



**Frank R. Baumgartner
POLI 718, Agenda Setting
Spring 2014**

Supplemental Reading List

These are articles we are not going to have time to cover but which may be of use to you for your papers. They are divided into various topics. None of these lists should be considered complete, but they give a good starting point to what in some cases are very large and distinct literatures. Any of these studies could easily have ended up on the main syllabus, and in fact many of them have been on the syllabus in previous iterations of this course.

Classics on power, pluralism-elitism debate, etc.

1. Dahl, Robert A. 1957. The Concept of Power. *Behavioral Science* 2: 201–15.
2. Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
3. Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press.
4. Riker, William H. 1964. Some Ambiguities in the Notion of Power. *American Political Science Review* 58: 341–9.
5. Hunter, Floyd. 1953. *Community Power Structure*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. [Also published in 1963 by Anchor Books, Garden City NY.]
6. Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
7. Polsby, Nelson W. 1963. *Community Power and Political Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

The first real studies on agenda setting (buy these books if you can)

1. Crenson, Matthew A. 1971. *The Unpolitics of Air Pollution*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
2. Cobb, Roger W., and Charles D. Elder. 1983 [1972]. *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building*. 2d ed. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
3. Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Background on Kingdon, garbage can, bounded rationality

1. Cyert, Richard M., and James G. March. 1992. *A Behavioral Theory of the Firm*. 2nd ed. New York: Blackwell.
2. March, James G., and Herbert A. Simon. 1993. *Organizations*. 2nd ed. New York: Blackwell.
3. Cohen, Michael D., and James G. March. 1986. *Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

- Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 1999. Ambiguity, Time, and Multiple Streams. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul A. Sabatier. Boulder, Colo: Westview, pp. 73–96. [newer editions of this book may also be available]

Jones and Simon on Cognition

- Jones, Bryan D. 1994. A Change of Mind or a Change of Focus? A Theory of Choice Reversals in Politics. 1994. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 4: 141–77.
- Jones, Bryan D. 1994. *Reconceiving Decision-Making in Democratic Politics: Attention, Choice, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, Bryan D. 2003. Bounded Rationality in Political Science: Lessons from Public Administration. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 13: 395–410.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1997. *Administrative Behavior* 4th ed. New York: Free Press.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1983. *Reason in Human Affairs*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1996. *The Sciences of the Artificial*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Heresthetics

- Riker, William H. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Riker, William H. 1984. The Heresthetics of Constitution-Making: The Presidency in 1787, with Comments on Determinism and Rational Choice. *American Political Science Review* 78 (1): 1–16.
- Riker, William H. 1988. *Liberalism Against Populism*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Riker, William H. 1996. *The Strategy of Rhetoric*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Venue Shopping

- Pralle, Sarah. 2006. *Branching Out and Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Pralle, Sarah. 2003. “Venue Shopping, Political Strategy, and Policy Change: A Case Study of Canadian Forest Advocacy.” *Journal of Public Policy* 23:233–260.
- Pralle, Sarah. 2006. “Timing and Sequence in Agenda Setting and Policy Change: A Comparative Study of Lawn Pesticide Policy in the US and Canada.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:987–1005.
- Guiraudon, Virginie. 2000. European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-Making as Venue Shopping. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (2): 251–71.
- Cairney, Paul. 2007. Using Devolution to Set the Agenda? Venue Shift and the Smoking Ban in Scotland. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9: 73–89.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 1991. Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems. *Journal of Politics* 53, 4: 1044–74.

