# THOMAS R. DYE

# FOURTEENTH EDITION

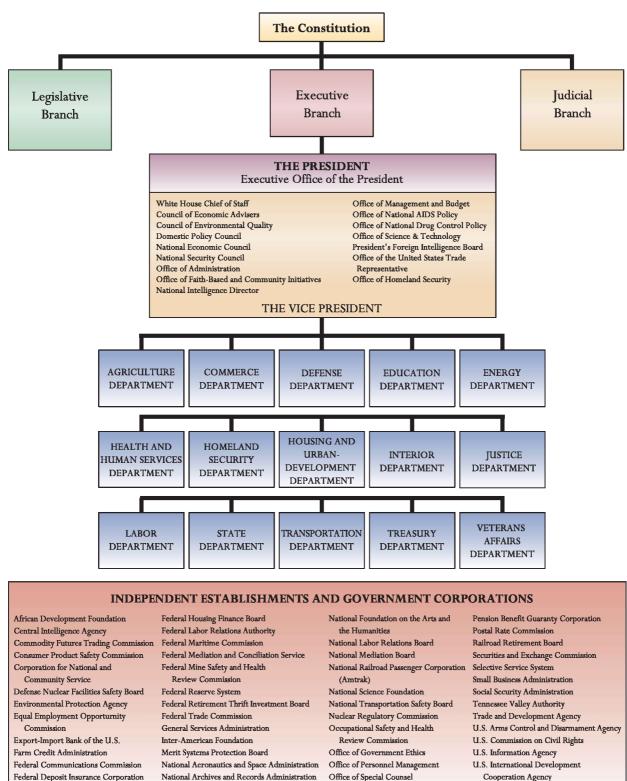
# UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC POLICY

## Why You Need This New Edition Six good reasons why you should buy this new edition of Understanding Public Policy

- 1. A new chapter discusses changes in the American health care system, including Medicare for the aged, Medicaid for the disadvantaged, and SCHIP for children, as well as the conditions inspiring a more comprehensive reform. Providing a modern focus on major policy issues such as our nation's health care system, this new chapter encourages you to think critically and analyze whether the system can be transformed by a rational-comprehensive plan.
- 2. New discussions on the Wall Street bailout, the TARP program, the stimulus package, mortgage modification, and new financial regulations give you the opportunity to study current events in the context of your course.
- 3. New discussions of the various economic policies of the Obama administration have been added to exemplify the administration's move away from the traditional incremental model, as evident through the growth of federal funding. A discussion of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution allows you to formulate and discuss your own ideas regarding economic policy.
- 4. Discussions on the policy effects of the Republican capture of control of the House of Representatives, including tax compromises, environmental regulations, and immigration reform, allow you to analyze a current policy issue using the concepts you read in the text.
- 5. The defense policy chapter now describes the Obama administration's shift in priorities from Iraq to Afghanistan. New information on the combination of U.S. troops with NATO forces as well as the question of when to use military forces allows you to discuss your opinions on the same policy questions facing our government leaders.
- 6. Added coverage of state policies in the federalism chapters exposes you to the policy variation among states and the resulting state challenges to national policies, including state medical marijuana laws, Arizona's immigration law, and new health care policies.



#### FEDERAL POLICY-MAKING INSTITUTIONS



Federal Election Commission

Federal Emergency Management Agency

National Capital Planning Commission National Credit Union Administration

Office of Special Counsel Panama Canal Commission Peace Corps

Cooperation Agency U.S. International Trade Commission U.S. Postal Service

Assistant Editor: Stephanie Chaisson Director of Development: Eileen Calabro Executive Marketing Manager: Wendy Gordon Media Editor: Lisa Dotson Production Manager: S.S. Kulig Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: PreMediaGlobal Cover Designer: Suzanne Behnke Cover Art: Stillfx/Veer Senior Manufacturing Buyer: Dennis J. Para Printer/Binder: Quebecor World Book Services Cover Printer: Lehigh-Phoenix Color Corp.

Credits and acknowledgments borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on the appropriate page within text and also on page 368.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dye, Thomas R.
Understanding public policy / Thomas R. Dye. — 14th ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-205-23882-8 (alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-205-23882-3 (alk. paper)
Political planning—United States. 2. United States—Politics and government. 3. Policy sciences. I. Title.
JK468.P64D95 2013
320.60973—dc23

2011045837

Copyright © 2013, 2011, 2008, 2005 by Pearson Education, Inc.

