

## **PUBLIC POLICY FORMATION - Summer 2016**

Civic Building, Rm 113

6pm - 9:40pm

Dr. Debbie Borie-Holtz

Office: EJB 256

Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday 4:30-5:45pm and by Appointment

Phone: 856-906-6554

E-mail: [dbholtz@ejb.rutgers.edu](mailto:dbholtz@ejb.rutgers.edu)

*The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.*

—Montesquieu

It is common for Americans to gripe about politics as evidence from the current presidential cycle debate. A recent national survey of adult Americans by Pew Research Center (March 17-27, 2016) “finds higher levels of dissatisfaction – with long-term changes in the country, the federal government, as well as with the economy and personal finances...” The poll further found “the major issues that have emerged in the presidential campaign reveal divisions within the two parties in different ways...the gaps are much wider among Republican voters than among Democrats, especially when it comes to opinions about immigrants and immigration policy, government scrutiny of Muslims in the United States, and abortion and other social issues.”

The theme of this course taps into the ebb and flow of this political stream and seeks to understand the public policy process with optimism rather than cynicism. We will see that many of the inadequacies of our current system are actually the necessary by-products of a government that is run by the people. In brief, this course will encourage you to note that while there are numerous problems that plague contemporary politics, the United States remains one of the most productive and enduring democracies in the world.

Conceptually, this course is divided into three sections. The first part of the course delves into the policy-making agenda-setting process and how new ideas are ultimately generated into workable public policies. The second part of the course deal with the major and secondary institutions that are responsible for the creation of public policy. The third part of the course focuses on the policy implementation process, revisits the role of key actors involved in the implementation phase and introduces some additional dynamics within the policy-making realm.

### Course Requirements

This class will be run as a seminar, with a short lecture followed by a class discussion, typically centered on a case. It is therefore critical that you do all assigned readings, including cases, prior to coming to class. PLEASE BRING READINGS INCLUDING

CASES TO CLASS EVERY WEEK. *I take class participation extremely seriously.* It therefore will be worth 15/100 points of your final grade. Participation will be based on the following two factors: (1) Group work based on cases with student led discussions; (2) Attentive attendance at all class sessions. Please let me know in advance if you cannot make a class session.

There will be one long paper (13-15 pages) required for this class which will focus on agenda-setting of an adopted policy of your choosing. The paper is due on June 21st. A library session-time will be allocated on June 16th (no class on one of these dates). A comprehensive oral presentation will be due on implementation of your chosen policy, to be scheduled the last week of class. Each component is worth 35/100 points of your grade. A policy briefing memorandum reflecting your knowledge of institutions and policy processes will be due the last day of class; it is worth 15/100 points.

*APSA/APSR (American Political Science Association/American Political Science Review)* citation style for in-text citations and bibliographies is required. To see this style, search for the journal *American Political Science Review* in the library database. Select the most recent issue and study how to do in-text citations and bibliographies from any included article. In-text citations instead of footnotes are required in this class; all in-text citations must be included in the bibliography. There are also other documents that will help you format your papers formally:

<http://citesource.trincoll.edu/apsa/apsa.html> is a great source for examples of how to do in-text citations and bibliographies using *APSA/APSR* style; and (2)

GRADING POLICY: 90-100: A; 87-89: B+; 80-86: B; 77-79: C+; 70-76: C; 69 and below is a failing grade. Violations of academic integrity will be taken very seriously. Definitions of plagiarism and other violations, along with their penalties, are posted <http://judicialaffairs.rutgers.edu/academic-integrity>. Each student is responsible for reading and understanding these documents. All papers will be run through Turnitin.com, an anti-plagiarism service.

Most readings (readings, worksheets and some cases) will be available on Sakai under this course number at: <http://sakai.rutgers.edu/>. Some cases may need to be purchased at the Harvard Business Publishing (HBP) school site at <https://cb.hbsp.harvard.edu/cbmp/access/19538133>. You will have to register to purchase them. Cases must be purchased when required, read, and brought to class on the day that they are due; case worksheets must be printed out and brought to class, but not completed.

The following required books may be purchased at the Barnes and Noble bookstore at 100 Somerset Street or online at Amazon.

### **Books Required:**

Baumer, Donald C. and Carl Van Horn. 2013. *Politics and Public Policy, 4th Edition*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Smith, Kevin B. and Christopher W. Larimer. 2013. *The Public Policy Theory Primer, 2nd Edition*. Bolder, CO: Westview Press.

Kingdon, John. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2003 with update Longman Classics Edition.

**Note:** In the syllabus, all readings that consist of an author, title, and "Reading Number" are taken from Theodoulou, Stella Z. and Matthew A. Cahn, Eds. 2013. *Public Policy: The Essential Readings, Second Edition*. Boston: Pearson. These readings as well as all others that are not in the primary textbook are posted on Sakai under the Resources tab.

