PSJ Policy Studies Journal

Forword: Poor Richard in 2011

Paul Rich
President, Policy Studies Organization

In 1732, an "Almanack" appeared by Richard Saunders, known also in American history as Poor Richard. He of course did not exist: the name appropriated was that of Richard Saunders, a British astrologer and almanac maker of the 17th century. The real author and editor was none other than Benjamin Franklin.

Franklin continued to publish *Poor Richard's Almanack* until 1758, and it was one of the bases of his personal prosperity. As many as 10,000 copies were bought every year, which in proportion to the population made it an extraordinary bestseller.

Unlike this third edition of the *Public Policy Yearbook*, the *Almanack* included poems and weather predictions. They were served along with pithy sayings by Franklin, some of which about thrift might have been useful recently on Wall Street: *Avarice and Happiness never saw each other, how then shou'd they become acquainted.* (1734)

Franklin faced the problem every year of making the volume sufficiently interesting to induce people to buy the updated version. He found that predictions were one good sales technique. In time the work became a worldwide phenomena. Napoleon had it translated into Italian. The French ship given to John Paul Jones to conduct his sea raids during the American Revolution was named Bonhomme Richard, after the supposed editor.

Well, we are again indebted to Hank C. Jenkins-Smith and Sarah Trousset for what was hailed in its first edition as a useful resource and has speedily become a virtually indispensable resource. The improvements made by them this year will be conspicuously evident.

Neither Hank nor Sarah have ventured to make any predictions for us as to the stock market or weather, but no options are foreclosed in years to come! However, the passing of a year and appearance of a new yearbook after a period of considerable national and international grief does remind us of a much quoted maxim offered by Franklin in his edition of 1746: *Dost thou love Life? Then do not squander Time; for that's the Stuff Life is made of.*

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2011 Public Policy Yearbook

Hank C. Jenkins-Smith & Sarah Trousset, Editors
University of Oklahoma

This volume contains the third edition of the *Public Policy Yearbook,* provided as a special issue of the *Policy Studies Journal.* The 2011 edition of the *Yearbook* contains a detailed international listing of policy scholars with contact information, fields of specialization, research references[1], and a individual scholar's statements of current and future research interests. The intent is to provide a reasonably comprehensive and accessible reference to the most recent scholarship on all aspects of public policy, as well as indications of future research directions. For public policy scholars, inclusion in the Yearbook is a great way to gain visibility and facilitate networking within the policy research community. Listing in the *Yearbook* is free of charge to all scholars (including graduate students) who do research in public policy, and is provided in print form to members of the Policy Studies Organization and subscribers to the *Policy Studies Journal*. The *Yearbook* is now available as a stand-alone volume, available from the Policy Studies Organization. In addition, the contents will be made accessible in searchable form on the web in the Spring of 2011. The on-line version of the *Yearbook* will provide links to abstracts, articles and scholar bios.

Policy Scholarship: New Developments, Snapshots and Trends

The 2011 Yearbook contains a set of short peer-reviewed articles summarizing the most recent developments (primarily over the past two years) in scholarship in specific policy subfields. This year's essays include all five of the theoretical categories identified in the *Yearbook*: Agenda Setting, Adoption and Implementation; Policy Analysis and Evaluation; Policy History; Policy Process Theories; and Public Opinion. Also included are three essays describing the newest scholarship in three substantive domains: Education Policy; Defense and Security Policy; and Governance. The 2012

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Yearbook will include essays on recent policy scholarship concerning Comparative Public Policy, Economic Policy, Environmental Policy, Health Policy, International Relations, Law and Policy, Science and Technology Policy, and Social Policy. We selected advanced graduate students (past the comprehensive exam stage) from leading graduate schools to write these articles, and asked them to focus on the policy subfields listed in the *Yearbook*, and referenced scholars and articles were contacted to be featured in the listings within the Yearbook to facilitate access to current policy research. The Yearbook is designed to facilitate ready linkage of recent scholarship to scholars' profiles, abstracts, articles and contact information.

