EST 160 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY-MAKING Winter 2007

Third Draft: Jan. 8, 2007

INSTRUCTOR: Mr. Sabatier

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COURSE GOALS: This course has two basic objectives. First, it seeks to provide students with an understanding of several conceptual theories of the process of public policy-making. This will be done through a discussion of these approaches and their application to concrete cases involving the use of environmental resources, particularly endangered species management in California. Second, the course attempts to teach students to view the world as social scientists. This involves the use of multiple theories/lenses to perceive and interpret events and the development of a healthy skepticism concerning the biases of most data sources, including oneself.

MEETING TIMES:

Lecture: MWF!:10-2:00 p.m 108 Hoagland

Discussion Groups: Wednesday, 3:10-4:00p.m 2120J Wickson

Wednesay, 4:10-5:00p.m 2120J Wickson WEdnesday, 5:10-6:00 p.m. 2120J Wickson

TEXTS (available in the Bookstore and on reserve)

- 1) Paul Sabatier, ed. Theories of the Policy Process. Westview Press, 1sst or 2e edition
- 2) James Lester, ed., Environmental Politics and Policy, 2d ed. Duke University Press, 1995.
- 3) Richard Tobin, The Expendable Future, Duke, 1990.
- 4) Set of readings=RDR [Available at course website.]

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

- 1) Mid-Term Exam (25-30%), Fri, Feb 9.
- 2) Paper #1: Comparative analysis of media content (25-30%). Due: Wed, Feb 21
- 3) Paper #2: Application of theoretical lens (25%). Due:Thursday, March 15
- 4) Final exam (10%), Saturday, March 17, 8-10a.m..
- 5) Discussion sections (10%: 5% critique + 5% participation).

[NOTE: If you skip discussion section, the topics covered in section will NOT be addressed by the TA during office hours.]

TOPICS AND READINGS

PART I: INTRODUCTION

A. Course Preview (Wed, Jan 3) [NO DISCUSSION SECTIONS THIS DAY]

B. Use of Theories (Friday, Jan. 5)

Required readings:

Sabatier, Theories of the Policy Process, Chap. 1.

Supplemental readings:

Harold Brown, Perception, Theory, and Commitment. Chicago, 1977.

Graham Allison, The Essence of Decision. Harvard, 1969.

Charles Lave and James March, <u>Introduction to Models in Social Sciences</u>. Harper & Row, 1975.

Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba. <u>Designing Social Inquiry.</u> Princeton University Press.

C. Introduction to Policy-Making in the U.S. (Mon, Jan 8)

Required readings

Lester, Environmental Politics and Policy, Chaps. 1, 2, 3 (read), 11 (skim)

Supplemental readings

Norman Vig and Michael Kraft, <u>Environmental Policy</u>, 4th ed. CQ Press, 2000. Peter May et al, <u>Environmental Management and Governance</u>. Routledge, 1996. Daniel Mazmanian and Michael Kraft, eds. <u>Toward Sustainable Communities</u>. MIT Press.

Walter Rosenbaum, Environmental Politics and Policy, 5th ed. CQ Press, 2002.

Discussion Sections, Wed, Jan. 10

Topic: Content Analysis Papers: Research Design

Required readings

Danielson, "Content Analysis in Communications Research," in Nalziger and White, Introduction to Communication Research, pp. 181-191 [RDR].

Rystrom, "Voter Response to Newspaper Endorsements," California Journal.

(Oct.1981):366-367. [RDR] and

"Experts Rate the Top 10," Parade. [RDR]

D. Introduction to ESA and the Bay-Delta, Wed. Jan 10

Required readings:

William Bennett and Peter Moyle.1996. "Where Have All the Fishes Gone? In San Francisco Bay: The Ecosystem, ed. J.T. Hollibaugh. San Francisco: AAA S. [RDR]

Tobin, <u>TheExpendable Future</u>, Chaps 1-2,5, 7. B.J. Miller, The Delta, CUWA, 1993. **[RDR]**

PART II: THEORIES OF POLICY-MAKING

A. System-Based Models: Hofferbert's Funnel of Causality (Friday, Jan. 12) [NO CLASS MONDAY JAN 15]

Required readings:

D. Mazmanian and P. Sabatier, "A Multi-Variate Model of Public Policy-Making," <u>American Journal of Political Science</u> 24 (Aug. 1980): 439-468. **[RDR**]

Sabatier, <u>Theories of the Policy Process</u>, Chap. by Bill Blomquist

Supplemental readings:

Richard Hofferbert, The Study of Public Policy (Bobbs Merrill, 1974).

