Course Philosophy: Public policymaking in the United States is characterized by scholars and politicians in a wide variety of ways. For some, public policy reflects “the authoritative allocation of values;” while others see the policymaking process from a more bottom line perspective—“who gets what, when, and how.” Still others have incorporated the overtly political nature of public policy by referring to the process as “partisan mutual adjustment,” and have acknowledged that public policymaking involves trade-offs and, at times, less than optimal policy outcomes—“satisficing.” Those who make public policy in the United States often wrestle with normative questions of what constitutes the “best” policy outcomes for the most people as they strive to reach the right balance between government intervention and citizens’ rights to “the pursuit of happiness.” James Madison clearly stated in the Federalist Papers that “if men were angels, no government would be necessary.” Unfortunately, citizens of the United States are not angels and, as a result, must be constrained in their self-interested pursuits. Public policy—influenced by economics, psychology, sociology, philosophy, political science, and religion—reflects the aspiration of creating a society in which its citizens behave in a way that reflects the broadly agreed upon societal norms and values, but also the day-to-day rules and regulations established by governments at all levels. As the art of political decision-making, public policy reflects the reality that: 1) incentives and penalties (“carrots and sticks”) are the primary forces in our society that constrain and facilitate daily activities;* 2) information, who has how much of it and when, is key to structuring penalties and incentives; and that 3) thinking empirically, knowing what to measure and how to measure it, is as important as thinking normatively. (*We will also discuss how political “sermons” may also constrain or facilitate the actions of citizens.) In this course we will pursue these aspects of public policy from a variety of perspectives.

The term will be divided into four main components:

I. The Nature of Public Policy: What is Public Policy, Who Makes It, and Why Study It?
III. The Policy Players: Institutional and Non-Institutional Actors
IV. The Policy Game: Rules, Strategies, Culture, and Resources

In the concluding section of the course, we will be pursuing specific policy domains—education policy, environmental/energy policy, health care policy, social welfare policy, and immigration policy.
PBPL 5 and the Public Policy Minor: The course is designed as the gateway offering for students beginning to pursue a minor in public policy through the Rockefeller Center. For those students who are ‘18s as well as those who are ‘17s or ‘16s, but have not yet begun their public policy minor, this course will serve as the required first course in the path toward completing the minor. In class, the requirements for the Public Policy Minor will be discussed in detail as well as a clear roadmap for completing the minor during your four years at Dartmouth College. As this is the introductory course in the minor, there are no course prerequisites for PBPL 5. Nonetheless, the course is designed with the assumption that students in the class have a solid understanding of the American political system. If you have completed an AP American Government class in high school (or its equivalent) or have taken GOVT 3: The American Political System here at Dartmouth, you should be prepared for this course. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your background in American politics, please speak with Professor Shaiko at the end of the first class meeting.

Course Readings: There are six required books for this course; we will read each of the books in its entirety. There are three main texts that we will be reading throughout the term:


The Birkland text will provide the basics for our exploration into the American public policy process. The Kingdon text is a classic in the field of public policy. The Theodoulou/Cahn edited volume contains virtually all of the “must-read” public policy articles in the field, written by the best classic and contemporary scholars such as Sabatier, Lowi, Dahl, Heclo, Lindblom, Bardach, Wildavsky, Wilson, Weber, Friedman, Neustadt, and Domhoff.

The next three books will be read in sequence, during each of the components of the course. We will begin with Harold Winter’s *Trade-Offs: An Introduction to Economic Reasoning and Social Issues* while discussing the broad theories and models of public policymaking in Part I. We will then pursue policymaking processes and outcomes in each of the three branches of government. We will explore executive branch decision making through the White House and the federal bureaucracy in Part III through *The Art of Policy Making: Tools, Techniques, and Processes in the Modern Executive Branch*, by George Shambaugh and Paul Weinstein. We will also explore ways in which the federal government (and state and local governments) might do a better job of evaluating government programs through *Moneyball for Government*, edited by Jim Nussle and Peter Orszag.


All six books are available for purchase at the Wheelock Bookstore in Hanover. The books are also available online via amazon.com and other book outlets. In some of the cases, used copies should be available as well. Copies of these books are on reserve in Baker/Berry Library. In addition to these readings, students will receive course packets in class that cover each of the policy domains we will explore.

**Course Policies and Procedures:** As this is an introductory course with a fairly large class size, much of the presentation of course material will occur in a lecture format. There will be opportunities for discussion of the readings and lectures throughout the term. Please feel free to ask questions or present comments during class. While there will not be attendance taken in class, it will be very difficult to do well in this course without attending class. I assume that you can read the English language; therefore, the readings stand as the jumping off points for class lectures. Obviously, the Dartmouth College Honor Code is in effect in the course. I will not tolerate cheating/plagiarism of any kind.