While public policy scholars produce a broad array of new research each year, the 2011 *Yearbook* highlights some key developments. Some of these include the following:

- **Agenda Setting, Adoption and Implementation:** Barry Pump notes that policy scholars are paying greater attention to mechanisms and dynamics of agenda setting in the policy process. Recent trends focus on information processing and shifting the unit of analysis beyond policy subsystems.
- **Policy Analysis:** Deven Carlson highlights a recent shift among policy analysis scholars toward a focus on social experimentation, the use of meta-analysis and Monte Carlo simulations in benefit-cost analysis, and on the rise of institutional actors engaged in the promotion and dissemination of policy analysis.
- **Policy History:** In reflecting upon new developments in Policy History, Peter deLeon and Kathleen Gallagher re-examine deLeon's original argument in *Advice and Consent* (1988). The authors examine the impact of the non-profit sector and the concept of governance on policy analysis within the field of public policy.
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- **Governance:** The concept and notion of "governance" has had a tremendous impact on public policy research. Robbie Robichau illuminates the evolution of the concept of "governance" and its implications on the policy process.

The review essays reference the leading scholarship in each theoretical and substantive domain, allowing quick access to both published work and future research interests. Our intent is to provide a resource for scholars and practitioners of public policy to have an accessible reference to who is studying what, where and how in the field of public policy. From our own experience as scholars, journal editors, and teachers, the *Yearbook* will be of value for finding shared interests and expertise among scholars and practitioners.

One way to illustrate current trends and among policy scholars' work is to scan the "current research and future directions" summaries in the *Yearbook* entries. Over time, this section will provide the data to track current and over-time variations in the substantive and theoretical work, as well as methodological approaches to public policy scholarship. Figure 1 below captures the frequency of

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primary words employed in the summaries of current research in the 2011 *Yearbook*.

Characterizing *Yearbook* Policy Scholars

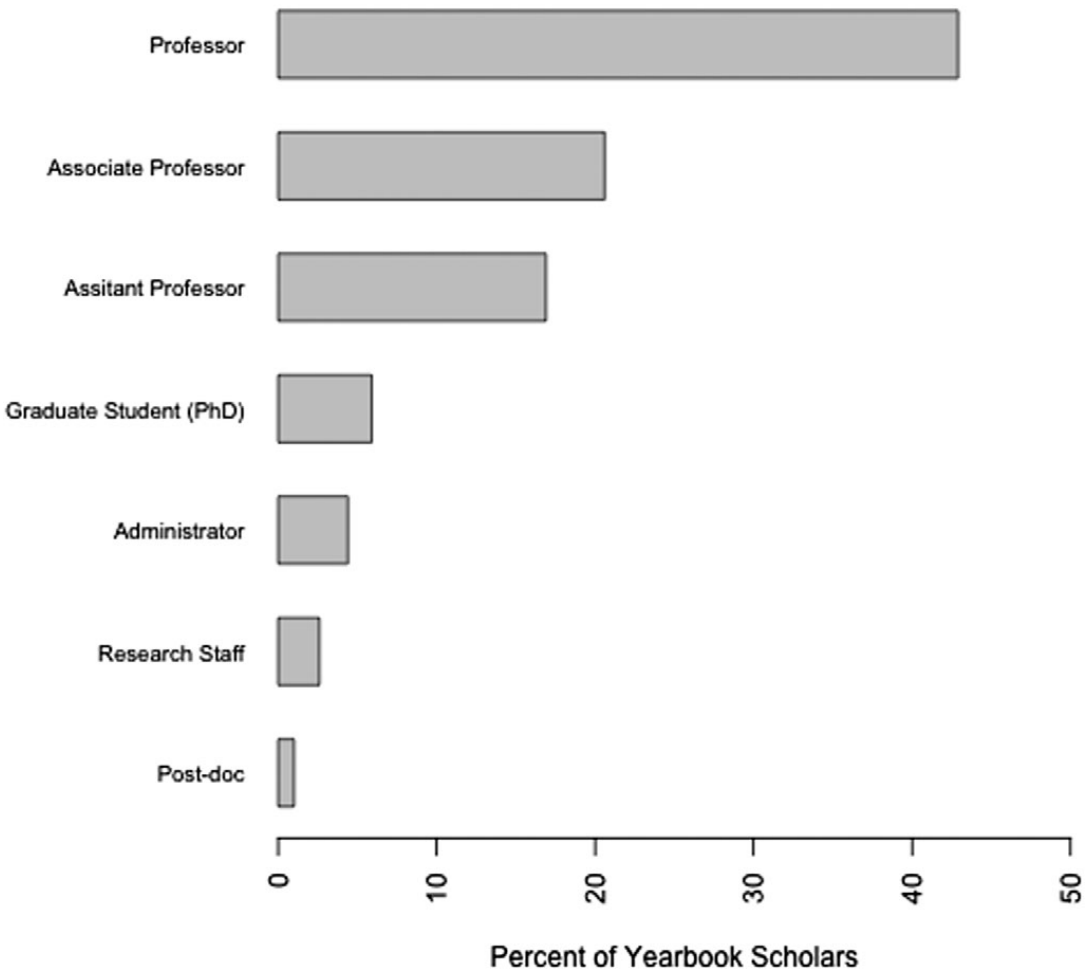
The public policy scholars in the 2011 *Yearbook* reside in 29 countries across the globe, including: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Maricopa, Mexico, Nepal, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Within the US, Yearbook scholars reside in 44 of the 50 states. Figure 2 shows the location of U.S. based scholars. One-quarter of *Yearbook* members are female, and the average reported years of experience in policy research was 18 years.