*Optional:*

Wilson, James Q. 2012. *American Government, Brief Version*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. (This book is supplemental as a general tutorial in American politics for those students who feel they need additional instructional support).

## **PART I. THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS: AGENDA SETTING**

**May 31: Introduction to the Policy-making Process.**

**June 2: Agenda-Setting.**

- Baumer and Van Horn, Chapters 1-2.
- Smith and Larimer, Chapter 4, "Where Does Policy Come From: The Policy Process"

CASE: Case Study 1 - Thin on the Ground; See Sakai Case Study 1

### **SELECT AT LEAST 1 THEORY READING FOR PAPER ONE:**

- Kingdon, "Why Some Issues Rise and Others are Negated."
- Schneider, Anne, and Helen Ingram. 1993. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *American Political Science Review* 87(2): 334-347.
- Sabatier, Paul. 1988. "An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and the Role of Policy-Oriented Learning Therein." *Policy Sciences* 21(2): 129-68.
- Baumgartner and Jones, "Agendas and Instability."

## PART II. THE ACTORS

### June 7: Congress.

Baumer and Van Horn, Chapter 5.

- Fiorina, "Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment."
- Mayhew, "Congress: The Electoral Connection."

### The Presidency.

- Baumer and Van Horn, Chapter 6.
- Neustadt, "Presidential Power." Reading #33.

### June 9: Elections, Campaigns, and the Media.

- Sundquist, James L. 1973. "Whither the American Party System?" *Political Science Quarterly* 88(4): 559-581.
- Sundquist, James L. 1983-1984. "Whither the American Party System? Revisited." *Political Science Quarterly* 98(4): 573-593.
- Caraley, Demetrios James. 2009. "Three Trends Over Eight Presidential Elections, 1980-2008: Toward the Emergence of a Democratic Majority Realignment?" *Political Science Quarterly* 124(3): 423-442.

CASE: Case Study 2: TBA Media Presentation Exercise

### June 14: The Judiciary.

#### Guest Lecturer: Dr. Alan Cander.

- Baumer and Van Horn, Chapter 7.
- Rosenberg, Gerald. 2004. "Substituting Symbol for Substance: What Did Brown Really Accomplish?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 37(2): 205-209.

CASE: Child Welfare Services in El Paso, See Sakai Case Study 4

### June 16: No class. Library session.

### June 21: Interest Groups.

- Baumer and Van Horn, Chapters 9-10.
- Truman, "Group Politics and Representative Democracy." Reading #6.

- Schattschneider, E.E. 1957. "Intensity, Visibility, Direction, and Scope." *American Political Science Review* 51(4): 933-346.

***Agenda-Setting Paper Due (6/21).***

**PART III. THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS: IMPLEMENTATION**

**June 23: Implementation/Evaluation.**

- Sabatier, Paul. 1986. "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis." *Journal of Public Policy* 6(1): 21-48.
- Matland, Richard E. 1995. "Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 5(2): 145-174.
- Theodoulou and Kofinis, "The Assessment of Executed Policy Solutions." Reading #50.

CASE: How Should We Read the Evidence about Head Start? Three Views. See Sakai Case Study 5

**June 28: The Bureaucracy: Culture, Organization, and its Impact on the Budget.**

- Baumer and Van Horn, Chapter 4.
- Wilson, James Q. 1975. "The Rise of the Bureaucratic State." *The Public Interest* 41(Fall): 77-103.

CASE: MA Lottery, See Case Study 6

**June 30: The States and Localities.**

- Derthick, Martha. 2001. *Keeping the Compound Republic*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. (Chp. 1, 8-10)
- Shapiro, Stuart and Debra Borie-Holtz. 2013. *The Politics of Regulatory Reform*. New York, NY: Routledge Publishers. (Chapter Reading to be assigned.)

### **Party Politics.**

- Bawn, Kathleen, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2012. "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands, and Nominations in American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(3): 571-597.
- Williamson, Vanessa, Theda Skocpol, and John Coggin. 2011. "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(1): 25-43.
- Milkis, Sidney M., Jesse H. Rhodes, and Emily J. Charnock. 2012. "What Happened to Post-Partisanship? Barack Obama and the New American Party System." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(1): 57-76.

CASE: Among Friends: Lynn Martin, Jerry Lewis, and the Race for the Chair of the House Republican Conference, See Sakai Case Study 7

**July 5: Oral Presentations: Policy Implementation.**

**July 7: Policy Recommendation Memorandum Due.**

## **PAPER ASSIGNMENTS**

Students will be required to write 2 long papers for this class, each between 13-15 double-spaced pages (not including the bibliography). Style requirements are attached and must be followed. As you think about your papers, I encourage you to make an appointment with me so we can discuss your plans in further detail.

