

Public Policy (POL SC 9310), Fall 2019

Tuesdays, 3:00-5:30pm

104 Professional Building

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Course Overview

This is an intensive graduate level introduction to the study of public policy, from a political science perspective (though we will cover some material from other disciplines). The goals of this course are 1.) to familiarize you with the broad and diverse literature on public policy and 2.) to sharpen your analytical and research skills, enabling you to better evaluate and critique research in this domain, as well as conduct original research yourself.

This course largely focuses on what is called “policy process,” meaning how and why policies get made, as well as their subsequent political impacts (which “feed back” into the policy process). This is distinct from policy *analysis* and policy *evaluation*, which focus on the effectiveness or consequences (e.g., economic, health or environmental impacts) of policies, though we will briefly cover that as well.

Substantively, this course draws heavily from the literature on American public policy and politics, though most of the concepts, approaches and theories we read about and discuss are also applicable to other democracies, and perhaps in some cases to other types of systems. The course does include a number of pieces from comparative politics. In terms of policy issues, the readings are weighted toward the study of social welfare policy, a major focus of the American and comparative literatures. Interested students are encouraged to explore the application of relevant concepts to other countries and other policy areas in their written assignments as well as in class discussion.

Required Texts

The following texts are required for this class. They are available at the Mizzou Store as well as through online booksellers.

Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2005. *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. University of Chicago Press.

John Kingdon. 1984/2011. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, Updated Second Edition*. Longman.

Suzanne Mettler. 2011. *The Submerged State: How Invisible Government Policies Undermine American Democracy*. University of Chicago Press.

Eric M. Patashnik. 2003. *Reforms at Risk: What Happens After Major Policy Changes Are Enacted*. Princeton University Press.

Christopher M. Weible and Paul Sabatier, eds. 2017. *Theories of the Policy Process, Fourth Edition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Assignments and Grades

Paper - 40% of final grade

Each student will write a paper of roughly 20-35 pages in length (double spaced). Since we have a diverse class in terms of experience, there are three options:

Option 1: A literature review essay that describes, critiques, and analyzes existing research on a particular question in public policy. Obviously, this essay must draw on a much wider range of literature than the pieces listed in the syllabus that address this question. You may also write on a question that is not covered on the syllabus. First-year students may choose this option. My hope is that this essay will lay the groundwork for a full research paper at a later date, once you have more experience and methodological training, so try to choose a topic you think will interest you.

Option 2: A full research paper reporting on original research you have conducted. This paper should follow the format of a journal article and include a review of the relevant literature pertinent to the research question as well as clear research questions and hypotheses. The data and methods used should be appropriate to answering these questions and testing these hypotheses. Since the paper will include the presentation of research results, the lit review and theoretical discussion should be more concise than for Options 1 or 3. This is the ideal choice for more advanced students, resulting in a working paper that you can circulate to

faculty and colleagues for feedback, present at conferences, possibly integrate into your dissertation, and eventually publish.

Option 3: A detailed research proposal for a study you intend to conduct. This is an option for advanced students who will not be able to obtain the necessary data in time to complete a full research paper (Option 2) by the end of the semester. The paper should include a review of the literature related to the research question and a detailed discussion of the data sources and methods to be used to answer the question(s) or test the hypothesis/hypotheses, and how you plan to access them. This should be a realistic plan! If you need resources to obtain your data, this option could be very useful to you in crafting a grant proposal.

Whichever option you choose, you must submit a 1-2 page proposal to me by Monday, September 16 (on Canvas, in Microsoft Word format). This will allow me to give you some guidance and feedback on the direction for the paper before the semester gets too far along. Above all, I want this assignment to be useful and productive *for you*. While I want your paper topics to fit with the themes of the course, I also want them to fit into your own research agenda.

The paper is **due at 9am on Monday, December 9** (the Monday following our final class session) on Canvas (Microsoft Word format only).

Participation - 30% of final grade

Discussion and participation are the heart and soul of any graduate seminar. It is imperative that you attend all class sessions and that you participate meaningfully in discussion at each one. Meaningful participation means making points in class that engage the central arguments of the assigned pieces. It means drawing connections and making comparisons between pieces, including pieces that do not obviously “speak to” one another. It means making constructive criticisms rather than just picking apart what’s wrong with a given piece. And it means listening and responding (respectfully!) to the points made by others in class. I will use the following rubric to evaluate your participation (credit to Laron Williams for developing this rubric):

A: The student made a very strong contribution to the course. Class discussion, comments, and presentations reflected understanding and analysis of the material, made non-obvious connections between multiple readings, and were constructive.

