

## School of Public and International Affairs

PA 763: Public Policy Process

Fall 2018

Dr. Thomas A. Birkland

If you find errors or omissions, please report them to me. While this is a “final” syllabus, it is subject to change throughout the semester as new ideas emerge and student interests sharpen. Please let me know if there are any changes you would like to make.

Mondays, 3:00-5:45

**Class location: The conference room in the College Research Office, 2526 Hillsborough Street, Suite 102 (next to the yogurt and cupcake shop—ring the bell to enter)**

Office: College Research Office, 2526 Hillsborough Street, Suite 102 (next to the yogurt and cupcake shop—ring the bell to enter) [tabirkla@ncsu.edu](mailto:tabirkla@ncsu.edu) – 919-513-1834

Office hours by appointment. Set up appointments by sending **meeting invitations** via NCSU Gmail. Please don't email me to ask if I am free; use the calendar. See my free/busy times at <http://go.ncsu.edu/birkland>.

### Course Description

This course is an overview of theories of the public policy process in the United States. Like in most social sciences, policy process studies are not “paradigmatic,” in the sense that we have one dominant theory of the policy process. Instead, there are several approaches to the policy process around which have developed active research programs.

You are taking this course at a particularly interesting time in our field. The dominant theories of the process are sophisticated, have strong adherents, and have strong research programs that continue to develop and refine these theories. At the same time, there is a sense in the field that we could improve these theories' explanatory and predictive power. Indeed, the ability to predict policy change is something of a holy grail in our field. The key question in our field, then, is whether these theories can be improved and reconciled, or whether some new body of theory needs to be created. The goal in all these theories is to help us to understand *the policy process* as a whole.

My primary goals in this course are to familiarize you with the major theories of the policy process, to prepare you to conduct social science research, and to prepare you for teaching graduate and undergraduate courses in public policy. Public policy is an important aspect of the training of any public administration scholar, and the two fields share many concerns and interests. But the fields are also quite different in terms of their orientation and origins. Indeed, there's little consensus among people who claim to be “policy scholars” or “policy scientists” as to what the study of public policy *is*. This course is firmly grounded in what has come to be known as the policy process field, which has its primary roots in political science. This is not a course in policy *analysis*, which is rooted in economics, nor is it a course on substantive public policy content. Rather, in presenting theories of the policy process, my goal is to equip you with some tools you can use to study the policy process in any policy domain of your choice.

This is a seminar course, and *active* participation in this course is a central requirement. I assume that you are with familiar American politics at a level equivalent to that of an undergraduate political science major. If you are not, you will want to supplement your reading with any popular American politics textbook. The library has several available, both in print and electronic forms. While this is also an interesting—and, in many ways, unsettling—time in American politics, this course will not

delve deeply into electoral politics or current events per se, but we will draw upon contemporary examples when they illuminate our discussion of public policy theory.

The course will not cover every theory and aspect of the policy process. No such course could do so in one semester. My goal is to expose you to the main literature and thinking in the field, not to teach you everything there is to know about the policy process, but to prepare you for a career of engaging in and learning from the key debates in this field.

A new feature of this syllabus is a more extensive list of recommended readings. Many of these readings are included in the class Google drive folders, or are accessible to you in the University library, using its databases for journals and other materials. When the University does not hold an item, I will seek to make it available.

## Course Objectives

- To help you understand the academic discipline of public policy research, and its main methods and questions.
- To give you the opportunity to read, discuss, clarify, critique, and amplify key literature in the public policy field, in your roles as teachers and researchers.
- To prepare you to engage in academic and intellectual research and publishing in political science, public administration, or public policy departments or programs.
- To serve as a forum for scholars with shared interests and different experiences in understanding public policy as a field of endeavor.
- To value and encourage enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity. These qualities will also make the course easier for you to navigate and enjoy graduate school and your professional career.

## Course Format

The format for this course will be a doctoral seminar in which you will be responsible for weekly readings, writing assignments, and participation in as well as facilitation of class discussions.

