POS 6476: Bureaucratic Politics

University of Florida | Fall 2024

Course Information

Meeting Place
TUR 2303

Meeting Time
W: 3:00 – 6:00pm

Instructor Information

Instructor
Matthew J. Uttermark, PhD

Email
matthewuttermark@ufl.edu

Office Location & Hours
AND - 206
T: 11:30am-12:30pm &
W: 1:00 – 3:00 pm

General Information

Description

In the United States, the federal – and especially state and local governments – allocate a significant portion of their budgets to salaries for millions of bureaucrats who act as the lynchpin of policy implementation and service delivery. In other words, these individuals are *the hands of government*. These bureaucrats, who operate across a vast array of agencies, also represent the most direct interface between the government and its citizens – they are *the face of government*. Their work can boost societal well-being, citizen perceptions of government, and policy outcomes. Bureaucrats also work in an environment where they navigate competing demands from elected supervisors, strained budgets, and understaffed agencies.

This course focuses on the politics and political conflicts within and around bureaucratic organizations. Over the semester we will explore the characteristics of bureaucratic organizations and their members, their relations with one another as well as with other actors in the policymaking process. We will also study the major activities within bureaucracies – budgeting, rulemaking, program development, organizing, and service delivery – as well as how both politicians and administrators attempt to control these processes.

This course is intended to introduce you to the political, historical, and legal rationales behind, and the procedures used, within American bureaucracy. Put differently, this course will help to provide a richer view of both why and how the federal bureaucracy "does what it does." This course will also serve as an opportunity to introduce you to bureaucratic politics scholarship in a variety of fields in the social sciences (political

science, public administration, public policy, economics, sociology, etc.). Finally, this course will help you learn some of the canonical debates and concepts frequently evaluated in public affairs scholarship with the goal of providing students the opportunity to see how their own research can dovetail within these fields.

To this end, I encourage students while in this class to regularly read from the two flagship public affairs journals – *Public Administration Review* (PAR) and *The Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (JPART).

This is a seminar—not a lecture. You are expected to critically read, analyze and discuss these readings each week. There can be no free-riders in this class. Your insights and analysis will be key to the success of the class. You will be expected to carefully read the required texts and come to class prepared to discuss the importance of the readings to public policy scholarship and your own interests. Since the bureaucracy deals with timely and dynamic topics, it is appropriate to think of how the academic research on bureaucratic politics relates to current events at the federal, state and international level.

Course Objectives

- Have a foundational knowledge of keystone theories and debates on the study of bureaucracies
- Analyze the merits of scholarly arguments about bureaucracies and offer reasoned and constructive critiques thereof
- Reflect on the achievements and gaps in the study of bureaucracies and suggest directions for future scholarship
- Propose (and if possible execute) original, empirical research on the politics of bureaucracies.

Prerequisites

This course assumes that students have taken an introductory seminar in either American politics or public policy and are familiar with the basic elements of research design and methods in the social sciences.

Grading*

A 93-100	B 83-86.99	C 73-76.99
A- 90-92.99	B- 80-82.99	C- 70-72.99
B+ 87-98.99	C+ 77-79.99	F < 70

* A letter grade of 'A' is the highest grade that you can receive in this course.

Grade Rounding As a matter of policy, the instructor does not round grades in graduate-level coursework. Please do not email the instructor at the end of the semester asking that your final grade be rounded up.

Evaluation

Participation (10%): Students are expected to attend all in a graduate program, barring an excused absence. Please come to class prepared (i.e. having read all of the assigned materials for that day). You are expected to actively participate in each class. Participation will be evaluated by students' actively engaging in lecture, providing thoughtful comments/questions in class discussion, and evidence of careful reading of assigned materials. I expect students, on average, to have at least five comments of quality each week in class to receive an 'A' grade on this benchmark. Students who do not participate will receive no higher than a 'C-' (70%) on this benchmark.

Discussion Leader & Guiding Questions (20%): Students will serve as discussion leader for at least one class during the semester. I will pass around a sign-up sheet for you to indicate a day that you would like to lead discussion. Students should reflect on key questions that come up in the week's readings and possible applications of findings in political science. Prior to class, student leaders will submit a list of guiding questions (6-10 *per reading*), which will help facilitate class discussion. Discussion leaders will send a preliminary draft no later than 9am Monday during the corresponding week. The instructor will make adjustments as they see fit and place the questions on a folder in Canvas.

Response Papers (10% each): In addition to serving as discussion leader, students will also sign-up for two class periods to write response papers. Response papers should be 1,200 – 1,800 words (about two to three full pages), typed in Times New Roman size 12 font, single-spaced.

Students should briefly highlight main themes or questions of the readings. The response papers can (and should) discuss theories and methodological techniques of the readings; discuss strength and weaknesses of theories, hypotheses, and research methods; discuss what implications exist for political scientists; and potential questions that you have after engaging with the research.

Students must email their response papers to the instructor no later than 12:00 pm on Wednesday. Additionally, a hardcopy of the response paper is due on my desk at the start of class. Response papers are graded on a check plus (100%), check (90%), check minus (80%) system. Response papers that are late are not eligible for grade higher than check minus. It is expected that students writing response papers will be the most engaged students during class discussion, during their respective weeks.