B: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Class participation and/or presentations went beyond repeating the assigned material, perhaps identifying weaknesses in the current literature, but did not make many constructive suggestions about how weaknesses might be overcome or how the literature might be usefully extended in the

future.

C: The student did not contribute meaningfully to the seminar. Class participation was limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions.

D or lower: The student attended class, but did not participate in discussions or present meaningful questions for academic debate.

Meaningful participation requires preparation. That means not only reading all of the required material, but taking some time to reflect on what you have read and the issues you would like to discuss in class in relation to each piece, as well as connections you notice between them. The weekly response papers (below) are designed to encourage you do this.

Weekly responses - 20% of final grade

Every week (except the introductory week [August 20] and the week you are presenting, see below), you are required to write a short essay responding to a prompt related to the week's readings (see schedule). Your response should be about 2-3 double-spaced pages in length, but that is not a hard and fast rule. The most important thing is to write a thoughtful and interesting response to the prompt. The essays should engage with several of the week's readings (in weeks where we focus on one book, essays should draw on multiple chapters or sections of the book). You should also feel free to draw on history, current events, and other work not assigned in this course.

The essential component of these papers is your own argument. Do not summarize or recapitulate the arguments of the readings. These papers will be **due on Canvas at 10am on the day of class**. Papers will be evaluated on a 10-point scale, and no late papers will be accepted. You are not responsible for a response paper for the week you present (see below). All submissions must be in Microsoft Word format.

Presentation - 10% of final grade

Each week, a different student will present on an article, book, or chapter from an edited volume that is *not* part of the required readings and that relates to the theme of the week's class. (You will sign up for your week on the first day of class.) The "other recommended reading" lists provided after the required reading for each week on the schedule are an obvious place to start, but feel free to look elsewhere. For example, you might want to seek out an article that deals with a policy issue or country that interests you. In any case, you must check with me in advance to make sure whatever piece you select is appropriate, whether or not it is on the recommended reading lists.

Your presentation should be concise (about 10 minutes) and clear. While classroom discussion and response papers (see above) should avoid simply summarizing assigned readings, since your

classmates won't have read the piece you select, an efficient summary of the piece's main arguments, data, and findings are in order. Part of the goal of this assignment is to expand the list of pieces you and your classmates learn about without everyone in the class having to read every piece, so you should think about the sort of information you would want if you were taking concise notes without actually reading the piece. You should also be prepared to answer clarifying questions from your classmates and from me.

Of course, good presentations will go beyond summarizing to make original arguments and connections between the piece and the assigned readings.

In the past, students have prepared handouts or Powerpoint slides to aid their presentations. You may do this if you wish, but it is not required.

Course Policies

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards breaches of the academic integrity rules as extremely serious matters. Sanctions for such a breach may include academic sanctions from the instructor, including failing the course for any violation, to disciplinary sanctions ranging from probation to expulsion. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor. Please visit <https://osrr.missouri.edu/guidelines/index.html> to familiarize yourself with your obligations related to academic integrity and conduct as a student enrolled at the University of Missouri.

Your response papers and your final paper must be submitted on Canvas, where they will be checked for plagiarism using Turnitin.

Students with Disabilities

If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.

If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on

exams, captioning), please establish an accommodation plan with the [MU Disability Center](#), S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations. For other MU resources for persons with disabilities, click on "Disability Resources" on the MU homepage.

Intellectual Pluralism

The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the director of the [Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities](#); the [MU Equity Office](#), or equity@missouri.edu.

All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor at the end of the course.

Course Schedule

You will be responsible for reading all of the required readings listed here in advance of each class. (Yes, this means you are responsible for some reading before the first class!) You are not responsible for the "other recommended readings" unless you have selected one of those pieces for your in-class presentation.

Readings that are not part of the required texts for the course are either available online via the university library's journal subscriptions or provided on the course Canvas page. Some of the other recommended readings may not be available online. If you need to get a hold of one of them, either visit the library or feel free to ask me - I may have a PDF or a hard copy you can borrow.

Note that this schedule is subject to change. While I will notify you whenever a new version of the syllabus is posted, *it is your responsibility to make sure you are working from the most current version of the syllabus.* Note the "updated" date on the first page.

August 20 - Introduction - Public Policy as a Discipline and Subfield

Graham Allison. 2008. "Emergence of Schools of Public Policy: Reflections by a Founding Dean." In Robert E. Goodin, Michael Moran, and Martin Rein, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press. (Canvas)

- Smith & Larimer 2013. *The Public Policy Theory Primer 2nd Edition*. Boulder: Westview Press. (Chapters 1 and 2, Canvas)
- Christopher M. Weible. 2017. "Introduction: Scope and Focus of Policy Process Research and Theory." In Weible & Sabatier.