Future editions of the *Yearbook* will capture a broader population of scholars, particularly focusing on increasing the representation of international scholars, graduate students, and practitioners.

Yearbook scholars were asked to provide background on employment and areas of research focus. The breakdown of scholars' job titles is shown in Figure 3 below.

Figures 4 and 5 display the relative frequency for scholars' theoretical and substantive specializations. Note that scholars could choose more than one area as a specialty, and therefore are represented in multiple categories. The most frequently identified specialization is agenda setting, adoption and implementation, followed by policy analysis and evaluation. Policy process theorists make up the third largest

Figure 2. Distribution of US-Based Yearbook Scholars.



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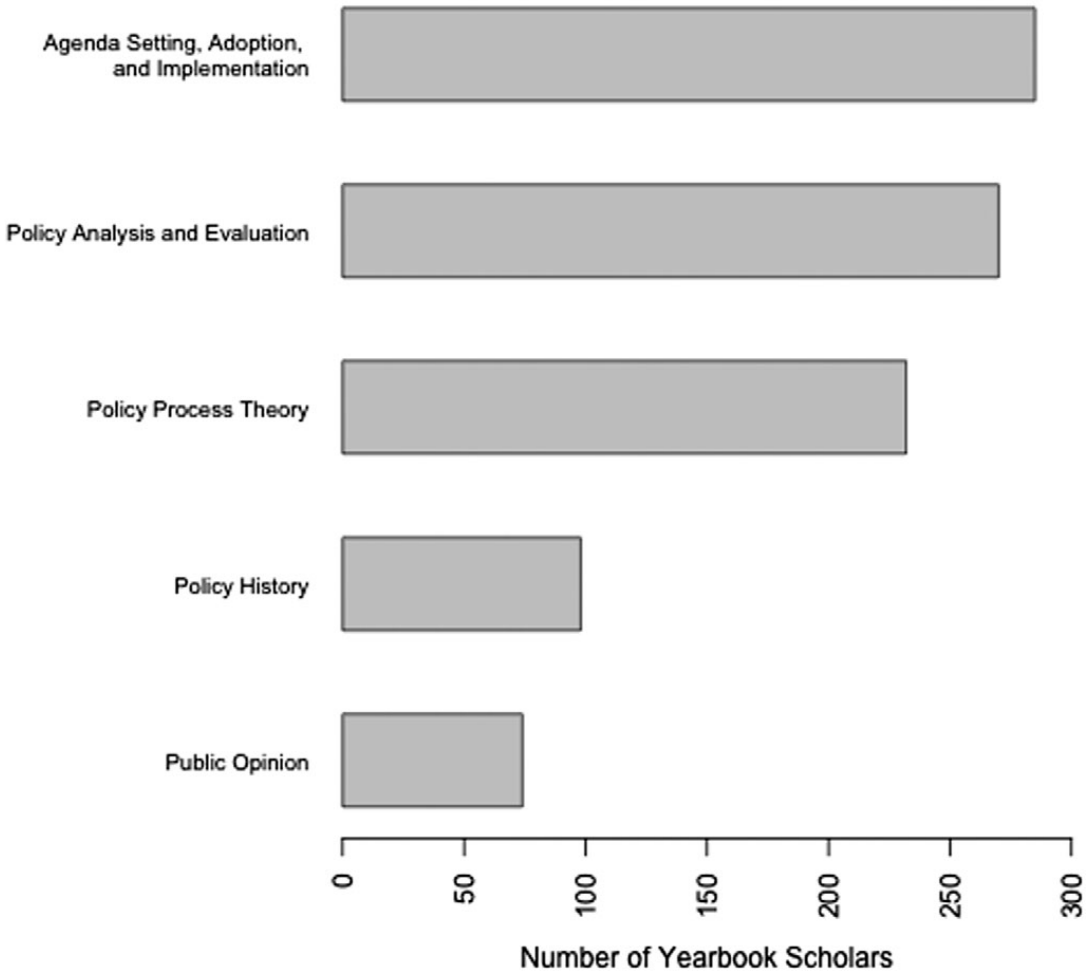