### Literature management and reaction papers (35%)<sup>1</sup>

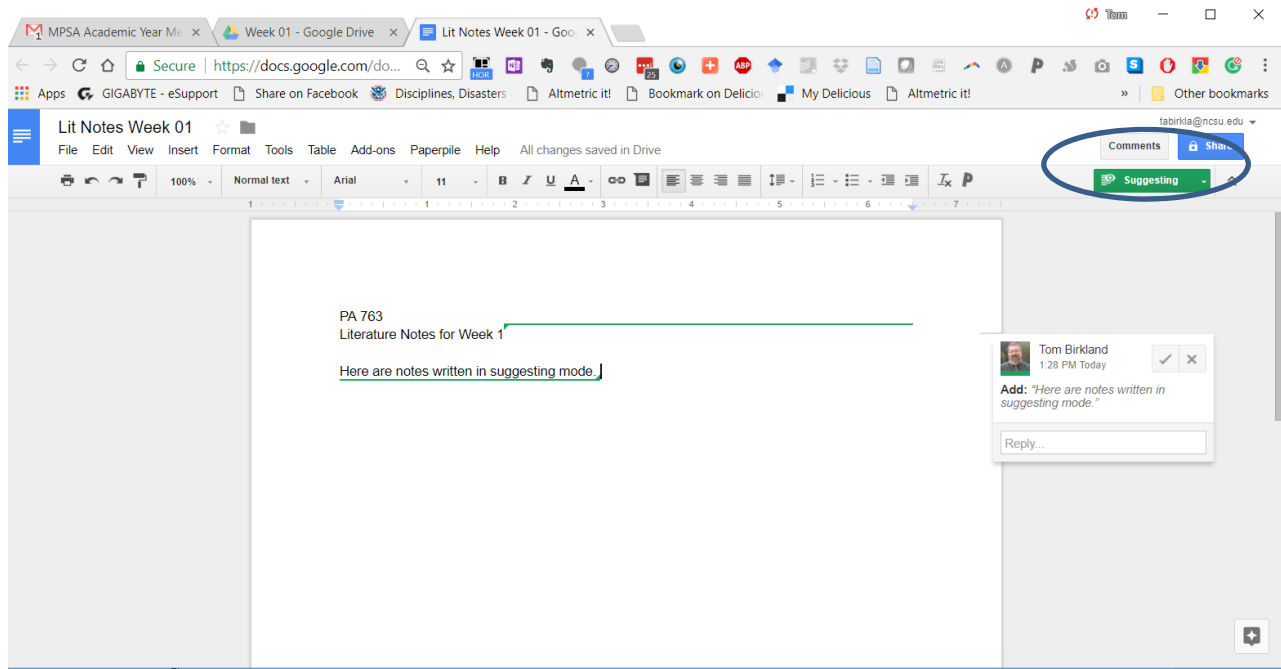
Effective and efficient reading comprehension and information management are essential skills of any scholar. In this class, we will focus on enhancing your skills and efficiency at discerning this structure and identifying the core arguments in the theoretical and empirical source material. Further, unless you are blessed with a gifted memory, most of what you read will be forgotten unless you have a system for distilling and recording what the literature says. Most scholars develop systems for organizing and managing literature so that the primary arguments, findings, and key lessons can be easily referenced at a future date (e.g., studying for comprehensive exams). If you have already developed such a system, this class will provide you the opportunity to sharpen your skills and discipline in using it. If you have not yet developed such a system, this class will provide you with the tools to do so.

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<sup>1</sup> I gratefully thank Dr. Branda Nowell for allowing me to borrow and modify much of her method for managing readings and literature notes.

Each week, you will be responsible for submitting the following by no later than Friday at 5 pm, in advance of the following class meeting. This is a firm deadline, because these materials will be shared with everyone in the course, and you and I will need time to read these materials before we meet.

- **Literature notes:** You may be familiar with literature notes from other classes (Dr. Nowell uses literature notes in her classes, for example). This year, we are going to handle things a bit differently. As a group, we will collaborate on one set of literature notes per week. We will work from a common Google Document. The way we will proceed is this: The discussion leader will start the process by starting to write the literature notes in a Google document file contained in the common folder for the appropriate week. Once the leaders have begun, others should join in with additions, suggestions, and comments. When you do so, set your Google documents editing window to Suggesting mode, which will allow us all to see who contributed what to these notes. If you do not set this to suggesting mode, it will not be obvious whether you contributed to these notes, and you will not receive credit for having contributed.



- For theoretical and conceptual articles, your literature notes should focus on identifying the authors' primary thesis or theses, critical components of the argument that support their thesis, and the basic propositions/elements of the theory or framework they are presenting. For empirical studies, literature notes should include a summary of the research question(s) that defined the study, hypotheses tested (if applicable), methods/measures used, and key findings. For all articles, you should also record any additional insights about the reading that you will want to remember (e.g., key citations you might use in your research, limitations, linkages to other theories or readings from this course or other core courses, etc.).
- In writing these notes, you can insert your own notes, make comments on other students' notes, ask questions, or suggest revisions or corrections—indeed, all the things you would do in a collaborative document. Everyone is expected to contribute equally every week. You may also want to make changes and additions or pose questions in the document during class as well. You may wish to bring a computer to class for this purpose.

Keep in mind that the idea is to summarize and draw out key ideas, not necessarily to simply outline the readings. Help each other by offering ideas for synthesizing and improving the notes. This is why this is a collaborative assignment!