Other recommended readings

- Jacob S. Hacker. 2005. "Bringing the Welfare State Back In: The Promise (and Perils) of the New Social Welfare History." *Journal of Policy History* 17(1): 125-154.

August 27 - Categorizing Policies and Systems

- Theodore J. Lowi. 1972. "Four Systems of Policy, Politics, and Choice." *Public Administration Review* 32(4): 298-310.
- James Q. Wilson. 1973. *Political Organizations*. New York: Basic Books. (Chapter 16, on Canvas).
- Gosta Esping-Anderson. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press. (Introduction and chapter 1, on Canvas)
- Peter A. Hall and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to the Varieties of Capitalism." In Hall and Soskice, eds. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford University Press. (Canvas)
- Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram. 1993. "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy." *The American Political Science Review* 87(2): 334-347.

Response prompt

Given that we generally want to explain (not just categorize) things in social science, is it useful to categorize policies and systems in this way? If so, how?

Other recommended readings

- Theodore J. Lowi. 1964. "American Business, Public Policy, Case-Studies, and Political Theory." *World Politics* 16(4): 677-715.
- George D. Greenberg, Jeffrey A. Miller, Lawrence B. Mohr, and Bruce C. Vladeck. 1977. "Developing Public Policy Theory: Perspectives from Empirical Research." *American Political Science Review* 71(4): 1532-1543.
- Robert J. Spitzer. 1987. "Promoting policy theory: Revising the arenas of power." *Policy Studies Journal* 15(4): 675-689.
- Ainsley Kellow. 1988. "Promoting Elegance in Policy Theory: Simplifying Lowi's Arenas of Power." *Policy Studies Journal* 16(4): 713-724.

September 3 - Who Governs? Elites and Influence over Public Policy

- Robert A. Dahl. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press. ("Book IV" [chapters 19-23], Canvas)
- E. E. Schattschneider. 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of American Democracy*. Harcourt Brace. (Chapters 1-2, Canvas)
- Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power." *The American Political Science Review* 56(4): 947-952.
- Tali Mendelberg, Katherine T. McCabe, and Adam Thal. 2017. "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(3): 606-623.
- Jeffrey R. Lax, Justin H. Phillips, and Adam Zelizer. 2019. "The Party or the Purse? Unequal Representation in the US Senate." *American Political Science Review* online first: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000315>

Response prompt

What would be the ideal way to measure influence, if we had no constraints at all? What constraints do we face, and how does this affect the way we measure it?

Presentation

Hang Qi; Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page. 2005. "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 107-123.

Other recommended readings

- Harold Lasswell. 1936/1958. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. Cleveland: McGraw-Hill. (Chapter 1, Blackboard)
- G. William Domhoff. 2005/2014. "Who Really Ruled in Dahl's New Haven?" http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/local/new_haven.html
- James G. March. 1955. "An Introduction to the Theory and Measurement of Influence." *The American Political Science Review* 49(2): 431-451.
- Brian Kelleher Richter, Krislert Samphantharak, and Jeffrey F. Timmons. 2009. "Lobbying and Taxes." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 893-909.
- Richard I. Hofferbert. 1970. "Elite Influence in State Policy Formulation: A Model for Comparative Inquiry." *Polity* 2(3): 316-344.
- Larry M. Bartels 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up." *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 457-474.
- Martin Gilens. 2005. "Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69(5): 778- 96.

- Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3): 564-581.
- Omar S. Bashir. 2015. "Testing Inferences about American Politics: A Review of the 'Oligarchy' Result." *Research and Politics* October-December: 1-7.

September 10 - Policy Agendas and Change I: Streams

Kingdon 1984/2011. (All)

- Nicole Herweg, Nikolaos Zahariadis, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer. 2017. "The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements and Empirical Applications." In Weible & Sabatier.

Response prompt

The multiple streams framework is often criticized for failing to produce falsifiable hypotheses. Choose a major claim that Kingdon makes in the book and suggest a way it could be falsified (or proven wrong) - in other words, briefly summarize a hypothetical research study that could test Kingdon's claim.

Presentation

- Jonah Dubinski: Sonja Blum. 2018. "The Multiple-Streams Framework and Knowledge Utilization: Argumentative Couplings of Problem, Policy, and Politics Issues." *European Policy Analysis* 4(1): 94-117.

