

I. Announcements

A. Email requirement—some but not all have met this. Do it soon! No need to wait!

B. Any questions about the course? Any problems with getting the books?

II. Questions:

A. How many of you have had the introductory American politics course in college, either here or elsewhere?

B. How many of you had to take a government or civics class in H.S.?

III. Today's lecture: an overview of public policy as a field of study

A. Let's start by asking: what is public policy?

1. How did I define it in my book?

- a) What government does or chooses not to do
- b) In a way, this means what we, as a people, decide to do or not to do about public problems

2. Let's consider some aspects of public policy, then

- a) What sort of things does the government do? In other words, what goods and services does government provide? At what level of government?
- b) What does government not do at all? That is, what is pretty much left up to the private sector (or mostly to the private sector?)
- c) What does government do that it does pretty well?
- d) What does government do that it does pretty poorly?

3. Do you think that people pay much attention to policy? Why or why not?

4. Conclusion: The point of politics, I believe, is to make public policy: elections and "politics" are all about public policy

- a) The Alberto Gonzales scandal has, at its heart, a policy dimension, and a deep constitutional question: what are the powers of the presidency?

B. What this course does is really two things

1. Introduce the policy process and seek to explain how policy is made

2. Outlines how we study the policy process. And the things we talk about here are relevant to your careers as citizens and as students of public policy or any body of knowledge.

C. The history of the study of public policy

1. Policy studies originate in the study of politics

2. The study of politics is very ancient

a) Involves the study of power and allocation of resources

b) Politics='Who gets what'

3. The study of public policy dates to the middle of the 20th century

D. The Field of Public Policy

1. “The study of public policy is the examination of the creation, by the government, of the rules, laws, goals, and standards that determine what government does or does not do to create resources, benefits, costs and burdens.” (Birkland 2001)

a) In the 1940s and 1950s, a shift away from institutions and toward individual behavior.

b) Thus, the two main traditions in political science: institutionalism and behaviorism.

2. Review the definition of the study of public policy I just gave you.

a) Is there anything in that definition that would limit policy studies to only political scientists?

b) What other disciplines are involved in studying public policy and helping to make it?

E. The study of public policy as a science or a discipline

1. What do you think of when you think of “science”?

2. What does the word “science” mean?

a) According to Wikipedia: “Science (from the Latin scientia, 'knowledge') is a system of acquiring knowledge based on the scientific method, as well as the organized body of knowledge gained through such research.”

3. What is the scientific method?

- a) The statement of a hypothesis—often the “null hypothesis”
- b) Gathering data
- c) The testing of the hypothesis
- d) Determining whether the null hypothesis is rejected, or whether it cannot be rejected.

4. Differences between natural and social sciences

- a) Natural sciences often, but not always, can study phenomena using controlled experiments
- b) Social sciences often, but not always, must use “quasi experimental” or other designs without good or even perfect controls
- c) The natural sciences often operate under a “paradigm” or a body of beliefs about science shared by all participants in the scientific process
- d) The social sciences are generally non paradigmatic.

5. Why does this matter?

- a) We can say that the social sciences are sciences—methodological differences don’t denigrate these as sciences
- b) Of course, this is all the ideal type—often, hypotheses are not tested, and we often use brute force, or guesstimates (wing loading on planes)
- c) But the point is that students of policy—of both the process and the substance of policy tend to seek knowledge and evidence of claimed phenomena.
- d) Example: There is a proposal in Wade county and statewide to allow counties to impose up to a 1 percent real estate transfer tax that would help pay for growth. Thus, a \$200k house sale would yield a transfer tax of \$2000. (<http://www.itsabadidea.org/home/>)
- e) The realtors® claim that this would “tax the equity in people’s homes” (not true—you’d pay whether you had equity or not) and would depress housing sales. They also claim that the transfer tax keeps property taxes artificially low by subsidizing property taxes.

f) How might you test the null hypothesis: that a real estate transfer tax doesn't depress home sales?

g) How might you test the hypothesis that property taxes aren't subsidized?

F. Summary

- 1. What we do is a science, with some background in the social sciences broadly**
- 2. Public policy is influenced by, and influences, many disciplines**
- 3. In the future, we will learn that scientific knowledge of any sort is not the only thing that policy makers consider, and is often not the most important thing.**

I. Announcements

- A. Email requirement—some but not all have met this. Do it soon!
No need to wait! Good job to most everyone!***
- B. Mea culpa re: Tim and assuming something wrong.***

II. What I wanted to do last time

A. Make clear that what we study has a scientific basis—it's not just feelings or beliefs

B. Be clear that the course does two things

- 1. Introduce the policy process and seek to explain how policy is made**
- 2. Outlines how we study the policy process. And the things we talk about here are relevant to your careers as citizens and as students of public policy or any body of knowledge.**

C. Other things to remember

- 1. Policy studies are very much rooted in politics**
- 2. Yet, it's not just political scientists that study public policy**
- 3. The study of public policy dates to the middle of the 20th century**

a) In the 1940s and 1950s, a shift away from institutions and toward individual behavior.

b) Thus, the two main traditions in political science: institutionalism and behaviorism.

c) A bit of this is reflected in Stone, but not much.

III. Today's main topic: Introducing Stone's Policy Paradox

A. Why did I assign Stone's book?

B. Why did I assign Policy Paradox?

- 1. It is important to understand how policies pose "paradoxes"**
- 2. What is a paradox?**

C. Paradox, defined (don't write all this down!)

- 1. 1 : a tenet contrary to received opinion**
- 2 a : a statement that is seemingly contradictory or opposed**

to common sense and yet is perhaps true b : a self-contradictory statement that at first seems true c : an argument that apparently derives self-contradictory conclusions by valid deduction from acceptable premises 3 : one that possesses seemingly contradictory qualities or phases

2. (courtesy of www.merriam-webster.com)

D. What paradoxes does Stone want to explain?

- 1. Why policy making appears “irrational”**
- 2. Why political science so prizes “rationality” at the expense of better theories of how the policy process works.**

E. Why did Stone write her book?

- 1. She found something pretty shocking in “policy science.”**

a) “The new field of policy science, supposedly devoted to improving governance, was based on a profound disgust for the ambiguities and paradoxes of politics. By and large, the new science dismissed politics as an unfortunate obstacle to clear-headed, rational analysis and good policy (which were the same thing).” (pp. x-xi)

- 2. “I believe rationality is a narrow conception...and that we are often forced to entertain paradox.”**
- 3. “The field of policy analysis is dominated by economics and its model of society as a market.”**
- 4. “ Political science hasn’t found a very convincing or satisfying explanation of how policy gets made.”**
- 5. “The fields of public policy and policy**
- 6. analysis worship objectivity and determinate rules.”**
- 7. Thus, in the end, politics is much more complex, fluid, and potentially paradoxical than we might think it is**

a) But it’s only paradoxical if we keep forcing our own sense of rationality onto a process that may have a logic, but not that of the “rationality project”

F. Why do you think policy analysis is so afraid of politics?

- 1. because it isn’t neat, tidy, and easily subject to “science”**

G. The Market and the Polis

1. How can we model the ways societies organize to act politically?

2. We will go through this because I want you to understand the important features of her argument.

3. What is a market?

a) "A social system in which individuals pursue their own welfare by exchanging things with others whenever trades are *mutually beneficial*."

b) Is this a good description of how politics works in the United States and other democracies?