- I will review literature notes for the extent to which you all contributed every week.
- For those in our course who are not native English speakers—please don't let that prevent you from contributing. Write what you can, and collectively we will help with minor points of grammar or vocabulary.
- **Synthesis/Reaction papers:** You will also prepare an individual reaction paper of about 1000 words that synthesizes the basic premises of that week's theory including the primary phenomenon the theory seeks to explain, identifies variation in different authors' interpretation/application of the theory, and offers your reactions to the theory. For example, what are your thoughts on the usefulness and limitations of the theory in helping to guide or inform research in public policy? To what extent are the phenomena the theory seeks to explain relevant to the study of public policy? To your research interests? Remember, a reaction paper is not about how you "feel" about the reading; it is about its scholarly value and, if you find it, its utility in your work. The paper should tie together what may seem to be disparate readings into a synthesis. As such, you cannot ignore any of the required readings when you write this paper. Nor is this paper to be a mere summary—it is an analysis.

You will use your reaction papers as the basis for starting the week's discussion. Please save a copy of each reaction paper in the weekly common folder for the course, *and* in your personal folder, no later than the Friday before the class meeting.

- Reaction papers will be graded as either low pass, pass, or high pass. You may rewrite any paper to aim for a higher mark, although your grades are not as important as your comprehension of the materials. You should plan to rewrite papers that earn a low-pass mark. A consistent record of low-pass work may signal a problem with comprehension of the material for which you should seek help. Late papers will never be marked high-pass.

### Discussion Leaders (15%)

As this course will adopt a seminar format, for most classes the weekly discussion leader and co-leader will be responsible for co-presenting and facilitating discussion on the week's readings. A doctoral seminar is a community of scholars; the success of each week's seminar will be a direct function of your enthusiastic and energetic participation and preparation.

Discussion agenda: If you are the lead for a given week, you will lead the discussion for that week. No later than Sunday at 4 pm, you will submit to me an agenda that will describe what you believe we should discuss in our seminar. I will help direct the discussion, but a better seminar will be student-led.

The overarching learning goals for each class include:

- Understanding and clarification of the major premises of each theory/perspective. This should include identifying the context and key constructs and the independent and dependent variables in any relational theory.
- Comparison and integration of the ideas across the readings to simplify, enhance understanding, and aid memory.
- Application and critique of theories to inform research.

Because you and your colleagues have read the same readings, it is not expected that discussion leaders be the "content experts" although you will be held responsible for being conversant in the week's readings. Your primary role is to be the process leader.

Performance as a discussion leader will be evaluated using the following criteria:

- Discussion leaders are well-prepared, well-organized, and demonstrate thorough familiarity with and consideration of the week's readings
- An engaging discussion on the integration of ideas and theories, or a critique of these theories, or both, has occurred
- The application of these ideas for informing research have been discussed

### Participation (20%)

- Be conversant with the week's readings and corresponding concepts, frameworks, and theories. This does not mean you have to know everything! To be conversant also means understanding what you do and do not comprehend. After all, learning at this level is highly iterative.
- Identify points of ambiguity and be willing to present these to the class as points for discussion. These may include ambiguities related to:
  - Content (I am not sure what the authors mean by....?)
  - Implication (if we accept this perspective, does that mean that....?)
  - Relevance (I get that the author/theory is saying X, but I am not sure why X matters for anything. – Or - Now that I know X, I am not sure what to do with it)
- Identify and be willing to share insights related to content, implication, or relevance of the theories, particularly as they relate to your research interests. As an emerging scholar, you should have a general intellectual curiosity about a broad range of ideas and should be able to understand the implications of various theories and perspectives for your research interests. For those of you whose plans do not include research in the policy process, how does the material you have read relate to your teaching interests, or to your development as a social scientist broadly?

Practice may not make us perfect, but practice makes us *better* – and the art of integrating abstract theory into more specific research interests is no exception. For each class, you should have developed some preliminary ideas about how the ideas in the week's readings could inform or have implications for your research or teaching interests, and you should be prepared to share your insights. The seminar is small, and reluctant participation will be quite noticeable.

### Final Exam (30%)

There will be a final take home written exam. The exam will be due on a date to be determined later this semester. It will be a broad and comprehensive written exam, to be written as an essay (not as an outline or set of bullet points) and will assess your overall grasp of the literature we consider in this seminar.

### Attendance and late assignments

A doctoral degree demands far more of students than any other degree. I will assume that all students in this program are prepared to devote the time and effort to this course commensurate with your status as Ph.D. students, regardless of whether you are a full-time or part-time student or are in another program.

I expect everyone to be present for every class. Because this seminar is quite small, it is **very important that we all attend all seminars**. I do excuse an unavoidable absence for personal reasons, such as illness, but repeated absences harm the seminar and diminish your likelihood of success in this course. If you are currently employed, it is your responsibility to manage your calendar so that you can attend class. Absences from seminar to attend to one's job will signal that you are not a serious doctoral student and will result in a lower course grade. If you must be absent from seminar, please inform me by email well before the seminar meets, and as early in the semester as possible. Excessive (that is, more than one) unexcused absences will result in a lower grade in the course.

