



LONGMAN CLASSICS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

# The New Politics of the Budgetary Process

FIFTH EDITION

AARON WILDAVSKY

NAOMI CAIDEN



Foreword by DONALD E. KETTL

# New Politics Of The Budgetary Process

**Aaron B. Wildavsky**



## **New Politics Of The Budgetary Process:**

**The New Politics of the Budgetary Process** Aaron B. Wildavsky, 1992      The Politics of the Budgetary Process Aaron B. Wildavsky, 1979      **The New Politics of the Budgetary Process** Aaron B. Wildavsky, Naomi Caiden, 2004 Foreword p xi Preface to the Fifth Edition p xix Preface to the First Edition p xxvii Biographical Note p xxxiii Chapter 1 Budgeting as Conflicting Promises p 1 Budgets Are Conflicting Commitments p 7 Tax Preferences p 11 Appropriations The Power of Congress and Power Within Congress p 13 The President Is Both Rival and Partner of Congress p 16 Conflicting Promises The Multiple Meanings of Budgetary Control p 19 Chapter 2 Budgets as Struggles for Power A Historical Perspective p 25 Colonial Origins p 26 Turning Points Civil War through World War I p 30 The Executive Budget Movement p 33 Dislocation and Continuity Depression and War p 40 Chapter 3 The Dance of the Dollars Classical Budgeting p 42 Calculations p 44 Complexity p 44 Aids to Calculation p 45 Incremental Budgeting p 46 Roles and Perspectives p 50 The Agency p 50 The Bureau of the Budget p 54 The Appropriations Committees p 56 Strategies p 57 Be a Good Politician p 58 Clientele p 58 Confidence p 60 Congressional Committee Hearings p 62 Strategies Designed to Capitalize on the Fragmentation of Power in National Politics p 62 Chapter 4 The Collapse of Consensus p 68 The Growth of Entitlements p 69 Economic Activism p 70 Federal Credit p 71 Priorities p 72 Impoundment p 73 The Budget Act More Checks More Balances but Not More Control p 75 Impoundment Again p 75 Congressional Budget Office p 76 Senate Budget Committee and House Budget Committee p 76 Scheduling p 76 Resolutions p 77 Reconciliation p 78 Complexity p 78 A Congressional Budget or Merely More Budgeting p 78 The Budget Process 1975 1979 Making Totals Stick p 79 Classical Budgeting Withers Without Quite Disappearing p 81 Chapter 5 The Politics of Dissensus p 83 Why Budget Decisions Became So Difficult p 84 The Focus on Totals p 84 The End of Economic Management p 85 Dominance of the Deficit p 86 Polarization of the Parties p 87 The Congressional Budget Act in the 1980s p 88 R and R Resolution and Reconciliation p 88 Deferral and Rescission Redux p 90 The Shifting Budgetary Base p 91 Continuing Omnibus Resolutions p 92 OMB in an Era of Perennial Budgeting p 93 Top Down Policy Making p 94 Continuous Budgeting p 94 Negotiating with Congress p 95 Implications for OMB p 96 Dissensus in Congress p 97 Role Reversal p 97 Rolled on the Floor p 98 Budgeting Penetrates Congress p 100 Gimmicks p 100 Chapter 6 The Politics of Balancing Budgets p 103 Gramm Rudman Hollings p 105 The Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 p 106 The Clinton Budget of 1993 p 108 The Politics of Radical Reversal 1995 p 111 Prologue Constitutional Amendment and Rescission p 112 Budgets and Counterbudgets The President s Budget and the Congressional Resolution p 113 Incrementalism in Mirror Image Appropriations p 114 Confrontation Continuing Resolutions and the Debt Limit p 115 Reconciliation and Intransigence p 118 The Balanced Budget Act of 1997 p 120 Chapter 7 Entitlements p 123 The Ought and Is of Entitlements p 124 Entitlements and Budgeting p 129 How Do Entitlements Start p 132 Why Do Entitlements Grow p 135 Maintaining Commitment Social Security p 136 Escalating Costs Medicare p 138 Expanding Eligibility Medicaid p 140 Provider Pressures End Stage Renal