4. What are the assumptions of a market system

a) Individual interest and benefit

b) One to one exchanges

c) Perfect information

d) Mutual benefit (not a zero sum game)

5. Problems with the market model

a) Markets are not about the public interest

b) Politics and policy making is often not voluntary

c) There is rarely good information available to all in politics (or in markets, actually)

d) Because one doesn't need community for market exchanges—but for the commons politics is an absolute necessity.

6. Thus, the polis

a) From the Greek word for "city-state"

b) It is also the root of our words "politics" and "policy"

c) Stone uses it to mean a relatively small political community, although the example works at a larger scale as well.

H. What Are the Important Features of a Political Community?

1. Community

- a) Much more complex than a simplified “Robinson Crusoe” society.
- b) Much debate in politics and policy is about who is a member of the community
 - (1) Illegal immigrants***
 - (2) Young people who could go to war but not vote.***
- c) The differences between *political* and *cultural* communities

Resume here

2. Features of a Political Community

- a) Public Interest
 - (1) Is it individual goals held in common?***
 - (2) Is it goal consensus?***
 - (3) Is it things that are good for the community as a community?***
 - (4) We’ve noted before that there is no one public interest***
 - (5) Yet, much of politics is an appeal to a claimed public interest***
 - (6) Thus, whether it exists or not, the public interest is important because people believe it is.***
- b) Commons Problems
 - (1) Actions with private benefits that entail social costs***
 - (2) Social benefits that require private sacrifices***
 - (a) Tax payments to schools**
 - (b) President Bush’s claim for a need for voluntarism**

(3) The challenge: getting people to forgo benefits or to accept some sacrifice for the broader good.

(a) This describes Collective Action Problems.

c) Influence

(1) People are subject to influence, and are not just utility maximizing actors

(2) The challenge is to create a system that allows for influence but doesn't become coercive in the most negative sense.

d) Cooperation

(1) People have to cooperate in political systems of greater than 2 people

(2) This is the essence of politics

(3) Markets don't require cooperation: they rely on voluntary exchange relationships that come and go.

e) Loyalty

(1) In the market, each transaction is assumed to be a unique, one-shot event

(2) Involves friends, commitments, longer term relationships between people and groups.

(3)

f) Groups

(1) The building block of politics

(2) Held together by loyalty

(3) Wield power through influence

g) Information

(1) In the market, assumed to be "perfect" and open

*(2) In the polis, assumed not to be in the open—
groups try to find and discredit some information,
while profiting from other information.*

h) Passion

(1) Authority and interest grow with use

(2) In the market, resources shrink

i) Power

(1) Derived from all other features

(2) A phenomenon of communities

*(3) Exists to subordinate individual interests to group
interests.*

(4)

I. Concepts of Society [table] page 33

[Concepts of Society.ppt](#)

J.

I. Review: The Market and the Polis

A. How can we model the ways societies organize to act politically?

B. We will go through this because I want you to understand the important features of her argument.

C. What is a market?

1. “A social system in which individuals pursue their own welfare by exchanging things with others whenever trades are *mutually beneficial*.”
2. Is this a good description of how politics works in the United States and other democracies?

D. What are the assumptions of a market system

1. Individual interest and benefit
2. One to one exchanges
3. Perfect information
4. Mutual benefit (not a zero sum game)

E. Problems with the market model

1. Markets are not about the public interest
2. Politics and policy making is often not voluntary
3. There is rarely good information available to all in politics (or in markets, actually)
4. Because one doesn’t need community for market exchanges—but for the commons politics is an absolute necessity.

F. Thus, the polis

1. From the Greek word for “city-state”
2. It is also the root of our words “politics” and “policy”
3. Stone uses it to mean a relatively small political community, although the example works at a larger scale as well.

II. What Are the Important Features of a Political Community?

A. Community

- 1. Much more complex than a simplified “Robinson Crusoe” society.**
- 2. Much debate in politics and policy is about who is a member of the community**
 - a) Illegal immigrants
 - b) Young people who could go to war but not vote.
- 3. The differences between *political* and *cultural* communities**

III. Features of a Political Community

A. Public Interest

- 1. Is it individual goals held in common?**
- 2. Is it goal consensus?**
- 3. Is it things that are good for the community as a community?**
- 4. We’ve noted before that there is no one public interest**
- 5. Yet, much of politics is an appeal to a claimed public interest**
- 6. Thus, whether it exists or not, the public interest is important because people believe it is.**

B. Commons Problems

- 1. Actions with private benefits that entail social costs**
- 2. Social benefits that require private sacrifices**
 - a) Tax payments to schools
 - b) President Bush’s claim for a need for voluntarism
- 3. The challenge: getting people to forgo benefits or to accept some sacrifice for the broader good.**
 - a) This describes Collective Action Problems.

C. Influence

- 1. People are subject to influence, and are not just utility maximizing actors**
- 2. The challenge is to create a system that allows for influence but doesn’t become *coercive* in the most negative sense.**

D. Cooperation

- 1. People have to cooperate in political systems of greater than 2 people**
- 2. This is the essence of politics**
- 3. Markets don't require cooperation: they rely on voluntary exchange relationships that come and go.**

E. Loyalty

- 1. In the market, each transaction is assumed to be a unique, one-shot event**
- 2. Involves friends, commitments, longer term relationships between people and groups.**

F.

G. Groups

- 1. The building block of politics**
- 2. Held together by loyalty**
- 3. Wield power through influence**

H. Information

- 1. In the market, assumed to be “perfect” and open**
- 2. In the polis, assumed not to be in the open—groups try to find and discredit some information, while profiting from other information.**

I. Passion

- 1. Authority and interest grow with use**
- 2. In the market, resources shrink**

J. Power

- 1. Derived from all other features**
- 2. A phenomenon of communities**
- 3. Exists to subordinate individual interests to group interests.**

K. Concepts of Society [table] page 33

CONCEPTS OF SOCIETY

| | <i>Market Model</i> | <i>Polis Model</i> |
|---|---|--|
| 1. Unit of analysis | individual | community |
| 2. Motivations | self-interest | public interest (as well as self-interest) |
| 3. Chief conflict | self-interest vs. self-interest | self-interest vs. public interest (commons problems) |
| 4. Source of people's ideas and preferences | self-generation within the individual | influences from outside |
| 5. Nature of collective activity | competition | cooperation and competition |
| 6. Criteria for individual decision-making | maximizing self-interest, minimizing cost | loyalty (to people, places, organizations, products), maximize self-interest, promote public interest |
| 7. Building blocks of social action | individuals | groups and organizations |
| 8. Nature of information | accurate, complete, fully available | ambiguous, interpretive, incomplete, strategically manipulated |
| 9. How things work | laws of matter (eg., material resources are finite and diminish with use) | laws of passion (eg., human resources are renewable and expand with use) |
| 10. Sources of change | material exchange quest to maximize own welfare | ideas, persuasion, alliances pursuit of power, pursuit of own welfare, pursuit of public interest |

L.