Final Project (40%): Masters and first year doctoral students may draft either a systematic literature review or research paper as a final project. Students in their second year and beyond in the doctoral program will write a research paper on the topic of bureaucratic politics – broadly defined. The paper should provide: 1) a carefully

developed theory; 2) a quality research design, and; 3) at least a base-line, first-cut, evaluation of your research question. Either via a qualitative or quantitative analysis.

Manuscripts should generally contain no more than 8,000 words, including abstract, endnotes, and references. Tables, figures, charts, and appendices should be excluded from the word count. All material should be 12-point, Times New Roman type, double-spaced with margins of one inch. Please use APSA style guide author—date citations. Additionally, please include three to five sentence-length takeaway points for readers that provide Evidence for Practice. The purpose of these is to distill specific research findings, meaningful implications, or insights for practice that would help the article to attract a savvy practitioner in search of evidence to inform practice. Finally, please try to follow the general conventions outlined in *Public Administration Review's* Author Guidelines for this class.

Please note, that I will evaluate your paper at least in part based on your ability to carry out the project in the real world. You cannot simply write that you are going to randomize an intervention that would be impossible, for all intents and purposes, for you to carry out.

Final Project Presentation (10%): Students will prepare a 10 min. (~5 slide) presentation of their evaluation project and findings and share them with the class on the last meeting of the semester. Please note, class may run a little long on this day due to presentations.

Course Materials

Required Text

Simon, Herbert A. 1997 **Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization**. 4th ed. New York: Macmillan.

Note: the specific edition of this text is not terribly important. This text is available through the campus bookstore, and major online retail sites such as Amazon and Chegg. An e-textbook is acceptable for this class.

Other readings (book chapters, journal articles) will be made available on the course site.

Class Policies

Makeup Work Make-up work will be accepted in this course if a student has a university approved absence. University approved absences include:

- A documented illness (or serious illness of a dependent child).

- A death in the family.
- Call to active military duty.
- Jury duty.
- A religious or work-restricted holy days.
- Official university activities (i.e., a student athlete competing in a meet).

It is your responsibility to inform me and get documentation before the absence occurs. For example, if you are ill the day of an assignment, I require a signed note from a medical doctor dated the day of the exam. I will then work to determine how to make-up the assignment. With the exception of the final project – which must be completed on time – late work submitted up to 48 hours after a deadline may receive up to half credit, unless otherwise documented.

Incomplete Grades I do not expect to hand out a grade of "Incomplete" to any student in this course. However, a grade of "Incomplete" will only be given if there is an agreement between the instructor and the student prior to the end of the semester. The instructor reserves the right to determine a legitimate reason for assigning an incomplete grade.

Plagiarism Any form of cheating will NOT be tolerated. If you are caught plagiarizing any written work you will receive an automatic zero on the assignment and will be reported to the university in accordance with University of Florida policy. Plagiarism is defined as: handing in a paper you did not write, attempting to pass off someone else's work as your own, or using your own ideas, information, or phraseology of other writers without giving proper credit in your text. Self-plagiarism – handing the same written assignment for multiple courses – is also prohibited. See the university honor code for more information.

Email Policy Please avoid emailing the instructor with questions that can be answered by reading the syllabus. This document contains information on how your grade is calculated and what is covered each day in class. Additionally, if you wish to set up an appointment with the instructor outside of office hours, please provide a list of times to meet in the first email sent to the instructor.

Course Evaluations Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback professionally and respectfully is available at https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens and can complete evaluations through the email that they will receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/.

Student Accommodations Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, you will

receive an accommodation letter to share with me. If you need accommodation, please follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Health & Wellness Resources If you or someone you know is struggling with any crisis including, but not limited to, gender, sexual, racial, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Florida resources available. Some of these include:

• U Matter, We Care: 352-392-1575, umatter@ufl.edu
• RESPECT – UF Division of Student Affairs: respect.ufsa@ufl.edu
• Counseling and Wellness Center: 352-392-1575, counseling@ufl.edu (available 24/7)
• Alachua County Crisis Center's Crisis Line: 352-264-6789
• Student Health Care Center: 352-392-1161, shcc@ufl.edu
• Multicultural & Diversity Affairs: 352-392-1217, multicultural@ufl.edu
• UFPD Office of Victim Services: 352-392-1111, police@ufl.edu
• UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: 352-733-0111

Academic Resources The resources listed below are not exhaustive of all the academic resources that are available to students, but these encapsulate those that are helpful for students taking courses online, those seeking library support, or those looking for help with writing, tutoring, and general study skills:

• E-Learning Technical Support: 352-392-4357 (select option 2), learning-support@ufl.edu
• Library Support: http://cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask.
• Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138, https://writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio/.
• Academic Resources: provides services like tutoring, https://academicresources.clas.ufl.edu.

Academic Integrity Students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Conduct Code specifies several behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Click here to read the Conduct Code. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Class Recordings Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor. A "class lecture" is an

educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course.

