

The purpose of assessment is three-fold: to ensure that you have met the standard of work required of the course; to give you feedback on your performance to assist you with your future study; and to provide the teaching staff with feedback on the progress of the class.

You will be assessed on the basis of your individual work.

Your grade in this course will be based on your performance in the following:

1. Two short assignments of no more than 1,000 words (25% each), and
2. An essay of no more than 3000 words (50%).

**Please submit ALL assignments IN HARD COPY to:**

Francine McGee,  
School of Government,  
Victoria University of Wellington,  
Level 8 Reception,  
Rutherford House,  
23 Lambton Quay,  
P.O. Box 600,  
Wellington.

**Students should keep a copy of all submitted work.**

1. **First Assignment** 1,000 words Date due: Tuesday 11 September 2007

EITHER:

Identify and briefly assess the key values (or ethical principles) at stake in ONE of the following current policy issues:

1. whether same-sex couples should be permitted to adopt children;
2. whether cannabis use should be decriminalized;
3. whether parents/guardians should be allowed to smack their children; or
4. whether research on human stem cells should be permitted.

OR:

“Utilitarianism is very poor ethics but reasonably good economics”. Critically assess the validity of this assertion.

OR:

John Rawls once suggested that: “... in our society utilitarianism operates as a kind of tacit background against which other theories have to assert and defend themselves”. Is this claim correct and, if so, what are the policy implications?

OR:

“All public policies are harmful in some identifiable and significant respect – however well intentioned, competently designed and effectively implemented. Policy makers thus have no choice but to choose the lesser of two evils”. Is this claim valid?

2. **Second Assignment** 1,000 words Date due: Tuesday 30 October 2007

EITHER:

You are a policy adviser to Minister for State Services. She has recently called for a review of all government policies where particular groups, especially ethnic groups, receive (or appear to receive) preferential treatment. Prepare a briefing note for the Minister outlining the arguments for and against positive discrimination (preferential treatment/affirmative action/equity funding). What conclusions can you draw? Please refer to local examples and evidence wherever possible.

OR:

You are a policy adviser to the Minister for the Environment. He is seeking advice on the nature of our obligations to future generations and whether the interests of such generations are properly protected under current policy-making processes and regulatory frameworks. Write a brief report to the Minister providing him with advice on these matters.

OR:

You are a policy adviser to the Minister of Justice. He has asked for your advice on the whether active, voluntary euthanasia should be made legal. Write a brief report to the Minister setting out the key issues (i.e. ethical, medical, legal, etc.) that need to be explored in coming to a judgement on this matter.

OR:

You are a policy adviser to the Prime Minister. She has asked for your advice on how a democratic society should go about making decisions on highly controversial policy issues where parties are typically deeply divided, such as abortion, human cloning, genetic modification, sexual conduct and drugs policy. Write a brief report to the Prime Minister outlining the relevant principles that should be taken into account in choosing between different decision rules. In so doing, assess the relative merits of at least TWO different decision-making processes (e.g. citizens' juries, referenda, 'free' votes by parliamentarians, normal parliamentary processes, etc.).

3. **Essay** 3,000 words Date due: Tuesday 27 November 2007

EITHER:

The Families Commission is required under its Act "to encourage and facilitate the development and provision ... of policies designed to promote or serve the interests of families". At the same time, the Commission must have proper regard to the kinds, structures and diversity of families. With reference to the Commission's mandate and the debate over whether the state should be neutral with respect to different conceptions of 'the good life', discuss the "interests of families" and

critically assess whether these interests can be properly promoted in a context where the state does not favour one family model over any other.

OR:

Critically assess the proposition that indigenous minorities do not need, are not entitled to, and should not be granted rights of a special character. Is the failure to recognize the rights of indigenous minorities a breach of cultural justice?

OR:

The principle of equality of opportunity is one of the most widely recognized and supported principles of social justice. But what does it actually mean and how does it differ from other principles of equality (e.g. equality of resources or equality of outcome). Further, what are the policy implications, if any, of taking the principle of equality of opportunity seriously? Draw on current policy issues and examples to illustrate your answer.

OR:

“In the last century thousands of social scientists trying to practice methods much like those of the natural sciences have swarmed over institutions and social processes to try and extract propositions hidden to the lay mind. For all that effort and for all its presumed usefulness, I cannot identify a single social science finding or idea that is undeniably indispensable to any social task or effort”. C.E. Lindblom (1990) Inquiry and Change: The Troubled Attempt to Understand and Shape Society (New Haven, Yale University Press), p. 136.