Other recommended readings

- Frank R. Baumgartner. 2016. "John Kingdon and the Evolutionary Approach to Public Policy and Agenda-Setting." In Nikolaos Zahariadis, ed., *Handbook of Public Policy Agenda-Setting*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. Available here: <http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/articles/Baumgartner-Kingdon.pdf>
- Charles E. Lindblom. 1959. "The Science of 'Muddling Through.'" *Public Administration Review* 19:79-88.
- Deborah A. Stone. 1989. "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas." *Political Science Quarterly* 104(2): 281-300.

September 16 - short paper proposal due

September 17 - Policy Agendas and Change II: Punctuated Equilibrium

Jones and Baumgartner 2005. (All)

- Frank R. Baumgartner, Marcello Carammia, Derek A. Epp, Ben Noble, Beatriz Rey, and Tevfik

Murat Yildirim. 2017. "Budgetary Change in Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes." *Journal of European Public Policy* DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2017.1296482 (<https://fbaum.unc.edu/articles/JEPP-2017-BudgetaryChange.pdf>)

Response prompt

With its semi-chaotic view of the policy process, punctuated equilibrium theory may not be very useful for generating predictions. To the best of your ability, try to use the insights of this theory to offer a prediction of a policy area that will see a major "punctuation" in the near future, in the US or another country or jurisdiction of your choosing.

Other recommended readings

Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Frank R. Baumgartner, Christian Breunig, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, Bryan D. Jones, Peter B. Mortensen, Michiel Nuytemans, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2009. "Punctuated Equilibrium in Comparative Perspective." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 603-620.

Frank R. Baumgartner 2016. "Agenda Setting in Comparative Perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 14, 2: 456-60. (Book review of *Agenda Setting, Policies, and Political Systems: A Comparative Approach*, Christoffer Green-Pederson and Stefaan Walgrave, eds. University of Chicago Press, 2014).

Scott E. Robinson and Floun'say R. Caver. 2006. "Punctuated Equilibrium and Congressional Budgeting." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(1): 161-166.

Marie H. Martin and Meg Streams. 2015. "Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: An Empirical Investigation of Its Relevance for Global Health Expenditure." *Public Budgeting and Finance* March 1, 2015.

Michael Givel. 2008. "Assessing Material and Symbolic Variations in Punctuated Equilibrium and Public Policy Output Patterns." *Review of Policy Research* 25(6): 547-561.

Neil Carter and Michael Jacobs. 2014. "Explaining Radical Policy Change: The Case of Climate Change and Energy Policy Under the British Labour Government 2006-10." *Public Administration* 92(1): 125-141.

September 24 - Policy Analysis and Evaluation

Kevin B. Smith. 2008. "Economic Techniques." In Robert E. Goodin, Michael Moran, and Martin Rein, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press. (Canvas)

Jonathan Wolff and Dirk Haubrich. 2008. "Economism and its Limits." In Robert E. Goodin, Michael Moran, and Martin Rein, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press. (Canvas)

Eugene Bardach and Eric M. Patashnik. 2016. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage/CQ Press. (Introduction, Canvas)

Judy A. Temple and Arthur J. Reynolds. 2007. "Benefits and Costs of Investments in Preschool Education: Evidence from the Child-Parent Centers and Related Programs." *Economics of Education Review* 26(1): 126-144.

Peter W. Greenwood, Karyn Model, C. Peter Rydell, and James Chiesa. 1998. "Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits." RAND monograph. (https://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR699-1.html) [executive summary and chaps 3-4]

Katherine Baicker, Sarah L. Tubman, Heidi L. Allen, Mira Bernstein, Jonathan H. Gruber, Joseph P. Newhouse, Eric C. Schneider, Bill J. Wright, Alan M. Zaslavsky, and Amy N. Finkelstein. 2013. "The Oregon Experiment - Effects of Medicaid on Clinical Outcomes." *The New England Journal of Medicine* 368(18): 1713-1722.

Response prompt

Drawing on insights from the policy *process* literature (i.e., the other units in this course so far), make an argument for when policymakers are likely to use policy analysis and evaluation to inform their decisions, and when they are not likely to do so.

Presentation

Intae Choi: Paul D. Jacobs, Noelia Duchovny, and Brandy J. Lipton. 2016. "Changes in Health Status and Care Use after ACA Expansions Among the Insured and Uninsured." *Health Affairs* 35(7): 1184-1188.

Other recommended readings

Avedis Donabedian. 1966. "Evaluating the Quality of Medical Care." *The Milbank Quarterly* 44(3): 166-203. (Reprinted in 2005, *Milbank Quarterly* 83(4): 691-729.)

Avedis Donabedian. 1988. "The Quality of Care: How Can it be Assessed?" *Journal of the American Medical Association* 260(12): 1743-1748.