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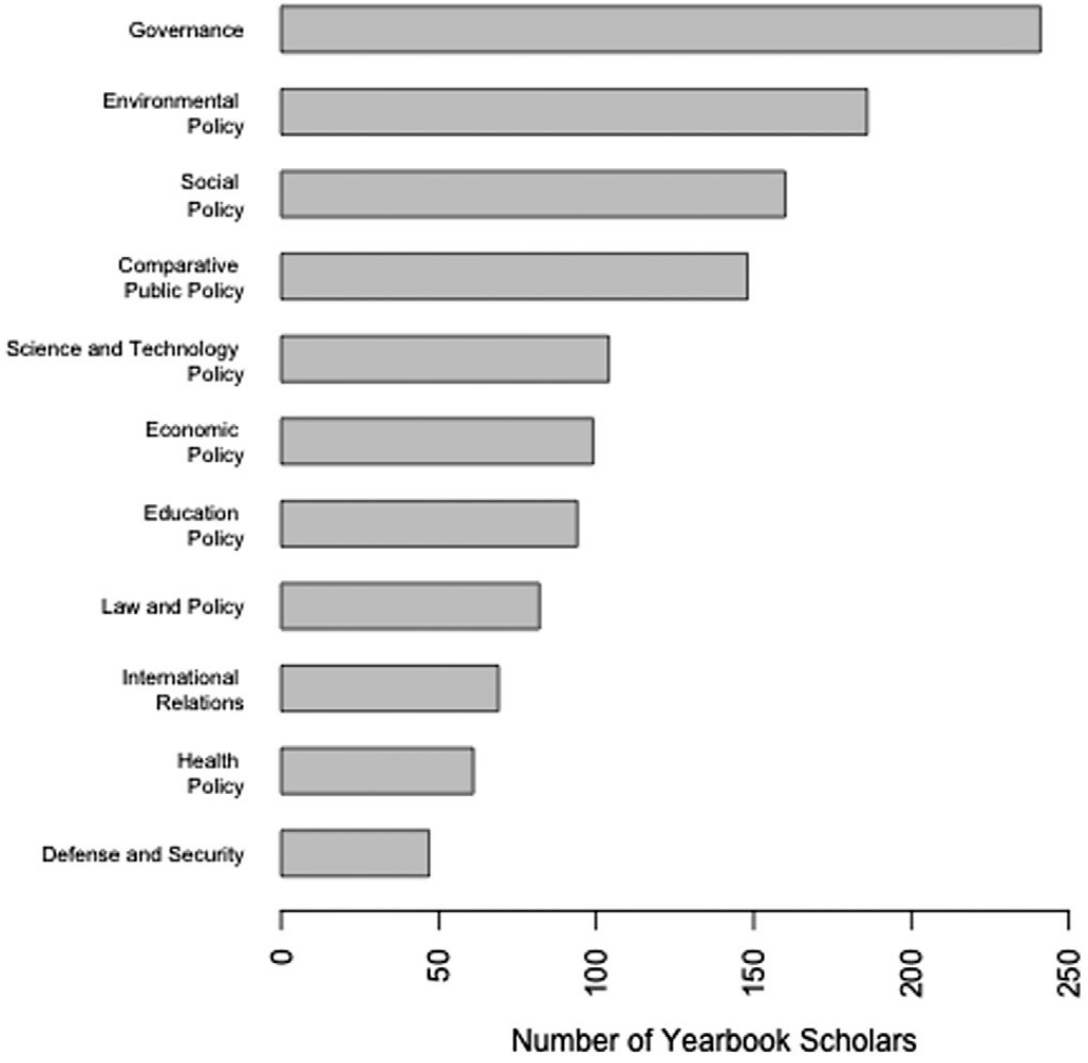

