

# Birkland



# What is politics?

# What is politics?

- the art or science of government;
- collective action;
- participation in civic life;

# The authoritative distribution of resources.

# What is policy?

# What is policy?

- the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions (Cochran et al 2010);
- the outcome of the struggle in government of who gets what (Cochran et al 2010);
- whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye 2013);
- political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals (Cochran and Malone 2010);
- the sum of government activity, whether acting directly or through agents (Peters 2010);

- Statement by government of what it intends to do to solve a problem...  
**(Birkland)**
- ... commitment to solve the problem in a similar way in the future. (me)

# What is policy?

- **Explicit policy** – articulated policy statement:

- Constitution;
- Statute law, budget;
- Executive order, regulatory rule;
- Court precedent;

- **Implicit policy** – lack of a definitive policy statement:

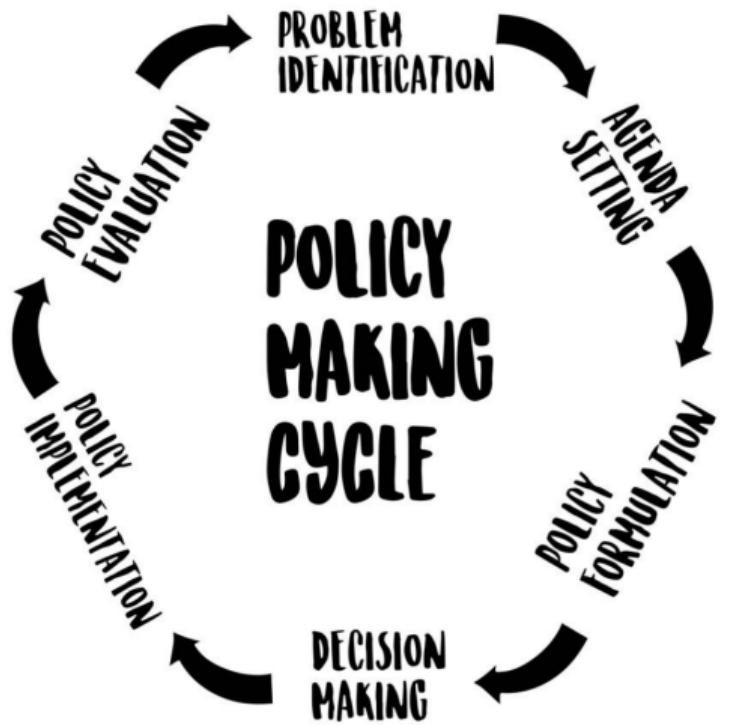
- Constitutional guarantees of healthcare, housing, living wage, etc.
- Front line bureaucrats, e.g. teachers, election officials, police officers..

## Branches of Study

- **Public Policy Research:** application of social science in support of public policy decision evaluation for specific problems;
- **Comparative Public Policy:** how do different entities formulate solutions to problems?  
Descriptive, cross-national, or cross-state;
- **Public Policy Processes:** academic research on how political actors formulate and implement public policy (much of the rest of the class);
- **Public Policy Analysis:** application of logic and mix of techniques in support of public policy decision making. Borrows heavily from economics. Focus on problem specification, generation of alternative policies, and assessment of policies in support of public policy decision making. Evidence. (practice via memos);

- **Anecdotes:**
- **'Scientific' study:**
- “Does it matter that you have no evidence?”

- **Anecdotes:** stories ( $n=1$ ), easy to understand, may not lead to robust inferences;
- **'Scientific' study:** conclusions reached via rigorous scientific study of a problem, robust inferences (hopefully), can be difficult to understand/counterintuitive;
- “Does it matter that you have no evidence?” Depends - is the goal enacted policy or successful policy?



## Input-Output Model

- Input output modeling was originated by Leontief (1949);
- An **economic** approach: Leontief divided the US economy into 500 sectors, modeled each, and used a computer to solve the resulting system of equations;
- Inputs are the various issues, pressures, information, and the like to which the actors in the system react;
  - Generally: election results, public opinion, communications to elected officials and public managers, Interest group activity, news media;
- Outputs are public policy decisions.

## Things that shape inputs: Structural Environment

Structural environment = rules that dictate how government does business:

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Structural environment = rules that dictate how government does business:

- Separation of powers;
- Federalism;
- Substantive policies: A policy that explains how the government will go about its policy goals in a particular area;
- Procedural policies (e.g., Administrative Procedures Act);
- Transparency requirements (Open public meetings laws, Freedom of Information Act).

# Things that shape inputs: Social-Economic Environment

Nature and composition of the population and its social structure:

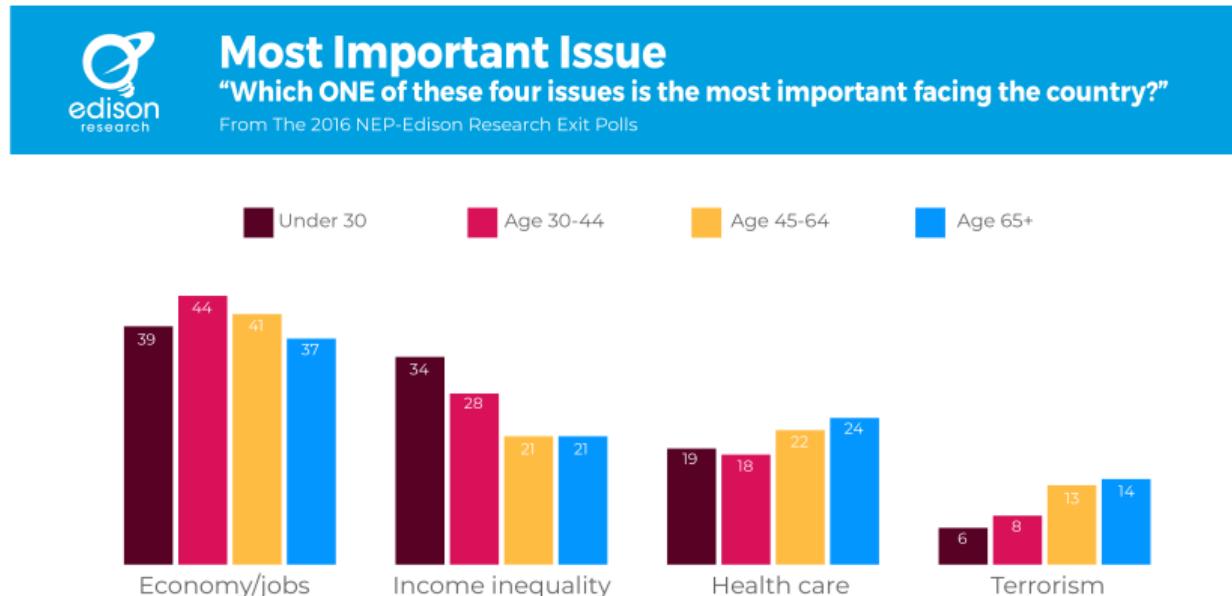
# Things that shape inputs: Social-Economic Environment

Nature and composition of the population and its social structure:

- Demographics – US has a greying population (tracked by e.g. the Census);
- Race and ethnicity – growth of minority groups;
- Gender – slightly more women than men;
- Labor force participation – workforce participation/unemployment (e.g. women's participation  $\approx 60\%$ ), income dynamics, immigration/assimilation, intermarriage;
- Inequality, National Debt, Budget Deficit;