M. Where do we go from here?

- 1. Goals**
- 2. Problems**
- 3. Tools**
- 4. We will consider problems later, and instead of using what stone says to conceptualize broad problems, we will use that material to come up with all kinds of ways you can think about the problems you isolated.**

IV.

I. Today: The problems

- A. Write down your problem on the post-it note. Put your name on it (so we can assign groups as needed)*
- B. Stick it on the board.*
- C. Are there obvious categories? Overlaps? Problems that are related to each other?*

II.

I. Historical and Structural Aspects of Public Policy

A. Objectives

- 1. Understand the Constitutional structure and its relationship to policy making**
- 2. Understand the historical context of policy**

B. The context of American policy making

- 1. The Constitution**
- 2. Features of the System**
- 3. History**

C. The Constitution—Background

- 1. The American revolution**
- 2. The Articles of Confederation**
- 3. The constitutional convention of 1787-89**
- 4. Ratification**

D. The Constitution--Structure

- 1. Three branches of government.**
- 2. Supposedly co-equal.**
- 3. Create what we know as “checks and balances” via a “separation of powers.”**

E. The Separation of Powers (p. 47)

F. The Constitution: Federalism

- 1. One national government**
- 2. Fifty state governments**
- 3. Result: Shared power between the federal government and the states.**
- 4. Examples: what do the states do that the feds don't? What do the feds do that the states don't? What do both do?**

G. Key to Public Policy

- 1. Article 1, section 8**
- 2. Does this limit Congress's power?**

a) Does government go beyond the Constitution's mandate? What is the Constitution's mandate?

II. Constant Features of the American System

A. Ideological and political stability

B. The system is highly fragmented

- 1. Separation of powers**
- 2. Federalism**
- 3. Rules and norms of the legislature and other bodies**
- 4. Public support for stability**

C. Basic rules and norms

D. Open government and policy restraint

E. Fragmentation

F. Difficult to change constitutional system

G. Features of American Political Stability

- 1. Ideological stability**
- 2. Political stability**
- 3. Policy stability**
- 4. Stability in power**

H. Historical Eras of Policy

- 1. Divided Power 1789-1860**
- 2. State Activism 1860-1936**
- 3. National Activism 1936-1960**
- 4. National Standards 1960-1980?**
- 5. The End of Big Government – 1980-?**
- 6. The future? That's why we're studying this subject!**

I. Divided Power: 1789-1870

- 1. The nation was still very new**

- 2. The federal government was considered fairly unimportant**
- 3. Most important task: figuring out how to divide power.**
- 4. Two examples**
 - a) Barron v. Baltimore – state vs. federal citizenship and rights
 - b) Gibbons v. Ogden – the meaning of the commerce clause (again, Art I, sec. 8).

J. State Activism: 1870-1933

- 1. Big changes in America: the industrial revolution, immigration, urbanization, wealth disparity.**
- 2. States sought to regulate industry, monopolies**
- 3. Feds created the ICC, Sherman Act.**
 - a) But state regulation of industry was severely constrained: *Lochner v. New York* (1905)
- 4. Still, some major enactments:**
 - a) States:
 - (1) Child labor laws (some)*
 - (2) Wage and hour laws for women (Miller v. Oregon, 1912)*
 - b) Federal
 - (1) Federal Reserve System*
 - (2) Clayton Act*
 - (3) Pure Food and Drug Act*
- 5. The big constraint: the judiciary**

K. National Activism: 1933-1961

- 1. Triggered by the Great Depression**
 - a) The problem: how to get the economy and the nation on track.
 - b) FDR's solutions: National Industrial Recovery Act, Civilian Conservation Corps
- 2. Constrained by the courts**

- a) NIRA struck down
- b) But, new Supreme Court appointments after 1936

3. Result:

- a) The Court relents in *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, on state labor laws—end of the *Lochner* standard

(1) Huge growth in New Deal activities after the 1936 elections

- (a) TVA
- (b) Social Security
- (c) FDIC

(2) Post war government remains huge, many federal programs—the New Deal coalition in power much of this time.

L. National Standards: 1960-1980?

1. Many new government programs: *The Great Society*.

- a) Civil Rights
- b) Poverty
- c) Urban Renewal
- d) Highways and Transportation
- e) Education

2. Nixon (elected 1968) didn't change that much

- a) Some block grants to states
- b) But, EPA, Trans Alaska Pipeline = big federal projects

M. The End of Big Government—1980-?

1. About 1976: a belief that government was getting “too big.”

2. The deregulation movement under Carter

Example: Airline deregulation

3. The Reagan Administration

- a) Attempts to cut social programs
- b) But...

- (1) Congress restored much domestic spending*
- (2) Huge defense spending growth*
- (3) Tax cuts*
- (4) Result: historically high budget deficits*

4. The Clinton and GW Bush Years

- a) Clinton under pressure to limit government

Welfare reform

Deficit does shrink, due to growing economy

- b) Bush supports "smaller government"

But will invoke federal power when he finds it convenient.

Example: power lines in the West.

III. Summary

A. The Constitution is a framework

- 1. The system is somewhat democratic in design**
- 2. Is the system truly democratic? Has it ever been?**
- 3. Government is big, but how big is "too big"?**

[Start with the chart from last time we discussed stone. Also discuss last class]

Goals of Public Policy

Deborah Stone's four goals of public policy

Equity or Equality
Efficiency
Security
Liberty

Equity

There are different kinds of equality
These are based on

The recipients of a public good
The item that is being distributed
And the process by which the thing is distributed

Stone lists at least eight different ways one can use equity language to distribute a good, often in ways that you would consider to be unequal.

Efficiency

What is efficiency?

“Getting the most output for a given input”
“Achieving an objective for the lowest cost”

Efficiency is not an end goal; it is a means to an end
It is very difficult to measure efficiency in the public sector or in politics in general. Why?

What are the inputs?

Labor
Materials
Expertise
Other intangibles?

What are the outputs?

Products
Services
Values?

The market is often held up as the paragon of efficiency

Thus, there are many calls for privatizing government

We often hear calls to run government like a business.

Knowing what you know about the market and polis, why are these demands unrealistic?

What characterizes a market?

Voluntary exchanges of things of value

Based on two kinds of information

Objective information about the price and quality of an item

Subjective information about preferences

Does this information really exist?