Ira Sharkansky, Policy Analysis in Political Science. Markham, 1970.

David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (Wiley, 1965).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann et al, <u>Parties, Policies, and Democracy</u>. Westview, 1994.

Sabatier, Theories of the Policy Process, Chap. 7 by Berry & Berry.

Discussion Sections, Wed, Jan. 17 NO SECTION; M-W SWITCH

B. Actor-Based Theories: Introduction (Wed. Jan 17)

Required readings:

Ken Meier and Jeff Brudney, <u>Applied Statistics for Public Administration</u>, 3d ed. Wadsworth, 1993, Chap. 21. **[RDR]**

Tom Tyler, Why Do People Obey the Law?, (Yale, 1990), pp. 3-7. [RDR]

Supplemental readings:

James March

Icek Ajzen and Martin Fishbein, <u>Understanding Attitudes and Predicting</u>
<u>Social Behavior</u>. Prentice Hall, 1980.

Herbert Simon, Models of Bounded Rationality, Vol. II. MIT, 1982.

Richard Nisbett and Lee Ross, <u>Human Inference</u>: <u>Strategies and Shortcomings of</u> Social Judgment. Prentice Hall, 1980.

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action. Schocken, 1967.

Karen Cook and Margaret Levi, eds. The Limits of Rationality. Chicago, 1990.

Jayne Mansbridge, ed. Beyond Self-Interest. Chicago, 1990.

Steven Rhoads, The Economist's View of the World. Cambridge, 1985.

Paul Sniderman et al, Reasoning and Choice. Cambridge, 1991.

C. Adding Institutions to Actor-Based Theories

1. Basic Principles (Friday, Jan 19)

Required Readings:

Sabatier, <u>Theories of the Policy Process</u>, Chap. by Elinor Ostrom. **Supplemental readings**:

Robert Axelrod, <u>The Evolution of Cooperation</u>. Basic Books, 1984. Matthew McCubbins and Terry Sullivan, eds. <u>Congress: Structure and Policy</u>. Cambridge, 1987.

Kenneth Shepsle, "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," <u>Journal of Theoretical Politics</u> 1:131-147.

Fritz Scharpf, <u>Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism.</u>
Westview, 1997.

2. An Institutional Rational Choice Approach to Management of Endangered Fisheries (Monday, Jan. 22 and Wednesday, Jan. 24)

Required readings

[Chapter in Ostrom et al on fisheries]

Supplemental readings

Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons. Cambridge, 1990.

Elinor Ostrom et al, <u>Rules, Games, and Common Pool Resources</u>. . Michigan, 1994.

Tom Dietz, Elinor Ostrom, and Paul Stern, "The Struggle to Govern the Commons," Science 302 (Dec. 2003):1907-1912 **RDR**

Daniel Bromley, ed. <u>Making the Commons Work</u>. Institute of Contemporary Studies, 1992.

Discussion Sections, Wed, Jan 24

Topic: Media Content Papers: Coding

Required readings

Robert Weber, <u>Basic Content Analysis</u>. Sage, 1985, pp. 15-24 (**RDR**)

D. The Multiple Streams Approach: Ambiguity and Choice (Fri, Jan. 26)

Required readings

Sabatier, <u>Theories of Policy Process</u>, Chap.by Zahariadis.

Supplemental readings

John Kingdon, <u>Agendas</u>, <u>Alternatives</u>, <u>and Public</u> Policy .Harper: 1995. Nikolaos Zahariadis, <u>Ambiguity and Choice in Public Policy</u>.Georgetown, 2003.

E. Punctuated Equillibrium (Mon, Jan 29).

Required readings

Sabatier, Theories of Policy Process, PE Chapter

Discussion Sections, Wed., Jan. 31

Topic: 1) Application of Kingdon or PE to ESA

2) Media Content Papers: Nuts and Bolts (Excel, t-tests, etc)

Required readings

Brad Clark, "Agenda Setting and Issue Dynamics: Dam Breaching on the Lower Snake River," <u>Society and Natural Resources</u> 17 (2004):599-609. [RDR]

F. The Advocacy Coalition Framework

1. Policy Change (Wed, Jan 31))

Required readings:

Sabatier, Theories of the Policy Process, Chap. on ACF.

Supplemental readings:

Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith, <u>Policy Change & Learning.</u> Westview Press.

Hugh Heclo, Social Policy in Britain and Sweden. Yale, 1974.