# Things that shape inputs: Political Environment

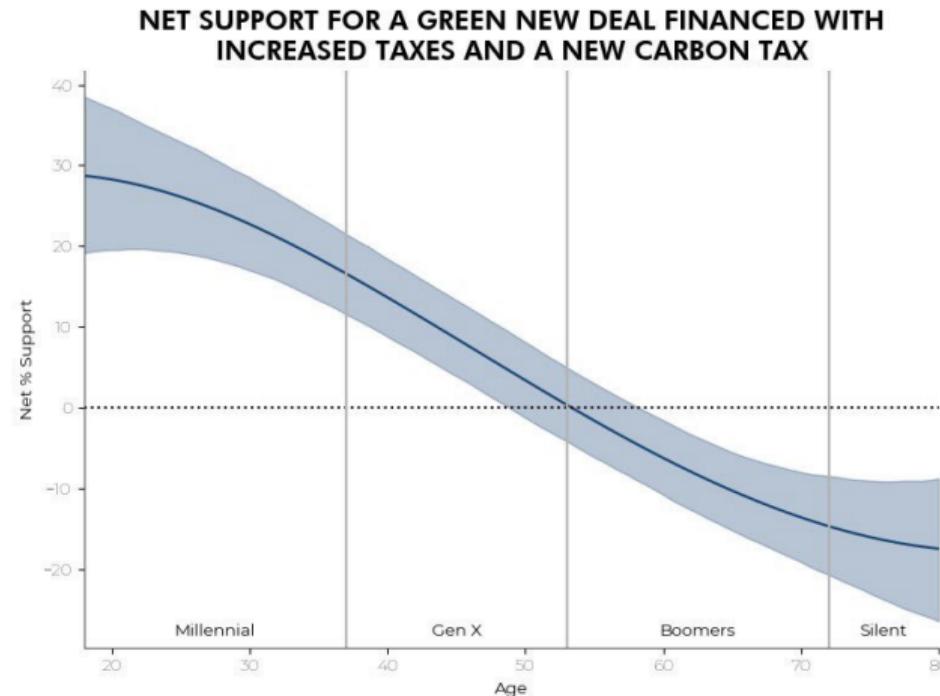
What is important/possible, the 'national mood':



**About the NEP-Edison Research Exit Polls:** During the 2016 Democratic Presidential Primaries, Edison Research conducted entrance polls, exit polls, and telephone interviews among the voting population of 27 states. There were 35,225 interviews conducted via in-person surveys at polling places across the country throughout the duration of the primaries.

# Things that shape inputs: Political Environment

What is important/possible, the ‘national mood’:



Source: Data for Progress Omnibus Survey fielded by YouGov Blue in January 2019.  
Responses are weighted to represent the population of registered voters.

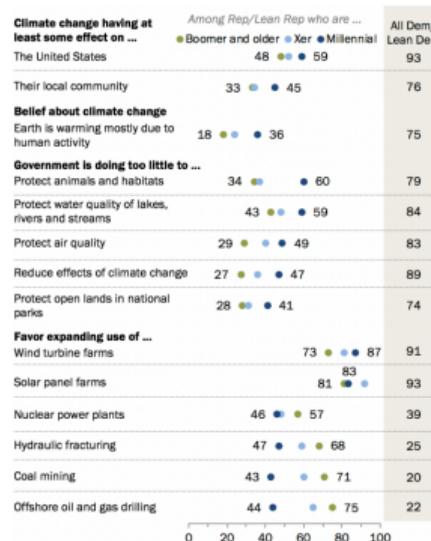
DATA FOR PROGRESS

# Things that shape inputs: Political Environment

What is important/possible, the ‘national mood’:

## Millennials in GOP less in favor of expanding fossil fuel use than older Republicans

% of U.S. adults in each group who say the following



Note: Respondents who gave other responses or did not give an answer are not shown.

Source: Survey conducted March 27-April 9, 2018.

"Majorities See Government Efforts to Protect the Environment as Insufficient"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Outputs are public policy decisions

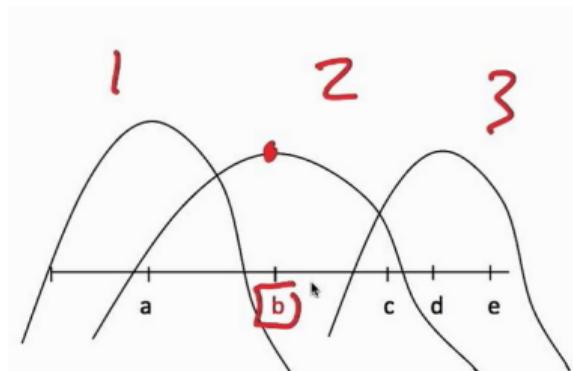
- **Statute laws:** Laws made by the legislature and signed by the executive, generally codified into The U.S. Code (e.g., Title 5 U.S. Code § 706) or state codes.
- **Administrative rules:** Often called regulations, but also include funding criteria, deregulatory policy, and many other kinds of policy. They usually have the force of law, are published in the Federal Register (FR), and are codified in the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) or state registers and codes (unlike informal guidance).
- **Case law:** Interpretations of laws as a result of judicial decisions that influence future decisions, called legal precedent.

# But what goes on in the middle?

# How do groups make decisions?

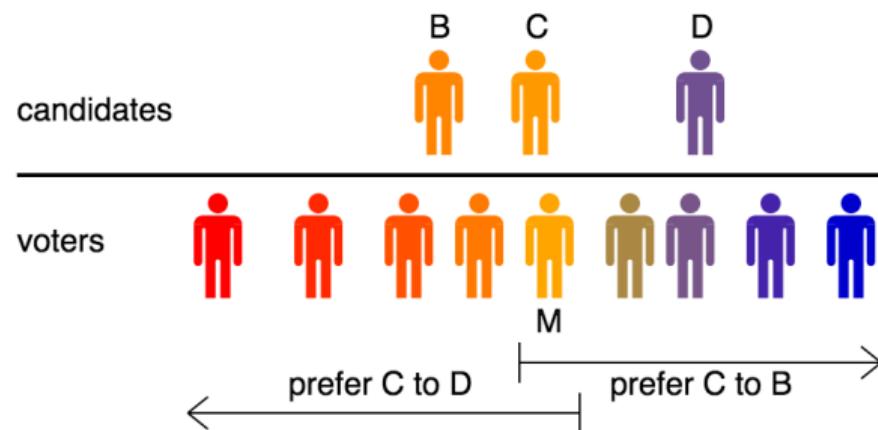
# A simple model of policy preferences

- A spectrum of policy outcomes (e.g. a line with each point a policy);
- A group of actors, each with an ‘ideal’ policy (single peaked);
- For each actor, utility that describes their ‘happiness’ as we move away from their ideal policy;



# Median Voter Theorem

- Can we offer predictions about what policy a group of rational actors will choose?
- Median Voter Theorem: if preferences are single peaked and voting is by majority rule then there is a median voter and the winning alternative will be that preferred by the median voter.



# Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

- If a group of actors creates a group-ranking of alternatives how ‘rational’ will their ranking be?
- Imagine we have at least three alternatives ( $x$ ,  $y$ , and  $z$ ). Some nice things we would like a group-ranking to do:
  - **Unanimity:** if every actor likes  $x$  more than  $y$  then so should the group ranking;
  - **Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA):** group ranking between  $x$  and  $y$  should only depend on individual rankings between  $x$  and  $y$  (i.e.  $z$  should not matter);
  - **No-Dictatorship:** there is no actor such that if they like  $x$  over  $y$  then the group ranking must like  $x$  over  $y$ ;
- Arrow’s Theorem: If a group ranking satisfies unanimity and IIA then there must be a dictator.