Charles E. Lindblom. 1958. "Policy Analysis." *The American Economic Review* 48(3): 298-312.

Louise G. White. 1994. "Policy Analysis as Discourse." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 3 (Summer, 1994): 506-525.

Autor, David H. and Mark G. Duggan. 2003. "The Rise in the Disability Rolls and the Decline in Unemployment." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 118(1): 157-206.

David Dranove, Craig Garthwaite, and Christopher Ody. 2016. "Uncompensated Care Decreased at Hospitals in Medicaid Expansion States But Not At Hospitals in Nonexpansion States." *Health Affairs* 35(8): 1471-1479.

October 1 - Policy Feedback and Path Dependence

- Paul Pierson. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *The American Political Science Review* 94(2): 251-267.
- Andrea L. Campbell. 2003. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1, Canvas)
- Suzanne Mettler and Joe Soss. 2004. "The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(1): 55-73.
- Joe Soss. 1999. "Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action." *The American Political Science Review* 93(2): 363-380.
- Jamila Michener. 2018. *Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics*. Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2, Canvas)
- Eric M. Patashnik and Julian E. Zelizer. 2013. "The Struggle to Remake Politics: Liberal Reform and the Limits of Policy Feedback in the Contemporary American State." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(4): 1071-1087.

Response prompt

Policy feedback work has largely focused on social welfare policy. Choose another policy area and speculate how certain types of policies in that area might generate different political feedbacks.

Presentation

Christopher Wielga: Jamila Michener. 2017. "People, Places, Power: Medicaid Concentration and Local Political Participation." *The Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 42(5): 865-900.

Other recommended readings

- Paul Pierson. 1993. "When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change." *World Politics* 45(4): 595-628.
- Oberlander, Jonathan and R. Ken Weaver. 2015. "Unravelling from Within? The Affordable Care Act and Self-Undermining Policy Feedbacks." *The Forum*. 13 (1): 37-62.
- Suzanne Mettler. 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Joe Soss and Sanford F. Schram. 2007. "A Public Transformed? Welfare Reform as Policy Feedback." *The American Political Science Review* 101(1): 111-127.
- Amy E. Lerman. 2013. *The Modern Prison Paradox: Politics, Punishment, and Social Community*. Cambridge University Press.

- Amy E. Lerman and Vesla M. Weaver. 2014. *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jake Haselswerdt. 2017. "Expanding Medicaid, Expanding the Electorate: The Affordable Care Act's Short-Term Impact on Political Participation." *The Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 42(4): 667-695.
- Jake Haselswerdt and Jamila Michener. 2019. "Disenrolled: Retrenchment and Voting in Health Policy." *The Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 44(3): 423-454.
- Suzanne Mettler and Mallory SoRelle. "Policy Feedback Theory." In Weible & Sabatier.
- Joshua D. Clinton and Michael W. Sances. 2018. "The Politics of Policy: The initial Mass Political Effects of Medicaid Expansion in the States." *American Political Science Review* 122(1): 167-185
- Katherine Baicker and Amy Finkelstein. 2018. "The Impact of Medicaid Expansion on Voter Participation: Evidence from the Oregon Health Insurance Experiment." NBER Working Paper No. 25244: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w25244>
- Amy E. Lerman and Katherine T. McCabe. 2017. "Personal Experience and Public Opinion: A Theory and Test of Conditional Policy Feedback." *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 624-641

October 8 - The Hidden, Submerged, Divided, Private, Delegated, Hollow State

Mettler 2011. (All)

- Vivekinan L. Ashok and Gregory A. Huber. 2019. "Do Means of Program Delivery and Distributional Consequences Affect Policy Support? Experimental Evidence About the Sources of Citizens' Policy Opinions." *Political Behavior* published online ahead of print: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-019-09534-z>
- Melani Cammett, Julia Lynch, and Gavril Bilev. 2015. "The Influence of Private Health Care Financing on Citizen Trust in Government." *Perspectives on Politics* 13:4, pp. 938-957.

Response prompt

Is the submerged state (whatever name we give it) a useful concept for understanding the politics of public policy? How so or how not? Are there other elements of policy design aside from visibility that scholars should emphasize instead?

Presentation

- Juhyun Bae: Christopher Faricy. 2011. "The Politics of Social Policy in America: The Causes and Effects of Indirect versus Direct Social Spending." *The Journal of Politics* 73(1): 74-83.

Other recommended readings

- Christopher Faricy. 2015. *Welfare for the Wealthy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kimberly J. Morgan and Andrea Louise Campbell. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State*:

Medicare, Markets and the Governance of Social Policy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Colin Scott. 2008. "Privatization and Regulatory Regimes." In Robert E. Goodin, Michael Moran, and Martin Rein, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press.