A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To "publish" means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Course Schedule

This syllabus is subject to change as necessary over the course of the semester. Regularly check Canvas and your e-mail for updates on any changes.

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
Week 1	Aug 28th	**Classics I: Politics – Administration Dichotomy & the Friedrich – Finer Debate**	• Meier, Kenneth J., and George A. Krause. 2003. "The Scientific Study of Bureaucracy: An Overview." In *Politics, Policy, and Organizations: Frontiers in the Scientific Study of Bureaucracy*, 1-19. • Wilson, Woodrow. 1887. "The Study of Administration." *Political Science Quarterly* 2 (2): 197-222. • Svara, James H. 2001. "The Myth of the Dichotomy: Complementarity of Politics and Administration in the Past and Future of Public Administration." *Public Administration Review* 61 (2): 176-183. • Rosenbloom, David H. 2008. "The Politics–Administration Dichotomy in US Historical Context." *Public Administration Review* 68 (1): 57-60. • Friedrich, Carl J. 1940. "Public Policy and the Nature of Administrative Responsibility." In *Public Policy*, edited by	

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments

Carl J. Friedrich. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Finer, Herman. 1941. "Administrative Responsibility in Democratic Government." *Public Administration Review* 1: 335-350.

Recommended

- Goodnow, Frank J. 2017. *Politics and Administration: A Study in Government*. Routledge. (Original work published 1900).
- Waldo, Dwight. 1948. *The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Montjoy, Robert S., and Douglas J. Watson. 1995. "A Case for Reinterpreted Dichotomy of Politics and Administration as a Professional Standard in Council-Manager Government." *Public Administration Review* 55 (3): 231-239.
- Demir, Tansu, and Ronald C. Nyhan. 2008. "The Politics–Administration Dichotomy: An Empirical Search for Correspondence Between Theory and Practice." *Public Administration Review* 68 (1): 81-96.
- Stewart, Debra W. 1985. "Professionalism vs. Democracy: Friedrich vs. Finer Revisited." *Public Administration Quarterly* 9 (1): 13-25.

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
Week 2	**Sep 4th**	**Classics II: What is Bureaucracy?**	• Sager, Fritz, and Christian Rosser. 2009. "Weber, Wilson, and Hegel: Theories of Modern Bureaucracy." *Public Administration Review* 69 (6): 1136-1147. • Wilson, James Q. 1991. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*. Basic Books. (Chapters 1-2). • Dahl, Robert A. 1947. "The Science of Public Administration: Three Problems." *Public Administration Review* 7 (1): 1-11. • Rosenbloom, David H. 1983. "Public Administration Theory and the Separation of Powers." *Public Administration Review* 43 (3): 219-227. • Olsen, Johan P. 2006. "Maybe It Is Time to Rediscover Bureaucracy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16 (1): 1-24.	Note: I will be traveling to APSA on this day and we will need to reschedule the class.

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments

- Carpenter, Daniel. 2020. "On Categories and the Countability of Things Bureaucratic: Turning from Wilson (Back) to Interpretation." *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance* 3 (2): 83-93.

Recommended

- Wilson, James Q. 1967. "The Bureaucracy Problem." *The Public Interest* 6: 3-16.
- Wilson, James Q. *Bureaucracy*. Basic Books.
- Meier, Kenneth J. 1997. "Bureaucracy and Democracy: The Case for More Bureaucracy and Less Democracy." *Public Administration Review* 57 (3): 193-199.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1946. "The Proverbs of Administration." *Public Administration Review* 6 (1): 53-67.
- Denhardt, Robert B. 1981. "Toward a Critical Theory of Public Organization." *Public Administration Review* 41 (6): 628-635.
- Box, Richard C. 1992. "An Examination of the Debate Over Research in Public Administration." *Public Administration Review* 52 (1): 62-69.
- Raadschelders, Jos C.N. 2008. "Understanding Government: Four Intellectual Traditions in the Study of Public Administration." *Public Administration* 86 (4): 925-949.
- Behn, Robert D. 1996. "Public Management: Should It Strive to Be Art, Science, or Engineering?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 6 (1): 91-123.
- Kettl, Donald F. 1993. "Searching for Clues About Public Management: Slicing the Onion Different Ways." In *Public Management: The State of the Art*, edited by Barry Bozeman, 55-68. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
Week 3	**Sep 11th**	**Development of the Administrative State**	• Federalist Papers. 1787-1788. Papers 10, 39, 46, 47, 51, 70. • Carpenter, Daniel P., and George A. Krause. 2012. "Reputation and Public Administration." *Public Administration Review* 72 (1): 26-32. • Carpenter, Daniel P. 2000. "State Building Through Reputation Building: Coalitions of	

Esteem and Program Innovation in the National Postal System, 1883–1913." *Studies in American Political Development* 14 (2): 121-155.

- Skocpol, Theda, and Kenneth Finegold. 1982. "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal." *Political Science Quarterly* 97 (2): 255-278.
- Lewis, David E. 2007. "Testing Pendleton's Premise: Do Political Appointees Make Worse Bureaucrats?" *The Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 1073-1088.