Market failure

Governments have to step in when markets fail; i.e., when these assumptions lead to allocative inefficiency or gross inequity.

Examples

Correction of monopoly

Correction of problems of information

Problems of impacts on people who are not making the exchange.

Failure to provide collective goods (national defense, police)

Thus, government is often involved in

Alleviating the inefficiencies of the market

Providing goods inefficiently because there is no market way to do so

Imposing requirements for equity on the market, thereby introducing inefficiency.

The paradox: there's always an "equal" and "unequal" dimension.

Can Government every really look like a market?

Government often regulates the market, by regulating who or what can buy or sell what products

Government often compels involuntary exchanges: drafts labor for the army, taxes us for things we may not individually want, etc.

Can the "efficiency" of public goods production be effectively measured?

To conclude, then, government cannot run like a business because

It is not a business: it is composed of citizens and voters, not buyers, sellers and producers

It engages in those activities that are not profitable by definition

It is difficult to measure inputs and outputs in government.

One person's efficiency may be the next person's gross inequity.

Ideas on liberty

People are free to unless their actions cause some sort of harm to others

This idea derives from J.S. Mill's "On Liberty"

This freedom is negative freedom, meaning that government should just let people do what they want and leave them alone

But what does harm mean?

No one is free to physically harm another person

But what about other types of harms?

Accidents

Pollution

Mistakes

Nonphysical harms

Material affects: impact on wealth or well-being

Amenity affects: impact on quality of life, such as billboards, destruction of wildlife

Emotional and psychological effects

Spiritual and moral harms

Liberty can therefore be limited by our common obligations to the Polis.

Thus, there are harms that are not done to individuals, but are done to the community

Structural harms: damage to the ability of the community to function as a community

Accumulative harms: harms if everybody starts doing it, like cutting across lawns, sewage dumping, jaywalking

Harms to a group that result from harms to individuals: racial discrimination, for example.

Tradeoffs between liberty (the ability to do what we want) and security (the ability to be free from a harm imposed by others)

The problem of dependence

If we provide economic security to the poor and the unemployed, do we grant them security at the cost of their liberty (i.e., their freedom of action)?

If we value liberty, we place security in the hands of the family or household, thereby eliminating government intrusion

Tradeoffs between liberty and security

If we value security, we grant greater powers to government (and society) to make us secure

We risk dependency and less freedom

Government becomes more intrusive

Dependency is not good even for the poor, who are trapped in a legal/bureaucratic tangle.

The Liberty/Equality Tradeoff

People have different talents, skills etc., thus, govt should equalize these resources.

This is positive liberty, not negative liberty, and makes many American uncomfortable.

Negative liberty—freedom to

Positive liberty—freedom from

Problems

We'll start with the more traditional approach to this, then we will move to discussing how Stone thinks about problem definition.

Problem Defined:

“A question or situation that presents uncertainty, perplexity, or difficulty,
“[a] source of trouble or annoyance”

What are some big problems in the United States that you would like to see addressed?

Why is your example a problem?

How do you or we learn about a problem?

Conditions versus problems

Conditions: things in the world that may be bad, but that we cannot do much about.

Problems: things that are bad in the world that something can be done about.

What are some examples of things that were once problems but that are now conditions?

What causes problems to emerge?

Indicators

Focusing events

The pressure of social movements or political action--of which social construction is a part

How do conditions become problems that we can address?

Changes in the nature of the condition itself

Increased scientific knowledge

Increased technical capability

Changes in the social construction of the problem

Problems

This section of Stone's book is about how we come to understand problems and promote solutions to them.

This relates very closely to the material we've already covered on problem identification and, to a large extent, agenda setting

How do people address problems?

With symbols
With numbers
By attributing causes
By claiming interests
By relying on decisions

Symbols

A symbol is “anything that stands for something else.”
Some examples of symbols?

Four Aspects of Symbolic Representation

Narrative Stories
Synecdoche (figures of speech “in which a part is used to represent the whole.”)
Metaphors
Ambiguity—a crucial feature of symbols in politics

Story lines

Overview

Narrative stories (anecdotes)

Stories of decline or of progress halted

Stories of helplessness and control

“What had formerly appeared to be ‘accidental,’ ‘random,’ ... or ‘natural’ is now alleged to be amenable to change through human agency.”

Conspiracy stories

Blame the victim stories

Stymied progress stories

Stories about how bad things happen

Causal stories

Synecdoche

Change is only an illusion

Stories of helplessness and control

The “Horror Story”

“Politicians or interest groups deliberately choose one egregious or outlandish incident...” to justify change.

Examples:

Welfare queens

Excessive regulation

Huge jury settlements (Examples: OSHA and the tooth fairy, the McDonald's scalding case.)

Types of metaphors

Machines and mechanical devices

Wedges and Inclines

"Thin edge of the wedge"

"Slippery slopes" ladders

Containers

"Spill overs"

Contagious disease

Symbolize deterioration and decline

The poor as having some sort of "pathology."

War

The War on Poverty

The War on Drugs

But...Carter's "moral equivalent of war" speech backfired.

Numbers

The decision to count something is a highly political act

Sometimes we choose not to count things because of the political implications of the data

Sometimes numbers are only partial measures

How do we measure an elephant?

Numbers are metaphors

Numbers as metaphors

Counting means selecting one feature over a set of other features.

Counting requires judgment, and can lead to challenges on the basis of

Inclusion and exclusion

Example: the Unemployment Rate

a real difference between things being counted

Example: Hospital beds

Causes and Causal Stories

Causal stories about what causes problems

The table on page 191 gives two dimensions to causal stories

Actions that are either purposeful or unguided

Consequences that are either intended or unintended

Does it matter if one argues that something was unguided with unintended consequences (an accident) versus, say, something purposeful and intended (a conspiracy) or purposeful and unintended (inadvertent causes)?

Causal Strategies in Program Definition (page 204)

Show that the problem is caused by an accident of nature

Show that the a problem formerly interpreted as accident is the result of human agency

Show that the effects of an action were secretly intended by the actor

Show that the low probability effects of an action were accepted as a calculated risk by the actor

Show that the cause of the problem is so complex that only large-scale policy changes at the social level can alter the cause.

Causal stories are, in the end, *socially constructed*

I. Goals of Public Policy

Deborah Stone's four goals of public policy

Equity or Equality

Efficiency

Security

Liberty

Equity

There are different kinds of equality

These are based on

The recipients of a public good

The item that is being distributed

And the process by which the thing is distributed

Stone lists at least eight different ways one can use equity language to distribute a good, often in ways that you would consider to be unequal.

Efficiency

What is efficiency?

"Getting the most output for a given input"

"Achieving an objective for the lowest cost"

Efficiency is not an end goal; it is a means to an end

It is very difficult to measure efficiency in the public sector or in politics in general. Why?

What are the inputs?

Labor

Materials

Expertise

Other intangibles?

What are the outputs?

Products

Services

Values?