Theodore J. Lowi. 1969/1979. *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Christopher Howard. 1997. *The Hidden Welfare State*. Princeton University Press.

Jacob Hacker. 2002. *The Divided Welfare State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Donald F. Kettl. 1989. *Government by Proxy: (Mis?) Managing Federal Programs*. Washington: CQ Press.

H. Brinton Milward and Keith G. Provan. 2000. "Governing the Hollow State." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10(2): 359-380.

Steven M. Teles. 2013. "Kludgeocracy in America." *National Affairs* 17: 97-114. <http://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/kludgeocracy-in-america>

Jake Haselswerdt and Brandon Bartels. 2015. "Public Opinion, Policy Tools, and the Status Quo: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(3): 607-621.

October 15 - Policy Innovation, Learning and Diffusion - class will meet from 2-4:30pm

Hugh Hecl. 1974. *Modern Social Policies in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Chapter 6, Canvas)

Frances Stokes Berry and William D. Berry. 2014. "Innovation and Diffusion Models in Policy Research." In Weible & Sabatier.

Francisco O. Ramirez, Yasemin Soysal, and Suzanne Shanahan. 1997. "The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 62(5): 734-745.

Bruce Desmarais, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Frederick J. Boehmke. 2015. "Persistent Policy Pathways: Inferring Policy Diffusion Networks in the American States." *The American Political Science Review* 109 (2): 392-406.

Tobias Bohmelt, Lawrence Erzog, Toni Lehrer, and Hugh Ward. 2016. "Party Policy Diffusion." *The American Political Science Review* 110(2): 397-410.

Fabrizio Gilardi, Charles R. Shipan, and Bruno Wueest. 2019. "Policy Diffusion: The Issue-Definition Stage." Draft conditionally accepted by *The American Journal of Political Science* October 9, 2019: <https://www.fabriziogilardi.org/resources/papers/policy-diffusion-issue-definition.pdf>

Response prompt

We would hope that learning from experience and from other governments would make public policy better. Under what conditions might it make policy *worse*?

Presentation

Jiwoong Jung: Charles R. Shipan and Craig Volden. 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 840-857.

Other recommended readings

Jack L. Walker. 1969. "The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States." *The American Political Science Review* 63(3): 880-899.

Frances S. Berry and William D. Berry. 1990. "State Lottery Adoptions as Policy Innovations: An Event History Analysis." *The American Political Science Review* 84(2): 395-415.

Frederick J. Boehmke and Paul Skinner. 2012. "State Policy Innovativeness Revisited." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 12 (3): 304-330.

Craig Volden. 2016. "Failures: Diffusion, Learning, and Policy Abandonment." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 16(1): 44-77.

October 22 - Coalitions, Networks, and Entrepreneurs: People Affecting Policy

Daniel P. Carpenter. 2000. "State Building Through Reputation Building: Coalitions of Esteem and Program Innovation in the National Postal System, 1883-1913." *Studies in American Political Development* 14(Fall): 121-155.

Michael Mintrom and Phillipa Norman. 2009. "Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change." *The Policy Studies Journal* 37(4): 649-667.

Eric M. Patashnik, Alan S. Gerber, and Conor M. Dowling. 2017. *Unhealthy Politics: The Battle over Evidence-Based Medicine*. Princeton University Press. (Chapter 5, "Zero Credit Politics," Canvas)

Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Daniel Nohrstedt, Christopher M. Weible, and Karin Ingold. 2017. "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Overview of the Research Program." In Weible and Sabatier.

Hugh Heclo. 1978. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment." In Anthony King, ed. *The New American Political System*. Washington: American Enterprise Institute. Available here: https://perguntasapo.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/heclo_1978_issue-networks-and-the-executive-establishment.pdf

Edeln Schlage and Michael Cox. 2017. "The IAD Framework and the SES Framework: An Introduction and Assessment of the Ostrom Workshop Frameworks." In Weible & Sabatier.

Response prompt

Social scientists are often reluctant to attribute importance to individuals, since this can make for unsystematic explanations. How can we incorporate individual characteristics, decisions, and actions into our theories while still offering generalizable explanations?

Presentation

Kaylee Swenson: Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. 2005. "Comparing Policy Networks: Marine Protected Areas in California." *Policy Studies Journal* 33(2): 181-201.

Other recommended readings

Daniel P. Carpenter. 2010. *Reputation and Power: Organizational Image and Pharmaceutical Reputation at the FDA*. Princeton University Press.