There may be times when I cannot hold class due to professional obligations. I will let you know of such instances well in advance. As of the time of this writing, I do not anticipate any such absences.

## Managing Assignments

We generally will not share reaction papers and other materials on paper or via email. Rather, will share documents via the Google Drive capacity you already have as part of the NC State Google Mail. For this to work, you must be in the habit of using your NCSU Google applications for this course, and, for this course, **the only email address I will use to communicate with you will be your unity address, not an alias.** You should use *only* this address to communicate with me. You should not use your personal email to communicate with me or with others in the class. This is because using aliases fouls up document sharing in Google. For example, to effectively use Google Drive I will always use my proper address, [tabirkla@ncsu.edu](mailto:tabirkla@ncsu.edu). I will not use non-NCSU addresses, nor will I respond to them for course work, so please do not ask me to add your personal email to the class email list.

### How to share reaction papers:

1. I *strongly* urge you write the reaction papers in Google Drive. Alternatively, you may upload a Word document file (.docx format) for me to mark up.
2. Save your reaction paper **using the following document naming convention in both your personal and common folders:** *This is mandatory. Papers not submitted using this style will not be marked in a timely way.*

`lastname Reaction Week XX`

Thus, for example (and note the leading zero), Birkland Reaction Paper Week 02

Save the files you have created in the corresponding weekly folder in Google Drive. If you are writing them in Google Drive, open the corresponding folder and then compose the file. When you are done, check the sharing settings for the document: make sure that you and I can edit the paper, but the other members of the course are only granted viewing privileges.

There are no reading notes or reaction papers due for week 1. To practice using the Google Drive, please compose a short paragraph about yourself and save it as

`lastname introduction week 01`

in the week 1 folder in the common folder.

3. When I mark the paper, I will save a copy to your “personal” folder for this class, with my marked-up comments.

## Books and Readings

I have ordered all the books at the NCSU Bookstore, but you can also order them online, and there are often used copies of these books at lower prices. Since you are likely to refer to these books later in your career, you may want to find new or gently used copies. Many of these books are also available for

Kindle; you can read Kindle books in a web browser, on iOS and Android phones and tablets, on PCs and Macs with an app, and on the Kindle device.

Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 2009. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 978-0226039497. (Available on Kindle.)

Howlett, Michael, M. Ramesh and Anthony Perl. 2009. *Studying public policy : policy cycles & policy subsystems*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0195428025.

Kingdon, John W. 2011. *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. 2nd ed. Longman classics in political science. New York: Longman. ISBN 978-0205000869.

Riccucci, Norma. 2010. *Public Administration: Traditions of Inquiry and Philosophies of Knowledge*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. ISBN: 978-1589017048. (Available on Kindle.)

Weible, Christopher M. and Paul A. Sabatier, eds. 2017. *Theories of the Policy Process*. Fourth edition. New York Westview Press. ISBN 978-0813350523 (Available on Kindle.) **Please note this is the newest edition, and we will not be using the third or earlier editions.**

Stone, Deborah. 2012. *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. 3rd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

In addition to these books, you will also read

Birkland, Thomas A. 2016. *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making*. 4th ed. New York, NY: Routledge. **Do not buy this! I will provide you with a copy of this book.**

The other readings are available in the course reading folder in Google Drive. You can also easily retrieve any items with a Digital Object Identifier, or DOI, by going to the main library page and pasting the DOI into the search box. If a link is broken, it should be a simple matter to find most articles and websites through the NC State Library's databases.

## A note on doing the reading

As you will see, the readings are not evenly distributed across the entire semester. Some weeks have considerably more reading than do others. There is a heavy reading load because this course is a doctoral seminar; doctoral education requires that you maintain a high level of intellectual curiosity and a consistent level of commitment to reading, studying, and thinking about key ideas in your discipline. This means that you probably will not do well if you just read week by week. You should delve into the readings as soon as possible. The readings on this syllabus are not listed in order of when you will do the reading; they are listed in order of when we will *discuss* these readings. On lighter weeks, and during holidays, you should read ahead to the extent needed. You will also find that the course is highly iterative and that the authors and ideas cross-reference each other throughout the term.

## Other Policies

### Electronic devices

Please turn off your cell phones during the seminar or place them in "airplane mode." If you must be on call, set your phone to vibrate. Please step out only for emergency calls. Please let the most important people in your world know that you are in a graduate seminar and should not be disturbed.

Because many of the readings for the course are distributed digitally, I have no objection to your using a laptop in class. Please restrict your use to activities relevant to the course. Make sure your device is charged before class, as there may not be enough power outlets for everyone in the seminar room.