The market is often held up as the paragon of efficiency

Thus, there are many calls for privatizing government

We often hear calls to run government like a business.

Knowing what you know about the market and polis, why are these demands unrealistic?

What characterizes a market?

Voluntary exchanges of things of value

Based on two kinds of information

Objective information about the price and quality of an item

Subjective information about preferences

Does this information really exist?

Market failure

Governments have to step in when markets fail; i.e., when these assumptions lead to allocative inefficiency or gross inequity.

Examples

Correction of monopoly

Correction of problems of information

Problems of impacts on people who are not making the exchange.

Failure to provide collective goods (national defense, police)

Thus, government is often involved in

Alleviating the inefficiencies of the market

Providing goods inefficiently because there is no market way to do so

Imposing requirements for equity on the market, thereby introducing inefficiency.

The paradox: there's always an "equal" and "unequal" dimension.

Can Government ever really look like a market?

Government often regulates the market, by regulating who or what can buy or sell what products

Government often compels involuntary exchanges: drafts labor for the army, taxes us for things we may not individually want, etc.

Can the "efficiency" of public goods production be effectively measured?

To conclude, then, government cannot run like a business because

It is not a business: it is composed of citizens and voters, not buyers, sellers and producers

It engages in those activities that are not profitable by definition

It is difficult to measure inputs and outputs in government.

One person's efficiency may be the next person's gross inequity.

Ideas on liberty

People are free to unless their actions cause some sort of harm to others

This idea derives from J.S. Mill's "On Liberty"

This freedom is negative freedom, meaning that government should just let people do what they want and leave them alone

But what does harm mean?

No one is free to physically harm another person

But what about other types of harms?

Accidents

Pollution

Mistakes

Nonphysical harms

Material affects: impact on wealth or well-being

Amenity affects: impact on quality of life, such as billboards, destruction of wildlife

Emotional and psychological effects

Spiritual and moral harms

Liberty can therefore be limited by our common obligations to the Polis.

Thus, there are harms that are not done to individuals, but are done to the community

Structural harms: damage to the ability of the community to function as a community

Accumulative harms: harms if everybody starts doing it, like cutting across lawns, sewage dumping, jaywalking

Harms to a group that result from harms to individuals: racial discrimination, for example.

Tradeoffs between liberty (the ability to do what we want) and security (the ability to be free from a harm imposed by others)

The problem of dependence

If we provide economic security to the poor and the unemployed, do we grant them security at the cost of their liberty (i.e., their freedom of action)?

If we value liberty, we place security in the hands of the family or household, thereby eliminating government intrusion

Tradeoffs between liberty and security

If we value security, we grant greater powers to government (and society) to make us secure

We risk dependency and less freedom

Government becomes more intrusive

Dependency is not good even for the poor, who are trapped in a legal/bureaucratic tangle.

The Liberty/Equality Tradeoff

People have different talents, skills etc., thus, govt should equalize these resources.

This is positive liberty, not negative liberty, and makes many American uncomfortable.

Negative liberty—freedom to

Positive liberty—freedom from

II. Problems

We'll start with the more traditional approach to this, then we will move to discussing how Stone thinks about problem definition.

Problem Defined:

"A question or situation that presents uncertainty, perplexity, or difficulty,

"[a] source of trouble or annoyance"

What are some big problems in the United States that you would like to see addressed?

Why is your example a problem?

How do you or we learn about a problem?

Conditions versus problems

Conditions: things in the world that may be bad, but that we cannot do much about.

Problems: things that are bad in the world that something can be done about.

What are some examples of things that were once problems but that are now conditions?

What causes problems to emerge?

Indicators

Focusing events

The pressure of social movements or political action-
-of which social construction is a part

How do conditions become problems that we can address?

Changes in the nature of the condition itself

Increased scientific knowledge

Increased technical capability

Changes in the social construction of the problem

Problems

This section of Stone's book is about how we come to understand problems and promote solutions to them. This relates very closely to the material we've already covered on problem identification and, to a large extent, agenda setting

How do people address problems?

With symbols

With numbers

By attributing causes

By claiming interests

By relying on decisions

Symbols

A symbol is "anything that stands for something else."

Some examples of symbols?

Four Aspects of Symbolic Representation

Narrative Stories

Synecdoche (figures of speech "in which a part is used to represent the whole.")

Metaphors

Ambiguity—a crucial feature of symbols in politics

Story lines

Overview

Narrative stories (anecdotes)

Stories of decline or of progress halted

Stories of helplessness and control

“What had formerly appeared to be ‘accidental,’ ‘random,’ ... or ‘natural’ is now alleged to be amenable to change through human agency.”

Conspiracy stories

Blame the victim stories

Stymied progress stories

Stories about how bad things happen

Causal stories

Synecdoche

Change is only an illusion

Stories of helplessness and control

The “Horror Story”

“Politicians or interest groups deliberately choose one egregious or outlandish incident...” to justify change.

Examples:

Welfare queens

Excessive regulation

Huge jury settlements (Examples: OSHA and the tooth fairy, the McDonald’s scalding case.)

Types of metaphors

Machines and mechanical devices

Wedges and Inclines

“Thin edge of the wedge”

“Slippery slopes” ladders

Containers

“Spill overs”

Contagious disease

Symbolize deterioration and decline

The poor as having some sort of “pathology.”

War

The War on Poverty

The War on Drugs

*But...Carter’s “moral equivalent of war” speech
backfired.*

Numbers

The decision to count something is a highly political act

*Sometimes we choose not to count things because of
the political implications of the data*

Sometimes numbers are only partial measures

How do we measure an elephant?

Numbers are metaphors

Numbers as metaphors

Counting means selecting one feature over a set of other features.

Counting requires judgment, and can lead to challenges on the basis of

Inclusion and exclusion

Example: the Unemployment Rate

a real difference between things being counted

Example: Hospital beds

Causes and Causal Stories

Causal stories about what causes problems

The table on page 191 gives two dimensions to causal stories

Actions that are either purposeful or unguided

Consequences that are either intended or unintended

Does it matter if one argues that something was unguided with unintended consequences (an accident) versus, say, something purposeful and intended (a conspiracy) or purposeful and unintended (inadvertent causes)?

Causal Strategies in Program Definition (page 204)

Show that the problem is caused by an accident of nature

Show that the a problem formerly interpreted as accident is the result of human agency

Show that the effects of an action were secretly intended by the actor

Show that the low probability effects of an action were accepted as a calculated risk by the actor

Show that the cause of the problem is so complex that only large-scale policy changes at the social level can alter the cause.

