Course Description:

This course explores how policy is made and implemented in Washington DC. We will analyze the factors that shape policy choices and their execution / enforcement across a range of issue areas and institutions at both the national and international level.

The course will focus substantial attention on the utility and shortcomings of a political economy approach to the subject of policymaking. Students will be introduced to principal-agent theory, which focuses on the locus of formal policy making authority and the conditions under which actors who have policymaking authority (principals) will delegate authority to other actors (their agents). We will also attempt to understand the incentives that agents have to behave in particular ways. Principal-agent theory does not explain everything about the policy process or policy outcomes, but it is a powerful analytic framework that helps us to think clearly about the actors who have policymaking authority, the incentives they face, and the policy outcomes that result from these interactions.

In particular, we will seek to better understand the following:

- How can we understand the decisions and behavior of policymakers, those who implement policy, and those who advocate for particular policies?
- Why and when do policymakers create new policies or alter existing policies in pursuit of their interests?
- When are policymakers effective in achieving their stated (and unstated) goals?
- To whom are policymakers accountable...and when are they not?

This principal-agent approach will provide the conceptual foundation for the class, with case studies, site visits, guest lectures, and mini-simulations used to provide the context within which students can leverage
these tools, and test their limits. Students will be directly exposed to policy practitioners in DC to better understand how different actors define their goals, analyze complex situations, and achieve (or not) their objectives in the policy process. These actors employ a wide array of delegated authority, rules, norms and legal principles in an effort to coordinate and influence policy. In the course of the class, students will have a chance to propose their own policy recommendations, via written briefs and verbal presentations, to receive feedback from policy practitioners in their substantive areas of interest.

**Required Reading:** All readings on the syllabus and all course documents are available on on the class website.

**Attendance:** Because this class course is concentrated in time and quite intense, attendance is mandatory and will be taken during each class meeting (note: this includes both the W&M and DC sessions). Each student’s participation grade will be lowered by a full letter grade for each unexcused absence. Proper documentation is required for excused absences. Religious and spiritual related absences will be accommodated. Absences, late arrivals, and early departures will be taken into consideration in determining a student’s final grade for the course. If you have persistent scheduling issues, please notify the instructors or the TA as soon as possible. Attendance may be taken at the start of each day. **As Metro and traffic is unpredictable please plan on arriving early in order to ensure you are not late.** There will be some days where we all meet on site to start the day. Directions will be provided by the Teaching Assistant.

**Assignments:** All submissions are due in hard copy on due date and via email to Venu Katta (vrkatta@email.wm.edu) prior to the start of class.

**Principal-agent in the News (5%)**
A 500 word exercise identifying a principal-agent scenario currently playing out in the US foreign policy arena. Detailed instructions on topic and format are posted on the course site. Due February 15th at beginning of class.

**Policy Memo (25%)**
A 2 page, single-spaced memo, on a topic of student's choosing in the commerce, development, or security realm. Detailed instructions on topic and format are posted on the course site. You will be assessed on a draft as well as a final copy of the memo. By the end of this course you should have a polished policy memo:

**Draft Policy Memo (5%)**
This draft is your chance to receive substantive and detailed feedback. Those who prepare a strong first draft and incorporate the feedback will score well on the final memo. You must complete a consultation with Professor Trichler between February 16th and the 22nd where you will receive approval on your proposed topic. Sign up for a timeslot for consultations via the link of the course site. You should alert Professor Trichler as soon as possible if you are aware of extenuating circumstances which prevent you from being able to meet any of the timeslots over the five day period.

Your draft memo is due on February 28th at midnight. Expect written feedback on your draft by March 4th.
Final Policy Memo (20%)
Due March 22nd at midnight.

Presentation (25%)
Students in teams of two to three will prepare and present a briefing no longer than 7 minutes, followed by 8 to 10 minutes of Q&A, on 1 of 3 pre-selected topics. Similar to the written memo, the objective of the briefing is to succinctly describe a policy problem and then articulate a policy recommendation for implementation. Assignments will be made prior to the February 15 class session. Detailed instructions on topic and format are posted on the course site.

Additionally, you must complete a consultation with Venu on your presentation on March 1st or March 2nd. Sign up for a timeslot for consultations via the link of the course site. You should alert Venu as soon as possible if you are aware of a severe extenuating circumstance which prevents your group from being able to meet any of the timeslots over the two day period. This session will allow groups to discuss their presentation and obtain feedback. The better prepared students are for this session, the more likely they are to score successfully on their final presentation. E.g. if you have a full presentation to run by Venu, you will get very detailed feedback. If you just have a concept, the feedback will be less tailored and therefore less helpful.