## Regulatory compliance matters

**Students with disabilities:** Reasonable accommodations will be made for students with verifiable disabilities. Students must register with Disability Services for Students at 1900 Student Health Center, Campus Box 7509, 515-7653. See <https://dso.dasa.ncsu.edu/students/accommodations/>

**Academic Integrity:** The University's Code of Student Conduct

<https://studentconduct.dasa.ncsu.edu/code/>

specifically addresses academic misconduct in part 8. Students should familiarize themselves with this policy and those policies described at

<https://studentconduct.dasa.ncsu.edu/academic-integrity-overview/>

In any case, any instance of plagiarism will result in a failing mark for the assignment if the assignment is worth less than 30% of the course grade and will result in failing the course if the assignment is worth 30% or more of the course grade. Other forms of misconduct will be similarly addressed. This list of resources and authorities is neither exclusive nor exhaustive, and any violation of academic integrity as traditionally understood in the American scholarly context will be referred for University action.

## Week 1: August 27 – Introduction to the Course and to the Policy Process

Birkland, *An Introduction to the Policy Process*, entire book (skim if you must)

Howlett, Michael, M. Ramesh, and Anthony Perl. 2009. *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles & Policy Subsystems*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 1 and 2.

Carney, Paul. 2013. "Policy Concepts in 1000 Words: The Policy Cycle and Its Stages." *Paul Cairney: Politics and Policy* (blog). November 11, 2013. <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/tag/stages-heuristic/>.

Cairney, Paul. 2015. "12 Things to Know About Studying Public Policy." Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2015/10/29/12-things-to-know-about-studying-public-policy/>

Cairney, Paul. 2016. "Policy in 500 Words: If the Policy Cycle Does Not Exist, What Do We Do?" Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2016/05/21/policy-in-500-words-if-the-policy-cycle-does-not-exist-what-do-we-do/>

Cairney, Paul. 2016. "What Is Policy?" *Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy* (blog). March 4, 2016. <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2016/03/04/what-is-policy-3/>.

Weible, Christopher M. 2017. "Introduction: The Scope and Focus of Policy Process Research and Theory." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

### Recommended

Brewer, Garry D. 1974. "Editorial: The Policy Sciences Emerge: To Nurture and Structure a Discipline." *Policy Sciences* 5 (3): 239–44.

deLeon, Peter. 1999. "The Stages Approach to the Policy Process: What Has It Done? Where Is It Going?" In *Theories of the Policy Process*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Paul Sabatier. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339703>

Lasswell, Harold D. 1951. "The Policy Orientation." In *The Policy Sciences*, edited by Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sabatier, Paul A. 1991. "Political Science and Public Policy." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 24 (2): 144–56. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339719>



Sabatier, Paul A. 1991. "Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 24 (2): 144–56. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339720>

## Week 2—September 3—No class for Labor Day

## Week 3—September 10: Science and Theory in Public Administration and Public Policy

Riccucci, Norma. 2010. *Public Administration: Traditions of Inquiry and Philosophies of Knowledge*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press (Entire book)

Riccucci, Norma M. 2010. "Envisioning Public Administration as a Scholarly Field in 2020: Rethinking Epistemic Traditions." *Public Administration Review* 70 (December): s304–6. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2010.02294.x. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339791>

## Week 4—September 17

## Week 5—September 24: The Policy Context: Official Actors in the Policy Process

Review Birkland, Chapter 4

Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl, Chapter 3

### The legislative branch

Fiorino, Morris. 1995. "Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment." In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, edited by Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, 212–20. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339704>

Kasdin, Stuart. 2018. "Creating Comity amidst Gridlock: A Corporatist Repair for a Broken Congress." *Policy Sciences* 51 (1): 117–30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-018-9310-z>.

Lowery, David. 2013. "Lobbying Influence: Meaning, Measurement and Missing." *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 2 (1): 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1057/iga.2012.20>.

Mahoney, Christine, and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2015. "Partners in Advocacy: Lobbyists and Government Officials in Washington." *The Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 202–15. <https://doi.org/10.1086/678389>.

Theriault, Sean M., and JoBeth Surface Shafran. 2013. "Reintroducing the Policy Process into Studying Congress." In *New Directions in American Politics*, edited by Raymond J. La Raja, 43–60. *New Directions in American Politics*. New York, NY: Routledge.

### The executive branch

Eshbaugh-Soha, Matthew. 2010. "The Importance of Policy Scope to Presidential Success in Congress: Eshbaugh—" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40 (4): 708–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5705.2010.03807.x>

Light, Paul. 1995. "The Presidential Policy Stream." In *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*, edited by Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, 224–37. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339713>

Wildavsky, Aaron. 1966. "The Two Presidencies." *Trans-Action/Society* 4: 7–14. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339723>

## The judicial branch

Casper, Jonathan D. 1976. "The Supreme Court and National Policy Making." *American Political Science Review* 70 (1): 50–63. <http://epstein.wustl.edu/research/courses.changecasper.pdf>

### Recommended

Dahl, Robert A. 1957. "Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker." *Journal of Public Law* 6: 279–95.  
<http://epstein.wustl.edu/research/courses.judpol.Dahl.pdf>

Klein, Ezra "The Unpersuaded: Who Listens to a President?" *New Yorker* (March 19, 2012).  
<https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=340550>

Oleszek, Walter J., Mark J. Oleszek, Elizabeth Rybicki, and Bill Heniff. 2016. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Tenth edition. Thousand Oaks, California: CQ Press.