- Input-output Model;
  - Actors (e.g. legislature, regulators, etc.);
  - Inputs (e.g. institutional structure, demographics, national mood);
  - Black box decision making (structured by median voter thm, Arrow's thm);
  - Outputs (e.g. statute laws, rules, court decisions);

# Birkland+ Model of Policy

- Policy Domain: what substantive problems are under consideration (e.g. water pollution, defense, etc.)???
  - This specifies the actors involved (how are they organized?);
  - Part of a policy regime;
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- Feedback and iteration.

# **Actors, official and unofficial**

**A participant in the policy process whose involvement is motivated or mandated by their official position in a government agency or office.**

# Official Actors

- Legislature (and staff);
- Executive (and staff);
- Career civil service, i.e. bureaucrats;
- Judges;

# Legislature (and staff)

- Major job: make statute law:
  - Bills, public or private - general issues or of concern to individuals, have force of law;
  - Joint resolutions - temporary matters, have force of law;
  - Concurrent resolutions - limited to use for expressing facts, doing congressional business, etc., no force of law.
- Casework - helping constituents;
- Oversight - supervision of executive branch implementation of laws;
  - Hearings for information, revelation, and political pointmaking;
  - GAO/CRS;
  - Media/constituents;
- Organization is decentralized, bulk of work is done in committees – can make BIG policies difficult to create.

## Executive (and staff)

- Major job: implement laws, check legislature with veto, create focus;
- Policymaking advantages:
  - Veto is an incredibly powerful weapon for conservative policymaking;
  - Organization is centralized;
  - Informational advantage - executive branch knows how laws are being administered because they do it (CBO/committee staff a reaction to this);
- Policymaking Disadvantages:
  - Major power is 'power to persuade' (e.g. agenda setting);
  - Expansive administrative responsibility - must delegate;

## Career civil service, i.e. bureaucrats

- Rule based power to give orders;
- Hierarchical;
- Expertise;
- SOPs.

## Career civil service, i.e. bureaucrats

- Major job: provide public goods, implement laws;
- Does bureaucracy **make** policy?
  - Choices without explicit instruction from Congress;
  - Bureaucratic discretion (does this help Congress?);
- How do we hold bureaucrats accountable?

*The amount of discretion accorded an agency is a function of its resources (expertise, cohesion, legislative authority, policy salience, and leadership) and the tolerances of other actors in the political system. Each actor has a zone of acceptance; and if agency decisions fall within that zone, no action will be taken.*
- Competition between bureaucracies captured differently.

- Major job: interpret the law, judicial review;
- Both the weakest and strongest of branches:
  - Lacks 'either the sword or the purse' – cannot tax and spend or impose via force;
  - Cannot control agenda;
  - Final arbiter on meaning of law;
- Sets the boundary of acceptable policies:
  - e.g. Plessy v. Ferguson and Brown v. Board of Education;
  - Dispute resolution;
  - Application of laws to new situations.
- 'law was not what the legislature ordered but what the courts decided in concrete cases.'

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  - The actors involved, **official actors who can make decisions + stakeholders;**
  - **Their organization, e.g. iron triangle, policy community;**
- Input-output Model;
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# **What should these official actors do???**

# Agenda Setting

# Agenda

The list of things being discussed and sometimes acted upon by an institution, the news media, or the public at large.

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

# Agenda Setting

- Agenda universe – all possible ideas;
- Systemic agenda – all possible ideas that could be considered by participants in the policy process;
- Institutional agenda – list of issues currently considered by a governmental institution;
- Decision agenda – the things about to be acted upon by a governmental institution;

- the ability to compel people to do things against their will;
  - A makes decisions that affect B;
  - e.g. authoritarianism, prisoners, children;
- the ability prevent people from doing things they want to do;
  - A prevents B from raising issues;
  - e.g. environmentalism;

“All forms of political organization have a bias in favor of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others because **organization is the mobilization of bias**. Some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out.” – E.E. Schattschneider

# Social Construction

- **Social construction** = the process by which issues and problems are defined in society, groups that win this level often win at the policy level too;
- Example: is the issue a **condition** or a **problem**?
- Example: is the problem about **public goods** provision or **private goods** provision?
- Example: is drunk driving a problem of individual responsibility or of transportation shortfalls?
- Example: is gun violence reduction about gun control or about mental health?

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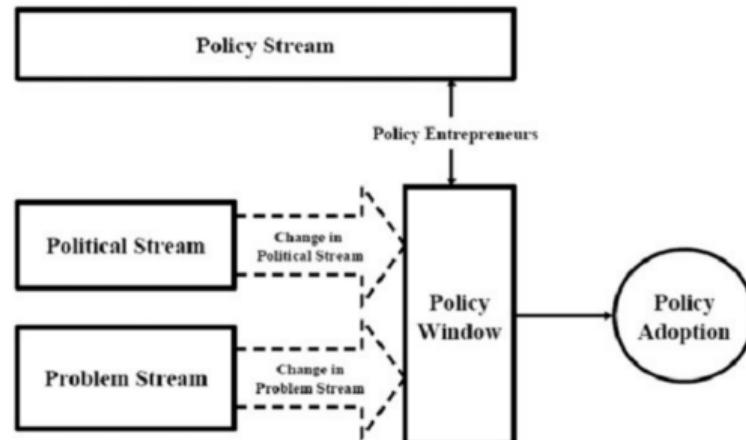
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# When does policy change happen???

# Weapons of the weak

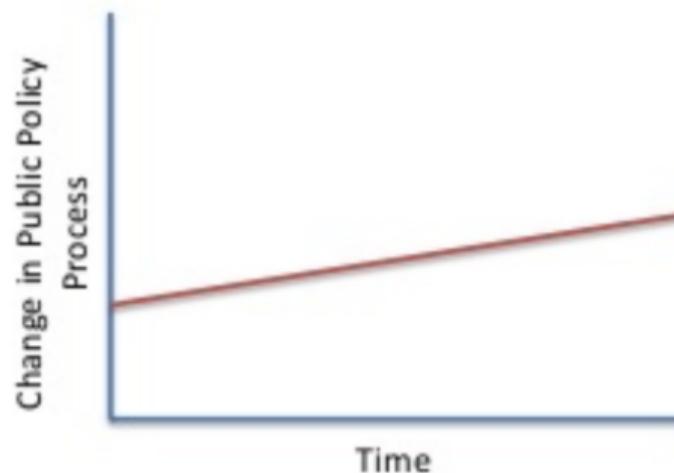
- How do groups break the policy monopoly?
  - Expand the scope of conflict;
  - Appeal to a high level;
- How does policy change happen once the policy monopoly is broken?
  - Political stream – e.g. electoral change;
  - Problem stream – e.g. problem definition change;
  - Policy stream – e.g. articulation of better policies;



# Agenda Change

- Indicators = data that can be monitored for evidence of a worsening problem;
- “Problem streams” and “political streams” may change rapidly due to a **focusing event**: a sudden event that can generate attention to public problems or issues, particularly issues and problems that are harmful;
- The resulting pattern of policymaking is often called **punctuated equilibrium**;

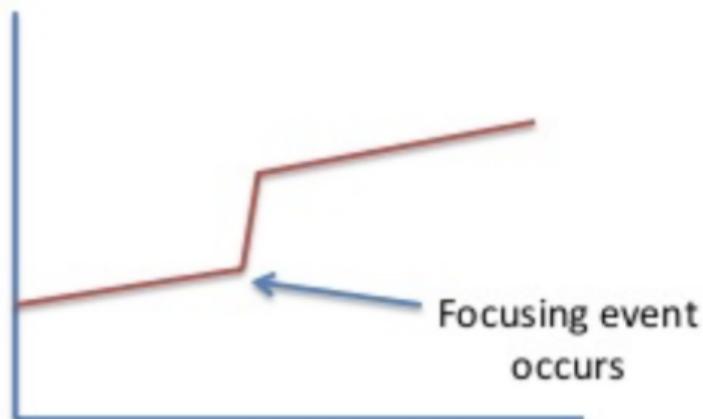
## Incrementalism



## Agenda Change

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## Punctuated equilibrium



(Bumgartner and Jones, 1993)