All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America. This publication is protected by Copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or likewise. To obtain permission(s) to use material from this work, please submit a written request to Pearson Education, Inc., Permissions Department, One Lake St., Upper Saddle River, NJ 07458, or you may fax your request to 201-236-3290.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1—QWT—16 15 14 13 12



www.pearsonhighered.com

ISBN-13: 978-0-205-23882-8 ISBN-10: 0-205-23882-3

# Preface

Policy analysis is concerned with "who gets what" in politics and, more important, "why" and "what difference it makes." We are concerned not only with what policies governments pursue, but why governments pursue the policies they do, and what the consequences of these policies are.

Political Science, like other scientific disciplines, has developed a number of concepts and models to help describe and explain political life. These models are not really competitive in the sense that any one could be judged as the "best." Each focuses on separate elements of politics, and each helps us understand different things about political life.

We begin with a brief description of eight analytic models in political science and the potential contribution of each to the study of public policy:

Process model	Group model
Institutional model	Elite model
Rational model	Public choice model
Incremental model	Game theory model

Most public policies are a combination of rational planning, incrementalism, competition among groups, elite preferences, public choice, political processes, and institutional influences. Throughout this volume we employ these models, both singly and in combination, to describe and explain public policy. However, certain chapters rely more on one model than another. The policy areas studied are:

Criminal justice	Energy and Environment
Welfare	Civil rights
Health Care	Defense policy
Education	Homeland security
Economic policy	International trade
Tax policy	and immigration

In short, this volume is not only an introduction to the study of public policy but also an introduction to the models political scientists use to describe and explain political life.

#### **NEW TO THIS EDITION**

The fourteenth edition of *Understanding Public Policy* focuses on the policy challenges confronting the Obama administration.

Can America's health care system be transformed according to a rational-comprehensive plan? A new chapter describes earlier incremental changes in health care—Medicare for the aged,

Medicaid for the poor, and SCHIP for children—and then describes the conditions inspiring more comprehensive reform. Prior to health care reform, many working Americans and their dependents, roughly 15 percent of the population, were without health insurance. The cost of health care in America consumes a larger share of the nation's economic resources (about 15 percent of the gross domestic product) than in any other country. Yet the United States ranks well below other nations in many common measures of national health, including life expectancy and infant mortality. The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 represents a rational-comprehensive approach to transforming health care in America. The health care chapter covers the Act's individual mandate, employer mandate, Medicaid expansion, health-care exchanges, taxes and costs. It also describes the controversies surrounding "Obamacare," notably the constitutionality of the individual mandate.

The economic policies of the Obama administration defy the traditional incremental model. The economic chapter describes the Wall Street bailout, the TARP program, the stimulus package, mortgage modification, and new financial regulations. But the demise of the incremental model is especially evident in the explosive growth of federal spending under President Obama and the resulting unprecedented annual federal deficits. The chapter describes the recommendations of the president's deficit reduction commission—recommendations ignored by the president—as well as Republican efforts to cut federal spending. The chapter ends with a discussion of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

The policy effects of the Republican capture of control of the House of Representatives in the midterm congressional elections of 2010 are reflected in several chapters. The tax chapter describes the tax compromise package in the "lame duck" session of Congress in 2010, in which President Obama was obliged to give up his efforts to raise the top marginal income tax rate to 39.6 percent. The energy and environment chapter describes the demise of the comprehensive "cap and trade" program in the Congress, as well as the attempts by the Environmental Protection Agency to achieve by regulation what the Obama administration was unable to achieve by legislation, namely the regulation of carbon dioxide emissions. The international trade and immigration chapter describes the gridlock over immigration reform, and the president's inability to win the enactment of the Dream Act.

The institutional model is strengthened with added coverage of state policies in the federalism chapter. Federalism allows policy variation among the states, notably in educational spending, the costliest function of state government. And states display a wide variation in tax policies, including differences in their reliance on income versus sales taxation. Federalism also envisions conflict between the national government and states. The chapter covers federal intervention in traditional state policy domains with grants-in-aid, preemptions, and mandates. But it also covers state challenges to national policies, including state medical marijuana laws, Arizona's immigration law, and state opposition to "Obamacare." Direct democracy, in the form of the initiative and referenda, is available only in state and local government. State referenda voting provides information on popular policy preferences.