Rosenberg, Gerald N. 2008. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morris, Jonathan S., and Rosalee A. Clawson. 2005. "Media Coverage of Congress in the 1990s: Scandals, Personalities, and the Prevalence of Policy and Process." *Political Communication* 22 (3): 297–313.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600591006546>.

## Week 6—October 1—The Policy Context: Power and Unofficial Actors in the Policy Process

Review Birkland, Chapter 5 and 6

Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl, Chapter 4

### Read these first

Dahl, Robert. 1958. "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model." *American Political Science Review* 52:463–469.

Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review* 56 (4): 947–52. doi:10.2307/1952796.  
<https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339697>

Parenti, Michael. 1970. "Power and Pluralism: A View from the Bottom." *The Journal of Politics* 32 (3): 501–30. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2128829>.

### Then read these

Baumgartner, Frank R, Jeffrey M Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C Kimball, and Beth L Leech. 2014. "Money, Priorities, and Stalemate: How Lobbying Affects Public Policy." *Election Law Journal* 13 (1): 194–209.

Broockman, David E., and Christopher Skovron. 2018. "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites." *American Political Science Review* 112 (3): 542–63.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000011>.

King, Gary, Benjamin Schneer, and Ariel White. 2017. "How the News Media Activate Public Expression and Influence National Agendas." *Science* 358 (6364): 776–80.  
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao1100>.

Wolfe, Michelle. 2012. "Putting on the Brakes or Pressing on the Gas? Media Attention and the Speed of Policymaking." *Policy Studies Journal* 40 (1): 109–26. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2011.00436.x>.

## Recommended

- Bennett, W. Lance. 1990. "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communication* 40 (2): 103–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x>.
- Burstein, Paul. 1998. "Bringing the Public Back In: Should Sociologists Consider the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy?" *Social Forces* 77 (1): 27–62.
- Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339705> and <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339706>
- Merry, Melissa K. 2010. "Blogging and Environmental Advocacy: A New Way to Engage the Public? Blogging and Environmental Advocacy." *Review of Policy Research* 27 (5): 641–56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2010.00463.x>.
- Merry, Melissa K. 2011. "Interest Group Activism on the Web: The Case of Environmental Organizations." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 8 (1): 110–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2010.508003>.
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1975. *The Semisovereign People*. Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press.

## Week 7—October 8: The Multiple Streams Approach

Birkland, Chapter 11 (the short section on this framework or approach)  
Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl, Chapter 4 (review) and Chapter 6  
Kingdon, John W. 2011. *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Updated 2nd ed. Longman Classics in Political Science. Boston: Longman.

- Cairney, Paul, and Michael D. Jones. 2016. "Kingdon's Multiple Streams Approach: What Is the Empirical Impact of This Universal Theory? Kingdon's Multiple Streams Approach." *Policy Studies Journal* 44 (1): 37–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12111>.
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## Week 8—October 15: The Advocacy Coalition Framework

Birkland, Chapter 11 (the short section on this framework or approach)

Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl Chapter 6

Jenkins-Smith, Hank, Daniel Nohrstedt, Christopher M. Weible, and Karin Ingold. 2017. "The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Overview of the Research Program." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

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## Week 9—October 22: Punctuated Equilibrium

Birkland, Chapter 11 (the short section on this framework or approach)

Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 2009. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. 2nd ed. Chicago Studies in American Politics. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ramesh, Howett and Perl, Chapter 7

Baumgartner, Frank R., Bryan D. Jones, and Peter B. Mortensen. 2017. "Punctuated Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in Public Policymaking." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

Cairney, Paul. 2013. "Policy Concepts in 1000 Words: Punctuated Equilibrium Theory." Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/?s=Punctuated+Equilibrium>

Eissler, Rebecca, Annelise Russell, and Bryan D. Jones. 2016. "The Transformation of Ideas: The Origin and Evolution of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory." In *Contemporary Approaches to Public Policy*, edited by B. Guy Peters and Philippe Zittoun, 95–112. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [http://link.springer.com/10.1057/978-1-137-50494-4\\_6](http://link.springer.com/10.1057/978-1-137-50494-4_6).

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## Week 10—October 29: Problem Definition and Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox (setting us up for the Narrative Policy Framework)

Stone, Deborah. 2012. *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. 3rd ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

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Rocheffort, David A., and Roger W. Cobb. 1993. "Problem Definition, Agenda Access, and Policy Choice." *Policy Studies Journal* 21 (1): 56–71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.1993.tb01453.x>.

