

POL/PADM 219: SECTION 1 & 2

POLITICS OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

Professor Michele Hoyman

Office Address

Office Hours:

Section 1 & 2

Phone: 962-6867

Fax 960-0077

email: hoyman@unc.edu

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Class : Thursday 5:00- 8:00 pm

315 Hamilton Hall

3- 4:30 Wed & Thurs

or by apptmt

Classroom: 209 Dey

GOALS OF THE COURSE

This course is an examination of the political environment within which public agencies operate. To do this, we will begin with an examination of several policy models, including a discussion of what makes a good model. Then we turn to the examination of the policy process, writ large, which includes the stages of the policy process and the agenda-setting theories, both Kingdon's and Baumgartner and Jones larger theory of the policy process. We also look at why certain institutional and constitutional features of the U.S. system contribute to its minimalist government, compared to European countries, looking at Robertson and Judd's thesis. The next section of the course is on institutions of American government :the bureaucracy, the legislature, the Presidency, and the judicial. We will try to get a sense of how decision-making works in bureaucratic settings and how decision-making may differ from legislative and executive branch policy-making processes. Thus, for one part of the course, we will examine the bureaucratic process, as opposed to the legislative and judicial, with particular emphasis on the interaction between the bureaucracy examining how the bureaucracy interacts with other branches and how politically responsive it is to the public and interest groups. (Rourke's work). One of the main themes here is that bureaucracy is not a mechanical machine, (like Weber depicted it - although it certainly has Weberian characteristics), impervious to its environment. A government bureaucracy is porous to outside actors such as interest groups, citizens, other parts of the bureaucracy, the legislature and non-profits. Conversely, the bureaucracy mobilizes external forces to increase its power when necessary.

Also, we discuss the three sectors of American society: the public (governmental sector), the private sector and the nonprofit sector. What are the differences among the three sectors? Are they that distinct? If they are distinct, what explains the constant invoking of the private sector as the panacea for the public sector's problems. Also, the important issue of what is the collective good or the free rider problem is addressed with thoughts on how it can be addressed.

The subject of reforming the government, particularly the bureaucracy is a perennial favorite for politicians and elected officials, particularly those running for office. We will look at welfare reform as that effort has been led by the states.

These reform efforts rarely have the intended consequences. Why? We will look at the question of reforms and why reforms fail, via the work of Knott and Miller, Nelson, Kettle and others who look at different sets of reforms historically and politically. Two related lines of inquiry for the reform question are: the politics- administration dichotomy discussion and the validity of comparison of the public sector to private sector. Is the comparison of the public sector to the private sector valid? How true is the assertion that, if we want the government bureaucracy to work more efficiently, it just ought to behave more like the private sector? Is this valid, given the different functions of the private and public sectors? And what about the non profit sector? How do we classify its functions? We will also briefly visit the politics versus administration dichotomy as we debunk the myth that the executive branch can stand alone and can neutrally administer policy, as the founders of the public administration had asserted.

One of the questions we will be asking is whether Americans' fiercely held beliefs about bureaucracy (almost all of them negative) are based on their own experiences. We will do this by examining several chapters of Goodsell's *The Case for Bureaucracy* and looking at the ideas for participation that Stivers and King, in *The Government is Us* propose. Then toward the end of the class, we will look at leadership in the form of the role of the governor as innovator.

To summarize: the goal of the course is to provide students with a good theoretical background in the policy process with an emphasis on how bureaucracies work based on the academic literature. In addition, we will endeavor to apply these theories to practical situations in public administration. In order that all the theoretical material not be just hollow theory, we will do a simulation of a legislative committee drafting a bill. This should illustrate such processes as bargaining, coalition-building, role of interest groups (including the role of nonprofits), logrolling, porkbarrel, and cue-taking among legislative processes.