Kathryn Sikkink. 1993. "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America." *International Organization* 47(3): 411-441.

Michael T. Heaney. 2004. "Issue Networks, Information, and Interest Group Alliances: The Case of Wisconsin Welfare Politics, 1993-99." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 4(3): 237-270.

Maria Guadalupe Rodrigues. 2000. "Environmental Protection Issue Networks in Amazonia." *Latin American Research Review* 35(3): 125-153.

October 29 - Policy and Attitudes

Stimson, James A., Michael B. Mackuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89(3): 543-565.

Adam J. Berinsky. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 69(4): 975-997.

David O. Sears, Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler, and Harris M. Allen. 1980. "Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting." *The American Political Science Review* 74(3): 670-684.

Charlotte Cavaille and Kris-Stella Trump. 2015. "The Two Facets of Social Policy Preferences." *The Journal of Politics* 77(1): 146-160.

Thomas Wood and Ethan Porter. 2019. "The Elusive Backfire Effect: Mass Attitudes' Steadfast Factual Adherence." *Political Behavior* 41(1): 135-163.

Amy E. Lerman, Meredith L. Saidin, and Samuel Trachtman. 2017. "Policy Uptake as Political Behavior: Evidence from the Affordable Care Act." *American Political Science Review* 111(4): 755-770.

Response prompt

How responsive should government be to what the public wants? Are there issues or situations where it should be more responsive than others, and why?

Presentation

Zachary Lang: Thomas Hartley and Bruce Russett. 1992. "Public Opinion and the Common Defense: Who Governs Military Spending in the United States?" *American Political Science Review* 86(4): 905–15.

Other recommended readings

Theda Skocpol. 1992. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Harvard University Press.

Jake Haselswerdt and Brandon Bartels. 2015. "Public Opinion, Policy Tools, and the Status Quo: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(3): 607-621.

Yotam Margalit. 2013. "Explaining Social Policy Preferences: Evidence from the Great Recession." *The American Political Science Review* 107(1):80-103.

Mark K. McBeth, Michael D. Jones, and Elizabeth A. Shanahan. 2014. "The Narrative Policy Framework." In Weible and Sabatier.

Julia Lynch. 2016. "Class, Territory, and Inequality: Explaining Differences in the Framing of Health Inequalities as a Policy Problem in Belgium and France." *French Politics* 14(1): 55-82.

Brendan Nyhan, Jason Reifler and Peter A. Ubel. 2013. "The Hazards of Correcting Myths About Health Care Reform." *Medical Care* 51(2):127-132.

Marius R. Busemeyer, Julian L. Garritzmann, and Erik Neimanns. 2016. "Public Opinion Towards Policy Trade-offs: Investigating Attitudes on Social Investment and Compensatory Welfare Policies with a New Comparative Survey." Working paper. (Canvas; this piece is now published in the *Journal of European Public Policy* but we are unable to access it at Mizzou)

November 5 - Policymaking through Implementation

Michael Lipsky. 1980. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage. (Chapter 2, Canvas)

Paul A. Sabatier. 1986. "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation." *Journal of Public Policy* 6: 21-48.

George A. Krause. 1996. "The Institutional Dynamics of Policy Administration: Bureaucratic Influence over Securities Regulation." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 1083-1121.

Thomas Holzer, Gerald Schneider and and Thomas Widmer. 2000. "Discriminating Decentralization: Federalism and the Handling of Asylum Applications in Switzerland, 1988-1996." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(2): 250-276.

Lael R. Keiser. 2010. "Understanding Street-Level Bureaucrats' Decision Making: Determining Eligibility in the Social Security Disability Program." *Public Administration Review* 70(2): 247-258.

Response prompt

A major issue in policymaking is that many (most?) policies require implementation by people with more expertise than the policymakers who enacted them. Under what circumstances should bureaucratic experts follow their own professional judgment, and under what circumstances should they defer to what policymakers want?

Other recommended readings

Samuel Workman. 2015. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy in the US Government: How Congress and Federal Agencies Process Information and Solve Problems*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peter deLeon and Linda deLeon. 2002. "What Ever Happened to Policy Implementation? An Alternative Account." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12(4): 467-492.

Andrew B. Whitford. 2007. "Decentralized Policy Implementation." *Political Research Quarterly* 60(1): 17-30.

November 12 - Reform

Martha Derthick and Paul J. Quirk. 1985. *The Politics of Deregulation*. Washington: Brookings. (Chapters 1, 2 and 7; Canvas).