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Weiss, Janet A. 1989. "The Powers of Problem Definition: The Case of Government Paperwork." *Policy Sciences* 22 (2): 97–121. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00141381>.

## Week 11—November 5: The Narrative Policy Framework

Birkland, Chapter 11 (the short section on this framework or approach)

Shanahan, Elizabeth, Michael D. Jones, Mark K. McBeth, and Claudio Radaelli. 2017. "The Narrative Policy Framework in *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

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Crow, Deserai, and Michael Jones. 2018. "Narratives as Tools for Influencing Policy Change." *Policy and Politics* 46 (2): 217–34. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557318X15230061022899>.

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Shanahan, Elizabeth A., Michael D. Jones, Mark K. McBeth, and Ross R. Lane. 2013. "An Angel on the Wind: How Heroic Policy Narratives Shape Policy Realities: Narrative Policy Framework." *Policy Studies Journal* 41 (3): 453–83. doi:10.1111/psj.12025. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=340985>

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Cairney, Paul. 2015. "Policy Concepts in 1000 Words: Framing," Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2015/11/02/policy-concepts-in-1000-words-framing/>

Jones, Michael, Elizabeth A. Shanahan, and Mark K. McBeth, eds. 2014. *The Science of Stories Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework in Public Policy Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [Available as an eBook through NC State Libraries]

## Week 12—November 12: Institutional Analysis and Development

Birkland, Chapter 11 (the short section on this framework or approach)

Schlager, Edella and Michael Cox. 2017. “The IAD Framework and the SES Framework: An Introduction and Assessment of the Ostrom Workshop Frameworks.” In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

Blomquist, William, and Peter deLeon. 2011. “The Design and Promise of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework.” *Policy Studies Journal* 39 (1): 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2011.00402.x>.

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### Recommended

Heikkila, Tanya, and Kriste Andersson. 2018. “Policy Design and the Added-Value of the Institutional Analysis Development Framework.” *Policy and Politics* 46 (2): 309–24. <https://doi.org/10.1332/O30557318X15230060131727>.

Imperial, Mark T., and Tracy Yandle. 2005. “Taking Institutions Seriously: Using the IAD Framework to Analyze Fisheries Policy.” *Society & Natural Resources* 18 (6): 493–509. doi:10.1080/08941920590947922. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=340990>

Ostrom, Elinor. 2010. “Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems.” *American Economic Review*, 100(3), 641-672. <http://www.jstor.org.prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/27871226>

## Week 13—November 19: Policy Design, Implementation, Failure, and Learning

Birkland Chapters 9 and 10

Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl, Chapters 5, 7, 8

### Failure and Learning

Bennett, Colin J., and Michael Howlett. 1992. “The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning and Policy Change.” *Policy Sciences* 25 (3): 275–94. [http://www.jstor.org.prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4532260?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org.prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4532260?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

May, Peter J. 1992. “Policy Learning and Failure.” *Journal of Public Policy* 12 (4): 331–54. [http://www.jstor.org.prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4007550?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org.prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4007550?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

### Implementation

Goggin, Malcolm L., ed. 1990. *Implementation Theory and Practice: Toward a Third Generation*. Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education, Chapter 1. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=339707>

Hupe, Peter, and Harald Sætren. 2014. “The Sustainable Future of Implementation Research: On the Development of the Field and Its Paradoxes.” *Public Policy and Administration* 29 (2): 77–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076714525108>.

Robichau, Robbie Waters, and Laurence E. Lynn Jr. 2009. "The Implementation of Public Policy: Still the Missing Link." *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (1): 21–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2008.00293.x>.

Saetren, Harald, and Peter L. Hupe. 2018. "Policy Implementation in an Age of Governance." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*, ed. Edoardo Ongaro and Sandra van Thiel. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

### Recommended

Birkland, Thomas A. 2006. *Lessons of Disaster*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, Chapter 1. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=341043>

Birkland, Thomas A. 2009. "Disasters, Lessons Learned, and Fantasy Documents." *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 17 (3): 146–56. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5973.2009.00575.x>.

Busenberg, George J. 2001. "Learning in Organizations and Public Policy." *Journal of Public Policy* 21 (2): 173–89. [http://www.jstor.org/prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4007775?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/prox.lib.ncsu.edu/stable/4007775?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

Derthick, Martha. 2007. "Where Federalism Didn't Fail." *Public Administration Review* 67 (December): 36–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2007.00811.x>.

Dunlop Claire A., and Radaelli Claudio M. 2018. "Does Policy Learning Meet the Standards of an Analytical Framework of the Policy Process?" *Policy Studies Journal* 46 (S1): S48–68. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12250>.

Dunlop, Claire A, and Claudio M Radaelli. 2018. "The Lessons of Policy Learning: Types, Triggers, Hindrances and Pathologies." *Policy and Politics* 46 (2): 255–72. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557318X15230059735521>.