Some studies from the comparative agendas projects

1. Green-Pedersen, C., and P. B. Mortensen. 2010. Who Sets the Agenda and Who Responds to it in the Danish Parliament? A New Model of Issue Competition and Agenda-Setting. *European Journal of Political Research* 49, 2 (March): 257–281.
2. Bevan, S. and W. Jennings. 2013. Representation, Agendas and Institutions. *European Journal of Political Research*. Forthcoming.
3. John, P. and W. Jennings. 2010. Punctuations and Turning Points in British Politics? The Policy Agenda of the Queen’s Speech, 1940–2005. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40 (3): 561-586.
4. Jennings, Will, and Peter John. 2009. The dynamics of political attention: public opinion and the Queen’s Speech in the United Kingdom. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4): 838-854.
5. John, P., A. Bertelli, W. Jennings, and S. Bevan. 2013. *Policy Agendas in British Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
6. Daviter, Falk. 2009. Schattschneider in Brussels: How Policy Conflict Reshaped the Biotechnology Agenda in the European Union. *West European Politics* 32 (6): 1118-1139.
7. Daviter, Falk. 2013. An information processing perspective on decision making in the European Union, *Public Administration* forthcoming.
8. Green-Pedersen, C. and R. Stubager. 2010. The Political Conditionality of Mass Media Influence: When Do Parties Follow Mass Media Attention? *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 663-677.
9. Mortensen, Peter B. 2005. Policy Punctuations in Danish Local Budgeting. *Public Administration* 83 (4): 931-950.
10. Mortensen, Peter B. 2009. Political Attention and Public Spending in the United States. *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (3): 435-455.
11. Princen, S. 2007. Agenda-setting in the European Union: A Theoretical Exploration and Agenda for Research. *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (1): 21-38.
12. Princen, S. 2009. *Agenda-setting in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
13. Walgrave, S. and M. Nuytemans. 2009. Friction and Party Manifesto Change in 25 countries (1945-1998). *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (1): 190-206.

Special Issues of Journals and edited books on punctuated equilibrium or comparative agendas:

1. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13, 7 (2006)
2. *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 8 (2011)
3. *Policy Studies Journal* 41, 1 (2012)
4. Green-Pedersen, Christoffer, and Stefaan Walgrave, eds. 2014. *Agenda Setting, Policies, and Political Systems: A Comparative Approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
5. Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones, eds. 2002. *Policy Dynamics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Also see www.comparativeagendas.info for cites and publications from the comparative agendas project.

Power Laws, Threshold Models, etc.

1. Barabasi, Albert-Laszlo. 2005. *Linked*. New York: Penguin.
2. Arthur, W. Brian. 1994. *Increasing Returns and Path Dependence in the Economy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
3. Mandelbrot, Benoit B. 1967. The Variation of Some Other Speculative Prices. *Journal of Business* 40, 4 (October): 393–413.
4. Clauset, Aaron, Cosma Rohilla Shalizi, and M. E. J. Newman. 2009. Power-Law Distributions in Empirical Data. *SIAM Review* 51, 661-703.
5. Barabasi, Albert-Laszlo. 2005. The Origin of Bursts and Heavy Tails in Human Dynamics. *Nature* 435 (12 May): 207–211.
6. Bak, Per. 1996. *How Nature Works: The Science of Self-Organized Criticality*. New York: Copernicus.
7. Zipf, George Kingsley. 1949. *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
8. Simon, Herbert A. 1955. On a Class of Skew Distribution Functions. *Biometrika* 42 (3/4, December): 425–440.
9. Mandelbrot, Benoit B., and Richard L. Hudson. 2004. *The (Mis)Behavior of Markets*. New York: Basic Books.
10. Watts, Duncan J. 2003. *Six Degrees: The Science of a Connected Age*. New York: Norton.
11. Johnson, Steven. 2001. *Emergence*. New York: Scribner.
12. Bak, Per, and Maya Paczuski. 1995. Complexity, Contingency, and Criticality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 92, 15 (July 18): 6689–6696.
13. Christensen, Kim, Leon Danon, Tim Scanlon, and Per Bak. 2002. Unified Scaling Law for Earthquakes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 99, 3, Supplement 1 (February 19): 2509–2513.
14. Mitzenmacher, Michael. 2004. A Brief History of Generative Models for Power Law and Lognormal Distributions. *Internet Mathematics* 1 (2): 226–51.
15. Kirman, Alan. 1993. Ants, Rationality, and Recruitment. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 108 (1): 137–56.
16. Becker, Gary S. 1991. A Note on Restaurant Pricing and Other Examples of Social Influence on Price. *Journal of Political Economy* 99: 1109–16.
17. Gabaix, Xavier. 1999. Zipf's Law and the Growth of Cities. *American Economic Review* 89, 2 (May): 129–132.
18. Granovetter, Mark S., and Roland Soong. 1988. Threshold Models of Diversity: Chinese Restaurants, Residential Segregation, and the Spiral of Silence. *Sociological Methodology* 18: 69–104.
19. Crenson, Matthew A. 1987. The Private Stake in Public Goods: Overcoming the Illogic of Collective Action. *Policy Sciences* 20: 259–76.
20. Chung, Kee H., and Raymond A. K. Cox. 1994. A Stochastic Model of Superstardom: An Application of the Yule Distribution. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 76, 4 (November): 771–775.
21. Roberts, D. C., and D. L. Turcotte. 1998. Fractality and the Self-Organized Criticality of Wars. *Fractals* 6 (4): 351–357.