Also we will examine and discuss a case involving a nonprofit organization which illustrates many strategies and resources a nonprofit organization can use to achieve its policy goals. Many of these strategies which a nonprofit must use are parallel to those that bureaucracies must use everyday, contrary to conventional wisdom.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course requirements are: 1) to attend all class sessions; 2) to participate in all class sessions; 3) to do all the reading; 4) for each week's topic to write a one page exercise (as marked) or a leading question to be turned in or at least in your notebook 5) to write three short take home exams – due on the three dates marked; and 6) to lead a discussion on a week's reading for a portion of a class period.

The third take home paper, while not an exam, and certainly not a comprehensive exam, should provoke (or evoke) a richer more fully developed answer than one would have written had you been asked the same question earlier in the semester. Similarly, the second take home answer should be richer than the first. In that sense, all the take home questions are an integrative effort, not bound by the walls of each week's reading. You should feel free to incorporate material from other parts of the class into each take-home essay. The last take home question is due either on the last day of class, one week after the last class,

or on the regular exam date for this class. It may be turned in before then, but the early birds should still attend all class sessions, including the last day of class.

Upon occasion, students are excused from the last assignment or it is reduced to a one paragraph or one page assignment. This is called amnesty. Such exemptions are usually predicated upon perfect attendance and uniformly high performance and the group having a high stake in the learning process. This exemption, if it applies this semester, is not announced until the last day of class. Attendance at all classes, including the last one, is still required even for those qualifying for amnesty. Please do not count on amnesty as it will only be offered if the entire class is still engaged in and reading the material. Amnesty is like a buyout for some written work. There is no program for "buying out" attendance at class.

Please note that papers (including exercises) for this course are expected to be your own original work and are expected not to have been submitted for another course, without prior permission from both instructors. In sum, you should not expect to turn in a paper for this class which you are already turning in for another class.

All of the questions for the take home papers will be handed out in advance. Students are encouraged to keep notes on each question in a notebook. Working together in study groups on exam papers is encouraged. This builds solidarity and prevents alienation. There are limits to this collaboration. Each individual work product should be unique. Unlike some of the other seminars later in the MPA program, in which group projects are the only product, this class does require producing a unique work product per individual. I need to know whose work is whose. These exercises and leading questions are individual projects. Therefore, everyone should prepare his or her own unique work product in the form of exercises and answers to the exam questions (labelled Paper #1, #2, and #3).

Class participation and doing the reading are of the utmost importance and will be rewarded. (See below). You must also volunteer to lead a discussion, either solely or with several other students. You are meant to convey key points from the content , perhaps via a one-page hand-out or via a list of key questions to stimulate discussion. Presentation should be in an interactive mode, not a lecture. A hand-out is useful for particularly dense material. This task forms one key part of your class participation grade.

PH.D. STUDENTS

For PhD students, there are three additional requirements: an extra oral report/discussion leader effort (which brings the total to two), a substantial paper which includes some theoretical literature and supplementary reading(s) for each week. Please let me know by email which supplementary reading you are doing for each week. This is in addition to the Master's level required literature. In addition, the three four-page papers should be longer than that for the Ph.Ds (6 - 10 pp), including some optional literature.

There are certain areas where a background report is badly needed, and so the instructor will steer the PhDs toward those topics, for instance, Baumgartner and Jones or legislature, or Presidency. The extra paper of modest length (10 pages) normally will be on the same topic as one of your two presentations. It is also strongly advised that the PhDs do at least one optional reading per topic, more if you intend to present this area for a comprehensive exam. Loomis, Baumgartner and Jones and Olson should be read in their entirety, as well as additional current literature from PAR, APSR and other relevant journals. The instructor will provide some academic literature in addition, but the student will have to develop his or her own bibliography, if those extra readings are not indicated on the syllabus using journals such as *American Political Science Review*, *Public Administration Review*, *Journal of Politics* and *American Journal of Political Science*. Consult the instructor in advance of each week for readings for that week.