Disease p 142 How Have Entitlements Been Controlled p 144 Declining Need Black Lung Disease p 145 Ending an Entitlement Welfare p 146 Entitlements and Others p 148 Appropriations Head Start and WIC p 148 Tax Expenditures Earned Income Tax Credit EITC p 149 Formula Grants to States Adoption Assistance Program Individuals With Disabilities Education Act and the Ryan White Care Act p 149 Chapter 8 Budgeting for Defense p 152 Dimensions of Defense p 153 Defense Strategy and Funding p 155 The Internal Budget Process p 161 Planning Programming Budgeting p 161 Acquisitions p 165 The Congressional Budget Process p 170 Reprogramming p 173 Secrecy p 175 Cuts p 176 Contingencies p 179 Chapter 9 Reform p 181 Norms of Budgetary Behavior p 181 Forms of Budgeting p 184 Reform Without Conflict p 184 The Politics in Budget Reform p 186 Unit of Measurement Cash or Volume p 187 Time Span Months One Year Many Years p 188 Calculation Incremental or Comprehensive p 189 Management Reforms p 191 Performance and Budgeting p 191 Centralization and Decentralization The Role of OMB p 193 Credit Reform p 195 Financial Management p 196 Capital Budgeting p 197 Limits p 198 The Line Item Veto p 200 Chapter 10 From Surplus to Deficit p 205 The Disappearing Deficit p 205 The Politics of Budget Surplus p 208 The End of the Surplus p 212 Afterword p 219 Characteristics of the Budget Process p 219 The Budgetary Process Is Powerful Yet Impotent p 220 The Budgetary Process Is Structured Yet Formalistic p 220 The Budgetary Process Is Complex Yet Segmented p 221 Budgetary Politics Are Polarized but Moderated p 223 Glossary p 225 Guide to Acronyms p 230 Select Bibliography p 231 Credits p 245 Index

**Budgeting, Policy, Politics** Naomi Caiden, 2020-02-17 Aaron Wildavsky was one of the most innovative and prolific scholars in the field of budgeting in our time His work spanned a period of more than forty years and its perspectives encompassed not only budgeting in the United States but also its comparative and historical dimensions As a leading political scientist his research also ranged into American political institutions public policy analysis leadership and biblical studies This book pays tribute to Aaron Wildavsky by explicating his life and work with emphasis on his contributions to the field of public budgeting and finance Larry Jones and Jerry McCaffery place Wildavsky s work within the context of previous work on budgeting They show how some of the highlights of his immense output responded to and shaped questions in the field Naomi Caiden reviews the way in which Wildavsky used budgeting as a window into other areas of politics Richard Rose discusses how an American scholar became an internationally known one Joseph White goes back to the beginning of Aaron s career and shows that budgeting in agencies and in Congress is still incremental for very powerful reasons Allen Schick reviews the history of the federal budget process brilliantly summarizing how much has changed The festschrift poignantly assesses the significance and influence of Aaron Wildavsky s work It also includes some excerpts from Wildavsky s own writings in this area and experiences of those who collaborated with him In acknowledging Wildavsky s contributions to public budgeting and political science this book also makes an original contribution to the field It will be a necessary addition to the libraries of political scientists economists policymakers not to mention all those who admired Aaron Wildavsky and his work

*Handbook of Public Budgeting* Jack

Rabin, 1992-02-26 The Handbook is organized around two major themes the budget process and budgeting fundamentals Each chapter is a bibliographical treatise providing an in depth overview of a major subfield of the discipline The first section of the volume on the budget process presents background theories history **The new politics of the budgetary process**

Wildavsky Aaron, 1991 Budgetary Politics in American Governments James J. Gosling, 2006 Budgetary Politics in American Governments unlike most public budgeting texts takes a comparative approach to the subject of public budgeting examining budgetary politics at the federal state and local government levels Students are introduced to the budgetary decision making process taxation spending budget execution and financial management as well as the budget process at each level of government Thoroughly updated but preserving much of the third edition's structure and approach this fourth edition contains a new chapter that will introduce students to the interrelationship of economics and politics in budgeting