22. Farber, Daniel A. 2002. Earthquakes and Tremors in Statutory Interpretation: An Empirical Study of the Dynamics of Interpretation. *Issues in Legal Scholarship*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Electronic Press.
23. Kuran, Timur. 1991. The East European Revolution of 1989: Is it Surprising that We Were Surprised? *American Economic Review* 81, 2 (May): 121–125.

Social Protest Studies (small selection of many):

1. McAdam, Doug, and Yang Su. 2002. The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973. *American Sociological Review* 67, 5 (October): 696–721.
2. King, BG, Bentele, KG and Soule, SA. 2007. Protest and Policy Making: Explaining Fluctuation in Congressional Attention to Rights Issues: 1960-1986. *Social Forces* 86:137-163.
3. Burstein, Paul, and April Linton. 2002. The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns. *Social Forces* 82, 2 (December): 381–408.

Communications studies (small selection of classics):

1. McCombs, Maxwell, and Donald Shaw. 1972. The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176–87.
2. Hilgartner, Steven, and Charles Bosk. 1988. The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model. *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 53–78.
3. Neuman, W. Russell. 1990. The Threshold of Public Attention. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 54: 179–76.
4. Zhu, Jian-Hua. 1992. Issue Competition and Attention Distraction: A Zero-Sum Theory of Agenda-Setting. *Journalism Quarterly* 69: 825–36.
5. McCombs, Maxwell, and Jian-Hua Zhu. 1995. Capacity, Diversity, and Volatility of the Public Agenda: Trends from 1954 to 1994. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 59: 495–525.
6. Wolfe, Michelle, Bryan D. Jones, and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2013. A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies. *Political Communication* 30, 2: 175–192.

Public Policy and “Who Leads Whom?” Studies (just a few from many):

1. Edwards, George C. III, and B. Dan Wood. 1999. Who Influences Whom? The President, Congress, and the Media. *American Political Science Review* 93: 327–44.
2. Flemming, Roy B., B. Dan Wood, and John Bohte. 1999. Attention to Issues in A System of Separated Powers: The Macrodynamics of American Policy Agendas. *Journal of Politics* 61 (1): 76–108.
3. Flemming, Roy B., John Bohte, and B. Dan Wood. 1997. One Voice Among Many: The Supreme Court’s Influence on Attentiveness to Issues in the United States, 1947–92. *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (4): 1224–50.

4. Canes-Wrone, Brandice. 2005. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Single-Issue Studies of Interest: US-based policy histories

1. Armstrong, Elizabeth M. 2003. *Conceiving Risk, Bearing Responsibility: Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and the Diagnosis of Moral Disorder*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
2. Repetto, Robert, ed. 2006. *Punctuated Equilibrium Models and Environmental Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
3. Birkland, Thomas A. 1997. *After Disaster: Agenda Setting, Public Policy, and Focusing Events*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
4. Bosso, Christopher J. 1987. *Pesticides and Politics: The Life Cycle of a Public Issue*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
5. Duffy, Robert J. 1997. *Nuclear Politics in America: A History and Theory of Government Regulation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
6. Glick, Henry R. 1992. *The Right to Die*. New York: Columbia University Press.
7. Hacker, Jacob. 1997. *The Road To Nowhere*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
8. Nelson, Barbara. 1984. *Making an Issue of Child Abuse*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
9. Weart, Spencer R. 1989. *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
10. Worsham, Jeffrey. 1997. *Other People's Money: Policy Change, Congress, and Bank Regulation*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.