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    - **timing resembles incrementalism if driven by indicator change;**
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**Participants in the process who do not have constitutionally or legally created incentives or mandates to be a part of the process, such as experts, researchers, and reporters, all of whom are important to the policy process.**

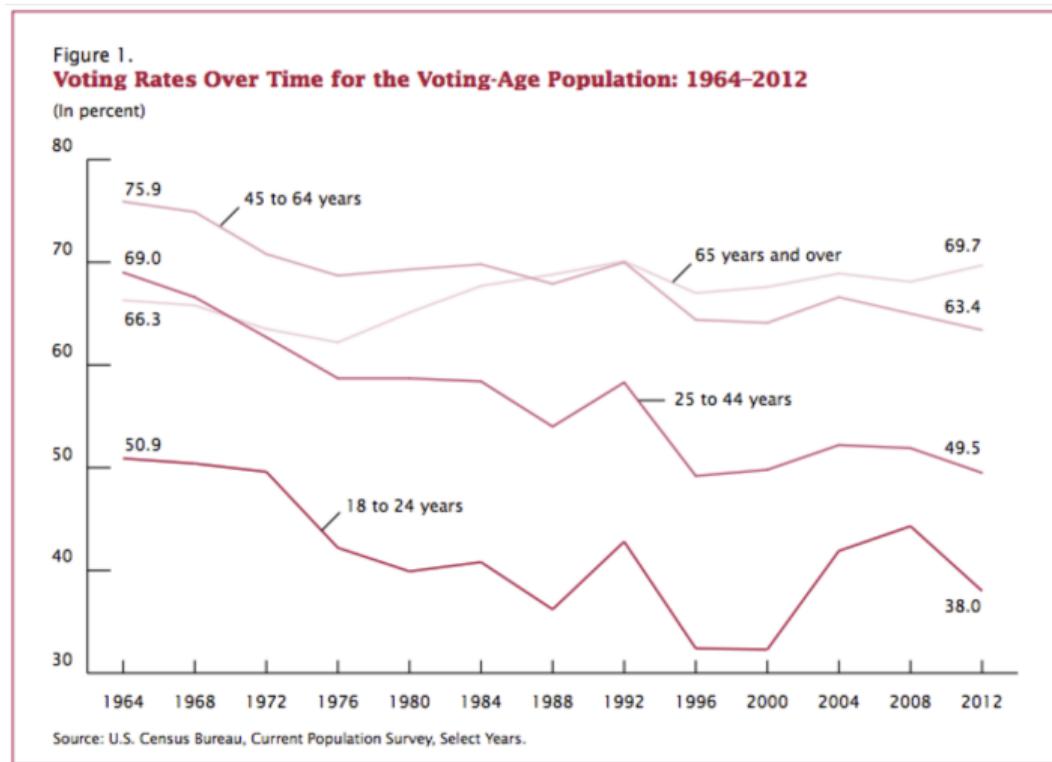
# Unofficial Actors

- Individual citizens;
- Interest groups;
- Political parties;
- Think tanks;
- Media.

# Individual Citizens

- Opportunities for individual participation are intermittent;
  - Voting;
  - Letter writing;
  - Peaceful demonstrations (e.g. rallies, petitions, boycotts, etc.);
- Participation in any of these is low with voting being highest (e.g. most elections have less than 50% turnout);
- How does government know what to do?

# Individual Citizens



# Individual Citizens

- Ward 54 serves the Newell Smith Residence Hall;
- Ward 56 serves Sellery Hall;
- Ward 59 serves the Lakeshore Neighborhood.

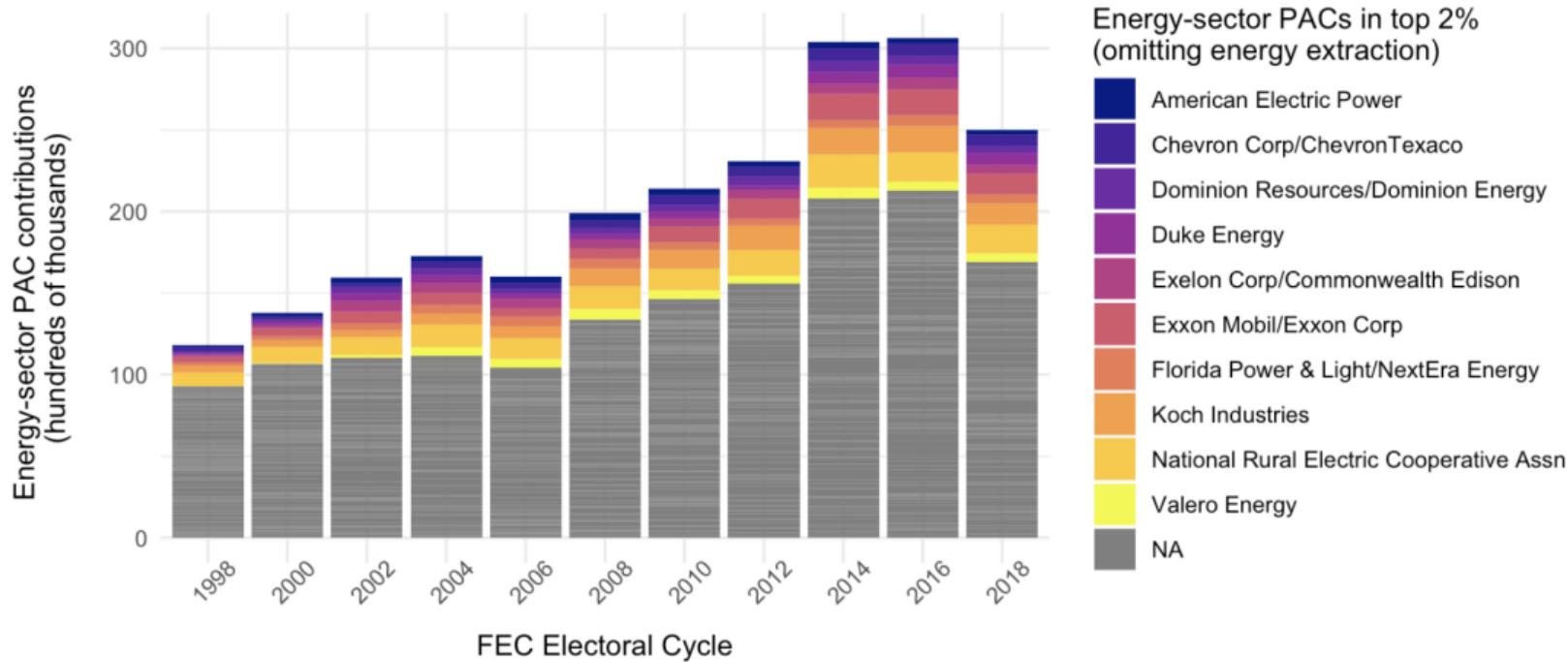
Ward	Voters in April 2014	Voters in April 2018
46 (mix of students and non-students)	260	883
47	125	346
48	36	156
49	103	468
50	83	547
51 (mix of students and non-students)	146	542
53 (mix of students and non-students)	262	1231
54 (students in dorms)	39	136
55	74	518
56 (students in dorms)	128	330
57	59	170
58	56	240
59 (students in dorms)	78	272

A collection of people or organizations that unite to advance their desired political outcomes in government and society.