GRADING:

Consistent with the MPA curriculum, there are not grades per se, but there is a broad evaluation of the student's performance- High Pass, Pass, and Low Pass (Deficient). The expectation and the modal grade is Pass. It is this particular professor's philosophy that in order to learn, each student needs to take a stake in the process and there needs to be a safe and encouraging environment in which to test your ideas in the classroom. This means establishing a mutual respect for everyone's comments, yet a willingness to yield to the constraints of time, schedules and the demands of the content of the class. Thus the atmosphere will hopefully be low risk, high participation - and fun!

What do you need to get an H in this course? Only a person who gets virtually all double pluses on the scale below and has no variation in performance and who has enhanced the class with good citizenship by bringing in extra material would earn an H. If any, there are usually only one or two of these awarded. Similarly only if the person's performance were consistently low would the person earn an L or if the person missed assignments frequently or missed class frequently.

Exercises (See link to Exercises 2002)

What is the point of the exercise? The purpose of each week's exercise is to articulate an intellectual reaction to that week's reading. I am looking for a command over the literature, but not a summary!!! The second, equally important point of the exercise is to make certain that each and every person is reading and mastering the material for that week. Therefore, if it is clear that the whole class is doing the reading and convincingly engaged in the material, the instructor may frequently be able to reduce the requirement from a written exercise to a leading question. In that instance, any individual who feels deprived of the chance to do the written exercise which has been waived or feels it may benefit him or her to get the individualized feedback, should go ahead and do it. Through the weekly exercises or leading questions you will get almost continuous feedback about whether you "got it" or not, that is whether you got the main idea from the reading or not. You will also be graded on classroom performance and on exercises in a rough scheme like this:

++ Outstanding; shows original thought or theoretical insight, an H

+ Very good, a competent treatment of the material- a P

Checkmark- Complete, but needs improvement; missed the mark in some way- an L

The point is not to create a competitive atmosphere among classmates. The point is for each individual to have a stake in mastery of the material. The point is to always aim higher as an individual: You should aim for the double plus mark if you got just a single plus (+) last time. Similarly if you got a checkmark last time, try for a single plus (+) next time. There will be detailed comments to guide you. Don't be disappointed if you will have uniformity in performance. One week the material may be very stimulating to you. The next week it may leave you uninspired. Some weeks you will have time to formulate, write and edit a very lucid exercise. Other weeks you may have to dash it off.

Out of the set of required exercises, some are one paragraph to one page written exercises and the others are leading questions. You must do all leading questions and exercises. Even if you are not coming to class that day, you must make the time deadline for exercises and for questions. The exercise can be as

little as a paragraph, but at most a maximum of one page, double-spaced typed intellectual reaction to that week's reading. The penalty for late exercises is one grade late per day. Send it to hoyman@unc.edu if you cannot make class.

Grading Blind: You need a cover sheet stapled to the front of the exercise with your name and student number on it. On the subsequent page, just put your student number and no name. This is so the papers can be read with anonymity. Obviously if you are sending email this may be harder to do. Please do not leave both your name and student identification off your work or I will not be able to report it.

On the long discussion papers, they should not be sent via email, so the coversheet idea should work.

There is no in-class midterm or final. There are three short discussion papers which involve one or two integrative questions of a take home essay sort. The answers should not exceed four pages for each question, except for the Ph.Ds who should do ten page papers. There may be either one or two questions on each exam. I will give out the questions well before they are due.

Sporadic attendance is the most certain route to lowering your grade from a P to an L or from what would have been an H to a P. H is not awarded to someone who has missed a class, no matter how valid the excuse. A "P" cannot be awarded unless the person has missed less than 3 classes. In other words, missing three or more classes puts you in the "L" zone.

Pop Quiz This option has never been used by this instructor in this particular course, but I have used it in other courses, where the group was slacking off in reading. If on a leading question day, it is apparent that a fraction or a large fraction of all of you have NOT done the reading, then the group will be subject to a pop test.