You will note on the syllabus that part of many Friday classes is set aside for a “Rocky Moment.” During these brief breaks from the course material, various Rockefeller staff members and current Rocky students will offer concise insights into some aspect of the Rockefeller experience at Dartmouth. By the end of the term, each student should be well informed about all of the curricular and co-curricular programming provided to students and should be ready to engage in one or more of these experiences.

This year, we will be using X-Hours (Thursdays—12:00-12:50) at various points throughout the term as opportunities for students in the class to meet with Professor Shaiko for lunch in smaller groups (approx. 20 students). The topic(s) of the lunchtime conversations will be set by the students. These lunches are not mandatory, but they will give you the chance to discuss issues with Professor Shaiko outside of the classroom. There will be signup sheets throughout the term; lunch will be provided for you in Morrison Commons—January 28, February 4, February 18, February 25, and March 3.

We will also have speakers supported by the Rockefeller Center join us in class throughout the term. U.S. Senator Kelly Ayotte, (R-NH) will be joining us during the week of February 15-19 (pending final scheduling commitments). Senator Ayotte has co-authored a chapter in *Moneyball for Government*, one of our texts for class. We will also be joined by Morton Kondrake ’60, former executive editor and now contributing editor of *Roll Call* and a member of the Dartmouth Board of Trustees, will join us in class during the week of March 1-4. Kondrake has just completed a biography of Jack Kemp.
We are also working on bringing Melody Barnes to campus for a public program as well as a class visit to PBPL 5; Ms. Barnes is currently the Vice Provost for Global Student Leadership Initiatives at New York University as is also a senior fellow at the Robert F. Wagner School of Public Service at NYU. From November 2008 to January 2012, she served as Director of the Domestic Policy Council in the Obama Administration; she has also co-authored a chapter in Moneyball for Government. Finally, Leah Daughtry ‘84, Principal of On These Things, LLC, Pastor of The House of the Lord Church, and CEO of the 2016 Democratic National Convention, will be on campus as part of the MLK Celebration. We cannot make it to class, but she will meet with us on February 15 from 3:00pm to 3:45pm in Rocky 002. During the week of January 18-22, we will have class on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday as Martin Luther King, Jr. Day is on Monday, January 18. Also, during the week of February 9-12, we will also have class on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday as Winter Carnival begins on Friday, February 12.

Regarding office hours, I will hold them as scheduled on the syllabus. I tend to be on campus and in my office every day of the week if I am in town. So, blitz me to make sure I am in my office. If I am free at that moment, I will be glad to meet with you.

Course Requirements: The requirements for the course include three writing assignments, a midterm examination, and a final examination. The first writing assignment, due on Friday, January 15, will be in the form of a critical essay (of roughly five double-spaced pages) that clearly identifies policy “trade-offs” made in some aspect of public policymaking at the federal level of government (using Winter’s Trade-Offs as the basis for the analysis without using the examples that he presents in his book). The second writing assignment, due on Friday, January 29, will be a “One-Pager.” You will take on the role of a lobbyist attempting to inform and persuade a Member of Congress on some aspect of an ongoing policy debate in Congress. We will discuss specific topics in class. The stock-in-trade for lobbyists is the one-pager. If you cannot say what you need to say to Members of Congress and their staffs in two sides of one page, you are lost. You may have a 50-page policy paper with all of the gritty details in it, but Members of Congress and their staffs want and need to see the tightest and most concise versions of political persuasion. This will be your task. For your third and final writing assignment, you will have the choice of writing a “Policy Memorandum” for the President of the United States on a policy issue in one of the following policy domains—environmental policy, education policy, health care policy, social welfare policy, and immigration policy, OR writing an amicus curiae brief for a case pending before the Supreme Court of the United States OR a public comment on a pending rule being promulgated by an executive department or agency. You will also have the option of completing this assignment on your own or in groups; (public comment must be single-authored). We will discuss these options in class at the appropriate time. This final paper will be due on Monday, February 29. Papers #1 (critical essay) and #2 (one-pager) will each be worth 10 percent of your final grade. Paper #3 (policy memorandum/amicus brief/public comment) will be worth 20 percent of your final grade. We will also have a midterm examination (Wednesday, February 3) and a final examination (Monday, March 14 at 8:00am). Each examination will be worth 30 percent of your final grade.
Class Schedule and Reading Assignments:

I. The Nature of Public Policy: What is Public Policy, Who Makes It, and Why Study It?

WEEK 1: Monday, January 4
   Wednesday, January 6
   Friday, January 8

   Introduction to Public Policy: Course Requirements and Expectations; Overview of Public Policy as an Interdisciplinary Field of Study.