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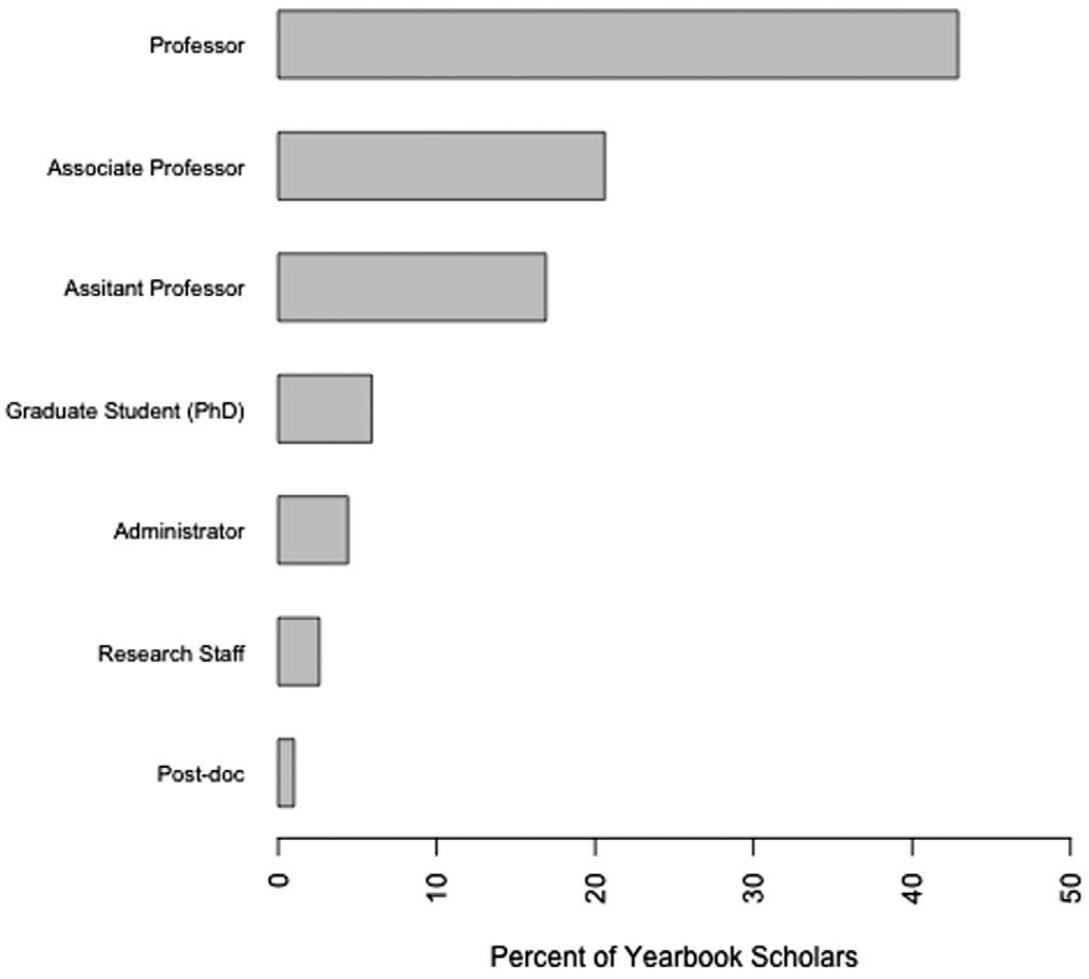

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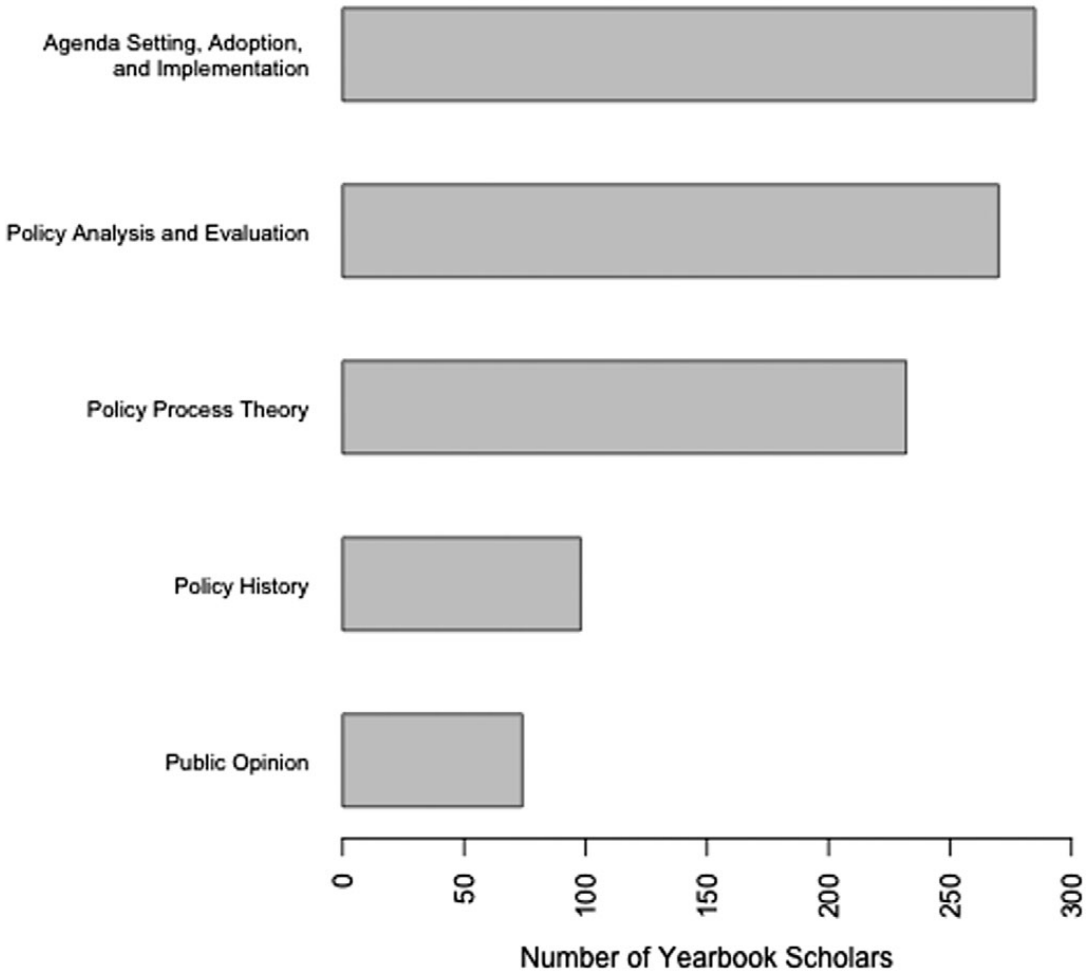

