

Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences
Dartmouth College

PBPL 5: INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC POLICY
Winter 2019 Term—Carpenter Hall 013

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10: MWF 10:10-11:15am
X-Hour: Thursday, 12:15-1:05pm
Office Hours: MWF 12:00-2:00pm
and by appointment

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?
- II. Making Public Policy: The Process, Structure, and Context of Policymaking
- III. The Players and the Policy Process: Institutional and Non-Institutional Actors
- IV. The Policy Game: From Theories to Practice

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 '22s as well as those who are '21s or '20s 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 two main texts that we will be reading throughout the term:

Thomas A. Birkland, **An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making**. 4th Edition. (New York: Routledge, 2016).

Stella Z. Theodoulou and Matthew A. Cahn, eds., **Public Policy: The Essential Readings**. 2nd Edition. (New York: Pearson, 2013).

The Birkland text will provide the basics for our exploration into the American public policy process. 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, Hecllo, Lindblom, Bardach, Wildavsky, Wilson, Weber, Friedman, Neustadt, and Domhoff.

The next four 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 how the federal courts analyze laws and regulations when rendering judicial decisions about public policy issues through **Judging Statutes**, by Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, Robert Katzmann. Judge Katzmann will join us in class in Thursday, February 7. Finally, we will examine 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. Former U.S. Senator Kelly Ayotte (R-NH), an author of one of the chapters in **Moneyball**, will also join us in class on Wednesday, February 20. On Wednesday,

February 27, we will be joined by the 2019 Perkins Bass '34 Distinguished Visitor at the Nelson A. Rockefeller Center, Mr. Tom Burack, former Commissioner of the New Hampshire Department of Environmental Services and Director of the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative. He will discuss the relationships between states and the federal government in the implementation of environmental policies.

Harold Winter, **Trade-Offs: An Introduction to Economic Reasoning and Social Issues.** (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2nd Edition, 2013).

George E. Shambaugh IV and Paul J. Weinstein, Jr., **The Art of Policymaking: Tools, Techniques, and Processes in the Modern Executive Branch.** (Los Angeles: Sage/CQ Press, 2nd Edition, 2016).

Robert A. Katzmann, **Judging Statutes.** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Jim Nussle and Peter Orszag, eds., **Moneyball for Government.** (Middletown, DE: Disruption Books/Results for America, 2nd Edition, 2015).

All six books are available for purchase online at a variety of websites. 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. The second editions of **Trade-Offs**, **The Art of Policymaking**, and **Moneyball** are preferred, but first editions will suffice. Finally, there will be a few readings available on Canvas through our course link.

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.

We will be using some of the X-Hours (Thursdays—12:15-1:05) and one Friday class at various points throughout the term as opportunities for students in the class to meet with Professor Shaiko for lunch in smaller groups (approx. 20-25 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 presented in class during the second week of classes; lunch will be provided for you in Morrison Commons—Thursday, January 31, Friday, February 8, Thursday, February 14, Thursday, February 21, and Thursday, February 28.

During the week of January 21-25, we will have class on Wednesday, Thursday (x-hour), and Friday as Martin Luther King, Jr. Day is on Monday, January 21. Also, during the week of February 4-8, we will also have class on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday (x-hour) as Winter Carnival begins on Friday, February 8. 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, email 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 **Monday, January 14**, 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 25**, will be a “One-Pager.” You will take on the role of a lobbyist attempting to inform and persuade your Member of Congress on some aspect of an ongoing policy debate in Congress. The topic that you select to target in your lobbying effort should be an issue of importance to you that is currently being debated in Congress or is part of President Trump’s policy agenda. The stock-in-trade for lobbyists is some version of 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 must clearly identify the Member of Congress—House or Senate—that you are attempting to persuade. 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 (format found on pp. 95-96 of **The Art of Policymaking**) 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 (format will be provided) **OR** a **public comment** on a pending rule being promulgated by an executive department or agency (you will actually post your comment of the appropriate federal agency website). 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 25**. 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, January 30**)

and a final examination (**Saturday, March 9 at 3:00pm**). Each examination will be worth 30 percent of your final grade.

Paper Assignment 1-----	10%
Paper Assignment 2-----	10%
Paper Assignment 3-----	20%
Midterm Examination-----	30%
Final Examination-----	30%

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments:

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

WEEK 1: Friday, January 4

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

Readings: **Birkland**, Chapter 1: "Introducing the Policy Process," pp. 1-26;

Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 1-10:

Theodoulou, Gosling, Sabatier, Jones, Lindblom, Truman, McFarland, Miliband, Hecl, Domhoff pp. 1-83;

Winter, Trade-Offs, begin reading, pp. 1-169.