Recommended

- *Special Issue: The Federalist Papers Revised for the Twenty-First Century Reality*. 2011. *Public Administration Review* 71 (s1): s5-s159.
- Carpenter, Daniel. 2002. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton University Press.
- Carpenter, Daniel. 2014. "Reputation and Power: Organizational Image and Pharmaceutical Regulation at the FDA." In *Reputation and Power*. Princeton University Press.
- McNollgast. 1999. "The Political Origins of the Administrative Procedure Act." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 15 (1): 180-217.
- Moynihan, Donald P. 2009. "Our Usable Past: A Historical Contextual Approach to Administrative Values." *Public Administration Review* 69 (5): 813-822.
- O'Toole Jr., Laurence J. 1987. "Doctrines and Developments: Separation of Powers, the Politics-Administration Dichotomy, and the Rise of the Administrative State." *Public Administration Review* 47 (1): 17-25.
- Stillman, Richard J. 1997. "American vs. European Public Administration: Does Public Administration Make the Modern State, or Does the State Make Public Administration?" *Public Administration Review* 57 (4): 332-338.
- Gallo, Nick, and David E. Lewis. 2012. "The Consequences of Presidential Patronage for Federal Agency Performance." *Journal of Public*

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
			Administration Research and Theory 22 (2): 219-243.	
Week 4	**Sep 18th**	**Administrative Behavior**	• Wise, Lois Recascino. 2004. "Bureaucratic Posture: On the Need for a Composite Theory of Bureaucratic Behavior." *Public Administration Review* 64, no. 6: 669-680. • Simon, Herbert A. 1947 *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. New York: Macmillan. Part I. *Recommended:* • Ritz, Adrian, Gene A. Brewer, and Oliver Neumann. 2016. "Public Service Motivation: A Systematic Literature Review and Outlook." *Public Administration Review* 76, no. 3: 414-426. • Moynihan, Donald P., and Sanjay K. Pandey. 2007. "The Role of Organizations in Fostering Public Service Motivation." *Public Administration Review* 67, no. 1: 40-53. • Perry, James L. 1997. "Antecedents of Public Service Motivation." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 7, no. 2: 181-197. • Houston, David J. 2000. "Public-Service Motivation: A Multivariate Test." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10, no. 4: 713-728. • Houston, David J. 2006. "'Walking the Walk' of Public Service Motivation: Public Employees and Charitable Gifts of Time, Blood, and Money." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16, no. 1: 67-86. • Houston, David J. 2011. "Implications of Occupational Locus and Focus for Public Service Motivation: Attitudes Toward Work Motives Across Nations." *Public Administration Review* 71, no. 5: 761-771.	Idea / Outline Due

Week 5	Sep 25th	Delegation & Control	• Moe, Terry M. 2012. "Delegation, Control, and the Study of Public Bureaucracy." *The Forum* 10, no. 2: 1-10.
			• McCubbins, Matthew D., and Thomas Schwartz. 1984 "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols Versus Fire Alarms." *American Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 1: 165-179.
			• Clinton, Joshua D., David E. Lewis, and Jennifer L. Selin. 2014. "Influencing the Bureaucracy: The Irony of Congressional Oversight." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 2: 387-401.
			• Selin, Jennifer L. 2015. "What Makes an Agency Independent?" *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 4: 971-987.
			• Lowande, Kenneth. 2018 "Who Polices the Administrative State?" *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 4: 874-890.
			• Palus, Christine Kelleher, and Susan Webb Yackee. 2016. "Clerks or Kings? Partisan Alignment and Delegation to the US Bureaucracy." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 26, no. 4: 693-708.

Recommended:

- Krause, George A. 2010. "Legislative Delegation of Authority to Bureaucratic Agencies."
- Mayhew, David R. 1991. *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-2002*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Huber, John D., and Charles R. Shipan. 2002. *Deliberate Discretion?: The Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weingast, Barry R., and Mark J. Moran. 1983. "Bureaucratic Discretion or Congressional Control? Regulatory Policymaking by the Federal Trade Commission." *Journal of Political Economy* 91, no. 5: 765-800.
- Wood, B. Dan, and Richard W. Waterman. 1991. "The Dynamics of Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3: 801-828.
- Volden, Craig. 2002. "A Formal Model of the Politics of Delegation in a Separation of Powers System." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 111-133.
- Moe, Terry M. 2006. "Political Control and the Power of the Agent." *Journal of Law,*

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments

Economics, and Organization 22, no. 1: 1-29.