Comparative / IR studies of the impact of ideas on policy communities

1. Bleich, Erik. 1998. From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France. *Comparative Politics* 30: 81–100.
2. Blyth, Mark M. 2002. *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Political Change in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
3. Haas, Peter M. 1992. Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination. *International Organization* 46: 1–35.
4. Hall, Peter A. 1986. *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France*. New York: Oxford University Press.
5. Hall, Peter A. 1993. Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics* 25: 275–96.
6. Hall, Peter A., ed. 1989. *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
7. Baumgartner, Frank R. 2014. Ideas, Paradigms, and Confusions. Forthcoming, *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming.
8. Baumgartner, Frank R. 2013. Ideas and Policy Change. *Governance* 26, 2: 239–58.
9. Reich, Michael R. 1991. *Toxic Politics: Responding to Chemical Disasters*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
10. Schrad, Mark Lawrence. 2010. *The Political Power of Bad Ideas: Networks, Institutions, and the Global Prohibition Wave*. New York: Oxford University Press.

11. Sikkink, Kathryn A. and Margaret E. Keck 1999. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
12. Sikkink, Kathryn A. and Carrie Booth Walling. 2007. The Justice Cascade and the Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America. *Journal of Peace Research* 44, 4 (July): 427–45.
13. Zahariadis, Nikolaos. 1993. *Markets, States, and Public Policy: Privatization in Britain and France*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Miscellaneous:

1. Peters, B. Guy, and Brian W. Hogwood. 1985. In Search of the Issue-Attention Cycle. *Journal of Politics* 47: 239–53.
2. Boushey, G. 2010. *Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
3. Boushey, G. 2012. Punctuated equilibrium theory and the diffusion of innovations. *Policy Studies Journal* 40 (1): 127-146
4. Workman, Sam. 2014. *Bureaucracy and Problem-Solving*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Reviews:

1. Weible, Christopher M., and Paul A. Sabatier, eds., *Theories of the Policy Process* 3rd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2014. [Previous editions published in 1999, 2007.]
2. Jones, Bryan D., and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2012. From There to Here: Punctuated Equilibrium to the General Punctuation Thesis to a Theory of Government Information Processing. *Policy Studies Journal* 40, 1: 1–19.
3. Baumgartner, Frank R., Bryan D. Jones, and Peter B. Mortensen. 2014. Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in Public Policy. In Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier, eds., *Theories of the Policy Process* 3rd ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
4. Baumgartner, Frank R. 2014. Political Agendas. In James D. Wright, ed. *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 2nd ed. New York: Elsevier Science.
5. Cairney, Paul. 2012. *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues*. Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan.
6. Prindle, D.F. 2012. Importing Concepts from Biology into Political Science: The Case of Punctuated Equilibrium. *Policy Studies Journal* 40 (1): 21-43.
7. Princen, S. 2013. Punctuated equilibrium theory and the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (6): 854-870.
8. Birkland, Thomas A. 2011. *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
9. John, Peter. 2012. *Analyzing Public Policy*. 2nd ed. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
10. Robinson, Scott E. 2006. Punctuated Equilibrium Models in Organizational Decision Making. In *Handbook on Human Decision-Making*. Ed. Goktug Morcol. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, pp. 133–149.

11. John, P. 2003. Is there life after policy streams, advocacy coalitions, and punctuations: Using evolutionary theory to explain policy change? *Policy Studies Journal* 31 (4): 481-498.
12. Cairney, P. 2013. Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: How Do We Combine the Insights of Multiple Theories in Public Policy Studies? *Policy Studies Journal* 41 (1): 1-21.
13. Cairney, P. 2013. What is evolutionary theory and how does it inform policy studies? *Policy and politics* 41 (2): 279-298.