The defense policy chapter describes the Obama administration's shift in priorities from Iraq to Afghanistan. The announced mission in Afghanistan is not nationbuilding but rather to "disrupt, dismantle, and defeat" Al Qaeda. The transition to Afghan security control "will begin in 2011 and conclude in 2014." U.S. troops are combined with NATO forces in an International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) committed primarily to counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan. The chapter also continues the discussion of when to use military force: U.S. intervention in Libya illustrates the contrast between advocates of using force only when vital interests of the United States are at stake, versus Obama's justification of using force for the humanitarian purpose of protecting the civilian population of Libya.

Finally, the homeland security chapter describes the Obama administration's reversal of its earlier decisions to close the Guantánamo prison and to try terrorists in civilian courts. The Obama administration now argues that it has the authority to hold enemy combatants who pose a danger to national security until the cessation of hostilities. The president has also ordered new military commission trials for certain Guantánamo detainees, including the self-proclaimed mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, Kalid Sheikh Mohammed.

I wish to thank the following reviewers for their helpful comments: Michael Bordelon, Houston Baptist University; Euel Elliott, University of Texas at Dallas; Kim Geron, California State University—East Bay; Jon D. Holstine, American Military University; Jesse Horton, San Antonio College; Kathryn Mohrman, Arizona State University; Ira Reed, Trinity University, Washington D.C.; Bruce Rocheleau, Northern Illinois University; Jessica Ice, Florida State University; Chad Long, St. Edwards University; Olga Smiranova, Eastern Carolina University; Minzi Su, Tennessee State University.

Thomas R. Dye

#### **GIVE YOUR STUDENTS CHOICES**

In addition to the traditional printed text, *Understanding Public Policy*, 14th Edition is available in the following format to give you and your students more choices—and more ways to save.

The **CourseSmart eTextbook** offers the same content as the printed text in a convenient online format—with highlighting, online search, and printing capabilities. Visit **www.coursesmart. com** to learn more.

## MySearchLab<sup>®</sup>

**MySearchLab** is an interactive website that features an eText, access to the EBSCO Content-Select database and multimedia, and step-by-step tutorials which offer complete overviews of the entire writing and research process. MySearchLab is designed to amplify a traditional course in numerous ways or to administer a course online. Additionally, MySearchLab offers course specific tools to enrich learning and help students succeed.

- **eText:** Identical in content and design to the printed text, the Pearson eText provides access to the book wherever and whenever it is needed. Students can take notes and highlight, just like a traditional book. The Pearson eText is also available on the iPad for all registered users of MySearchLab.
- Flashcards: These review important terms and concepts from each chapter online. Students can search by chapters or within a glossary and also access drills to help them prepare for quizzes and exams. Flashcards can be printed or exported to your mobile devices.
- **Chapter-specific Content:** Each chapter contains Learning Objectives, Quizzes, Media, and Flashcards. These can be used to enhance comprehension, help students review key terms, prepare for tests, and retain what they have learned. To order this book with MySearchLab access at no extra charge, use ISBN 0205861164.

Learn more at www.mysearchlab.com

#### **INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES**

A comprehensive Instructor's Manual and Test Bank, as well as a PowerPoint Presentation will accompany this new edition of *Understanding Public Policy*. These resources are available for download at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc (access code required).



**Expanding the Scope of Public Policy** President Barack Obama signs the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act in the East Room of the White House, March 30, 2010. This health care reform bill greatly expands the scope of public policy in America. Under the Obama Administration, federal government spending has increased from about 20 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) to over 25 percent. The nation's state and local governments combined add about 13 percent, for a total size of government of approximately 37 percent of the GDP. (© Brooks Kraft/Corbis)

# **Policy Analysis** What Governments Do, Why They Do It, and What Difference It Makes

## WHAT IS PUBLIC POLICY?

This book is about public policy. It is concerned with what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes. It is also about political science and the ability of this academic discipline to describe, analyze, and explain public policy.

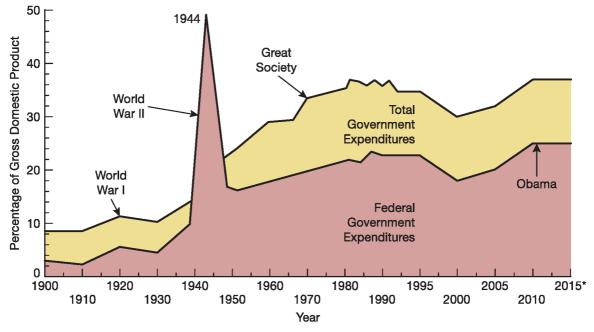
#### **Definition of Policy**

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do.<sup>1</sup> Governments do many things. They regulate conflict within society; they organize society to carry on conflict with other societies; they distribute a great variety of symbolic rewards and material services to members of the society; and they extract money from society, most often in the form of taxes. Thus, public policies may regulate behavior, organize bureaucracies, distribute benefits, or extract taxes—or all of these things at once.