- McCubbins, Matthew D., Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast. 1987. "Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control." *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 3, no. 2: 243-277.
- McCubbins, Matthew D., Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast. 1989. "Structure and Process, Politics and Policy: Administrative Arrangements and the Political Control of Agencies." *Virginia Law Review* 75: 431-482.
- Howell, William G., and David E. Lewis. 2002. "Agencies by Presidential Design." *The Journal of Politics* 64, no. 4: 1095-1114.
- Gailmard, Sean, and John W. Patty. 2007. "Slackers and Zealots: Civil Service, Policy Discretion, and Bureaucratic Expertise." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 873-889.
- Epstein, David, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1994. "Administrative Procedures, Information, and Agency Discretion." *American Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 3: 697-722.
- Bawn, Kathleen. 1995. "Political Control Versus Expertise: Congressional Choices About Administrative Procedures." *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 1: 62-73.
- Clinton, Joshua D., Anthony Bertelli, Christian R. Grose, David E. Lewis, and David C. Nixon. 2012. "Separated Powers in the United States: The Ideology of Agencies, Presidents, and Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 2: 341-354.
- Meier, Kenneth J., and Laurence J. O'Toole Jr. 2006. "Political Control Versus Bureaucratic Values: Reframing the Debate." *Public Administration Review* 66, no. 2: 177-192.

| Week 6 | Oct 2nd | **Budgeting** | Blais, André, and Stéphane Dion. "Are Bureaucrats Budget Maximizers? The Niskanen Model & Its Critics." *Polity* 22, no. 4 (1990): 655-674. Dolan, Julie. "The Budget-Minimizing Bureaucrat? Empirical Evidence from the Senior Executive Service." *Public Administration Review* 62, no. 1 (2002): 42-50. Arapis, Theodore, and Cynthia J. Bowling. "From Maximizing to Minimizing: A National Study of State Bureaucrats and Their Budget Preferences." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 30 (2020): 144-160. Sharkansky, Ira. "Agency Requests, Gubernatorial Support and Budget Success in State Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 62, no. 4 (1968): 1220-1231. Gilmour, John B., and David E. Lewis. "Does Performance Budgeting Work? An Examination of the Office of Management and Budget's PART Scores." *Public Administration Review* 66, no. 5 (2006): 742-752. Yu, Jinhai, and Edward T. Jennings Jr. "Politics, Competence, and Performance: Evidence from the US State Budget Agencies." *Public Administration Review* 81, no. 3 (2021): 500-518. *Recommended:* Wildavsky, Aaron B. *The Politics of the Budgetary Process*. Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1964. Niskanen, William A. *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1971. Conybeare, John AC. "Bureaucracy, Monopoly, and Competition: A Critical Analysis of the Budget-Maximizing Model of Bureaucracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 3 (1984): 479-502. Goodman, Doug. "Determinants of Perceived Gubernatorial Budgetary Influence Among State Executive Budget Analysts and Legislative Fiscal Analysts." *Political Research Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 43-54. Krause, George A., and Benjamin F. Melusky. "Concentrated Powers: Unilateral Executive Authority and Fiscal Policymaking in the American States." |

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
			The Journal of Politics 74, no. 1 (2012): 98-112.	
			• Bowling, Cynthia J., Chung-Lea Cho, and Deil S. Wright. "Establishing a Continuum from Minimizing to Maximizing Bureaucrats: State Agency Head Preferences for Government Expansion—A Typology of Administrator Growth Postures, 1964-98." *Public Administration Review* 64 (2004): 489-499.	
			• Yackee, Susan Webb. "US Agency Growth Aspirations and the Effect of Ideological Extremism." *Public Administration Review* 83, no. 6 (2023): 1785-1797.	

| Week 7 | Oct 9th | **Interest Groups** | • Lindblom, Charles. "The Science of 'Muddling Through'." *Public Administration Review* 19, no. 2 (1959): 31-40.
• Lindblom, Charles E. "Still Muddling, Not Yet Through." *Public Administration Review* 39, no. 6 (1979): 517-526.
• Golden, Marissa Martino. "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 8, no. 2 (1998): 245-270.
• Yackee, Jason Webb, and Susan Webb Yackee. "A Bias Towards Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the US Bureaucracy." *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 1 (2006): 128-139.
• Dwidar, Maraam A. "Diverse Lobbying Coalitions and Influence in Notice-and-Comment Rulemaking." *Policy Studies Journal* 50, no. 1 (2022): 199-240.
• Libgober, Brian, and Daniel Carpenter. "Lawyers as Lobbyists: Regulatory Advocacy in American Finance." *Perspectives on Politics* (2024): 1-20. |

Recommended:

- Walker, Jack L. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Schattschneider, E. E. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Yackee, Susan Webb. "The Politics of Ex Parte Lobbying: Pre-Proposal Agenda Building and Blocking During Agency Rulemaking." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22, no. 2 (2012): 373-393.
- Yackee, Susan Webb. "Sweet-Talking the Fourth Branch: The Influence of Interest Group Comments on Federal Agency Rulemaking." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16, no. 1 (2006): 103-124.
- Anzia, Sarah F., and Terry M. Moe. "Public Sector Unions and the Costs of Government." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 114-127.
- Anzia, Sarah F. "Looking for Influence in All the Wrong Places: How Studying Subnational Policy Can Revive Research on Interest Groups." *The Journal of Politics* 81, no. 1 (2019): 343-351.

- Paglayan, Agustina S. "Public-Sector Unions and the Size of Government." *American Journal of Political Science* 63, no. 1 (2019): 21-36.
- Lowery, David, and Virginia Gray. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 1 (1995): 1-29.