Politics of the Administrative Process Donald F. Kettl, 2016-12-16 Politics of the Administrative Process shows how efficient public administration requires a delicate balance the bureaucracy must be powerful enough to be effective but also accountable to elected officials and citizens Author Don Kettl gives students a realistic relevant and well researched view of the field in this reader friendly best seller With its engaging vignettes rich examples and a unique focus on policymaking and politics the Seventh Edition continues its strong emphasis on politics accountability and performance This new edition has been thoroughly updated with new scholarship data events and case studies giving students multiple opportunities to apply ideas and analysis as they read **Cultural Analysis** Aaron Wildavsky, 2018-02-06 As a result of a lifetime of incomparably wide ranging investigations Aaron Wildavsky concluded that politics in the United States and elsewhere was a patterned activity exhibiting recurring regularities Political values beliefs and institutions were neither endlessly varied nor haphazardly organized They tended to exhibit a limited range of variation and were organized in discoverable predictable ways In Cultural Analysis the fourth collection of his essays posthumously published by Transaction Wildavsky argues that American politics public law and public administration are the contested terrain of rival inescapable political cultures Analysts of American politics distinguish liberals from conservatives and Democrats from Republicans but do not explain how these categories of political allegiance develop maintain themselves or change Wildavsky offers a cultural functional explanation for ideological and partisan coherence and realignment Wildavsky also felt that these dualisms did not adequately capture the ideological and partisan variation he observed on the political landscape Like others he detected another recurring strain of political allegiance that of classical liberalism or libertarianism People of this political stripe valued freedom more than equality the primary political value of contemporary liberals and also more than order the primary political value of conservatives The value of Wildavsky's reconceptualization of the ideological and social foundations of political conflict compromise and coalition is assessed here by Wildavsky's former colleagues and students at the University of California Berkeley Dennis Coyle Richard Ellis Robert Kagan Austin Ranney and Brendon Swedlow *Public Budgeting*

Irene S. Rubin, 2015-01-28 Some of the best writings on public budgeting and finance can be found in the journals that ASPA publishes or sponsors For this volume editor Irene Rubin has brought together the best of these articles emerging classics that address the most important theoretical and practical problems underlying public budgeting The anthology is organized topically rather than historically with an effort to delineate the issues needed to understand some of the more recent controversies in the field Rubin s introductory essay and section openers frame the key issues and provide historical context for each article The collection begins with descriptions of what public budgeting is where it comes from and what it is for It moves on to the relationship between budget processes and outcomes constraints on budgeting the legal context in which it operates and adaptations to those constraints such as contracting out The book concludes with a discussion of the ethics and norms that underlie budgeting in a democracy Throughout the anthology the emphasis is on areas of disagreement and debate so students can get involved and explore different viewpoints      *The Politics of the Presidency* Joseph A. Pika, John Anthony Maltese, Andrew Rudalevige, 2017-07-06 Trace the opening rounds of the Trump administration highlighting the 2016 election transition inauguration and first one hundred days Never losing sight of the foundations of the office The Politics of the Presidency maintains a balance between historical context the current political environment and contemporary scholarship on the executive branch providing a solid foundation for any presidency course In addition to offering you a comprehensive framework for understanding the expectations powers and limitations of the executive branch the Revised Ninth Edition uses the most up to date coverage and analysis of the 2016 election and Trump administration to demonstrate key concepts New to the Revised Ninth Edition A new chapter dedicated to the Trump transition and first one hundred days examines important topics such as the immigration ban and other executive orders efforts at deregulation the targeted military strikes in Syria and the war on the intelligence community and the deconstruction of the administrative state Recent congressional relations analyzed including the confirmation of Supreme Court justice Neil Gorsuch after Senate Republicans employed the nuclear option and took away the opportunity to filibuster Supreme Court nominees efforts to repeal and replace Obamacare fiscal 2017 and 2018 budget negotiations and congressional investigations of the Trump campaign s ties to Russia his firing of FBI director James Comey and the appointment of a special counsel in the matter An assessment of the public presidency reviews Trump s approval ratings communications strategies and media coverage Discussions of Trump s leadership challenges in a polarized age explain the difficulties of unifying a nation after a bitter election launching an administration and structuring the executive branch      Budgeting for Public Managers Swain, 2015-05-18 Benefiting from the authors many years of teaching undergraduate and graduate students and practitioners here is a clear comprehensive practice oriented text for public budgeting courses Rather than presenting each budgeting concern in mind numbing detail the book offers a commonsensical view of public budgeting and its importance to current and future public managers The text is designed to show readers how managers relate to budgeting and how their actions make a difference in the operation