#### **Policy Expansion and Government Growth**

Today people expect government to do a great many things for them. Indeed there is hardly any personal or societal problem for which some group will not demand a government solution—that is, a public policy designed to alleviate personal discomfort or societal unease. Over the years, as more and more Americans turned to government to resolve society's problems, government grew in size and public policy expanded in scope to encompass just about every sector of American life.

Throughout most of the twentieth century, government grew in both absolute size and in relation to the size of the national economy. The size of the economy is usually measured by the gross domestic product (GDP), the sum of all the goods and services produced in the United States in a year (see Figure 1–1). Government spending amounted to only about 8 percent of the GDP at the beginning of the last century, and most governmental activities were carried out by state and local governments. Two world wars, the New Deal programs devised during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the growth of the Great Society programs of the 1960s and 1970s all greatly expanded the size of government, particularly



**FIGURE 1–1** The Growth of Government The size of government can be measured in relation to the size of the economy. Total federal, state, and local government spending now exceeds 37 percent of the GDP, the size of the economy.

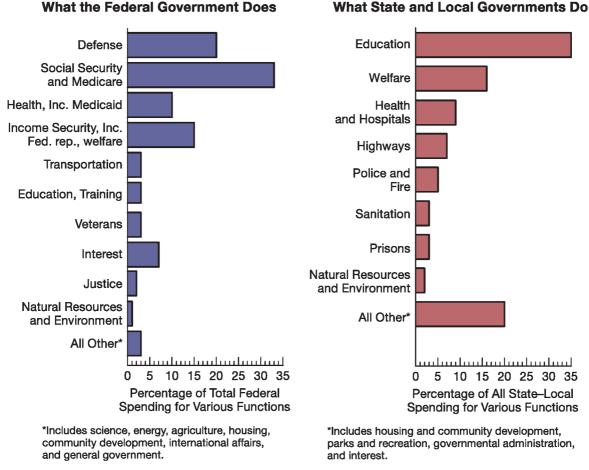
\*Estimate from Budget of the United States Government 2012.

the federal government. The rise in government growth relative to the economy leveled off during the Reagan presidency (1981–1989). The economy in the 1990s grew faster than government spending, resulting in a modest decline in the size of government *relative to the economy*. Federal spending costs less than 20 percent of the GDP.

The Obama Administration brought about a dramatic increase in federal spending, much of it in response to the "Great Recession" of 2008–2009. Federal spending in 2009 soared to 28 percent of the GDP; this spending included a "stimulus" package designed to jumpstart the economy (see Chapter 10). But it is expected that continued increases in federal spending under President Barack Obama will keep federal spending close to 25 percent of the GDP, the highest figure since World War II. The nation's 50 state governments and 87,000 local governments (cities, counties, towns and townships, school districts, and special districts) combined to account for over 12 percent of the GDP. *Total* government spending—federal, state, and local—now amounts to about 37 percent of GDP.

#### **Scope of Public Policy**

Not everything that government does is reflected in governmental expenditures. *Regulatory activity*, for example, especially environmental regulations, imposes significant costs on individuals and businesses; these costs are *not* shown in government budgets. Nevertheless, government spending is a common indicator of governmental functions and priorities. For example, Figure 1–2 indicates that the *federal government* spends more on senior citizens—in Social Security and Medicare outlays—than on any other function, including national defense. Federal welfare and health programs account for substantial budget outlays, but federal financial support of education



**FIGURE 1–2 Public Policy: What Governments Do** Government spending figures indicate that Social Security and Medicare consume the largest share of federal spending, while education is the largest item in state and local government spending.

SOURCES: Budget of the United States Government, 2012; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2011.

is very modest. State and local governments in the United States bear the major burden of public education. Welfare and health functions consume larger shares of their budgets than highways and law enforcement do.

#### WHY STUDY PUBLIC POLICY?

Political science is the study of politics—the study of "who gets what, when, and how?"<sup>2</sup> It is more than the study of governmental institutions, that is, federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, judicial review, the powers and duties of Congress, the president, and the courts. "Traditional" political science focuses primarily on these institutional arrangements, as well as the philosophical justification of government. And political science is more than the study of political processes, that is, campaigns and elections, voting, lobbying, legislating, and adjudicating. Modern "behavioral" political science focuses primarily on these processes.