Critically assess Lindblom’s claim with particular reference to the use of social science in policy analysis. Give examples to illustrate your arguments.

**ANZSOG candidates** taking this course as an elective should note that they take it for 24 points, and not 15 points. Accordingly, the learning outcomes to be achieved by ANZSOG candidates are wider and deeper than those expected for non-ANZSOG candidates. The content of those learning outcomes, and the means whereby they will be assessed, will be negotiated and confirmed with the course co-ordinator at the start of the course.

## **Penalties**

The ability to plan for and meet deadlines is a core competency of both advanced study and public management. Failure to meet deadlines disrupts course planning and is unfair on students who do submit their work on time. It is expected therefore that you will complete and hand in assignments by the due date. Marks may be deducted where assignments are submitted after the due date. For out of town students, two calendar days’ grace is given to allow for time in the post.

If ill-health, family bereavement or other personal emergencies prevent you from meeting the deadline for submitting a piece of written work or from attending class to make a presentation, you can apply for and may be granted an extension to the due date. Note that this applies only to extreme unforeseen circumstances and is not necessarily awarded. You should let your Course Coordinator know as soon as possible in advance of the deadline if you are seeking an extension.

## **Mandatory Course Requirements**

To fulfil the mandatory course requirements for this course, you are required to:

1. Submit all assignments by the due date;
2. Attend all contact sessions of the course.

## **Communication of Additional Information**

If additional information needs to be communicated to students, this will occur in class and/or via notices on Blackboard.

## **Withdrawal Dates**

Students giving notice of withdrawal from the course after 4 September 2007 will not receive a refund of tuition fees.

Students giving notice of withdrawal from the course after 23 October 2007 are regarded as having failed the course, unless the Associate Dean subsequently gives approval to withdraw.

## **Faculty of Commerce and Administration Offices**

### **Railway West Wing (RWW) - FCA Student and Academic Services Office**

The Faculty's Student and Academic Services Office is located on the ground and first floors of the Railway West Wing. The ground floor counter is the first point of contact for general enquiries and FCA forms. Student Administration Advisers are available to discuss course status and give further advice about FCA qualifications. To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

### **Easterfield (EA) - FCA/Education/Law Kelburn Office**

The Kelburn Campus Office for the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, Education and Law is situated in the Easterfield Building - it includes the ground floor reception desk (EA 005) and offices 125a to 131 (Level 1). The office is available for the following:

- Duty tutors for student contact and advice.
- Information concerning administrative and academic matters.
- Forms for FCA Student and Academic Services (e.g. application for academic transcripts, requests for degree audit, COP requests).
- Examinations-related information during the examination period.

To check for opening hours, call the Student and Academic Services Office on (04) 463 5376.

## **Notice of Turnitin Use**

Student work provided for assessment in this course **may be** checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine [www.turnitin.com](http://www.turnitin.com). Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. **At the discretion of the School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin.** You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

## **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

*The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.*

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

*Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.*

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website at [www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html)

## **General University Policies and Statutes**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied. See the Victoria University Calendar available in hardcopy or under "About Victoria" on the VUW homepage at [www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/calendar\\_intro.html](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html)

Information on the following topics is available electronically at [www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/downloads/course\\_outlines\\_general\\_information.pdf](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/downloads/course_outlines_general_information.pdf)

- Academic Grievances
- Student and Staff Conduct
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

## **Manaaki Pihipihinga Programme**

Manaaki Pihipihinga is an academic mentoring programme for undergraduate Māori and Pacific students in the Faculties of Commerce and Administration, and Humanities and Social Sciences. Sessions are held at the Kelburn and Pipitea Campuses in the Mentoring Rooms, 14 Kelburn Parade (back courtyard), Room 109D, and Room 210, Level 2, Railway West Wing. There is also a Pacific Support Coordinator who assists Pacific students by linking them to the services and support they need while studying at Victoria. Another feature of the programme is a support network for Postgraduate students with links to Postgraduate workshops and activities around Campus.

For further information, or to register with the programme, email [manaaki-pihipihinga-programme@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:manaaki-pihipihinga-programme@vuw.ac.nz) or phone (04) 463 5233 ext. 8977. To contact the Pacific Support Coordinator, email [pacific-support-coord@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:pacific-support-coord@vuw.ac.nz) or phone (04) 463 5842.