# Interest groups

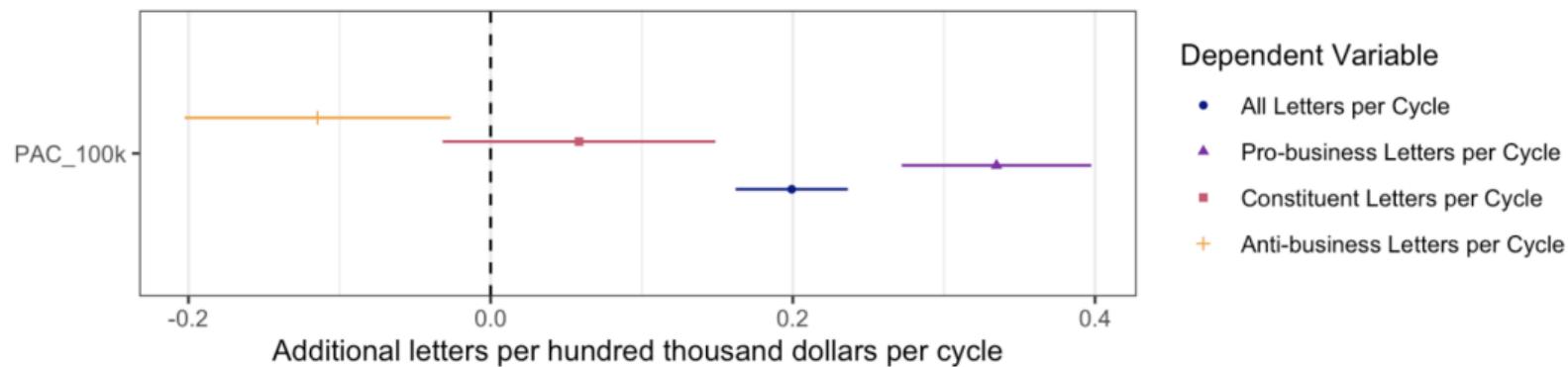
- How do they form?
  - Effective interest group formation is very expensive - tough to get people to join without benefits;
  - Mobilization around a high profile issue (e.g. civil rights, climate change);
- Types of interest groups:
  - Institutional - members belong to an institution (e.g. some unions);
  - Membership - members have chosen to join (e.g. Sierra Club, NRA);
  - Public - goal is to produce public goods, freeriding (e.g. Sierra Club);
  - Economic/private - benefits are for members (e.g. unions)
- How do they policy-make?
  - knowledge transfer (frame the problems);
  - communicating continuously with elected officials (i.e. lobbying – do they buy votes?);
  - Protest;
  - Venue shopping.

# Interest groups



# Interest groups

## Estimated Effect of Energy-Sector PAC Donations on Legislator Advocacy



# Interest groups

## Estimated Effect of Energy-Sector PAC Donations on Legislator Advocacy

MAC THORNBERRY  
13TH DISTRICT  
TEXAS



OFFICE OF  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
Congress of the United States

CP08-9-000  
PR08-1-080  
ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE

House of Representatives P 435  
June 6, 2008

FEDERAL ENERGY  
REGULATORY COMMISSION

The Honorable Joseph T. Kelliher  
Chairman  
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission  
888 First Street, N.E.  
Washington, DC 20426-0001

Dear Chairman Kelliher,

I am enclosing letters from Wayne Hughs, Executive Vice President of the Panhandle Producers and Royalty Owners Association, and Thomas R. Cambridge, President of Cambridge Production, Inc., regarding a pending application before the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. Both letters are requesting an expedited evidentiary hearing on a proposed lease of firm capacity by Enogex, Inc., to Midcontinent Express Pipeline, LLC, to fully explore the impact on existing shippers. I would appreciate your full consideration of these requests.

Many natural gas producers in my district are concerned about the negative impact the pending lease could have on the Eagle Rock low pressure gathering system in Wheeler County, Texas. Naturally, this raises many questions and concerns about the potential to shut in existing natural gas produced at lower pressures and discourage future exploration.

Therefore, I would appreciate the Commission fully exploring all the details and possible impacts of this issue.

Sincerely,

Mac Thornberry  
Member of Congress

## Political parties

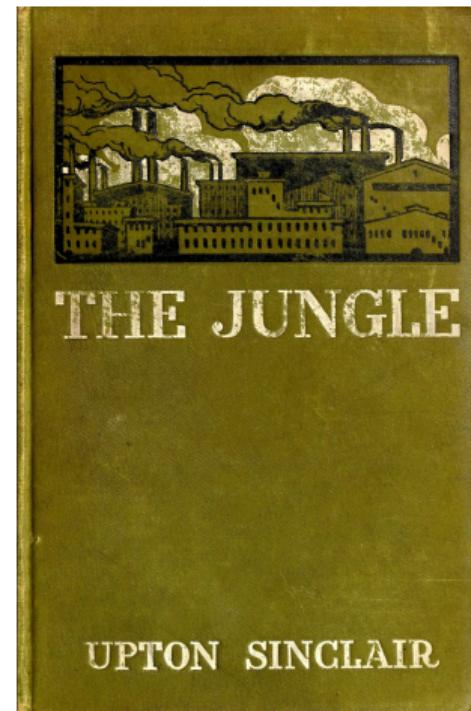
- Provide labels to cue voters (wouldn't work without policy correlation);
- Provide cues of electorate preferences;
- Help elected officials create packages of policy ideas to appeal to voters and to shape legislation (e.g. contract with America);
- Crucial to organization of Congress (e.g. election of Speaker, committee assignments).

# Think tanks

Information provision via research for a select audience (e.g. Brookings, Cato, RAND, etc.).

"A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy; or, perhaps both...And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." - James Madison (1822)

Information provision via research for a large audience (e.g. NYT, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, etc.).