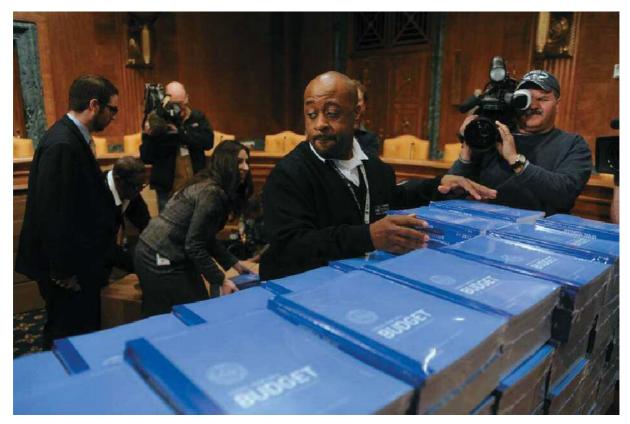
Political science is also the study of public policy—the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity. This focus involves a description of the content of public policy; an analysis of the impact of social, economic, and political forces on the content of public policy; an inquiry into the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; and an evaluation of the consequences of public policies on society, both intended and unintended.

### WHAT CAN BE LEARNED FROM POLICY ANALYSIS?

Policy analysis is finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference, if any, it makes. What can be learned from policy analysis?

#### Description

First, we can describe public policy—we can learn what government is doing (and not doing) in welfare, defense, education, civil rights, health, the environment, taxation, and so on. A factual basis of information about national policy is really an indispensable part of everyone's



**Setting Budget Priorities of the President** Policy analysis begins by finding out what government is doing. The annual *Budget of the United States Government* is the single most comprehensive policy document of the federal government. It sets forth the policy priorities of the president with price tags attached. It sets the parameters of the debate in Congress over spending and deficit levels. The photo shows copies of the budget for 2012 being delivered to the Senate Budget Committee in February 2011. (© Michael Reynolds/epa/Corbis)

education. What does the Civil Rights Act of 1964 actually say about discrimination in employment? What did the Supreme Court rule in the *Bakke* case about affirmative action programs? What do the Medicaid and Medicare programs promise for the poor and the aged? What agreements have been reached between the United States and Russia regarding nuclear weapons? How much money are we paying in taxes? How much money does the federal government spend each year, and what does it spend it on? These are examples of descriptive questions.

#### Causes

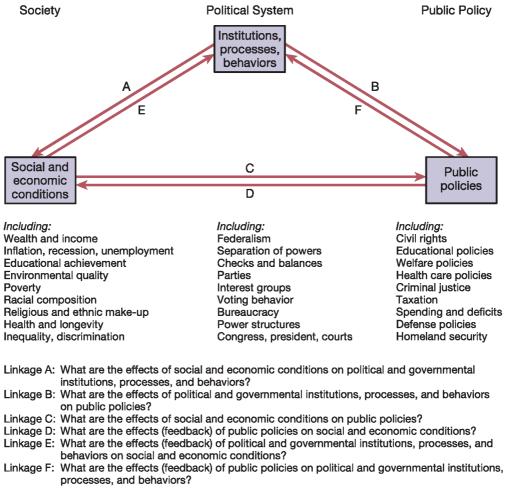
Second, we can inquire about the causes, or determinants, of public policy. Why is public policy what it is? Why do governments do what they do? We might inquire about the effects of political institutions, processes, and behaviors on public policies (Linkage B in Figure 1–3). For example, does it make any difference in tax and spending levels whether Democrats or Republicans control the presidency and Congress? What is the impact of lobbying by the special interests on efforts to reform the federal tax system? We can also inquire about the effects of social, economic, and cultural forces in shaping public policy (Linkage C in Figure 1–3). For example: What are the effects of changing public attitudes about race on civil rights policy? What are the effects of recessions on government spending? What is the effect of an increasingly older population on the Social Security and Medicare programs? In scientific terms, when we study the *causes* of public policy, policies become the *dependent* variables, and their various political, social, economic, and cultural determinants become the *independent* variables.