and performance of public organizations The book covers the historical development of public budgeting sources of public revenues revenue management budgeting processes and formats operating techniques politics within public budgeting and more Budgeting for Public Managers is concise clearly written well illustrated and grounded in the real world concerns of public managers Each chapter concludes with a helpful list of additional reading and resources for readers who want to dig deeper into budgeting practice and application Handbook of Public Administration, Third Edition W. Bartley Hildreth, Gerald J. Miller, Jack Rabin, 2006-11-14 Since the publication of the previous edition the best selling Handbook of Public Administration enters its third edition with substantially revised updated and expanded coverage of public administration history theory and practice Edited by preeminent authorities in the field this work is unparalleled in its thorough coverage and comprehensive references This handbook examines the major areas in public administration including public budgeting and financial management human resource management decision making public law and regulation and political economy Providing a strong platform for further research and advancement in the field this book is a necessity for anyone involved in public administration policy and management This edition includes entirely new chapters on information technology and conduct of inquiry In each area of public administration there are two bibliographic treatises written from different perspectives The first examines the developments in the field The second analyzes theories concepts or ideas in the field's literature *Handbook of Public Administration* W. Bartley Hildreth, Gerald Miller, Jack Rabin, Gerald J. Miller, 2018-01-19 Since the publication of the previous edition the best selling Handbook of Public Administration enters its third edition with substantially revised updated and expanded coverage of public administration history theory and practice Edited by preeminent authorities in the field this work is unparalleled in its thorough coverage and comprehensive references This handbook examines the major areas in public administration including public budgeting and financial management human resource management decision making public law and regulation and political economy Providing a strong platform for further research and advancement in the field this book is a necessity for anyone involved in public administration policy and management This edition includes entirely new chapters on information technology and conduct of inquiry In each area of public administration there are two bibliographic treatises written from different perspectives The first examines the developments in the field The second analyzes theories concepts or ideas in the field's literature

*Abortion Politics in Congress* Scott H. Ainsworth, Thad E. Hall, 2010-12-13 This book examines how legislators have juggled their passions over abortion with standard congressional procedures looking at how both external factors such as public opinion and internal factors such as the ideological composition of committees and party systems shape the development of abortion policy Driven by both theoretical and empirical concerns Scott H Ainsworth and Thad E Hall present a simple formal model of strategic incrementalism illustrating that legislators often have incentives to alter policy incrementally They then examine the sponsorship of abortion related proposals as well as their committee referral and find

that a wide range of Democratic and Republican legislators repeatedly offer abortion related proposals designed to alter abortion policy incrementally Abortion Politics in Congress reveals that abortion debates have permeated a wide range of issues and that a wide range of legislators and a large number of committees address abortion

**The Politics Of Budget Control** John A. Marini, 2014-02-04 First Published in 1992 The federal budget has attained unparalleled significance at the heart of American politics in the last quarter of the twentieth century The modern budget system has become the mechanism by which a distinctively American administrative state was put in place and made operative The growth of the administrative state has transformed politics in America but many Americans are unaware of its existence This study looks at budget control within the realms of Congress the Presidency and the development of the Administrative State

**Why Budgets Matter** Dennis S. Ippolito, 2015-11-15 When the first edition of Why Budgets Matter was published in 2003 the federal budget had fallen back into deficit At the time fairly modest changes in taxes and spending would have ensured that deficits and debt would remain at tolerable levels Instead the disconnect between taxes and spending that had plagued the United States since the 1960s grew even greater A near catastrophic economic collapse beginning in December 2007 then magnified the fiscal consequences of irresponsible policy choices This new edition examines how and why the balanced budget equilibrium of the 1990s was destabilized in the 2000s It also places this latest partisan battle over the size of government in historical perspective by exploring its connection to earlier budget policy eras

*Encyclopedia of Government and Politics* M. E. Hawkesworth, Maurice Kogan, 1992

**The Presidency and Economic Policy** Chris J. Dolan, John P. Frendreis, Raymond Tatalovich, 2008 The Presidency and the Economic Policy offers an update on how economic issues have developed and evolved since the first version of the book was published in 1994 This book addresses the extent to which the president influences the domestic and global economy manages and coordinates the economic policymaking process and determines various economic issues on the national public policy agenda

*Public Budgeting Systems* Robert D. Lee Jr., Ronald W. Johnson, Philip G. Joyce, 2020-10-12 Public Budgeting Systems Tenth Edition is the most comprehensive and balanced treatment of the current state of budgeting throughout all levels of the United States government Current and prospective public managers accordingly often succeed or fail in their careers based in large part on whether they are intelligent consumers of financial data and have an adequate understanding of the budget process By providing a detailed overview of all budgeting and financial management the book enables students to gain an appropriate understanding of a complex topic



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