Final Presentations will be in D.C. on March 11 where you will make formal presentations and answer questions from a panel of policy practitioners.

Analytic Essay (25%)
Write a five page essay on the strengths and weaknesses of principal-agent (PA) theory in helping us understand policy making and/or policy implementation in Washington DC. Like any other theory, PA theory highlights certain actors and certain constraints in the policy process, but it ignores or discounts others. What does PA theory help you to see that is sometimes missing from public discourse on policy making or policy implementation? What blinders does it impose on you as the analyst? You must use evidence from the course readings, lectures, and activities to illustrate your argument. In addition to course materials, you are welcome to use other forms of evidence, but all claims should be well documented. The finished essay should demonstrate your understanding of the theory and it should demonstrate your understanding of one or more important cases or policy issues. Due April 5th at midnight.

Active Participation (20%)
Students must complete the assigned readings in advance and arrive at class meetings prepared to actively participate in discussions about the readings. Discussion/dialogue is not unidirectional. Therefore, while we recognize that there are varying methods of participation, oral participation is an important method for demonstrating active involvement in this class. A student’s participation will be assessed according to the quality of his or her contribution to class discussions, including frequency, clarity, along with a demonstrated knowledge of course content. Much of this class involves and depends upon collaboration with others. You will have ample opportunity to ask questions during presentations, panel discussions, site visits, etc. Students will be asked to generate 1 to 2 questions prior to site visits. Instructions on how to submit the questions will be provided during the first DC class section.
Numeric grades translate into letter grades in the following manner:

- 100-93: A
- 92-90: A-
- 89-87: B+
- 86-84: B
- 83-80: B-
- etc.

**Late Assignments**: Late final papers will be penalized one letter grade for each day they are late (i.e., the grade for a paper that is one day late will be lowered, for example, from an A- to a B-).

**Academic Honesty**: You are expected to adhere to the tenets of the Honor Code when completing course assignments; they will be strictly enforced. If you are uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism (e.g., the rules for properly attributing cited material or how to paraphrase), please ask for clarification before submitting your work.

Additional Assistance: The Writing Resources Center, located on the first floor of Swem Library, is a free service provided to W&M students. Trained consultants offer individual assistance with writing, presentation, and other communication assignments at any stage, from generating ideas to polishing a final product, and across disciplines. To make an appointment, visit the WRC webpage [www.wm.edu/wrc](http://www.wm.edu/wrc).

**Site Visit Addresses**: The following are the addresses for locations we will be visiting throughout the week as a helpful resource.

- William & Mary Washington Center
  1779 Massachusetts Ave, NW Suite 705,
  Washington, DC 20036

- Center for Global Development
  2055 L Street NW Fifth Floor
  Washington DC 20036

- UPS Townhouse
  421 New Jersey Avenue SE
  Washington D.C., 20003

- Rayburn House Office Building
  Washington, DC 20515

- Dirksen Senate Office Building
  Washington, DC 20510

- Albright Stonebridge Group
  601 13th Street NW 10th Floor
  Washington, DC 20005

- US Global Leadership Coalition
  1129 20th Street NW, Suite 600
  Washington, D.C. 20036

**Schedule**: See below our tentative schedules for each day we are in D.C. Schedules may be subject to additional quick-reads or cancelled speakers, so be sure to check your emails regularly during our trip for updates.
**W&M Day 1**  
**Wednesday, February 1**

600-625: Simulation Activity (Professor Trichler)

625-745: Principal-Agent Theory: Lecture 1 (Professor Tierney)

745-800: Tool in the News Assignment (Venu)

**Mandatory Readings:**

- “The Inevitability of Principal-Agent Theory,” Blog Post on Saideman’s Semi-Spew

**W&M Day 2**  
**Wednesday, February 15**

600-620: Tool in the News Discussion (Venu)

620-720: Principal-Agent: Lecture 2 (Professor Tierney)

720-800: Policy Framing: How to Write for Those Busy, Overworked, or with Short Attention Spans (Professor Trichler)

**Mandatory Readings:**

- McLaughlin, John. Serving the National Policymaker, Chapter 4, Pg 71-80
DC, Day 1 - DC Week Prep
Saturday, March 4

100-300: Welcome Lunch, Orientation

300-345: How to Apply Principal-Agent Theory to Our Week (Professor Tierney)

345-430: Facilitated Discussions on Counter-bureaucracy

Questions for Consideration:

● What is the counter-bureaucracy (per Natsios explanation)?
● Does it fit into the principal-agent theory? Why or why not?
● What types of development programs thrive under a counter-bureaucracy?
● For what types of development programs might counter-bureaucracy be counterproductive?
● If you had the magical ability to reform USAID, where would you place the balance between accountability and autonomy?