Timothy J. Conlan, Margaret T. Wrightson and David R. Beam. 1990. *Taxing Choices: The Politics of Tax Reform*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press. (Chapter 9; Canvas)

Jacob S. Hacker. 2010. "The Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened, Or Why Political Scientists Who Write about Public Policy Shouldn't Assume They Know How to Shape It." *Perspectives on Politics* 8(3): 861-876.

J. Nicholas Ziegler and John T. Woolley. 2016. "After Dodd-Frank: Ideas and the Post-Enactment Politics of Financial Reform in the United States." *Politics & Society* 44(2): 249-280.

Response prompt

Write and explain a complete and appropriate definition of "reform" in public policy. Thoroughly explain all of the components or aspects of your definition.

Presentation

Jacob Authement: Paul Light. 2006. "The Tides of Reform Revisited: Patterns in Making Government Work, 1945-2002." *Public Administration Review* 66(1): 6-19.

Other recommended readings

Jacob S. Hacker. 1999. *The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton's Plan for Health Security*. Princeton University Press.

Paul Starr. 2011. *Remedy and Reaction: The Peculiar American Struggle Over Health Care Reform*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tito Boeri and Guido Tabellini. 2012. "Does Information Increase Political Support for Pension Reform?" *Public Choice* 150(1/2): 327-362.

Thomas H. Hammond and Jack H. Knott. 1988. "The Deregulatory Snowball: Explaining Deregulation in the Financial Industry." *The Journal of Politics* 50(1): 3-30.

November 19 - Policy Durability

Patashnik 2008 (all)

Christopher R. Berry, Barry C. Burden and William G. Howell. 2010. "After Enactment: The Lives and Deaths of Federal Programs." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1-17).

Response prompt

Is it better for policy to be durable or flexible? Does this vary by the type of policy?

Other recommended readings

David E. Lewis. 2002. "The Politics of Agency Termination: Confronting the Myth of Agency Immortality." *The Journal of Politics* 64(1): 89-107.

Forrest Maltzman and Charles R. Shipan. 2008. "Change, Continuity, and the Evolution of the Law." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 252-267.

Jordan Michael Ragusa. 2010. "The Lifecycle of Public Policy: An Event History Analysis of Repeals." *American Politics Research* 38(6): 1015-1051.

Jake Haselswerdt. 2014. "The Lifespan of a Tax Break: Comparing the Durability of Tax Expenditures and Direct Spending Programs." *American Politics Research* 42(5): 731-759.

Michael Thom and Brian An. 2017. "Fade to Black? Exploring Policy Enactment and Termination Through the Rise and Fall of State Tax Incentives for the Motion Picture Industry." *American Politics Research* 45(1): 85-108.

Ursula Hackett. 2017. "Theorizing the Submerged State: The Politics of Private Schools in the United States." *Policy Studies Journal* 45(3): 464-489.

November 26 - no class - Thanksgiving

December 3 - Parties, Ideology, Gridlock, and Public Policy

- American Political Science Association. 1950. "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties - Summary of Conclusions and Proposals" *American Political Science Review* 44(3): 1-14.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *The American Political Science Review* 71 (4): 1467–87.
- Sarah Binder. 2003. *Stalemate: Causes and Consequences of Legislative Gridlock*. Washington: Brookings. (Chapter 3, Blackboard)
- Jacob Hacker. 2004. "Privatizing Risk Without Privatizing the Welfare State." *The American Political Science Review* 98(2): 243-260.
- Michelle Falkenbach and Scott L. Greer. 2018. "Political Parties Matter: The Impact of the Populist Radical Right on Health." *European Journal of Public Health* 28 (Supplement 3): 15-18.

Response prompt

Would public policy be better or worse if political parties played less of a role in making it? Why?

Other recommended readings

- David Mayhew. 1991/2005. *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-2002, Second Edition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Chapter 7, Blackboard)
- Larry Bartels. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer - and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*. New York: Simon & Shuster.
- Nolan McCarty, Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 2006. *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Nathan J. Kelly and Christopher Witko. 2014. "Government Ideology and Unemployment in the U.S. States." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14(4) 389-413.
- Andrew S. Kelly. 2016. "Boutique to Booming: Medicare Managed Care and the Private Path to Policy Change." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. 41(3): 315-354.
- Hans Noel. 2013. *Political Ideologies and Political Parties in America*. Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 6, Blackboard)
- Jonas Pontusson and David Rueda. 2010. "The Politics of Inequality: Voter Mobilization and Left Parties in Advanced Industrial States." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(6): 675-705.
- Jeroen Romeijn. 2018. "Do political parties listen to the(ir) public? Public opinion–party linkage

on specific policy issues." *Party Politics* published online ahead of print: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818787346>.

December 9 - final papers due at 9am