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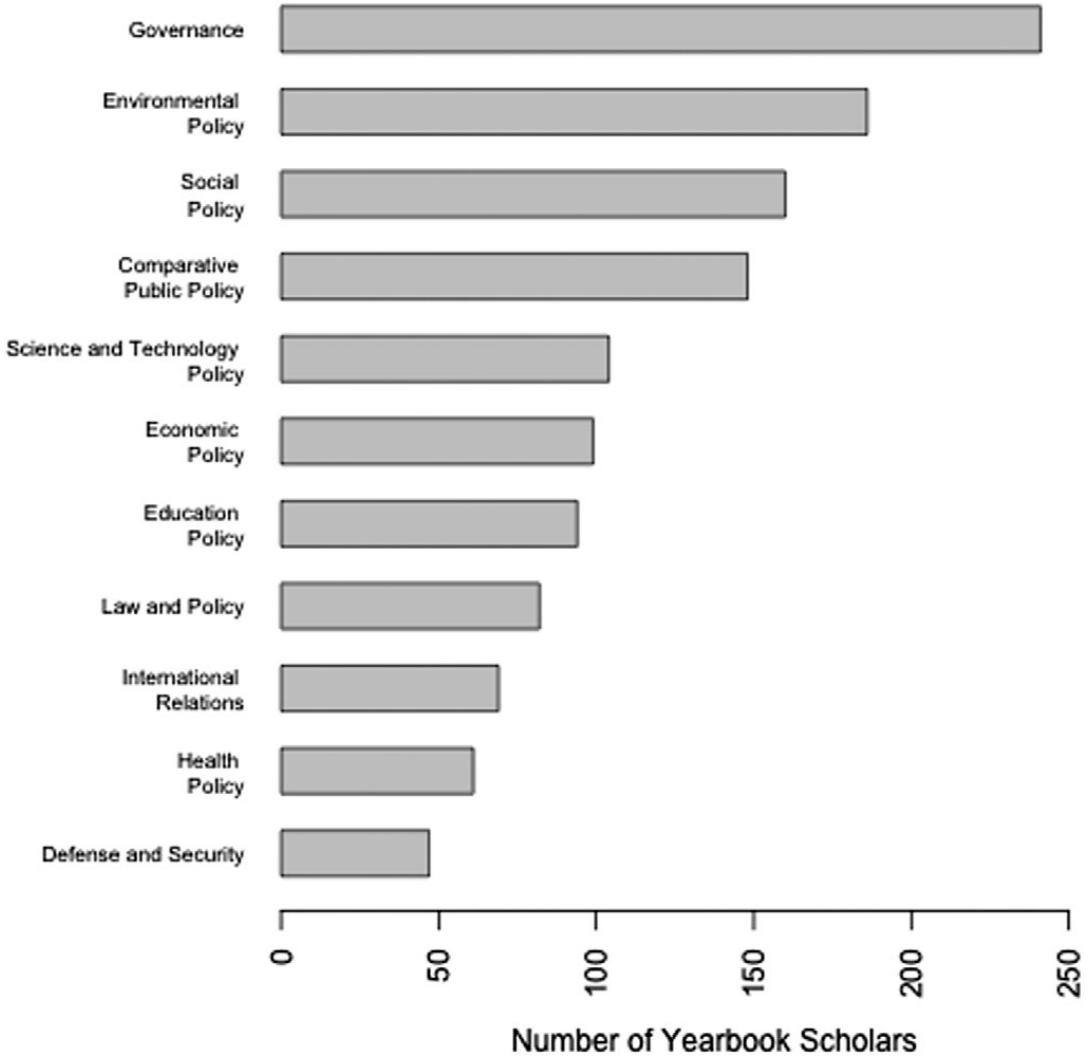