Weighting for Grades

The weight that each performance measure has in determining the final evaluation (grade) is as follows: 1/5 class participation, including discussion leader ; 1/5 for exercises and for leading questions; 1/5 for take home essay #1; 1/5 for take home essay #2; and 1/5 for final take home. If the final is suspended (amnesty) the proportionate weight would be 1/4, 1/4, 1/4 and 1/4 respectively.

Ph.D grading

The grading weights for the PhDs may be slightly different, as their requirements are different. They have to do: an extra oral report after developing a bibliography and a short paper (10 pp.) on one of the topics proposed by the professor. In addition the four page papers for them will be expected to be eight to ten pages, and they should incorporate supplementary reading. Extra bibliographic work – of the student's own initiative may be expected, depending on the report. PhDs are expected to do some supplementary reading for each week, for example the entire Baumgartner and Jones book, the entire Loomis book, the entire Olson book, and possibly one by Hirshmann. Their proportionate weighting for grades is 1/3 for class participation without discussion leader grade but including written exercises; 1/3 for the average of the three small papers and 1/3 for extra bibliographic work, two class discussion leader sessions and the large paper.

REQUIRED BOOKS:

It is required that you read part or all of the following books. You do not have to buy each one of them. You definitely should buy Kingdon, and Stivers and King. However for the others, you may want to share a book with a friend or check it out from a library. All of them except Rourke are available from the bookstore. Look under Poli and Padm 219.

The books which you are required to purchase are:

1. Kingdon, John, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* (Harper Collins, 1995) ISBN # 0673394557 . Kingdon is assigned for other political science classes, so ask a bookstore person to get you a copy from another course if necessary.

2. King, Cheryl and Stivers, Camilla, *Government is Us: Public Administration in an Anti-Government Era* (1998: Thousand Oaks, Ca.:Sage Publications)isbn 0-7619-0882-X

BOOKS which are optional to Purchase

These are all available in bookstore except Rourke. Two to three chapters are required.

1. Baumgartner, Paul and Jones, Bryan, *Agendas, and Instability in American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993) three chapters

2. Goodsell, Charles *The Case for the Bureaucracy*, (latest edition, Chatham, N.J: Chatham House) ISBN I-56643-007-0 one or two chapters

3. Rourke, Francis, *Bureaucracy Power and Public Policy* (out of print) Relevant chapters are on electronic reserves, (Undergrad e-reserves) (Little Brown, 1984) ISBN # 0-316-75965-1

DATES OF CLASS SESSIONS/ EXERCISES

DATE	TOPIC	READING
THURS. AUG. 22	I. INTRODUCTION	
	Description of Course and Preliminary Disc. of Models	
TUES AUG. 27	Ex #1 Written Paper on Models	
THURS. AUG. 29	APSA CONVENTION	
	(This class will need to be re-scheduled to either Tues or Wed Aug. 27 -28.)	
	II. MODELS	
	Discussion Leaders:1) Elitism _____	
	2) Pluralism _____	
	3) Rationalism _____	
	4) Incrementalism _____	
	Dye, Thomas Ch.2 "Models" Group Theory p 23-24;Elite Theory pp. 25-26	
	Rationalism p 27-29; Incrementalism pp. 30-31.	
	Lindblom, Charles, The Science of Muddling Though", <i>Public Administration Review</i> (Spring, 1959, 79-88 and reprinted in Shafritz and Hyde, <i>Classics of Public Administration</i> .	
	On Electronic reserve Undergraduate Reserve	
	III. AGENDA-SETTING	
	Kingdon, <i>Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies</i>	
	Discussion Leader _____	
:	Kingdon, Chs. 1, 4 and 6, especially Ch. 4 (Theory)	
	WEEK 2:	
TUES. SEPT. 3	12 noon by email Exercise #2 Leading Question on Kingdon	
	is due (by this time you should have read all of Kingdon)	
THURS. SEPT. 5	Kingdon, Chs. 2, 3, 5, 7 and remaining chapters.	
	Discussion Leader _____	
	WEEK 3	

