

PLSC 541, American Policymaking Institutions and Processes
Penn State University, Fall Term, 2008
Mondays, 6–9pm, 236 Pond Building

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Office hours: M, W, 3:00–4:00 and by appointment

This course will review the institutions, processes, and actors associated with the policy process in the United States, with an emphasis on the federal level. We will deal with all branches of the federal government including the role of Congress and its committees in formulating policy, the President, the courts, and the budgetary process. We will discuss the diffusion of innovations and policy changes across the federal system, and policy feedback effects. The goal of the seminar is to introduce a broad range of institutional features and the major actors in the policy process. The course is designed not to overlap significantly with separate courses on interest groups and agenda-setting. It is appropriate for students beginning the PhD program or with more experience and paper expectations will be adjusted accordingly. Readings will include both highly quantitative works and more historical and qualitative approaches.

Rather than go into great detail on any given topic, we will really skim over the surfaces of many different topics, each of which is the object of a massive literature and research tradition. Your term papers will give you the opportunity to go into detail on one or another of these topics, but you need the range of coverage from this broad overview in order to have a sense of the literature.

Assignments are as follows: First, a term paper (20–30 pages, double spaced) which should be a literature review focused on a particular theoretical or substantive question and going into detail on a variety of ways that the issue has been studied over many years including the most recent work on the topic. The paper must lay out a coherent description and critique of different schools or approaches to the question (or to the predominant approach if there is only one), and then propose a research design feasible for a dissertation-scope project to address one of the major issues identified in your critique. Depending on where you stand in the your graduate career and how familiar you are with your topic before taking this class, you may put the emphasis more on the critique section, with less attention to the research proposal, or you may go over the critique more quickly and put more emphasis on the proposal. If there are any students interested and at a point where they want to do a research paper rather than a review, that may be acceptable. However, I do not expect it. Research papers would be original projects leading to publication or dissertation ideas on a topic clearly related to issues discussed in class. The paper is due in class on the last day of the semester. I am always happy to review early drafts and will comment on them, though not in the last two weeks of the semester. I also appreciate early submissions.

Second, each week I will provide a series of discussion questions and students will choose or be assigned to answer one of them in a one- or two-page (single spaced) essay that will also be the basis for class discussion. These essays are due at 9am on the day of class, and no late papers will be accepted. Each student must write 7 of these papers over the semester, so on average every other week. Each week I'll start class with a discussion of the readings for the following week, and students can volunteer for particular topics, and hopefully various people will volunteer for a range of topics each week. (If not I'll assign you.) This ensures that you write a lot of short papers and also that the class discussion will always feature at least one person who has read each particular item more closely than the others.

Third, this is a seminar so participation is a must. That means skimping on the readings is not allowed and if I sense this I will be very disappointed, so much so that I may give quizzes on the readings in class on the spur of the moment. It does *not* mean that you have to have understood or appreciated all the readings. However, if you do not you should come to class with your questions or critiques. Also, as we will cover many topics very quickly, it is essential to participate regularly, each week throughout the semester. "Dropping out" from attendance or discussion for a week or two is not acceptable. (Illnesses and emergencies are another matter; see me about those if they occur.)

Grades will be calculated as follows:

Term paper:	40 %
Seven short papers, combined:	35
Participation:	25
Total	100 %

The following books have been ordered. You should purchase all of these either at the campus book store or on line. Old editions are acceptable.

1. Berry, Jeffrey M., Ken Thomson and Kent Portney. 1993. *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy*. Washington: Brookings.
2. Campbell, Andrea L. 2005. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
3. Edwards, George C. III. 1989. *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
4. Edwards, George C. III. 2006. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
5. Hall, Richard L. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
6. Mayhew, David R. 1991. *Divided We Govern*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
7. Mettler, Suzanne. 2005. *Soldiers into Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
8. Miller, Lisa L. 2008. *The Perils of Federalism: Poor People and the Politics of Crime Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.
9. Rosenberg, Gerald N. 2008. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
10. Paul Sabatier, ed. 2006. *Theories of the Policy Process* 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
11. Soss, Joe B. 2002. *Unwanted Claims: The Politics of Participation in the U.S. Welfare*

System. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

12. Teles, Steven M. 2008. *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Note: It may be useful for some of you to read some general background such as the following. We will *not* cover in this class some basics of congressional procedure, the budgetary process, or federalism. Here are some useful cites for getting up to speed:

- Oleszek, Walter J. 2007. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*, 7th ed. Washington, Congressional Quarterly.
- John, Peter. 1998. *Analyzing Public Policy*. London: Pinter.
- Birkland, Thomas A. 2005. *An Introduction To The Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, And Models Of Public Policy Making*, 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Stone, Deborah A. 1988. *Policy Paradox and Political Reason*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman.
- Kraft, Michael E., and Scott R. Furlong. 2006. *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

In addition there are some classics we just won't get to or which are marginally more appropriate for courses on public opinion or other topics, though that is questionable. If you are not familiar with the following, and plan to take exams in the field of public policy, you should read them:

- Aberbach, Joel D. 1990. *Keeping a Watchful Eye: The Politics of Congressional Oversight*. Washington: Brookings.
- Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The President in the Legislative Arena*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carmines, Edward, and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Carpenter, Daniel P. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862–1928*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Erikson, Robert S., James A. Stimson, and Michael MacKuen. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fenno, Richard F. Jr. 1966. *The Power of the Purse: Appropriations Politics in Congress*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fritschler, A. Lee. 1975. *Smoking and Politics*. 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Heclo, Hugh. 1974. *Modern Social Policies in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kaufman, Herbert. 2006 [1960]. *The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press / Resources for the Future.
- Lowi, Theodore J. 1964. American Business, Public Policy, Case-Studies, and Political Theory. *World Politics* (July): 677–715.
- Maass, Arthur. 1951. *Muddy Waters: Army Engineers and the Nation's Rivers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Perry, H.W., Jr. 1991. *Deciding to Decide: Agenda Setting in the United States Supreme Court*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Peterson, Mark A. 1990. *Legislating Together*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Please note the following announcements concerning University policies.

Academic Dishonesty¹

The Department of Political Science, along with the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, takes violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe.

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. In an examination setting, unless the instructor gives explicit prior instructions to the contrary, whether the examination is in-class or take-home, violations of academic integrity shall consist of any attempt to receive assistance from written or printed aids, or from any person or papers or electronic devices, or of any attempt to give assistance, whether the one so doing has completed his or her own work or not.

Other violations include, but are not limited to, any attempt to gain an unfair advantage in regard to an examination, such as tampering with a graded exam or claiming another's work to be one's own. Violations shall also consist of obtaining or attempting to obtain, previous to any examinations, copies of the examination papers or the questions to appear thereon, or to obtain any illegal knowledge of these questions. Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity.

In cases of a violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to impose appropriate penalties that are consistent with University guidelines.

¹Much of the text above has been directly obtained from the sections of the Princeton University website www.princeton.edu/pr/pub/rrr/99/pages/Ol.htm) concerning academic integrity (Rights, Rules, Responsibilities introductory text as well as pages 55–69) as well as from the website of the Department of Economics at The Pennsylvania State University.

Disabilities

The Pennsylvania State University encourages qualified people with disabilities to participate in its programs and activities and is committed to the policy that all people shall have equal access to programs, facilities, and admissions without regard to personal characteristics not related to ability, performance, or qualifications as determined by University policy or by state or federal authorities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please tell the instructor as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is the student's responsibility to inform the instructor early in the term. Do not wait until just before an exam to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.

Weekly assignments and topics

Week 1. Aug 25 Introduction

Week 2. Sep 1 Various approaches and vocabularies

- Paul Sabatier, ed. 2006. *Theories of the Policy Process* 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Heclo, Hugh. 1978. Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment. In Anthony King, ed. *The New American Political System*. Washington: American Enterprise Institute.