Week 8	Oct 16th	Implementation	• Farhang, Sean. "Legislative Capacity & Administrative Power Under Divided Polarization." *Daedalus* 150 (2021): 49-67.

- Farhang, Sean. "Legislative Capacity & Administrative Power Under Divided Polarization." *Daedalus* 150 (2021): 49-67.
- Potter, Rachel Augustine. "Slow-Rolling, Fast-Tracking, and the Pace of Bureaucratic Decisions in Rulemaking." *The Journal of Politics* 79, no. 3 (2017): 841-855.
- Scholz, John T., and Feng Heng Wei. "Regulatory Enforcement in a Federalist System." *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1249-1270.
- Terman, Jessica N. "Performance Goal Achievement in Fiscal Federalism: The Influence of State Partisan Environments and Regulatory Regimes." *Policy Studies Journal* 43, no. 3 (2015): 333-354.
- James, Oliver, Sebastian Jilke, Carolyn Petersen, and Steven Van de Walle. "Citizens' Blame of Politicians for Public Service Failure: Experimental Evidence About Blame Reduction Through Delegation and Contracting." *Public Administration Review* 76, no. 1 (2016): 83-93.

Recommended:

- Pressman, Jeffrey L., and Aaron Wildavsky. *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing That Federal Programs Work at All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration as Told by Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation*. Vol. 708. University of California Press, 1984.
- Newcomer, Kathryn E., Harry P. Hatry, and Joseph S. Wholey, eds. *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass & Pfeiffer Imprints, Wiley, 2015.
- Potter, Rachel Augustine. *Bending the Rules: Procedural Politicking in the Bureaucracy*. University of Chicago Press, 2019.
- Scholz, John T. "Cooperative Regulatory Enforcement and the Politics of Administrative Effectiveness." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 1 (1991): 115-136.
- Haeder, Simon F., and Susan Webb Yackee. "Presidentially Directed Policy Change: The Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs as Partisan or

Moderator?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 28, no. 4 (2018): 475-488.

- Potoski, Matthew, and Aseem Prakash. "The Regulation Dilemma: Cooperation and Conflict in Environmental Governance." *Public Administration Review* 64, no. 2 (2004): 152-163.
- Reenock, Christopher, David M. Konisky, and Matthew J. Uttermark. "Chain of Command vs. Who's in Command: Structure, Politics, and Regulatory Enforcement." *Policy Studies Journal* 50, no. 4 (2022): 797-821.

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
Week 9	**Oct 23rd**	**Subnational I: Bureaucracies in Federated Systems**	• Agranoff, Robert, and Michael McGuire. "Another Look at Bargaining and Negotiating in Intergovernmental Management." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 14, no. 4 (2004): 495-512. • Derthick, Martha. *Agency Under Stress: The Social Security Administration in American Government*. Brookings Institution Press, 1990. • Bulman-Pozen, Jessica. "Partisan Federalism." *Harvard Law Review* 127 (2013): 1077-1140. **Recommended:** • Wright, Deil. *Understanding Intergovernmental Relations*. 2nd ed. Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1982. • Elazar, Daniel J. *American Federalism: A View from the States*. 3d ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1984. • Chubb, John E. "The Political Economy of Federalism." *American Political Science Review* 79, no. 4 (1985): 994-1015. • Peterson, Paul E. *The Price of Federalism*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. • Derthick, Martha. "American Federalism: Madison's Middle Ground in the 1980s." *Public Administration Review* 47, no. 1 (1987): 66-74. • Derthick, Martha. *The Influence of Federal Grants: Public Assistance in Massachusetts*. Harvard University Press, 1970. • Derthick, Martha. *Keeping the Compound Republic: Essays on American Federalism*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. • Nolette, Paul. *Federalism on Trial: State Attorneys General and National Policymaking in Contemporary America*. University Press of Kansas, 2015. • Bulman-Pozen, Jessica, and Heather K. Gerken. "Uncooperative Federalism." *Yale Law Journal* 118 (2008): 1256-1312. • Bednar, Jenna. *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. • Weissert, Carol S. *Rethinking Federalism Studies*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023.	