TUES. SEPT. 10
THURS. SEPT. 12

12 noon: Ex#3 Leading Question on Baumgartner and Jones
Baumgartner & Jones, Ch. 1 ; Ch. 2 & 12
Disc Leader _____(Ph.D student)

SEPT.12

III. WHY IS AMERICA DIFFERENT?

Lecture Hoyman

Constitutionalism & Fragmentation

(optional) Robertson & Judd, Ch. 3,

(Ph.Ds: Entire book)

(optional) Kirlin, John "What Government Must Do Well: Creating Value for Society" *Journal of Public Administration, Research and Theory*,6 (1996) 1:161-185)

Discussion Leader (Kirlin)_____

WEEK 4:

SEPT 19

(It will be due SEPT 26 if Class 2 is cancelled) PAPER #1 IS DUE ON
AGENDA SETTING

SEPT. 19

Ex. #4 Leading Question In your notebook on Three Sectors
THREE SECTORS: PRIVATE (BUSINESS), PUBLIC (GOVERNMENT)
AND NON-PROFIT

Cohen, Steven " A Strategic Framework for Devolving Responsibility and Functions From Government to the Private Sector *Public Administration Review* July/August 2001, p.432-440.

Downs & Larkey, Ch. 2: 23-58 (Library- E-Reserves)

Appleby, Paul, Government is Different" from

Shafritz & Hyde *Classics of P.A.* p.145-149 (Library- E-Reserves)

Allison, Graham, "Public & Private Mgment: Are

they Fundamentally Alike in All Unimportant

Respects?" Shafritz & Hyde p.457-475(Library- E-Reserves)

Discussion Leader(2) _____

SEPT. 19

B. NON PROFIT READINGS

Salamon, Lester, "The NonProfit Sector at a Cross Roads:

Case of America", *Voluntas*, vol. 10, No. 1. pp. 5- 23 (Library-E-reserves)

Ferris, James M. "The Role of Nonprofit Sector in a Self-Governing Society: A View from the U S", *Voluntas* v.9, no.2:137-151 (Library-E-reserves)

Heimovics, Herman & Jurkiewicz, "Executive Leadership & Resce.

Dependence in Nonprofit Orgns: A Frame Analysis", *PAR*, Sept/Oct.1993,

V.53, No.5 419-427

Discussion Leader(UP TO 3)_____

WEEK 5

TUES SEPT. 24
SEPT. 26

Exercise #5 on Rourke

IV. AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

BUREAUCRACY

Rourke, Francis, *Bureaucracy, Politics and Public Policy*
Ch.2 Skills of Bureaucracy(On Reserve-Library)pp. 15-47
Rourke Ch.3 Mobilizing External Support

Discussion Leader_____

SEPT. 26

Lecture on Administrative Law and on Role of Cts in Policy-Making

(Optional) see West Ch. 2 pp. 24-54)

(Optional) see West, Ch. 3 pp. 55-76.)

No Exercise; No leading question

WEEK 6

OCTOBER 3

Legislative Process Lecture Michele Hoyman

(Required) Deering, Christopher and Smith, Steven, Ch. 1 Committees

(optional) Loomis, Ch. 2: pp. 7-23

(optional)Loomis Ch. 5

Disc Leader to report to us on Loomis' thesis _____

Preparation for Legislative Simulation (Part in Class and Part out of Class)

There is no exercise due Week 6 and Week 7 but there are required out of class meetings with your legislative team members.

WEEK 7

OCTOBER 10 Legislative Simulation (Hearing and Testimony of Expert Witnesses)

WEEK 8

OCTOBER 17 FALL BREAK

WEEK 9

, OCTOBER 24 PAPER #2 IS DUE

PRESIDENCY LECTURE

No Required Reading.

(Optional) Rosenbloom, David, "Retrofitting the Administrative State to the Constitution: Congress and the Judiciary's Twentieth Century Progress" P.A.R. Jan/Feb. 2000,pp. 39-53.