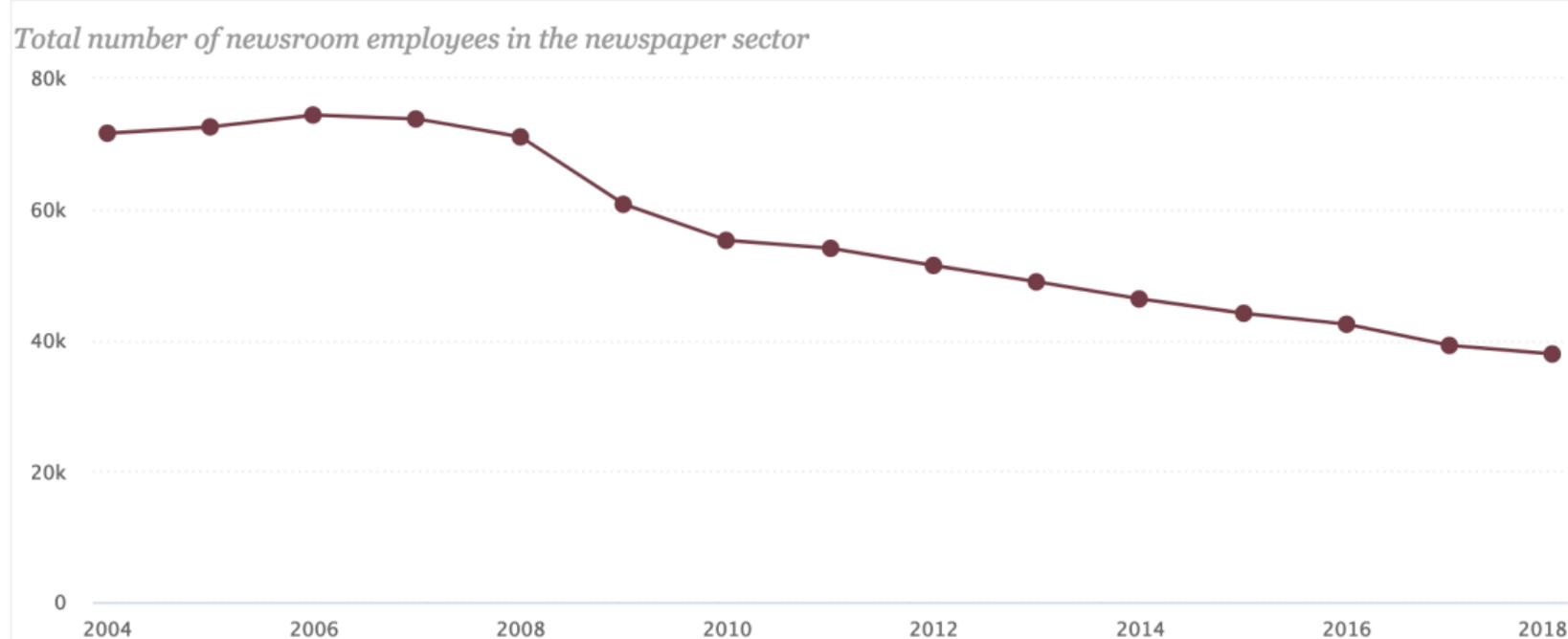


## *U.S. Research Lab Lets Livestock Suffer in Quest for Profit*



Cattle dot the pastures at the U.S. Meat Animal Research Center in southern Nebraska, along with bunkers that once stored ammunition for World War II. Leslye Davis/The New York Times

Citing a *New York Times* article titled “U.S. Research Lab Lets Livestock Suffer in Quest for Profit,” the House Appropriations Committee<sup>2</sup> recommended cutting Agriculture Research Service (ARS) appropriations by \$10 million even though ARS had requested a \$60 million increase. Additionally, the Committee recommended withholding 5 percent of ARS’s budget until it had addressed the Committee’s concerns. This is bad attention. In contrast, the Committee had mild praise and a few polite suggestions



# Birkland+ Model of Policy

- Policy Domain: what substantive problems are under consideration (e.g. water pollution, defense, etc.)??? This specifies:
  - The actors involved, official actors who can make decisions + stakeholders;
  - Their organization, e.g. iron triangle, policy community;
  - the systemic agenda;
- Input-output Model;
  - Actors: legislature, executive, bureaucrats, justices and the available levers;
  - Inputs: agenda setting (application of power/social construction, focusing events, indicator change) specifies the institutional and decision agendas;
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# Policy Typologies

# Typology

A system for categorizing things based on similar characteristics, and for differentiating things with different characteristics.

## Typology 3 (Wilson)

- Concentrated costs, distributed benefits – entrepreneurial groups persuade policy makers to regulate in the public interest, opposition from costed groups;
- Concentrated costs, concentrated benefits – interest groups play a zero sum game;
- Distributed costs, distributed benefits – majoritarian politics, often leads to weak, ambiguous policies;
- Distributed costs, concentrated benefits – close “clientele” relationships between policy makers, regulators, and the regulated interest.

# Why should you care???

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Because knowing what **type** of policy you are dealing with allows you to predict how much conflict you will face.

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# Preparing to design policies

- What does success look like?
  - **Outputs:**
  - **Outcomes:**
- Five steps of policy design to consider:
  - ① Goals;
  - ② Causal Model;
  - ③ Policy Tools;
  - ④ Decisions;
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# Preparing to design policies

- What does success look like?
  - **Outputs:** formal laws, regulations, rules, etc. – these are easy to understand and track and have clear implications, e.g. resourcing requirements;
  - **Outcomes:** the realized substantive impact of an implemented policy – these are potentially hard to measure and are relative to the problem definition;
  - Agencies tend to measure outputs b/c it's easy!
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## Step 1: Define Goals

- Policy is made to solve a problem – this implies a **goal**;
- Many different, potentially conflicting goals possible:
  - **Equity**
  - **Efficiency**
  - **Security**
  - **Liberty**
- Optimal policy depends on how these goals are weighted against each other;
- Goal conflict: some of our most contentious policies are problematic because different people have different weights;
- Example:

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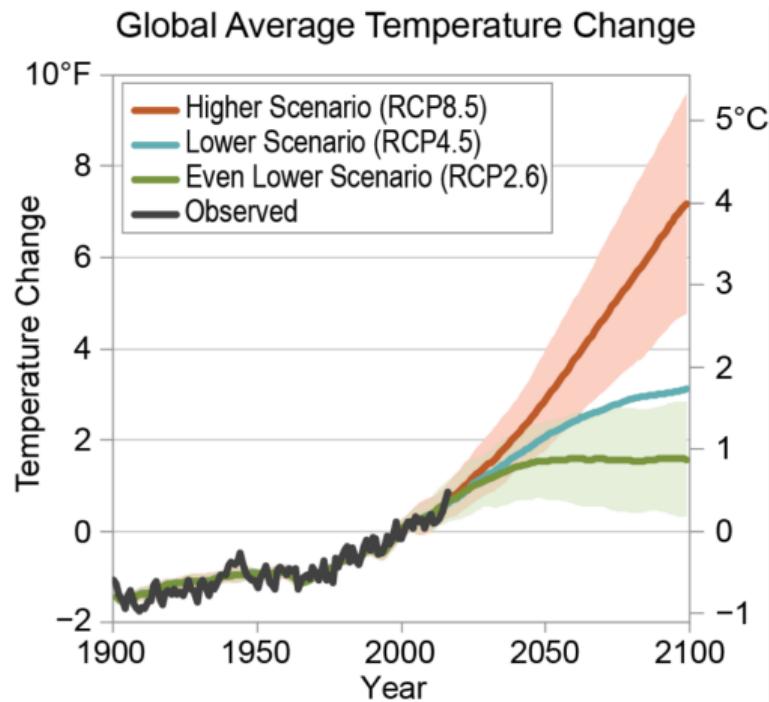
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- Example: both gun control and abortion policy involve both liberty and security.

## Step 2: Set up a causal theory

- What **causes** the problem we want to solve?
- Very complicated - entire scientific disciplines are devoted to answering these questions;
- Most basic question: is a problem due to an act of God or to something that has pullable levers (implies liability)?



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## Step 3: Formulate Policy Tools

- Four dimensions:
  - ① What is the activity government is doing (See Bardach!);
  - ② What is the structure of the delivery system (direct like social security, or indirect like block grants?);
  - ③ How centralized (defense or forestry?);
  - ④ Automatic or administrated (tax incentives are self-executing vs welfare systems which require adjudication);
- Can also think about coercive vs non-coercive policy tools as it applies to target behavior.

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## Step 4: Policy makers decide – but how?

- These are going to be **models** – they can be **Positive** vs **Normative**;
- Imagine that a policy has reached the **decision agenda**:
- Rational Choice:
  - Decision makers confront a problem; gather information; analyze options; choose that which maximizes gain;
  - Advantages: extremely powerful; extensive theoretical interdisciplinary literature;
  - Critiques: goal conflict; large info processing reqs;
- Bounded Rationality:
  - Do rational choice with constraints on time, info, and cognitive ability;
  - Critiques: undisciplined;
- Incrementalism:
  - Policy change in incremental steps that allow decision makers to adjust policies as they learn from their successes and failures;
  - Critiques: empirically, some problems have had bold solutions (e.g. mobilization for WWII, race to the moon);

## Step 5: Implementation

- So, your bill has become a law... what next?!
- **Implementation:** the process by which policies **enacted** by government are **put into effect** by the relevant **agencies**;
- May involve delegation and bargaining!