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Beyond Metaphors: New Research on Agendas in the Policy Process[1]

Barry Pump

Research on agenda setting seems to have arrived at a second stage in its development. In recent years, it has moved beyond both metaphors and popular units of analysis to study the mechanisms and dynamics of agenda setting in the public policy process. This essay synthesizes the last two years of research on agenda setting. It classifies the divergent work into three broad categories. The first focuses on information processing and punctuated equilibrium processes. The second addresses the attempts by scholars to move beyond subsystems as a unit of analysis. The third addresses the role of the bureaucracy in agenda setting, particularly during crises. The final section of the essay concludes by discussing future directions for research.

Introduction

Academic work, like policymaking, is incremental in nature. Studies of agenda setting provide ample testimony to small but steady refinements to extant research. How organizations select the issues they address out of the potentially infinite number of alternatives is of central importance to understanding the policymaking process. And the academic literature about this process has in recent years moved beyond both metaphors and popular units of analysis to study the mechanisms and dynamics of agenda setting.

The theoretical foundations of the study of agenda setting, however, remain as firm as ever. Herbert A. Simon's notion of bounded rationality provides the context for many public policy scholars' conception of the agenda-setting process. In *Reason in Human Affairs* (1983), Simon identified four primary limitations of traditional microeconomic decision-making assumptions that include rationality and perfect information. First, individuals lack the ability to pay attention to every dimension of a problem at once. Second, decision-makers lack perfect information about their choices. Third, individuals face uncertainty about how their decisions will play out in the future. Finally, and perhaps as a function of the other limitations, individuals may not have access to complete knowledge of their own preferences.

Simon's understanding of "boundedly rational" individual decision making provided early agenda setting scholars with a way of thinking about how institutions

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process information and select alternatives. Just as individuals struggled to see all the sides of a problem and select a solution with a minimum of future harm, organizations struggled with the complexity of issues and potential solutions' prospects. Limited cognitive and organizational abilities led to the development of punctuated equilibrium theory (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). This theory argues that the agendas of policymaking organizations are relatively stable until shocks produced outside of the organization lead to renewed focus and then frenzied policy activity to catch up with new demands. Punctuated equilibrium theory does not imply, however, that policymaking is static. It implies that policymaking in equilibrium is fairly predictable and incremental in nature.

Early work in punctuated equilibrium theory, however, did not make the connections between Simon's theories of *individual* decision making and *organizational* decision making particularly clear. In an effort to clarify this analogy, recent work on punctuated equilibrium has tried to get under the hood and understand how limited decision making abilities lead to sudden bursts of policymaking activity. Scholars have focused on information and institutional "friction." How information flows, or does not flow, through institutions can become a way of explaining the bursts of activity. Likewise, friction—understood as the varying costs of policymaking activities—can explain why there is a build up of activity and then the need to overcompensate in the event of a shock (Baumgartner *et al*., 2009; Workman, Jones, & Jochim, 2009).

For punctuated equilibrium theories of agenda setting, the role of shocks or crises cannot be understated. They provide the quintessential open "window" for action among relevant policy actors (Kingdon, 2003). It may seem obvious that an event like the 9/11 terrorist attacks or Hurricane Katrina would upset the normal patterns of policymaking, altering the agenda significantly. But the actual mechanisms of the alteration have gone relatively unexamined until recently. In addition to developments in punctuated equilibrium and information theories, over the last two years there has been progress in thinking about how crises, or disruptions, affect policymaking (May, Sapotichne, & Workman, 2009a,b).