Week 3. Sep 8 Congress: Mobilization, ideology, and specialization

- Hall, Richard L. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry Weingast. 1987. The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power. *American Political Science Review* 81 (1): 85–104.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1990. Are Congressional Committees Composed of Preference Outliers? *American Political Science Review* 84 (1): 149–63.
- King, David C., 1994. The Nature of Congressional Committee Jurisdictions. *American Political Science Review* 88 (1): 48–62.
- Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal. 1991. Patterns of Congressional Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 35: 228–78.

Week 4. Sep 15 Congress: Divided Government and Executive Oversight

- Mayhew, David R. 1991. *Divided We Govern*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- McCubbins, Matthew and Thomas Schwartz. 1984. Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols vs. Fire Alarms. *American Journal of Political Science* 28: 165–179.
- Bendor, Jonathan, and Terry M. Moe. 1985. An Adaptive Model of Bureaucratic Politics. *American Political Science Review* 79: 755–74.

Note: By about now, Sept 15, you should have talked to me about your term paper ideas.

Week 5. Sep 22 The President: Power and Limits

- Edwards, George C. III. 1989. *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Neustadt, Richard E. various years. *Presidential Power*. Any edition. Skim entire book and read chapter 3: The Power to Persuade.

Week 6. Sep 29 The President: Leading the Public?

- Edwards, George C. III. 2006. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Week 7. Oct 6 Budgeting, Incrementalism, and Bounded Rationality

- Wildavsky, Aaron, and Naomi Caiden. 1996. *The New Politics of the Budgetary Process, 3rd Ed.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, esp. Ch. 1–3.
- Davis, Otto A., M.A.H. Dempster, and Aaron Wildavsky. 1966. A Theory of the Budget Process. *American Political Science Review* 60: 529–547.

- Lindblom, Charles. 1959. The Science of “Muddling Through.” *Public Administration Review* 19: 79–88.
- Berry, William D. 1990. The Confusing Case of Budgetary Incrementalism: Too Many Meanings for a Single Concept. *Journal of Politics* 52: 167–196.
- Padgett, John F. 1980. Bounded Rationality in Budgetary Research. *American Political Science Review* 74: 354–72.
- Jones, Bryan D., and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2005. A Model of Choice for Public Policy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15, 3 (July): 325–51.

Note: You should have a firm term paper and a bibliography to show me by now.

Week 8. Oct 13 Diffusion and Tiebout Models

- Walker, Jack L., Jr. 1969. The Diffusion of Innovations Among the American States. *American Political Science Review* 63 (3, Sept.): 880–899.
- Berry, Frances Stokes and William D. Berry. 1990. State Lottery Adoptions as Policy Innovations: An Event History Analysis. *American Political Science Review* 84, 2 (June): 395–415.
- Gray, Virginia. 1973. Innovation in the States: A Diffusion Study. *American Political Science Review* 67, 4 (Dec.): 1174–1185.
- Tiebout, Charles M. 1956. A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures. *Journal of Political Economy* 64, 5 (Oct.): 416–424.

Week 9. Oct 20 Local Democracy

- Berry, Jeffrey M., Ken Thomson and Kent Portney. 1993. *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy*. Washington: Brookings.

Week 10. Oct 27 The Biases of Federalism (note, class must be rescheduled this week)

- Miller, Lisa L. 2008. *The Perils of Federalism: Poor People and the Politics of Crime Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 11. Nov 3 Policy Feedback I: Mobilizing Social Security Recipients

- Campbell, Andrea L. 2005. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Note: You should have a draft term paper by now, with a full bibliography and the structure of your argument.

Week 12. Nov 10 Policy Feedback II: Mobilizing GI’s

- Mettler, Suzanne. 2005. *Soldiers into Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 13. Nov 17 Policy Feedback III: Demobilizing Welfare Recipients

- Soss, Joe B. 2002. *Unwanted Claims: The Politics of Participation in the U.S. Welfare System*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

No Class during the week of Nov 24, Happy Thanksgiving

Week 14. Dec 1 Courts I: Was the Civil Rights Movement Normal?

- Rosenberg, Gerald N. 1993. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 15. Dec 8 Courts II: Social Movements are sometimes within Professional Communities

- Teles, Steven M. 2008. *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Term papers due in class today.

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