Causal stories are, in the end, *socially constructed*

I. Official and Unofficial Actors

A. Announcements

- 1. Midterm is being distributed now; will also be posted on line**

B. Objectives for this section

- 1. Understand official and unofficial actors in the policy process.**
- 2. Understand the difference between official and unofficial actors.**
- 3. Understand the role of interest groups and power in policy making.**

C. Official and Unofficial Actors in Public Policy

- 1. What are official actors? [Hint: look in the constitution].**
- 2. What are unofficial actors?**
- 3. What is the difference between official and unofficial actors?**
- 4. Are one set of actors more “legitimate” than another?**

D. Official Actors

- 1. Legislative branch**
- 2. Executive branch (president, governor)**
- 3. Judicial branch (courts)**

E. Legislative Branch (Congress, Legislature)

- 1. Make laws**
 - a) Lots of laws introduced, few pass (p. 51)
 - b) Has a large staff to lighten workload
- 2. Hold hearings**
 - a) For lawmaking
 - b) For other reasons
- 3. Do casework for constituents.**
- 4. Perform oversight**

F. Organization of the Legislature

- 1. Parties**
 - a) Elect the presiding officer or speaker
 - b) Determine who sits on committees
- 2. Committees**
 - a) Screen bills
 - b) Set the legislative agenda
 - c) Chairs are very powerful

G. Public Policy and Critiques of the Legislature

1. **Are legislatures out of touch with the people?**
2. **Are legislatures too slow? Do they suffer from gridlock?**
3. **Members and reelection**
4. **Congress as a decentralized institution**

H. Implications

1. **“Gridlock,” or deliberation, is designed into the legislative process.**
2. **It’s unlikely that Congress will make big sweeping policy changes.**
3. **Congress may focus on politically safe casework, oversight, and distributive spending.**

I. The Executive Branch

1. **Chief Executive (President, Governor)**
2. **Staff (about 3000 appointed officials)**
3. **We consider the civil service (“bureaucracy”) separately**

J. Presidential Advantages Over Congress

1. **The veto power**
2. **The head of a unitary branch**
3. **Attracts a lot of media and public attention—can “go public”**

K. Constraints on the President’s Power

1. **Inability to force action.**
2. **Sheer size of his staff.**
3. **The will of the other branches.**
4. **The permanent bureaucracy.**
5. **Result: the president may be more involved in agenda setting than in selecting alternative policies.**

L. Agencies and Bureaucrats

1. **What is a bureaucracy?**
 - a) Division of labor
 - b) Impersonal, unbiased rules
 - c) Staff expertise
 - d) Obvious hierarchy
2. **What is a civil servant?**

M. What Do Government Agencies Do?

1. Provide public goods

- a) What is a public good?

2. Provide services that people may not want provided by the private sector

- a) Electricity
- b) Phone
- c) Water

N. Is the Bureaucracy too Big?

1. 1999:

- a) 2.8 civilian employees
- b) \$1.8 trillion budget.
- c) 14% of Americans work for government

2. Shrunk slightly in terms of

- a) Budget compared with GDP
- b) Staffing

O. Bureaucracy and Accountability

- 1. Bureaucrats are not elected, yet they make policy.**
- 2. Yet, bureaucrats are supposed to act in the “public interest.”**
- 3. The problem: what is the “public interest”?**
- 4. Bureaucrats are given more or less discretion based on how sensitive an issue is.**
- 5. The problem of agency “capture”**

P. The Courts

- 1. Hamilton: “The least Dangerous Branch”**
- 2. The courts are neither impotent nor all powerful.**
- 3. The Courts do make policy.**
- 4. Rely on enforcement by other actors—executive and legislative branches, private actors.**

Q. Unofficial Actors:

R. Interest Groups

1. Why are groups so important?

- a) Can individuals make change acting alone?
- b) Aggregation of resources
- c) Aggregation of members=power
- d) Forming “advocacy coalitions”
- e) Groups or “special interest groups” are sometimes viewed as a bad thing. Why?

S. Interest Groups: Background

- 1. Have been around a long time**
 - a) Madison mentions them in *Federalist 10*
- 2. A relatively small number of groups until the 1960s**
- 3. Major growth in interest groups in the 1960s. Any ideas why?**
- 4. Kinds of Interest Groups**
- 5. Types of Membership Groups**
- 6. Reasons for Rapid Interest Group Growth**
- 7. Why Do People Join Groups?**
- 8. What Do Groups Do?**

T. Groups and Power

- 1. Three Levels of Power**
- 2. The Third Face of Power**
- 3. Differences in Group Power**

U. Political Parties

- 1. At Least 152 Political Parties in America**
- 2. What Does the Party System Mean?**

V. Think Tanks

- 1. Research organizations that provide information on public policy.**
- 2. Their goals.**

- a) To influence public policy, often in a way consistent with their ideological perspective.

(1) Examples: Urban Institute tends to be liberal; American Enterprise Institute, conservative.

- b) To serve the public interest with sound research and information for policy makers.

- 3. Their numbers have grown—why?**

- a) Desire for influence in politics
- b) Ideological sponsorship
- c) The proliferation of particular interests

- 4. What's the difference between think tanks and interest groups**

- a) Organization
- b) Goals
- c) Techniques for asserting influence

W. The News Media

1. Serve as “watch dogs” that keep track of government

- a) This is the role assumed in the first amendment
- b) This is sometimes referred to as “muckraking” or investigative journalism

2. How Effective Are the Media As Watch Dogs?

- a) Very little news (<1%) is the result of investigative journalism.
- b) Most news in an average news paper is wire service copy, press releases, etc.
- c) Much of what is printed or aired is because of the beat system and personal relationships with sources.

3. What does the news emphasize?

- a) Personalized news
- b) Dramatized news
- c) Fragmented news
- d) Normalized news
- e) How do news biases influence public policy?

(1) *Distorted agendas*

(2) *Distorted “facts”*

(3) *This is not about ideological bias*

Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is

the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention.

A fierce competition because government and society cannot consider every issue at once--our carrying capacity for dealing with every issue is too small

Levels of the agenda

Universe

Systemic

Institutional

Decision

How do issues reach the agenda?

Group reactions to other groups' actions/success

Leadership activity

Crises and Focusing Events

Protest movements

Media coverage or activity

Changes in indicators

Political changes

The relationship between the policy agenda and the media agenda

Media coverage can lead to increased public concern

But, Kingdon found that the media didn't drive the agenda in some fields

But, the media has considerable power to set the agenda after focusing events

The special role of focusing events

"a rare, sudden, well-known, actually or potentially harmful event."

Tend to induce sudden attention to issues

Keep in mind, however, that focusing events can fade fast

Groups and Power

We all know that some groups have more power than others

What is power?

Why do some groups have more power than others?

How does this relate to agenda setting?

The Importance of Power

Politics—who gets what

Power—the ability to get what you want and to prevent others from getting power

Three levels of power

*An actor ("A") makes actor B do something he or she doesn't want to do
A keeps B from doing the things he or she wants to do.
These are what we call the two faces of power. What about the third face of
power?*

The Third Face of Power

*A creates and maintains a social structure in which B cannot even imagine
taking action to pursue his or her own interests.
This sounds like a conspiracy (or Marxist "false consciousness" but is more
subtle than this.
This is a good way to describe power relations in the United States.*

Differences in group power

Money

Information

Size of membership

Reasons for membership

Direct economic incentives

Material inducements

Congruence of goals with prevailing ideas and values

Conclusion The Agenda and Power

*What sort of groups or people have the power to influence the agenda?
Why is agenda setting important in gaining and holding power?
Do the groups who have the highest status on the agenda really have the best
answers to questions?*

Types of policies

Why are we concerned with policy types anyway?