Dunlop, Claire A. 2017. "Pathologies of Policy Learning: What Are They and How Do They Contribute to Policy Failure?" *Policy & Politics* 45 (1): 19–37. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557316X14780920269183>.

Koski, Chris and Sam Workman. 2017. "How Do We Get Governments to Make Better Decisions"? Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2017/07/10/how-do-we-get-governments-to-make-better-decisions/>

O'Donovan, Kristin. 2017. "Policy Failure and Policy Learning: Examining the Conditions of Learning after Disaster." *Review of Policy Research* 34 (4): 537–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12239>.

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## Week 14—November 26: Conclusions, and the future of the field

Birkland, Chapter 11

Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl, Chapter 9

Cairney, Paul. 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. doi:10.1111/psj.12000. <https://reserves.lib.ncsu.edu/reservesViewer.php?reserve=341046>

Cairney, Paul. 2017. "5 Images of the Policy Process," Paul Cairney: Politics & Public Policy, <https://paulcairney.wordpress.com/2017/07/10/5-images-of-the-policy-process/>

Eller, Warren, and Glen Krutz. 2009. "Policy Process, Scholarship, and the Road Ahead: An Introduction to the 2008 Policy Shootout!" *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (1): 1–4. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2008.00290.x>.



- Heikkila, Tanya and Paul Cairney. 2017. "Comparison of Theories of the Policy Process." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.
- Weible, Christopher M. 2017. "Moving Forward and Climbing Upward: Advancing Policy Process Research." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.
- Weible, Christopher M., and David P. Carter. 2017. "Advancing Policy Process Research at Its Overlap with Public Management Scholarship and Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Studies: Advancing Policy Process Research." *Policy Studies Journal* 45 (1): 22–49. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12194>.

### Recommended

- Howlett, Michael, Allan McConnell, and Anthony Perl. 2015. "Weaving the Fabric of Public Policies: Comparing and Integrating Contemporary Frameworks for the Study of Policy Processes." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, September, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2015.1082261>.
- Howlett, Michael, Allan McConnell, and Anthony Perl. 2016. "Moving Policy Theory Forward: Connecting Multiple Stream and Advocacy Coalition Frameworks to Policy Cycle Models of Analysis: Howlett, McConnell and Perl." *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 76 (11): 68–79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8500.12191>.
- John, Peter. 2003. "Is There Life After Policy Streams, Advocacy Coalitions, and Punctuations: Using Evolutionary Theory to Explain Policy Change?" *Policy Studies Journal* 31 (4): 481–98. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1541-0072.00039>.
- Meier, Kenneth J. 2009. "Policy Theory, Policy Theory Everywhere: Ravings of a Deranged Policy Scholar." *Policy Studies Journal* 37 (1): 5–11. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2008.00291.x>.
- Nowlin, Matt. C. 2011. "Theories of the Policy Process: State of the Research and Emerging Trends." *Policy Studies Journal* 39:41-60. doi: 10.1111/J.1541-0072.2010.00389\_4.X.
- Petridou, Evangelia. 2014. "Theories of the Policy Process: Contemporary Scholarship and Future Directions: Theories of the Policy Process." *Policy Studies Journal* 42 (April): S12–32. doi:10.1111/psj.12054.
- Tosun, Jale and Samuel Workman. 2017. "Struggle and Triumph in Fusing Policy Process and Comparative Research." In *Theories of the Policy Process*, edited by Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier. Fourth edition. New York: Westview Press.

### Week 15—December 5: Final Class

During this class, you should come prepared to make a short (10 minutes or so) presentation about how the literature and theories we covered in this seminar have informed their ideas on what you may wish to study in your dissertation or in future research projects as a scholar or professional. Consider what is useful, what isn't useful, what gaps you think need to be filled in your understanding, and how what we studied this semester relates to a doctoral program in public administration.

The schedule of discussion leaders and co-leaders is on the next page.

Week	Topic	Discussion Leader
Week 3	Science and Theory in Public Administration and Public Policy	Krista Kenney
Week 5	The Policy Context: Official Actors in the Policy Process	John Decker
Week 6	The Policy Context: Power and Unofficial Actors in the Policy Process	Honey Minkowitz
Week 7	The Multiple Streams Approach	Akua Twumasi
Week 8	The Advocacy Coalition Framework	Krista Kenney
Week 9	Punctuated Equilibrium	Winn Decker
Week 10	Problem Definition and Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox	Honey Minkowitz
Week 11	The Narrative Policy Framework	Akua Twumasi
Week 12	Institutional Analysis and Development	Krista Kenney
Week 13	Policy Design, Implementation, Failure, and Learning	Winn Decker
Week 14	Conclusions, and Future of the Field	Honey Minkowitz and Akua Twumasi

*Note:* The order of presentations was randomly assigned. You are free to trade with a classmate if you would like if you let me know. We have two leaders in Week 14 to balance the load.