Week 10	Oct 30th	**Subnational II: Bureaucracy in the States**	• Hill, Jeffrey S., and Carol S. Weissert. "Implementation and the Irony of Delegation: The Politics of Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal." *The Journal of Politics* 57, no. 2 (1995): 344-369. • Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. "The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism, and the Politics of Social Control." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 3 (2008): 536-553. • Nicholson-Crotty, Sean. "Goal Conflict and Fund Diversion in Federal Grants to the States." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2004): 110-122. • Grumbach, Jacob M. "From Backwaters to Major Policymakers: Policy Polarization in the States, 1970–2014." *Perspectives on Politics* 16, no. 2 (2018): 416-435. • Boushey, Graeme T., and Robert J. McGrath. "Experts, Amateurs, and Bureaucratic Influence in the American States." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 27, no. 1 (2017): 85-103. • Merriman, Ben, and Josh Pacewicz. "The Great Interstate Divergence: Partisan Bureaucracies in the Contemporary United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 127, no. 4 (2022): 1221-1266. *Recommended:* • Grumbach, Jacob. *Laboratories Against Democracy: How National Parties Transformed State Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2022. • Bowman, Ann O'M. "Horizontal Federalism: Exploring Interstate Interactions." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 14, no. 4 (2004): 535-546. • Boushey, Graeme T., and Robert J. McGrath. "Does Partisan Conflict Lead to Increased Bureaucratic Policymaking? Evidence from the American States." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 30, no. 3 (2020): 432-447. • Gerber, Brian J., Cherie Maestas, and Nelson C. Dometrius. "State Legislative Influence Over Agency Rulemaking: The Utility of Ex Ante Review." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2005): 24-46. • Karch, Andrew, and Shanna Rose. "States as Stakeholders: Federalism, Policy Feedback, and Government Elites."	Front-end due

Week	Date	Topic	Reading	Assignments
			Studies in American Political Development 31, no. 1 (2017): 47-67.	
			• Barrilleaux, Charles, and Carlisle Rainey. "The Politics of Need: Examining Governors' Decisions to Oppose the 'Obamacare' Medicaid Expansion." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (2014): 437-460.	

| Week 11 | Nov 6th | Street-Level Bureaucrats | • Sabatier, Paul A., John Loomis, and Catherine McCarthy. "Hierarchical Controls, Professional Norms, Local Constituencies, and Budget Maximization: An Analysis of US Forest Service Planning Decisions." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 1 (1995): 204-242.
• Maynard-Moody, Steven, and Michael Musheno. "State Agent or Citizen Agent: Two Narratives of Discretion." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10, no. 2 (2000): 329-358.
• Keiser, Lael R. "Understanding Street-Level Bureaucrats' Decision Making: Determining Eligibility in the Social Security Disability Program." *Public Administration Review* 70, no. 2 (2010): 247-257.
• Einstein, Katherine Levine, and David M. Glick. "Does Race Affect Access to Government Services? An Experiment Exploring Street-Level Bureaucrats and Access to Public Housing." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 1 (2017): 100-116.
• Weissert, Carol S. "Beyond the Organization: The Influence of Community and Personal Values on Street-Level Bureaucrats' Responsiveness." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 4, no. 2 (1994): 225-254.
• Berkman, Michael B., Julianna Sandell Pacheco, and Eric Plutzer. "Evolution and Creationism in America's Classrooms: A National Portrait." *PLoS Biology* 6, no. 5 (2008): e124.

Recommended:

• Riccucci, Norma M. "Street-Level Bureaucrats and Intrastate Variation in the Implementation of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Policies." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15, no. 1 (2005): 89-111.
• Schram, Sanford F., Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Linda Houser. "Deciding to Discipline: Race, Choice, and Punishment at the Frontlines of Welfare Reform." *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 3 (2009): 398-422.
• Lipsky, Michael. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Service*. Russell Sage Foundation, 1980. | Conferences with Instructor |

- Davis, Belinda Creel, Michelle Livermore, and Younghee Lim. "The Extended Reach of Minority Political Power: The Interaction of Descriptive Representation, Managerial Networking, and Race." *The Journal of Politics* 73, no. 2 (2011): 494-507.
- Maynard-Moody, Steven Williams, and Michael Craig Musheno. *Cops, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front Lines of Public Service*. 2nd ed. University of Michigan Press, 2022.
- De Boer, Noortje. "How Do Citizens Assess Street-Level Bureaucrats' Warmth and Competence? A Typology and Test." *Public Administration Review* 80, no. 4 (2020): 532-542.

Week 12	Nov 13th	**Representative Bureaucracy & Extensions**	• Meier, Kenneth J. 2019. "Theoretical Frontiers in Representative Bureaucracy: New Directions for Research." *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance* 2 (1): 39-56.
			• Keiser, Lael R., Vicky M. Wilkins, Kenneth J. Meier, and Catherine A. Holland. 2002. "Lipstick and Logarithms: Gender, Institutional Context, and Representative Bureaucracy." *American Political Science Review* 96 (3): 553-564.
			• Riccucci, Norma M., Gregg G. Van Ryzin, and Huafang Li. 2016. "Representative Bureaucracy and the Willingness to Coproduce: An Experimental Study." *Public Administration Review* 76 (1): 121-130.
			• Headley, Andrea M., and James E. Wright. 2020. "Is Representation Enough? Racial Disparities in Levels of Force and Arrests by Police." *Public Administration Review* 80 (6): 1051-1062.
			• Nicholson-Crotty, Jill, Jason A. Grissom, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2011. "Bureaucratic Representation, Distributional Equity, and Democratic Values in the Administration of Public Programs." *The Journal of Politics* 73 (2): 582-596.
			• Uttermark, Matthew J., Lauren A. Dula, Francesca Bové, and Kamryn Scott. 2024. "Contact and Control: Engagement and Influence Among Women of Color State Agency Heads." *Public Administration Review* 84 (2): 308-322.
			Recommended:
			• Thompson, Frank J. 1978. "Civil Servants and the Deprived: Socio-Political and Occupational Explanations of Attitudes Toward Minority Hiring." *American Journal of Political Science* 22 (2): 325-347.
			• Meier, Kenneth J., and Lloyd G. Nigro. 1976. "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences: A Study in the Attitudes of Federal Executives." *Public Administration Review* 36 (4): 458-469.
			• Dolan, Julie. 2002. "Representative Bureaucracy in the Federal Executive: Gender and Spending Priorities." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 12 (3): 353-375.
			• Meier, Kenneth J., and Jill Nicholson-Crotty. 2006. "Gender, Representative Bureaucracy, and Law Enforcement: The