#### Consequences

Third, we can inquire about the consequences, or impacts, of public policy. Learning about the consequences of public policy is often referred to as *policy evaluation*. What difference, if any, does public policy make in people's lives? We might inquire about the effects of public policy on political institutions and processes (Linkage F in Figure 1–3). For example, what is the effect of continuing high unemployment on Republican party fortunes in Congressional elections? What is the impact of economic policies on the president's popularity? We also want to examine the impact of public policies on conditions in society (Linkage D in Figure 1–3). For example, does capital punishment help to deter crime? Does cutting cash welfare benefits encourage people to work? Does increased educational spending produce higher student achievement scores? In scientific terms, when we study the *consequences* of public policy, policies become the *independent* variables.

#### POLICY ANALYSIS AND POLICY ADVOCACY

It is important to distinguish policy analysis from policy advocacy. *Explaining* the causes and consequences of various policies is not equivalent to *prescribing* what policies governments ought to pursue. Learning *why* governments do what they do and what the consequences of their actions are is not the same as saying what governments *ought* to do or bringing about changes in what



**FIGURE 1–3** Studying Public Policy, its Causes and Consequences This diagram (sometimes referred to as the "systems model") classifies societal conditions, political system characteristics, and public policies, and suggests possible linkages between them.

they do. Policy advocacy requires the skills of rhetoric, persuasion, organization, and activism. Policy analysis encourages scholars and students to attack critical policy issues with the tools of systematic inquiry. There is an implied assumption in policy analysis that developing scientific knowledge about the forces shaping public policy and the consequences of public policy is itself a socially relevant activity, and that policy analysis is a *prerequisite* to prescription, advocacy, and activism.

Specifically, policy analysis involves:

1. A primary concern with explanation rather than prescription. Policy recommendations if they are made at all—are subordinate to description and explanation. There is an implicit judgment that understanding is a prerequisite to prescription and that understanding is best achieved through careful analysis rather than rhetoric or polemics.

- 2. A rigorous search for the causes and consequences of public policies. This search involves the use of scientific standards of inference. Sophisticated quantitative techniques may be helpful in establishing valid inferences about causes and consequences, but they are not essential.
- 3. An effort to develop and test general propositions about the causes and consequences of public policy and to accumulate reliable research findings of general relevance. The object is to develop general theories about public policy that are reliable and that apply to different government agencies and different policy areas. Policy analysts clearly prefer to develop explanations that fit more than one policy decision or case study—explanations that stand up over time in a variety of settings.

However, it must be remembered that policy issues are decided not by analysts but by political actors—elected and appointed government officials, interest groups, and occasionally even voters. Social science research often does not fare well in the political arena; it may be interpreted, misinterpreted, ignored, or even used as a weapon by political combatants. Policy analysis sometimes produces unexpected and even politically embarrassing findings. Public policies do not always work as intended. And political interests will accept, reject, or use findings to fit their own purposes.

# POLICY ANALYSIS AND THE QUEST FOR SOLUTIONS TO AMERICA'S PROBLEMS

It is questionable that policy analysis can ever "solve" America's problems. Ignorance, crime, poverty, racial conflict, inequality, poor housing, ill health, pollution, congestion, and unhappy lives have afflicted people and societies for a long time. Of course, this is no excuse for failing to work toward a society free of these maladies. But our striving for a better society should be tempered with the realization that solutions to these problems may be very difficult to find. There are many reasons for qualifying our enthusiasm for policy analysis.

#### **Limits on Government Power**

First, it is easy to exaggerate the importance, both for good and for ill, of the policies of governments. It is not clear that government policies, however ingenious, can cure all or even most of society's ills. Governments are constrained by many powerful social forces—patterns of family life, class structure, child-rearing practices, religious beliefs, and so on. These forces are not easily managed by governments, nor could they be controlled even if it seemed desirable to do so. Some of society's problems are very intractable.

#### **Disagreement over the Problem**

Second, policy analysis cannot offer solutions to problems when there is no general agreement on what the problems are. For example, in educational policy some researchers assume that raising achievement levels (measures of verbal and quantitative abilities) is the problem to which our efforts should be directed. But educators often argue that the acquisition of verbal and quantitative skills is not the only, or even the most important, goal of the public schools. They contend

that schools must also develop positive self-images among pupils of all races and backgrounds, encourage social awareness and the appreciation of multiple cultures, teach children to respect one another and to resolve their differences peacefully, raise children's awareness of the dangers of drugs and educate them about sex and sexually transmitted diseases, and so on. In other words, many educators define the problems confronting schools more broadly than raising achievement levels.