Daniel Kubler, "Understanding Policy Change with an Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Application to Swiss Drug Policy," <u>Journal of European Public Policy</u> 8 (Aug.2001):623-641

2. Applying Policy-Oriented Learning to Policy Change (Fri, Feb. 2)

Required readings

Paul Sabatier and Matthew Zafonte, "Policy Knowledge, Advocacy Organizations," <u>International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences</u>, ed. N. Smelser and P. Bates. Pergammon Press. 2001, pp.11563-11568. **[RDR]**

Supplemental readings

Carol Weiss, <u>Using Social Research in Public Policy-Making</u> (D.C. Heath, 1977).

Martha Derthick and Paul Quirk, <u>The Politics of Deregulation</u>. Brookings, 1985.

H. Jenkins-Smith, Democratic Politics and Policy Analysis

Brooks/Cole, 1990.

Colin Bennett and Michael Howlett, "The Lessons of Learning: Reconciling Theories of Policy Learning," <u>Policy Sciences</u> 25 (1992):275-294. Peter May, "Policy Learning and Failure," <u>Journal of Public Policy</u>

Peter May, "Policy Learning and Failure," <u>Journal of Public Policy</u> 12 (1992):331-354.

3. The ACF Applied to Endangered Species (Mon, Feb 5 & Wed, Feb 7)

Required readings

Paul Sabatier and Matt Zafonte, "Are Bureaucrats and Scientists Members of Advocacy Coalitions?" Unpublished book chapter, 2000.

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Supplemental Readings

Karin Litfin, "Advocacy Coalitions Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier," <u>Policy Studies Journal</u> 28 (2000):236-252.

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Discussion Sections, Wednesday, Feb 7

Topic: Applying IRC and ACF to the Same Situation

Required readings

Bill Leach and Paul Sabatier," To Trust an Adversary: Integrating Rational and Psychological Models of Collaborative Policymaking," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 99 (November 2005): 491-503. [RDR]

MID-TERM EXAM (Fri, Feb. 9)

PART III. STAGES IN THE POLICY PROCESS

A. Problem Perception and Agenda-Setting

1. Public and Elite Opinion on Environmental Issues (Monday, Feb. 12)

Required readings:

Lester, Environmental Politics, Chap. 4 (read), 5-6 (skim)
Anthony Downs, "Up and Down with Ecology-The Issue
Attention Cycle," Public Interest, No. 28 (1972): 37-50. [RDR]

Supplemental readings:

Riley Dunlap and Rik Scarce, "The Polls—Poll Trends: Environmental Problems and Protection," <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u> 55 (1991):651-672.

Riley Dunlap and Angela Mertig, eds., <u>The U.S. Environmental Movement</u>, 1970-90. (Taylor & Francis, 1992).

J. Seroka and A. McNitt, "Energy and Environmental Roll Call Voting in the U.S. Congress in 1975 and 1979," <u>Policy</u> Studies Review 3 (May 1984): 406-416.

Frederick Buttel and William Flinn, "The Politics of Environmental Concern," <u>Environment and Behavior</u> 10 (March 1978): 17-36.

Stephen Cotgrove, Catastrophe or Cornucopia (Wiley, 1982).

R.C. Mitchell, "How Soft, Deep, or Left?" <u>Natural Resources J.</u> 20 (April 1980): 345-358.

Discussion Sections, Wednesday, Feb.14

Topic: Public and Elite Opinion re Endangered Species Required readings

Tobin, Expendable Future, pp.47-68.

2. Agenda-Setting (Wed, Feb. 14)

Required readings:

Brad Clark, "Agenda Setting and Issue Dynamics," Society and Natural Resources 17:599-609

Supplemental readings:

Frank Baumgartner and Brian Jones, <u>Agendas and Instability</u> in American Politics. Chicago UP, 1993.

Roger Cobb, Jennie-Keith Ross, and Marc Ross, "Agenda Building as a Political Process," APSR 70(March 1976): 126-138

John Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives, & Policies (Little, Brown, 1984

3. The Role of the Mass Media in Agenda-Setting (Friday, Feb. 16) [NO CLASS MON, FEB 19]

Required readings:

Doris Graber, Mass Media and American Politics (CQ, 1980), Chap. 3. [RDR.]

Supplemental readings:

Frank Baumgartner and Brian Jones, <u>Agendas and Instability</u> in American Politics. Chicago, 1993, Chap. 6.

William Rivers and David Rubin, A Region's Press: Anatomy of Newspapers in the Bay Area. IGS, 1971.