Note that while most of these questions may be answered superficially from the executive summary, class participants will distinguish themselves in discussion by being familiar with the rich examples in the remainder of the article. In-line with previous discussions, class participants should be prepared for cold calling by the professor on any of the above questions.

430-500: How to Ask Great Questions of Our Speakers (Venu)

Mandatory Readings

DC Day 2  
Sunday, March 5

900-930: Activity - Policy Advocacy (Professor Trichler)

930-1015: Windows of Opportunity Lecture (Professor Trichler)

1015-1130: The Impact of Academic Ideas: MCC and The Creation of a New Bureaucracy (Professor Tierney)

1130-130: Policy Memo Brunch with W&M Alums
   Norman Familant, Chief, Economic Litigation Section, US Department of Justice
   Chris D'Alessio, Attorney, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency
   Andrew Cunningham, Social & Behavior Change Communication Project Office at John Snow, Inc
   Marc Cheek, Director, Regional Programs, Counternarcotics and Global Threats, Department of Defense
   Danny Fullerton, Counsel at Public International Law & Policy Group
   Scott Ackiss, Security Administrator, Department of Homeland Security Headquarters
   Kate McCarthy, Attorney, Wilson, Sonsini, Goodrich and Rosati
   Jimmy Zhang, International Affairs Specialist at US Department of Justice, Criminal Division
   Tamara Wilson, Foreign Service Officer, US Department of State

130-230: Heuristics Bias in Decision-Making Lecture (Professor Trichler)

300-500: John Gallagher, Heuristics in Action & Presidential Transitions Guest Lecture

Mandatory Readings:
   ● George Kennan, Long Telegram
   ● Fast And Slow: Pondering The Speed Of Thought

Optional Background Reading:
DC Day 3  
Monday, March 6

900-1000: Memo Review. Print off four hard copies prior to class.

1000-1100: Guest Lecture (DC Office):
  James Comey, Director of the FBI

1130-1230: Lunch (Brookings Cafeteria)

100-230: Advocacy and Think Tank Panel (Center for Global Development):
  Beth Schwanke, Senior Policy Counsel for Center for Global Development
  Sally Paxton, U.S. Representative for Publish What You Fund
  Nikole Burroughs, former Senior Advisor to the Deputy Secretary of State for Management and Resources
  Noam Unger, USAID, Acting Chief Strategy Officer

3:15-3:45: Walking Tour of OpenGov Hub and Development Gateway

400-500: How Does the World Bank Assist Developing Country Governments: A Comparative Perspective on Public Policy Process
  Joanna Watkins ('06), Senior Public Sector Specialist in the Governance Global Practice.

Mandatory Readings:

- Selections from Development and Advocacy: The Effectiveness of NGO Campaigning, Lessons from Practice. Oxfam. (CGD) Optional: Case studies on pg. 113-120 (read as useful) Required: pg. 120 - 131

Optional Background Readings:

- Publish What You Fund resources page.
DC Day 4  
Tuesday, March 7

9:00-10:30: Guest Lecture (DC Office)  
**Dave Auerswald**, Professor of Strategic Studies at the National War College

10:30-12:00: Guest Lecture (DC Office)  
**Michael Ortiz**, Deputy Coordinator for Countering Violent Extremism at the State Department and former Legislative lead on the National Security Council

12:15-14:30: Lunch Discussion (UPS Capitol Hill Office)  
**Tom Jensen**, Vice President for Transportation Policy at UPS  
**Ryan Uyehara**, Legislative Assistant for Rep. Ami Bera (D-CA-7)  
**Ty Muirragui**, Professional Staff for House Natural Resources Committee (Minority)  
**Gordon Larsen**, Legislative Director for Rep. Chris Stewart (R-UT)  
**Arya Hariharan**, Legislative Director & Senior Legislative Counsel for Rep. Hank Johnson (D-GA-4)  
**Matt Dickerson**, Senior Policy Staff for Republican Study Committee  
**Bryan Alphin**, Public Affairs Liaison for House Committee on the Judiciary (Majority)  
**Logan Ferree**, Legislative Director for Rep. Jared Huffman (D-CA-2)

2:15-2:45: Congress: Legislative Staffers at Congressman Rob Wittman’s Office (Rayburn House Office Building).