(PH.Ds) West, Ch.4 , (Reserve)

(PH.Ds) West, Ch.5 (reserve)

Discussion Leader (to report on the two

West chapters) (2) _____ , _____

Discussion Leader (Rosenbloom) _____

TUES. OCT. 29 NOON

Exercise #6 Written Olson

Put in pouch on Hoyman's Door or email it.

WEEK 10

WEEK 10, OCT. 31

V. COLLECTIVE ACTION & THE FREE RIDER DILEMMA

Olson, Mancur *Logic of Collective Action*

Discussion Leader _____

Ch.1 p. 5-52 (Library-e reSERVES)

	Deleon, Linda and Denhart, "Political Theory of Reinvention" Public Administration Review, Vol. 60, No. #2, pp. 89-97
	Lowery, David, "Consumer Sovereignty and Quasi-Government" <i>J.P.A.R.T.</i> 8(1998)2:137-172
	Discussion Leader on Deleon & Lowery _____
OCT. 31 (Con'td)	VI. REFORMS
	1st Half of Reforms Discussion
	Guest Lecturer: Deil Wright: Welfare Reform in NC
	WEEK 11
TUES NOV. 5	Exercise #7 Written Exercise on Reforms
THURS. NOV. 7	VI. REFORMS
	Kettl, Donald, "Public Administration at the Millenium: The State of the Field" <i>J.P.A.R.T.</i> , vol. 8, No. 1 Jan. 2000: 7-34.
	Discussion Leader _____
	Knott and Miller, <i>Reforming the Bureaucracy</i> , Ch.s2 & 3
	Discussion Leader _____
	Downs, George & Larkey, Patrick, <i>Search for Govt Efficiency</i> , ch.2 23-58 (reread) Hoyman Lecture
	Nelson "A Short Ironic History..." <i>Journal of Politics</i> , V.44, 1982, 747-77
	Discussion Leader (Nelson) _____
	K & M entire book (for Ph.Ds.)
	WEEK 11
THURS. NOV. 7	VII. POLITICS ADMINISTRATION DICHOTOMY
	Svara, James, "The Myth of the Dichotomy: Complementarity of Politics and Administration in the Past and Future of Public Administration" <i>PAR</i> April 2001; vol. 61; No. 2: 176- 184
	Meier, K " Bureaucracy & Democracy: Case for More Bureaucracy & Less Democracy" <i>P.A.R.</i> My/Je1997, V. 57,p. 3 pp. 193-197
	Discussion Leader _____
	WEEK 12
	AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY
TUES NOV. 12	Exercise #8 Exercise on <i>Government is Us</i> book
THURS NOV. 14	Stivers and King, <i>Government is Us</i> (Entire Book)
	Discussion Leader (Ch. 1-4 pp. 1-70) _____
	Discussion Leader (Ch. 5- 12; pp. 71-102) _____
	What explains Americans' attitude to the bureaucracy?
	Goodsell, Charles <i>Case for the Bureaucracy</i> ch.2
	Discussion Leader (Goodsell) _____
	WEEK 13
THURS. NOV. 21	LEADERSHIP Guest Lecturer: Dr. Thad Beyle

	Beyle, Thad, "Governor as Innovator in the Federal System" <i>Publius: Journal of Federalism</i> 1988, pp.131-152 (Library)
THURS NOV. 21	SEATTLE ART MUSEUM CASE (NONPROFIT CASE) PART
A	Discussion Leader _____
	WEEK 14
NOV.28	THANKSGIVING: HAPPY TURKEY DAY
	WEEK 15
DEC. 5	LAST DAY OF CLASS
	SEATTLE ART MUSEUM CASE (Part B and C)
	Disc. Leader _____
	Paper #3 Can Be Turned in As early as this
	WRAP-UP & Amnesty- eligible persons are announced.
DEC. 12	DUE DATE FOR Paper #3
REGULAR EXAM DATE	Last date when Paper #3 and all other work can be turned in.

HAPPY HOLIDAYS!!!!!!