II. Making Public Policy: The Process, Structure, and Context of Policymaking

WEEK 2: Monday, January 7

Wednesday, January 9

*Thursday, January 10

Readings: **Birkland**, Chapters 2-3, "The Elements of the Policy Making System," and "The Historical and Structural Contexts of Public Policy Making," pp. 27-105;

Winter, Trade-Offs, finish reading, pp. 1-169;

Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 11-19:

Cahn, Hamilton/Madison, Anti-Federalists, Friedman, Olson, Edelman, Dahl, Schattschneider, Bellah, pp. 85-122.

*During the x-hour on Thursday, The First-Year Fellows Program/D-LAB will be discussed. All '22s interested in FYF should attend.

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

- WEEK 3: Monday, January 14
Wednesday, January 16
Thursday, January 17
Friday, January 18
- 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.
Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 30-43: Cahn, Fiorina, Mayhew, Neustadt, Light, Wilson, Meier, Baum, Rosenberg, Eldersveld, Berry, Sabato, Iynegar, Graber, pp. 199-286.
PAPER #1 DUE ON MONDAY, JANUARY 14 (at the beginning of class).
- WEEK 4: Wednesday, January 23
Thursday, January 24
Friday, January 25
- Friday Rocky Moment:
"What is the Management and Leadership Development Program (MLDP)?"
- Readings: **Birkland**, Chapters 6-7: "Agenda Setting, Power, and Interest Groups," and "Policies and Policy Types," pp. 199-271;
Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 44-47: Theodoulou, Stone, Cobb/Elder, Pump, pp. 287-314.
PAPER #2 DUE ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 25 (at the beginning of class).
No class on Monday this week—MLK, Jr. Holiday.
- WEEK 5: Monday, January 28
Wednesday, January 30
Friday, February 1
- Friday Rocky Moment: "What is the Policy Research Shop (PRS)?"
- Readings: **Birkland**, Chapter 8-9: "Decision-Making and Policy Analysis," and "Policy Design and Policy Tools," pp. 274-330;
Shambaugh and Weinstein, *The Art of Policymaking*, entire, pp. 1-267. Begin reading.
MIDTERM EXAM ON WED., JANUARY 30.
- WEEK 6: Monday, February 4
Wednesday, February 6
Thursday, February 7
- Readings: Complete **Shambaugh and Weinstein**; **Birkland**, Chapters 10-11: "Policy Implementation, Failure, and Learning," and "Science and Theory in the Study of Public Policy," pp. 331-389.
Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 20-29: Theodoulou, Weimer, DeLeon, Steinberger, Baumgartner/Jones, Kingdon, Mintrom/Norman, Ostrom, Shipan/Volden, Nowlin, pp. 123-198.
Katzmann, *Judging Statutes*; pp.1-112.
Zarda v. Altitude Express, Inc. (2018); United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit; decided on February 26, 2018, 1-69 (on Canvas).

IV. The Policy Game: From Theories to Practice

- WEEK 7: Monday, February 11 Readings: Haley Sweetland Edwards, "He Who
Wednesday, February 13 Makes the Rules," *Washington Monthly* (March/
Friday, February 15 April 2013) pp. 1-20 (on Canvas).
Theodoulou and Cahn, eds., Readings 48-51:
Dunn, Matland, Theodoulou/Kofinis, Theodoulou/
Kofidis, pp. 316-355.
Friday Rocky Moment: **Nussle and Orszag**, *Moneyball for Government*,
"What is the Public Policy Minor?" Preface, Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-72.
- WEEK 8: Monday, February 18 Readings: **Nussle and Orszag**, *Moneyball for*
Wednesday, February 20 *Government*, Chapter 6-7, Afterword, Appendix 1,
Friday, February 22 Appendix 2, pp. 75-255.
Policy Domain Packets (to be handed out in class).
Friday Rocky Moment: Senator Kelley Ayotte (R-NH) will be in class on
"What is the Rocky Internship Wednesday to discuss her chapter in *Moneyball*.
Program?" Senator Ayotte served in the United States Senate
from 2011 to 2017. Prior to serving the Senate,
Ayotte served as the Attorney General of New
Hampshire from 2004 to 2009.
- WEEK 9: Monday, February 25 Readings: **Policy Domain Packets** (to be handed
Wednesday, February 27 out in class)
Friday, March 1 Mr. Tom Burack '82, former Commissioner of the
New Hampshire Department of Environmental
Services and Director of the Regional Greenhouse
Gas Initiative will join us in class on Wednesday as
the 2019 Perkins Bass '34 Distinguished Visitor at
the Nelson A. Rockefeller Center.
Friday Rocky Moment: **PAPER #3 DUE ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25**
"What is the Rocky Global (at the beginning of class).
Leadership Program (RGLP)?"
- WEEK 10: Monday, March 4 Readings: **Policy Domain Packet** (to be handed out
Wednesday, March 6 in class). Concluding Public Policy Considerations;
Q&A for Final Examination.
Saturday, March 9 **FINAL EXAMINATION, 3:00 PM.**