## How do we study implementation?

- Before 1970s, via thick description – detailed case studies of individual policy topics;
- After 1970s, build systematic theories meant to explain many case studies:
  - Top down implementation;
  - Bottom up implementation;
- Finally, synthesis – a unified model of policy implementation.

# Top down implementation

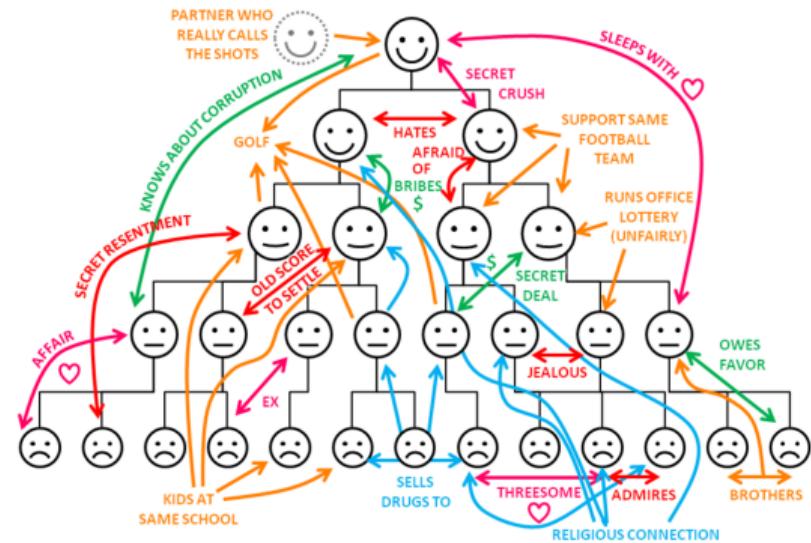
- Hierarchical; begins with goals of top level of policy-makers, traces design and implementation down to lowest level, sometimes called forward mapping;
- Assumptions:
  - Policies contain clearly defined goals;
  - Policies contain clearly defined tools;
  - Policies are authoritative;
  - There exists an 'implementation chain' from top to bottom;
  - Policy designers understand implementer capacity and commitment;
- Critiques:
  - often goal conflict complicates evaluation, e.g. 55 mph speed limit;
  - unitary actor, what about 'strategic' delay?
  - authoritative policy vs incrementalism or fragmentation.

## Bottom up implementation

- Begins with implementation decisions made by tip-of-the-spear bureaucrats and traces implementation and design back up to top level policy makers, sometimes called backward mapping;
- Assumptions:
  - Policy goals are potentially ambiguous and conflictual;
  - Policy need not be authoritative (e.g. laws, rules, practices, norms, etc);
  - There exists a 'network of actors';
- Critiques:
  - Is this really the way to account for top down failures? Can the tip-of-the-spear really veto top level designs?
  - Policies without publics may limit actor networks, e.g. highly technical domains (e.g. early nuclear energy);
  - Heterogeneity across target populations.

# So... when does it make sense to apply one vs the other?

- Single dominant program (e.g. Homeland Security Act) = top down;
- Lack of resources to backward map = top down;
- No single dominant program (e.g. state knife laws) = bottom up;
- Locality of prime interest = bottom up;



# Synthesis

- Efforts have been made to synthesize top down and bottom up into one approach;
- Example: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)
  - Adopts bottom up approach;
  - Incorporates an abstract model with structural features of policy emphasized by the top-down theorists;
  - Intended to capture 'policy subsystem';
- Example: Message passing theories (e.g. Goggin et al.)
  - **Clear messages** from **credible officials** received by **receptive implementers w/ sufficient resources** who implement policies **supported by affected groups** = implementation success.
  - Strategic delay = improved implementation of policies through innovation, policy learning, bargaining...

# Birkland+ Model of Policy

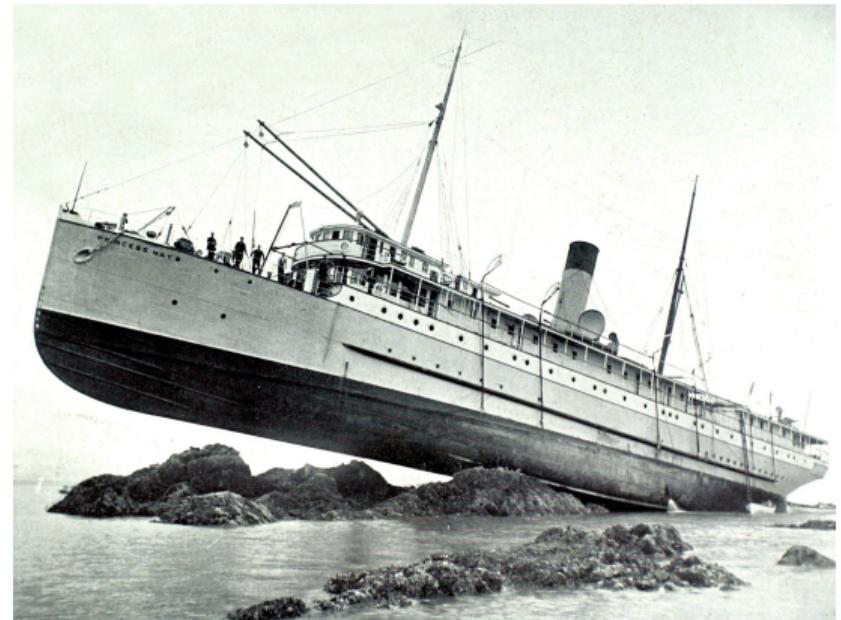
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# Policy failure

- Two issues:
  - How do you establish that a policy failure has occurred?
  - How do you figure out why it has occurred?
- Possible general explanations:
  - Least worst;
  - Changing circumstances;
  - Policy interrelationship complexity;
  - Boundaries;
  - Excessive expectations;
  - Shot in the dark;
  - Inaccurate causal theory;
  - Use of ineffective tools;
  - Sound policy, failed implementation;
  - Political failure.



**There are only intelligence failures  
and policy successes!**

- Policy failure = opportunity for learning (enduring changes to thought from experience)!
- Individuals can learn – can organizations learn? In a passive sense:
  - Information storage and retrieval;
  - Institutional memory;
- In an active sense:
  - Single loop learning: optimizing and adjusting policy;
  - Double loop learning: optimizing and adjusting fundamental values and logic that leads to policy;
  - Instrumental policy learning: effectiveness of policy tools;
  - Social policy learning: causes of problems;
  - Political learning: better arguments in policy debates.

# Learning



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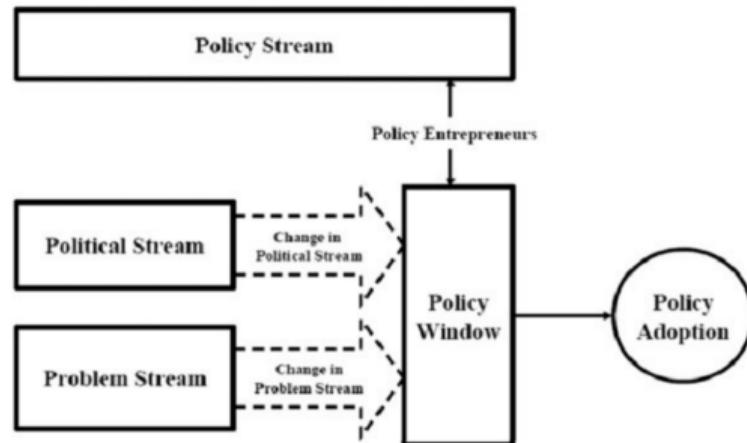
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- Outcomes: **Feedback from failure and success, learning leads to iteration and updates.**

# Time for Science!

- Lasswell: we need scientific (quantitative, falsification-based (Popper)) study of policy to better control the world;
- Falsification:
  - Theory  $\Rightarrow$  Testable Hypothesis;
  - Predicate logic tells us that: Testable Hypothesis inconsistent w/ data  $\Rightarrow$  Theory is wrong;
  - Logical fallacy: Testable Hypothesis consistent w/ data  $\Rightarrow$  Theory is true;
- Things to keep in mind:
  - All models are wrong but some models are useful;
  - Science  $\neq$  statistics, but statistics is a VERY robust way to check for falsification;
  - Science NEVER proves theory to be 'true'.