*Because they help us to understand when there is likely to be more conflict over
the adoption, enactment, and implementation of policies
There are three basic ways to think about policy types*

Substantive versus procedural policies (Anderson

Theodore Lowi's four part scheme

Anderson's Macro/Micro politics (synthesizes Lowi)

James Q Wilson's distributed costs and benefits

Distributive and Regulatory

Distributive

Generally individualized decisions

Low levels of conflict

Lots of logrolling

Hard to find actual "losers"

Examples: water projects

Regulatory

Conflict between groups or coalitions of groups

Tends to be rather more open

Visible winners and losers

Example: consumer protection law

Self-Regulatory and Redistributive Policies

Self-Regulatory

Protection of particular trades or professions

Usually at state level

Example: Licensing

Redistributive

Shifts in wealth, property, income, or rights

Examples: welfare, civil rights acts

Difficult to pass because it requires that the less powerful prevail over the powerful.

Micro versus Macro Politics

Wilson's Cost/Benefit Typology

Table 6-2: Wilson's Cost-Benefit Policy Typology

| | | Benefits | |
|--------------|---|---|--|
| | | Concentrated among very few people | Distributed Among Many People |
| Costs | Concentrated among very few people | Interest group politics: conflict between groups that would benefit and those that would bear the costs. Treated as a "zero-sum" game. | Entrepreneurial politics: groups and their leaders seek to persuade policy makers to regulate in the public interest, in the face of opposition from the groups that would bear the cost. |
| | Distributed Among Many People | Clientele oriented politics: close "clientele" relationships between policy makers, regulators and the regulated interest. | Majoritarian politics: Relatively loose groups of people, or those acting on their behalf, who seek a substantive or symbolic statement of policy. Often leads to weak, ambiguous policies. |

Source: Derived from James Q. Wilson, *Organizations and Public Policy*. (New York: Basic Books), Chapter 16)

Other typologies

Substantive versus procedural policies

Substantive policies are about particular issues, such as school funding or the drinking age—what government does.

Procedural policies are policies that structure how the political process works: how the government does things, like the Administrative Procedures Act of 1946, (APA) or the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)

“Procedural policies may have important substantive consequences,” and the two types can overlap.

Material versus symbolic

Material: grant money for more firemen,

Symbolic: flag burning amendment, just say no, the DARE program.

Public versus private goods

“Liberal versus conservative”

I. Implementation

A. What is implementation?

- 1. The process by which policies are put into effect.**
- 2. A policy is generally useless if it isn't implemented.**
- 3. Implementation battles are also where power and debate come in.**

B. Reasons for implementation conflict

- 1. Agreement about the goals; differences on methods**
- 2. Pre-enactment opposition becomes post implementation conflict**

C. Is implementation technical, or political?

- 1. The old idea: administration simply does the will of the legislature**
- 2. The modern view: politics matters in administration**

D. Who implements?

- 1. The executive branch**
- 2. The legislative branch**
- 3. The judicial branch**
- 4. Other levels of government**
- 5. Private actors**

E. The Executive Branch and Implementation

- 1. Constitutionally charged with implementation**
- 2. President appoints agency heads, asks for budget appropriations, initiates new programs, tries to shut down ones he doesn't like, etc.**
- 3. The bureaucracy does most of the implementation**

F. The Legislative Branch and Implementation

- 1. Confirmation of presidential appointments**
- 2. The Legislative Veto**
- 3. Congressional Casework and implementation**
- 4. The Budget**

G. The Courts and implementation

- 1. Legislative intent**
- 2. A forum for those who cannot be heard in other branches**
- 3. Constitutionality—can halt the implementation of a law**
- 4. can spur agencies to action**

H. State and Local Governments

- 1. Often are charged with actual implementation, such as with education programs**
- 2. Often chafe under federal pressure to implement programs when resources are not provided by the feds**

I. Pressure groups, interest groups, and community organizations

- 1. Agency capture. Examples: FCC, ICC, CAB, FAA to some extent, AEC.**
- 2. Groups often battle each other to gain favor of the implementing agency.**

J. Community and grass roots organizations

- 1. Indirect actors**
 - a) The news media
 - b) Political parties

K. Synthesis: top down and bottom up models of implementation

- 1. Top down—start from the highest level policy maker and design a policy to influence the lowest level actor (target or implementer)**
- 2. Bottom-up—starts from the perspective of the target or implementer**

L. Reasons why policies may not work—both policy and implementation failure

- 1. Inadequate resources**
- 2. Policies may be administered so as to lessen their potential effect.**
- 3. Public problems are often caused by a multitude of factors, but policy may be directed at only one or a few of them. Why?**
- 4. People may respond or adapt to public policies in a manner that negates some of their influence.**
- 5. Policies may have incompatible goals that bring them into conflict with one another.**
- 6. Solutions for some problems may involve costs and consequences greater than people are willing to accept.**
- 7. Many problems simply cannot be solved, or at least not completely**
- 8. New problems may arise that distract attention from a problem**
- 9. Many national problems and policies are actually implemented by state and local agencies, and are sometimes designed at the local level**

M. Responses to these problems

1. **Adjustments in enforcement**
2. **More money is put into the program**
3. **Challenge to legality or constitutionality**
4. **The program is simply ignored**
5. **The program is left to locals to improve on and pursue**
6. **The program is actually repealed**

II. Designing Policies to Improve Implementation

A. Review Deborah Stone: Types of Policy tools

1. **Inducements**
2. **Facts**
3. **Rules**
4. **Rights**
5. **Powers**
6. **Inducements**

B. Based on rewards, or their withdrawal

1. **Involves the inducement giver, the receiver, and the inducement itself.**
2. **Assumes the target is a rational actor**
3. **Examples: tax deductions, pay raises, bonuses for completing work early, bonuses for increased efficiencies, etc.**

C. Problems with inducements:

1. **The target's perception of the inducements**
2. **The target is not often a sole unitary actor**
3. **The inducement may disrupt personal and social relationships**
4. **Slow, time-consuming**
5. **Applying a penalty hurts the very thing one is trying to protect,**
6. **People and organizations will try to reap the reward without making the desired change in behavior.**

D. Facts

1. **Use of facts to persuade people is a very common tool in American politics.**
2. **Good as an appeal to rationality and logic**
3. **Bad when it's just propaganda, questionable science, or dogma**
4. **Just because you lay out some rational, sound facts doesn't mean that they will be met with unquestioning acceptance and behavior based on that acceptance.**

E. Rules

- 1. Statute laws, case law, regulations, etc.**
- 2. prescribing or proscribing behavior**
- 3. How rules work**

- a) They are indirect (they work broadly over all classes or groups of people or organizations)
- b) They work because they are assumed to be legitimate (the government has a right to make the rules)
- c) Tend to have a conditional/situational aspect: if...then.
- d) The challenge: striking a balance between precision and flexibility

(1) Anatole France: "The law in its majesty equally prohibits the rich and the poor from stealing bread and sleeping on park benches."