Policy analysis is not capable of resolving value conflicts. If there is little agreement on what values should be emphasized in educational policy, there is not much that policy research can contribute to policymaking. At best it can advise on how to achieve certain results, but it cannot determine what is truly valuable for society.

#### Subjectivity in Interpretation

Third, policy analysis deals with very subjective topics and must rely on interpretation of results. Professional researchers frequently interpret the results of their analyses differently. Social science research cannot be value-free. Even the selection of the topic for research is affected by one's values about what is important in society and worthy of attention.

#### Limitations on Design of Human Research

Another set of problems in systematic policy analysis centers around inherent limitations in the design of social science research. It is not really possible to conduct some forms of controlled experiments on human beings. For example, researchers cannot order children to go to overcrowded or underfunded schools for several years just to see if it adversely impacts their achievement levels. Instead, social researchers must find situations in which educational deprivation has been produced "naturally" in order to make the necessary observations about the causes of such deprivation. Because we cannot control all the factors in a real-world situation, it is difficult to pinpoint precisely what causes educational achievement or nonachievement. Moreover, even where some experimentation is permitted, human beings frequently modify their behavior simply because they know that they are being observed in an experimental situation. For example, in educational research it frequently turns out that children perform well under *any* new teaching method or curricular innovation. It is difficult to know whether the improvements observed are a product of the new teaching method or curricular improvement or merely a product of the experimental situation.

#### **Complexity of Human Behavior**

Perhaps the most serious reservation about policy analysis is the fact that social problems are so complex that social scientists are unable to make accurate predictions about the impact of proposed policies. Social scientists simply do not know enough about individual and group behavior to be able to give reliable advice to policymakers. Occasionally policymakers turn to social scientists for "solutions," but social scientists do not have any. Most of society's problems are shaped by so many variables that a simple explanation of them, or remedy for them, is rarely possible. The fact that social scientists give so many contradictory recommendations is an indication of the absence of reliable scientific knowledge about social problems. Although some scholars argue that no advice

is better than contradictory or inaccurate advice, policymakers still must make decisions, and it is probably better that they act in the light of whatever little knowledge social science can provide than that they act in the absence of any knowledge at all. Even if social scientists cannot predict the impact of future policies, they can at least attempt to measure the impact of current and past public policies and make this knowledge available to decision makers.

#### POLICY ANALYSIS AS ART AND CRAFT

Understanding public policy is both an art and a craft. It is an art because it requires insight, creativity, and imagination in identifying societal problems and describing them, in devising public policies that might alleviate them, and then in finding out whether these policies end up making things better or worse. It is a craft because these tasks usually require some knowledge of economics, political science, public administration, sociology, law, and statistics. Policy analysis is really an applied subfield of all of these traditional academic disciplines.

We doubt that there is any "model of choice" in policy analysis—that is, a single model or method that is preferable to all others and that consistently renders the best solutions to public problems. Instead we agree with political scientist Aaron Wildavsky, who wrote:

Policy analysis is one activity for which there can be no fixed program, for policy analysis is synonymous with creativity, which may be stimulated by theory and sharpened by practice, which can be learned but not taught.<sup>3</sup>

Wildavsky goes on to warn students that solutions to great public questions are not to be expected:

In large part, it must be admitted, knowledge is negative. It tells us what we cannot do, where we cannot go, wherein we have been wrong, but not necessarily how to correct these errors. After all, if current efforts were judged wholly satisfactory, there would be little need for analysis and less for analysts.

There is no one model of choice to be found in this book, but if anyone wants to begin a debate about different ways of understanding public policy, this book is a good place to begin.

#### **SUMMARY**

There are a variety of definitions of public policy. But we say simply that public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do.

- 1. Policy analysis is finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes.
- 2. The scope of public policy has expanded as governments do more things and grow in size.
- 3. A systems model relates societal conditions to political institutions and processes, and to policy outcomes.
- 4. Policy analysis is often limited by disagreements over the nature of societal problems, by subjectivity in the interpretation of results, by limitations to the design of policy research, and by the complexity of human behavior.

## MySearchLab<sup>®</sup> EXERCISES

Apply what you learned in this chapter on MySearchLab (www.mysearchlab.com).

#### NOTES

 This book discourages elaborate academic discussions of the definition of public policy we say simply that public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do. Even the most elaborate definitions of public policy, on close examination, seem to boil down to the same thing. For example, political scientist David Easton defines public policy as "the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society"—but it turns out that only the government can "authoritatively" act on the "whole" society, and everything the government chooses to do or not to do results in the "allocation of values."