Case of Sexual Assault." *Public Administration Review* 66 (6): 850-860.

- Riccucci, Norma M., Gregg G. Van Ryzin, and Cecilia F. Lavena. 2014. "Representative Bureaucracy in Policing: Does It Increase Perceived Legitimacy?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 24 (3): 537-551.
- Blessett, Brandi, Jennifer Dodge, Beverly Edmond, Holly T. Goerdel, Susan T. Gooden, Andrea M. Headley, Norma M. Riccucci, and Brian N. Williams. 2019. "Social Equity in Public Administration: A Call to Action." *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance* 2 (4): 283-299.
- Gooden, Susan T. 2015. *Race and Social Equity: A Nervous Area of Government*. Routledge.
- Grissom, Jason A., Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2009. "Race, Region, and Representative Bureaucracy." *Public Administration Review* 69 (5): 911-919.
- Grissom, Jason A., Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Lael Keiser. 2012. "Does My Boss's Gender Matter? Explaining Job Satisfaction and Employee Turnover in the Public Sector." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22 (4): 649-673.
- Konisky, David M., and Christopher Reenock. 2013. "Compliance Bias and Environmental (In)Justice." *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 506-519.

Week 13	Nov 20th	Administrative Burdens	• Burden, Barry C., David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, and Donald P. Moynihan. "The Effect of Administrative Burden on Bureaucratic Perception of Policies: Evidence from Election Administration." *Public Administration Review* 72, no. 5 (2012): 741-751. • Moynihan, Donald, Pamela Herd, and Hope Harvey. "Administrative Burden: Learning, Psychological, and Compliance Costs in Citizen-State Interactions." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 25, no. 1 (2015): 43-69. • Bell, Elizabeth, Ani Ter-Mkrtchyan, Wesley Wehde, and Kylie Smith. "Just or Unjust? How Ideological Beliefs Shape Street-Level Bureaucrats' Perceptions of Administrative Burden." *Public Administration Review* 81, no. 4 (2021): 610-624. • Keiser, Lael R., and Susan M. Miller. "Does Administrative Burden Influence Public Support for Government Programs? Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *Public Administration Review* 80, no. 1 (2020): 137-150. • Masood, Ayesha, and Muhammad Azfar Nisar. "Administrative Capital and Citizens' Responses to Administrative Burden." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 31, no. 1 (2021): 56-72. • Fox, Ashley M., Edmund C. Stazyk, and Wenhui Feng. "Administrative Easing: Rule Reduction and Medicaid Enrollment." *Public Administration Review* 80, no. 1 (2020): 104-117. *Recommended:* • Baekgaard, Martin, and Tara Tankink. "Administrative Burden: Untangling a Bowl of Conceptual Spaghetti." *Perspectives on Public Management and Governance* 5, no. 1 (2022): 16-21. • Herd, Pamela, and Donald P. Moynihan. *Administrative Burden: Policymaking by Other Means*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2019. • Peeters, Rik. "The Political Economy of Administrative Burdens: A Theoretical Framework for Analyzing the Organizational Origins of Administrative Burdens." *Administration & Society* 52, no. 4 (2020): 566-592. • Ray, Victor, Pamela Herd, and Donald Moynihan. "Racialized Burdens: Applying

			Racialized Organization Theory to the Administrative State." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 33, no. 1 (2023): 139-152.	
			• Halling, Aske, and Martin Baekgaard. "Administrative Burden in Citizen-State Interactions: A Systematic Literature Review." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 34, no. 2 (2024): 180-195.	
			• Bell, Elizabeth, Heather Barry Kappes, and Miles Williams. "How Reducing Documentation Burdens Impacts Equity in Access to Small Business COVID-19 Relief Funding." *Public Administration Review* (2023): [advance online publication].	
			• Heinrich, Carolyn J. "The Bite of Administrative Burden: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 26, no. 3 (2016): 403-420.	
			• Fox, Ashley, Wenhui Feng, and Megan Reynolds. "The Effect of Administrative Burden on State Safety-Net Participation: Evidence from Food Assistance, Cash Assistance, and Medicaid." *Public Administration Review* 83, no. 2 (2023): 367-384.	
Week 14	**Nov 27th**	**No Class: Thanksgiving**		
Week 15	**Dec 4th**		Presentations	Final projects due at 5:00pm the following Monday