David Halberstam, The Powers that Be. Dell, 1979.

Stephen Hess, The Washington Reporters. Brookings, 1981.

Shanto Iyengar, <u>Is Anyone Responsible? How Television</u> Frames Political Issues. Chicago, 1991.

Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder. News that Matters: Television and American Opinion. Chicago, 1987.

Discussion Sections, Wed, Feb. 21

Topic: 1)Paper #2

2) Variation in Media Coverage of ESA

Required reading

Jacob Bendix and Caraol Liebler, "Place, Distance, and Environmental News: Spotted Owl, "Annals of the American Assoc. of Geographers," 1999, 658-676.

Supplemental reading

Laura Hendrickson, 2005. "Coverage of the Endangered Species Act in Four Major Newspapers," <u>Natural Resources Journal</u> 45:135-168.

B. Policy Formulation and Adoption

1. Policy-Making in Legislatures (Wed., Feb.21) [Media Content Paper Due] Required readings:

Lester, Environmental Politics, Chap. 7.

Steven Yaffee, Prohibitive Policy MIT Press, selected pgs.

"Economy, Politics, Threaten Species Act Renewal," CQ, 1992,

Supplemental readings:

Randall Ripley, Congress: Process and Policy, 2d ed.

W.W. Norton, 1978, Chap. 4 (pp.119-151).

Malcolm Jewell and Samuel Patterson, <u>The Legislative Process in the U.S.</u>, 3d ed. (Random House, 1977).

Paul Sabatier and David Whiteman, "Legislative Decision-Making and Substantive Policy Information," <u>Legislative Studies</u>
<u>Quarterly</u> 10 (August 1985): 395-421.

Charles Bell and Charles Price, California Government Today (Dorsey,

C. Policy Implementation and Reformulation

1. The Vehicle of Implementation: Administrative Agencies (Friday, Feb. 23)

Required readings:

A. Downs, <u>Inside Bureaucracy</u> (Little, Brown, 1967), pp. 1-4, 24-31, 75-78, 132-136, 144-157 **[RDR.]**

Lester, Environmental Politics, Chap. 8. [skim]

Supplemental readings:

- R. Elmore, "Organizational Models of Social Program Implementation," Public Policy 26 (1978): 185-228.
- J. March and H. Simon, Organizations (Wiley, 1963).

Jack Knott and Gary Miller, <u>Reforming Bureaucracy</u> (Prentice-II, 1987.

Kenneth Meier, Politics and Bureaucracy, 3d ed. (Brooks/Cole, 1993).

Randall Ripley and Grace Franklin, <u>Bureaucracy and Policy Implementation</u>. (Dorsey, 1982)

2. Policy Implementation: Top-Down & Bottom Up (Mon, Feb.26)

Required readings:

Mazmanian and Sabatier, <u>Implementation and Public Policy</u>, Chap. 1-2. **[RDR]**

R. Weatherly and M. Lipsky, "Street Level Bureaucrats and Institutional Innovation," Harv. Educ. Rev 47 (May 1977): 171-197. **[RDR]**

Supplemental readings:

Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, <u>Implementation</u> (California, 1973).

Carl Van Horn, Implementation in the Federal System (Heath, 1979).

E. Bardach, The Implementation Game (MIT, 1974), pp. 36-64.

K. Hanf and F. Scharpf, Interorganizational Policy-Making (Sage, 1978).

Paul Sabatier, "Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to

Implementation," <u>Journal of Public Policy</u> 6 (Jan. 1986):21-48. [Reprinted in <u>Implementation and Public Policy</u>].

Discussion Section (Wed, Feb. 28)

Topic: 1)Theoretical papers 2) Implementation of ESA

Tobin, E xpendable Future, Chap. 3-5

3: Implementation of ESA (Wed. Feb 28)

Required readings

Tobin, Expendable Future, Chap 3-5.

NO CLASS MON AND WED, MARCH 5 & 7; PROF IN JAPAN.

	TV: DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON ENDANGERED SPECIES MANAGEMENT IN DELTA	

Discus	ssion section, Wed. March 7 SECTION BUT NO LECTURE THIS DAY	
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	Speaker #1 Friday, March 9	
	Speaker #2 Mon, March 12	
	Speaker #3 Wed., March 14	
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- V: COURSE WRAP-UP (Wednesday, March 14, Paper #2 due))
 - 1) Discussion of Guest Speaker
 - 2) Course Synthesis and Evaluation