Political scientist Harold Lasswell and philosopher Abraham Kaplan define policy as a "a projected program of goals, values, and practices," and political scientist Carl Friedrick says, "It is essential for the policy concept that there be a goal, objective, or purpose." These definitions imply a difference between specific government actions and an overall program of action toward a given goal. But the problem raised in insisting that government actions must have goals in order to be labeled "policy" is that we can never be sure whether or not a particular action has a goal, or if it does, what that goal is. Some people may assume that if a government chooses to do something there must be a goal, objective, or purpose, but all we can really observe is what governments choose to do or not to do. Realistically, our notion of public policy must include all actions of government, and not what governments or officials say they are going to do. We may wish that governments act in a "purposeful, goal-oriented" fashion, but we know that all too frequently they do not.

Still another approach to defining public policy is to break down this general notion

into various component parts. Political scientist Charles O. Jones asks that we consider the distinction among various proposals (specified means for achieving goals), programs (authorized means for achieving goals), decisions (specific actions taken to implement programs), and effects (the measurable impacts of programs). But again we have the problem of assuming that decisions, programs, goals, and effects are linked. Certainly in many policy areas we will see that the decisions of government have little to do with announced "programs," and neither are connected with national "goals." It may be unfortunate that our government does not function neatly to link goals, programs, decisions, and effects, but, as a matter of fact, it does not.

So we shall stick with our simple definition: public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do. Note that we are focusing not only on government action but also on government inaction, that is, what government chooses not to do. We contend that government *inaction* can have just as great an impact on society as government action.

See David Easton, *The Political System* (New York: Knopf, 1953), p. 129; Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 71; Carl J. Friedrich, *Man and His Government* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 70; Charles O. Jones, *An Introduction to the Study* of *Public Policy* (Boston: Duxbury, 1977), p. 4.

- 2. Harold Lasswell, Politics: Who Gets What, When and How (New York: McGraw Hill, 1936).
- 3. Aaron Wildavsky, Speaking Truth to Power (New York: John Wiley, 1979), p. 3.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- ANDERSON, JAMES E. Public Policymaking, 7th ed. Cengage Learning, 2011.
- COCHRAN, CLARKE E., et al. American Public Policy: An Introduction, 10th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2011.
- DUNN, WILLIAM N. Public Policy Analysis, 4th ed. New York: Pearson Education, 2008.
- KRAFT, MICHAEL E., and SCOTT R. FURLONG. Public Policy: Politics, Analysis and Alternatives, 3rd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.
- PETERS, B. GUY. American Public Policy: Promise and Performance, 8th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.
- RUSHEFSKY, MARK E. Public Policy in the United States, 4th ed. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008.
- WEINER, DAVID and ALDEN R. VINING. Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice, 5th ed. New York: Longman, 2011.
- WILDAVSKY, AARON. Speaking Truth to Power. New York: John Wiley, 1979.

#### WEB SITES

- OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. White House home page, with president's policy positions, speeches, press releases, etc. www.whitehouse.gov
- U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Official House Web site, with links to individual House members' Web sites. www.house.gov
- U.S. SENATE. Official Senate Web site, with links to individual senators' Web sites. www.senate.gov
- U.S. CONGRESS ON THE INTERNET. Library of Congress Thomas search engine for finding bills and tracing their progress through Congress. http://thomas.loc.gov
- FEDERAL STATISTICS ONLINE. Links to federal statistical reports, listed by topic A–Z. www.fedstats.gov

- U.S. CENSUS BUREAU. The official site of the Census Bureau, with access to all current reports population, income and poverty, government finances, etc. www.census.gov
- FIRST GOV. U.S. government's official portal to all independent agencies and government corporations. www.firstgov.gov
- FEDERAL JUDICIARY. U.S. judiciary official site, with links to all federal courts. www.uscourts.gov
- SUPREME COURT CASES. Compilation of all key U.S. Supreme Court decisions. www.supct.law. cornell.edu
- LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Compilation of the laws of the United States. http://thomas.loc.gov



**Federal "stimulus" spending** Airport construction funded by the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. This legislation, known in Washington as the "stimulus package," was designed to pump \$787 billion into the American economy to offset the "Great Recession." This bill was a decidedly "non-incremental" addition to federal spending and deficits. Indeed, the 2009 federal budget included the largest single increase in spending and deficit levels incurred in any year in history. (© Rick D'Elia/Corbis)