The papers ask you to think about a piece of legislation, either at the federal or state level, from its initial incarnation as a simple idea to its ultimate adoption and beyond. You should select a recent piece of legislation, but not so recent such that the policy has not been implemented yet (laws should be between 2-10 years old). In each paper, you must develop a thesis ABOUT THE POLICY PROCESS and support your arguments with at least 3 primary sources (legislative hearings, reports, and testimony). In addition, you MUST integrate theory from the course readings and lectures. These 6 required references must be **BOLDED** in your bibliography. Please consult with the research librarians at Alexander Library if you have any questions about reference materials.

### *Paper #1. Agenda-Setting*

The first paper requires that you apply a particular agenda-setting theory to the legislative history of a particular law that was passed within the last ten years. You must use one of the 4 theoretical frameworks we discussed in class or in the readings: multiple streams (Kingdon), social construction theory, punctuated equilibrium, or advocacy coalition. Papers can focus on a variety of issues, but in some way must address the following set of questions:

How did this issue appear on the public agenda? Who were the proponents of the bill? Who were the opponents of the bill? How did both public and private actors influence the debate around the issue? Who were the key legislative sponsors of the measure, and what role did they play in transforming the bill into law (i.e., through hearings, votes, testimony)? What was the role of the President or the Governor in the passage of the law? How does the bill differ from the final law? Why does it differ? How does theory help to explain the reasons for the bill's passage?

### *Presentation #2. Implementation*

The second major assignment asks you to apply a theory of implementation to your chosen piece of legislation. You must use one of the following 3 frameworks: 1) Sabatier and Mazmanian's top down model, 2) Hjern et al.'s bottom up model, or 3) Matland's 4-way typology of implementation. In focusing on implementation, your paper should examine questions such as the following: What agency was responsible for implementing this law? What problems did the agency encounter in transforming the law into a workable program? How were these problems overcome? How did the bureaucracy influence the policy enacted? To what extent, if any, did the implementation process influence (change/shape) the policy adopted during the regulatory process? How does theory help to explain the implementation process?

Suggested Sources for Research: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, *National Journal*

*Reports, CQ Weekly, New York Times, Washington Post, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, CIS Index and U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News (for legislative histories and hearings).*



## WRITING A PAPER: STYLE SHEET

**“Tell me what you are going to tell me. Tell me. Tell me what you told me.”**

1. Understand the question. Make sure you are prepared to answer the question.
2. Make a thesis statement in the first paragraph.
3. Provide me with a roadmap for your paper; this is often the second paragraph.
4. Use headings to guide your reader.

### STYLE

1. Avoid run-on sentences, general reflections, and the passive voice. **There is a handout on Sakai related to the passive voice—please read it.**
2. Follow basic format requirements exactly. This means 12 pt font, one inch margins, double-spaced, and page numbers.
3. Always spell check, spell out numbers less than ten, and keep to the paper’s length. (except tables and graphs should be called Table 1 and Graph 1, for example).
4. Always include an alphabetized bibliography.
5. CITATIONS: You must cite your sources within the text in the following format (Author Year, Page Number) or (Author Year)-if no page number is appropriate. EXAMPLE: “I love the word Blah” (Brown 1999, 56). Note that the period comes *after* the parentheses. Please consult 1998 or later version of the *American Political Science Review (APSR)* (also known as APSA Style) for appropriate format. You can examine articles with their citation styles by accessing *APSR* through the JSTOR online journal database available at the Rutgers University Libraries website. Finally, there is information on citation style at the beginning of this syllabus. Cite ideas that are not your own, quotes, statistics, etc. You should include the complete citation for Brown in the alphabetized bibliography.
6. Do not string together a series of quotes. Use your own words. If you must use quotes, follow these guidelines. If the quote is under 3 lines, use quotation marks. Example: “If I do not use quotation marks correctly, Prof. Crowley will go crazy.” More on quotes: If the quote is more than 3 lines, indent it, single space it, and do not use quotation marks. Example:

The meaning of Blah is simple. You simply need to address all aspects of the word. Blah can be used in a variety of different circumstances. Most of us would like to use the word Blah all of the time because it is better than Yada, Yada, Yada (Brown 1999, 56).
7. Avoid contractions, informal language, and weak words like “feel,” “says,” “believe,” “seem,” “get,” and “appear.”
8. Identify interest groups as having a particular political leaning if they have one (i.e., the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank,..)
9. Underline or italicize book, journal, and newspaper titles in the text, footnotes, and bibliography.
10. Members of Congress should be identified the first time they appear in your paper as follows: Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY), and thereafter as simply Gillibrand or Senator Gillibrand.

11. Do not identify scholars as professors, but rather as a member of their field. (i.e., political scientist John Kingdon, NOT Professor John Kingdon)
12. Use footnotes to cite statistics, explain data, and to provide the reader with more info. Footnotes should appear at the end of sentences.
13. Always capitalize Congress, President, House, House of Representatives, and Senate.
14. Do not end sentences with a preposition.