3:00-4:00: Congressional Staffers Panel (Dirksen Senate Office Building):  
**Trey Hicks**, Senior Professional Staff Member for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
**Joan Condon**, Senior Professional Staff Member for the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
**Algene Sajery**, Democratic Policy Director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
**Peter Billerbeck**, Military Legislative Assistant for U.S. Congressman Seth Moulton (D-MA)

4:00-5:00: Guided Reflection on Day (Dirksen Senate Office Building)

Mandatory Readings:

DC Day 5  
Wednesday, March 8

830: Check-in at Department of Defense

930-1030: Security Policymaking Discussion (Department of Defense)  
  Theresa Whelan, Acting Undersecretary of Defense for Policy

1030-1130: Civilian-Military Relations Panel (Department of Defense)  
  Colonel Chip Daniels, Division Chief for Europe within Directorate of Operations - Joint Staff  
  Major Greg Tomlin, Branch Chief for Targeting Doctrine and Policy - Joint Staff

1230-130: Lunch (Brookings Cafeteria)

130-230: Midpoint Discussion (DC Office)

230-330: Guest Lecture - Security Perspective from the Other Side of the Potomac (DC Office)  
  Alex Pascall, Former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

330-500: Moral Foundations of Policymaking Lecture, Professor Trichler. In preparation for this lecture, please come prepared to debate - either side - on whether and when it is appropriate for “agents” to go outside of their principals to oppose their agenda.

Mandatory Readings:
- Peter Feaver, “Should Senior Military Officers Resign in Protest if Obama Disregards their Views?”  
  *Foreign Policy* 2014.
- “Edward Snowden: The Untold Story,” *WIRED.*
DC Day 6
Thursday, March 9

900-1030: Guest Lecture & Case Study - the Iran Deal (DC Office)
   David Solimini, ADco LLC, Former Director of Strategic Communications at Truman National Security Project

1100-1200: Guest Lecture: Presidential Paperflow (DC Office)
   Greg Degen, former Chief of Staff, Office of the Staff Secretary at The White House

1200-100: Working Lunch (Brookings Cafeteria with your Presentation Groups)

130-230: Discussion (Albright Stonebridge Group)
   Eric Altbach, Senior Vice President at Albright Stonebridge Group and former Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for China Affairs

230-330: Discussion (Albright Stonebridge Group)
   Wendy Sherman, Senior Counselor at Albright Stonebridge Group and former Deputy Secretary of State

330-430: Debrief and Reflection (Albright Stonebridge Group)

Mandatory Readings:

- Yochi Dreazen, “Sherman’s March: Meet the social worker turned nuclear negotiator who’s trying to keep Iran from getting the bomb,” Foreign Policy. October 15, 2013.
DC Day 7  
Friday, March 10

900-1030: Trade negotiations and trade policy: delegation from Congress to the President Case Study, scholarly views on trade, and major actors in trade policy- Professor Tierney (DC Office)

1030-1200: Trade Policy Panel: Different Actors and Processes in U.S. Trade Policy  
**David Spooner**, former USTR and Dept. of Commerce and currently Co-Chair of the International Trade Practice Group at Barnes and Thornburg.  
**Steve Ziehm** (‘99), Vice President of Trade Practice at IBC.

1230-200: Role of the media and journalists in the policy process  

200-300: U.S.-China Trade Relations,  
**David Dollar** from the Brookings Institution.

330-430: Guest Lecture (US Global Leadership Coalition)  
**Liz Schrayer**, President & CEO of US Global Leadership Coalition

430-500: Debriefing at USGLC

Mandatory Readings:

- Anna Gawel, “Bipartisan Show of Support for Smart Power.” *Diplomatic Pouch*.

Optional Background Readings:

DC Day 8 Review & Presentations
Saturday, March 11

900-1100: Group Presentations (Panels TBA)
1100-1200: Feedback
100-300: Lunch