# Models of the Policy Process: Streams (Kingdon)

- **Political stream** – e.g. electoral change, state of public opinion;
- **Problem stream** – e.g. problem definition, attributes, whether it is getting better or worse, more or less attention;
- **Policy stream** – e.g. articulation of better policies, potential ideas that could be solutions;



# Models of the Policy Process: Streams (Kingdon)

- 'Crossing' or 'meeting' of the streams creates a 'policy window' where change can happen;
- This is a **necessary but NOT sufficient condition...**
- Criticism: incomplete – can't actually offer predictions about policy change.



# Models of the Policy Process: Punctuated Equilibrium (Baumgartner and Jones)

- Central ideas:
  - Policy monopoly: closed system of most important actors (e.g. smoke filled room);
  - Stable parameter: balance of power among interest groups;
  - Dynamic parameters: public understanding of problems, rarely balance of power;
- Policy monopoly breakdown = media attention, venue shopping;
- **Model Prediction:** long periods of policy **stability broken** by short periods of **sudden change**.

# Models of the Policy Process: Institutional Analysis and Development (Ostrom)

- Used to understand **common pool** policy problems, e.g. public water resources;
- Built on rational choice – utility-maximizing actors ‘satisfice’ – optimize given constraints – expressed as **rules** within **institutions**;
- Two important parts:
  - Action arena – community attributes, rules-in-use, the problem at hand, and the actors;
  - Actors characterized by four variables:
    - Resources;
    - Preferences for different states of the world;
    - Information processing;
    - Optimization criteria: efficiency, equity, accountability, rule-following, adaptability.
- **Model Prediction:** people can, under ‘proper conditions,’ **form institutions for common pool resource management.**

# Advocacy Coalition Framework Deep Dive

- Premise 1: falsification on time scale of decade +;
- Premise 2: focus on policy subsystems – interaction of actors from different institutions interested in a policy area;
- Premise 3: public policies = belief systems = sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to achieve them.

# Models of the Policy Process: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)

- Internal/External stable parameters:
  - Basic attributes of the problem (e.g. characteristics of goods, quantifiability);
  - Distribution of natural resources (e.g. overall wealth);
  - Fundamental cultural values/social structure (e.g. norms, group level power);
  - Basic legal structure (e.g. constitution, filibuster);
- Because these are inherently slow to change they aren't usually objects for strategy;
- Explains across, not within.

# Models of the Policy Process: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)

- Dynamic parameters:
  - Changes in socio-economic conditions and technology (e.g. public opinion, electric vehicles);
  - Systemic governing coalitions (e.g. an election);
  - Policy decisions in other policy subsystems (e.g. energy independence/pollution control);
- Can change very quickly and so are candidates for strategic manipulation;
- Explains across and within.

## Models of the Policy Process: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)

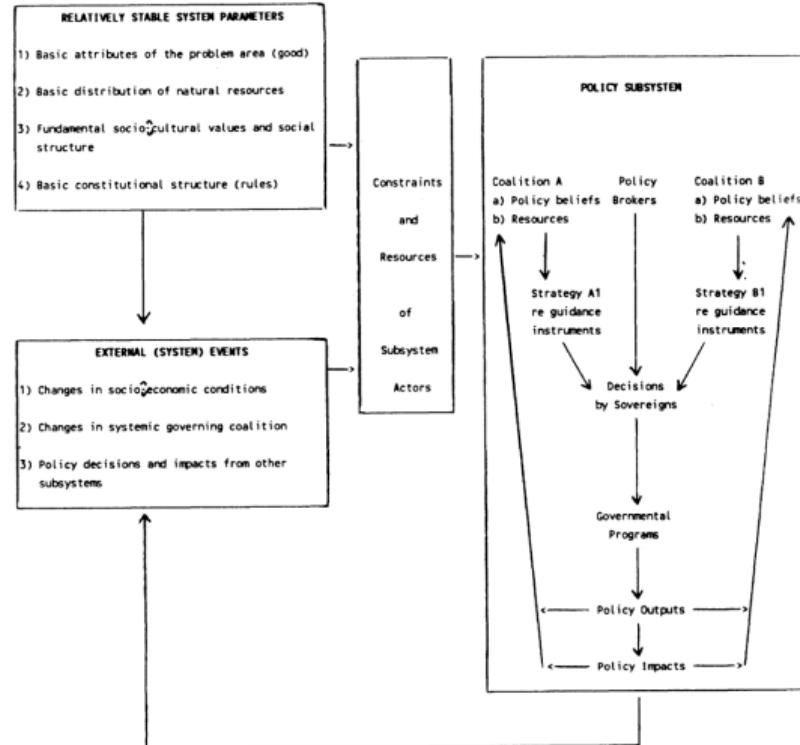
- What is a policy subsystem?
- Boundaries: the set of actors currently involved in dealing with a policy problem + those who **could** become involved;
- Origins: dissatisfaction with problem neglect = breakaway to form new subsystem;
- Actors: diverse set... e.g.:
  - The EPA;
  - Relevant Congressional committees;
  - Peer agencies involved in pollution control (e.g. DOE);
  - Pollution emitters and their trade associations, unions, etc.;
  - Manufacturers of pollution control equipment;
  - Environmental and public health groups;
  - State and local pollution control agencies
  - Research institutions and consulting firms;
  - Journalists who regularly write on the issue.

# Models of the Policy Process: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)

- How are actors organized? Two groups...
- Advocacy coalitions – **people** (why not institutions?) from a variety of positions that:
  - share a belief system (deep/near/secondary basic values, causal assumptions, perceptions of the problem) and
  - who coordinate activity to translate beliefs into policies;
  - are endowed with resources (e.g. power) that can be used for this;
  - Example: ‘Clean air’ coalition vs ‘Economic feasibility’ coalition;
- Policy brokers: individuals primarily concerned with keeping level of political conflict within acceptable bounds;

- How does this all come together to offer predictions about policy making?
- Actors are expected utility maximizers with well defined preferences and bounded rationality;
- Two processes interact to govern policy change:
  - Structure of belief systems ⇒ changes in beliefs ⇒ attempted changes in policy;
  - Shifts in dynamic parameters;

# Models of the Policy Process: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier)



- **Model Predictions:**

- On major controversies lineup of allies/opponents is stable;
- Intra-coalition consensus on core but not secondary issues;
- Change secondary before core;
- Core of govt prog unlikely to change so long as instituting advocacy coalition is in power;
- Core of govt prog unlikely to change w/o shocks via dynamic parameters;
- Intermediate conflict ⇒ policy learning/belief change;
- Fora w/ strong professional norms and participation reqs ⇒ policy learning/belief change;
- Accepted quantification ⇒ policy learning/belief change;
- Natural systems ⇒ policy learning/belief change;