   Winter, Trade-Offs, begin reading, pp. 1-124.

   Friday Rocky Moment
   “What is the Public Policy Minor?”


WEEK 2: Monday, January 11
   Wednesday, January 13
   Friday, January 15

   Winter, Trade-Offs, finish reading, pp. 1-124;
   Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Chapters 12-15: Cobb and Elder, Kingdon, Lindblom, Schulman, pp. 96-137.

   Thursday* Rocky Moment:
   “What are the First-Year Fellows Program (FYF) and the D-LAB programs?” All first-year students interested in FYF/D-LAB should attend a briefing on the programs during the x-hour on Thursday, January 14 in Rocky 003.

III. The Players and the Process: Institutional and Non-Institutional Actors

WEEK 3: Wednesday, January 20
   Thursday, January 21
   Friday, January 22

   (No class on Monday, January 18: Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday)

   Readings: Birkland, Chapters 4-5, "Official Actors and Their Roles in Public Policy," and "Unofficial Actors and Their Roles in Public Policy," pp. 107-198;
WEEK 4: Monday, January 25
   Wednesday, January 27
   Friday, January 29

Friday Rocky Moment:
"What are the Management and Leadership Development Program and Rocky Leadership Fellows?"


PAPER #2 DUE ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 29.

WEEK 5: Monday, February 1
   Wednesday, February 3
   Friday, February 5

Friday Rocky Moment: "What is the Policy Research Shop?" (PRS)


MIDTERM EXAM ON WED., FEBRUARY 3.

WEEK 6: Monday, February 8
   Wednesday, February 10
   Thursday, February 11

Thursday Rocky Moment: "What is Rocky Global Leadership Program?"


IV. The Policy Game: Rules, Strategies, Culture, and Resources

WEEK 7: *Monday, February 15
   Wednesday, February 17
   *Friday, February 19

Rehnquist, The Supreme Court, Chapter 11-14, pp. 209-266; (posted on Canvas).
Nussle and Orszag, Moneyball for Government, Preface, Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-72.
*Speakers: Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH), (2011-pres.): Senator Ayotte serves on the Senate Armed Services Committee (Chair., Readiness Subcommittee), Budget Committee, Commerce Committee (Chair., Aviation Subcommittee), Homeland Security Committee and the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee. Prior to being elected to the U.S. Senate in 2010, Ayotte served as the Attorney General of New Hampshire, first appointed by Governor Greg Benson (R) and twice re-appointed by Governor John Lynch (D). Leah Daughtry, CEO 2016 Democratic National Convention, February 15, 3:00-3:45pm.

WEEK 8: Monday, February 22  
Wednesday, February 24  
Friday, February 26
Friday Rocky Moment:  
“What are Create Your Path, the Rocky Internship Program, and Student Discussion Groups?”

Readings: Nussle and Orszag, Moneyball for Government, Chapter 6, Afterword, Appendix 1, Appendix 2, pp. 75-221.

WEEK 9: Monday, February 29
*Wednesday, March 2
Friday, March 4

Readings: Kingdon, Chapters 9-10: “Wrapping Things Up,” “Some Further Reflections,” pp. 196-  

PAPER #3 DUE ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29.

*Wednesday Speaker: Morton Kondrake, former executive editor and current contributing editor, Roll Call, has been a national journalist for 45 years, the last 22 years as an editor at Roll Call, the newspaper affiliate of The Economist covering the U.S. Congress. Previously, he was the Jack Kemp Scholar at the Library of Congress, a senior editor at The New Republic, Washington bureau chief of Newsweek, and a Wall Street Journal columnist. He was a regular commentator at Fox News and on The McLaughlin Group and on ABC's This Week. A Nieman Fellow at Harvard from 1973-74, he has also frequently appeared on Meet the Press and NPR and was a panelist in the 1984 presidential debate. He is on the boards of the Founders Council of the Michael J. Fox Foundation, Parkinson's Action Network, and is author of Saving Milly: Love, Politics and Parkinson's Disease. Kondrake has just completed a biography of Jack Kemp, Jack Kemp: The Bleeding-Heart Conservative Who Changed America, Penguin, 2015.

WEEK 10: Monday, March 7

Concluding Public Policy Considerations; Q&A for Final Examination

Monday, March 14

FINAL EXAMINATION, 8:00 AM.