F. Why precision is good

- 1. Treating like alike**
- 2. Shield from the whims of government**
- 3. predictability**

G. Problems with precision

- 1. Leads to different cases being treated alike**
- 2. Stifle creative response to new situations**
- 3. Leads to a belief that a certain amount of vagueness and discretion is good.**

H. Rights

- 1. The government can create rights, but more often it is individual action, through the courts, that creates new rights or enhances enforcement of existing ones.**
- 2. Rights are not self enforcing**
 - a) First, the right must be claimed by an individual, making the rights-seeker sort of weak.
 - b) Second, the right must be proclaimed by some legitimate, authoritative body such as a court
 - c) Third, the right must be enforced. This can be difficult sometimes.
 - d) "The courts as "the least dangerous branch"

III. How do we conceptualize policy failure?

A. Define policy failure?

- 1. “Success and failure are slippery concepts”**
- 2. Ingram and Mann ask “Is there an objective measure of success acceptable to all conflicting value positions?”**
- 3. Why failure is difficult to define**
- 4. Some problems may be tentative first steps toward resolving a broader social problem.**
- 5. Medicaid, for example is successful in helping pay medical costs for old people, but was a failure at addressing all the medical needs of this group or society generally.**

B. Why failure is difficult to define

- 1. Would the do nothing option have been any better?**
 - a) Urban renewal programs were by wide admission a failure
 - b) Yet, doing something, “may be evidence of a political system that responds to problems, even if knowledge may be limited and appropriate policy tools unavailable.”
- 2. Changing circumstances may turn success into failure**
- 3. Policies are interrelated**
- 4. One policy that seems like a failure “may facilitate another higher priority policy venture” (such as immigration and relations with Mexico).**
- 5. Excessive policy demand**
- 6. Constant demands on the part of the public for government to do “something” may actually make more failures inevitable as more policy with more complexity fails to meet expectations**
- 7. Government may fuel this demand by claiming to have the resources and tools available to implement policy that may be technically infeasible**
- 8. Realizable policy expectations**
 - a) We may reach too far in expecting that government can solve a problem
 - b) Example: speculative argumentation in the Clean Air Act
 - c) But if we make progress, is that failure? Even if it doesn’t meet the exact goals of the policy?
- 9. Failure is often the product of a poor causal theory**
 - a) This can make things worse
 - b) The choice of tools influences whether policies succeed or fail
- 10. All the problems we discussed under implementation can influence policy success or failure.**

C. Is failure a policy problem? Or more than this?

1. Policy failure can be related to the quality of our political institutions

a) The breakdown of parties no institutions to package politics and policy proposals to create commitments

(1) Voters have abandoned parties and vote on the appeal of candidates,

b) Distrust between the branches makes policy evaluation more ideological, more contentious, and more likely to look like failure

D. Policy Failure and Learning

1. In particular: Can policy makers and others learn from the successes and failures of policy?

2. Learning

a) What do we mean by learning?

b) Who learns?

3. What would learning look like if it happens?

a) Changing behavior in response to feedback Accumulating information for decision making

b) Sharpening skills to help do particular tasks better.

E. What sort of things promote learning?

1. Learning by example: other states, cities, agencies.

2. Learning by experience

F. How can organizations promote learning?

1. Promotion of a good policy analysis function for good information.

2. Seek to preserve “institutional memory”

G. This is all harder than it looks, given all the problems we’ve reviewed with policy analysis.

H. Problems involved with learning, or trying to learn.

1. All the problems of policy analysis

2. Lack of institutional memory because organizations are not unitary actors.

I. What is behind the urge to learn lessons?

1. Socially/politically constructed notions of dissatisfaction

2. Policymakers are interested in satisficing (finding solutions that work as well as possible) rather than maximizing (doing the absolute best or most regardless of costs)

3. A better course, therefore, is to find a working solution from somewhere else.

J. Thus, Policymakers start a search close by in both space and time for programs that will work.

K. How then are lessons drawn (i.e., put into effect?)

1. Copying
2. Emulation
3. Hybridization
4. Synthesis
5. Inspiration

L. Peter May: Policy Failure and Learning

1. To what extent does policy change or innovation reflect learning?
2. Innovation or change, is sometimes just mimicking or copying
3. Three broad types of learning, and what they're about
 - a) Instrumental policy learning
 - b) Social policy learning
 - c) Political learning

IV. Models of the Policy Process

A. Summary

1. So far in the course we have learned about
2. The study and practice of public policy
3. The structure of our system of government and its influence on policy
4. Official and unofficial actors in policy
5. Power and interest groups, and how they work to set agendas
6. Policy design and implementation

B. Today: Putting It All Together

1. Modern models of the policy process
 - a) The "stages" or "textbook model"
 - b) Systems models of the policy process
 - c) The stages models of policy making
 - d) Kingdon's "Streams Metaphor" of the policy process
 - e) Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework
 - f) Baumgartner and Jones's "punctuated equilibrium"

C. Modern Models of the Policy Process

1. The Stages "Model" of the Policy Process
 - a) Features of the stages "model"
 - (1) A series of six ordered stages
 - (2) Policies move from one stage to another
 - (3) Implementation and evaluation leads to feedback

b) Strengths and Weaknesses of the Stages “Model”

(1) Strength: The various stages isolate elements of the process for study and analysis

(2) Weaknesses

(a) When does one stage end and the other begin?

(b) Do policies move through each step?

(c) Do policies move in order?

(d) Does feedback always happen? Does it feed back to the beginning, or somewhere else?

2. Kingdon’s Streams Metaphor

a) The potential solutions to a problem (policy stream)

b) Attributes of problems and the attention to them (problem stream)

c) The Political Stream

d) Streams are parallel and somewhat independent of each other

(1) Policy entrepreneurs try to join the streams in a “window of opportunity.”

(2) Window of opportunity: the possibility of policy change.

e) Strengths of the Streams Metaphor

(1) Not as mechanical as systems/stages models

(2) Shows how elements of the policy process happen separately and in parallel

(3) Particularly strong in showing how alternative policies are selected and how agendas are set

f) Weaknesses of the Streams Metaphor

(1) Doesn’t go much beyond agenda setting and alternative selection

(2) Doesn’t really describe implementation (not a whole system model)

(3) Not clear about the role of some actors, such as the courts (although these actors certainly fit in the model).

g) Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition Framework

h) Baumgartner and Jones: “Punctuated Equilibrium