One way crises can alter agenda setting is by exposing previously isolated "iron triangles," "policy subsystems" or "issue networks" to new influences (Jochim & May, 2010; Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009). Policy subsystems—regularized patterns of making policy with more or less connected sets of actors who share vocabularies and issue definitions—often operate parallel to each other. Crises can force the actors of one subsystem to suddenly work with the actors of another. Homeland security policy following 9/11 provides an example of this dynamic. Subsystems attendant to issues as diverse as food security and critical infrastructure suddenly became linked—in rhetoric if not in point of fact—through a new "regime" putatively focused on all hazards. Linked subsystems reduce the degrees of freedom policy actors have to set their own agenda.

Crises often underscore the complexity and interconnectedness of policy issues. In addition to refinements in punctuated equilibrium theory and the role of crises in agenda setting, policy scholars have recently started thinking carefully about the implications of so-called "boundaryspanning" problems (Boin, 2009; Lagadec, 2009).

It is clear, though, that the subsystem concept as a unit of analysis that has been pivotal in understanding how agendas are structured cannot fully capture the policymaking process around complex issues, such as the recent financial crisis, homeland security, critical infrastructure policy, or ocean health. Regimes may be one way of addressing these issues, but then the focus turns to how regimes process agenda setting demands differently than subsystems.

And finally, agenda setting research has begun to incorporate the bureaucracy in its theorizing (May, Workman, & Jones, 2008; Workman et al., 2009). Administrative agencies can serve as links between subsystems, and provide the institutional structure to build coherent regimes to address complex, or messy, policy problems. The bureaucracy can also serve as an agent in agenda setting processes, providing valuable information to political principals. Informational theories of the policy process as well as scholarship on crises and boundary-spanning problems benefit from the inclusion of the bureaucracy as a major component of agenda setting.

This essay synthesizes the last two years of research on agenda setting. It classifies the divergent work into three broad categories. The first focuses on information processing and punctuated equilibrium processes. The second addresses the attempts by scholars to move beyond subsystems as a unit of analysis. The third addresses the role of the bureaucracy in agenda setting, particularly during crises. The final section of the essay concludes by discussing future directions for research.

Agenda Processes

Rich metaphors and examples highlight the agenda setting literature. Indeed, punctuated equilibrium itself is a metaphor derived from evolutionary biology. Whereas most species adaptations take hold incrementally over millennia, others can do so in mere generations. Similarly, most policymaking is minor and done in relatively isolated policy communities over time, but yet, outside events can shock the system out of its incrementalist equilibrium and force rapid change. Given this broad theoretical outline of the policy process and agenda change, recent research has tried to examine the underpinnings of punctuations.

The latest work on punctuated equilibrium theory has focused on institutional "friction" in a comparative context. Baumgartner et al. (2009) note that governments are "master jugglers" that balance the competing issues seeking attention, but the juggling depends on institutional features with varying costs associated with their employment. While introducing a bill may be a relatively frictionless activity, gaining final passage of a major overhaul of the healthcare system is a much taller order, for example. Baumgartner et al. argue that friction facilitates punctuations, as political inputs into the policy process (such as public opinion or electoral outcomes) build up over time, slowly reaching a threshold at which point policymakers must play catch-up and over-respond to an issue. The result is a frenzy of policymaking activity (cf. Givel, 2010).

Baumgartner et al. (2009) find that as policy inputs move along the policy process there is increasing friction. This finding is irrespective of the type of governmental system (separated powers vs. Westminster-style parliaments, e.g.,): "Increas-

ing institutional costs and the challenges of complexity produce increasingly punctuated series along the policy cycle regardless of institutional specifics" (Baumgartner et al., 2009, 615). This leads the authors to conclude that institutional design cannot mitigate all the limits of human rationality noted above, so punctuations are simply features of how organizations make decisions.

This latest iteration of punctuated equilibrium theory narrows in on the importance of information in the policy process. Agendas are not set by entrepreneurs or exogenous events alone. As Baumgartner et al. note, governments "do not react directly to the real world but to politically processed signals that are already affected by the friction associated with processes of social mobilization" (2009, p. 616). This means that issues are already "punctuated" politically before they reach the institutions of government.

Liu, Lindquist, and Vedlitz (2009) study the agenda setting surrounding climate change policy, an issue that has in many ways punctuated politically long before formal government action. They largely confirm extant theories, such as punctuated equilibrium, but they note that inertia and venue provide distinctions. For example, how much attention was paid to climate change at $time_2$ was dependent on the attention at $time_1$. Further, Congress's attention to climate change was affected by increases in CO_2 levels, while the media's attention was directed by international focusing events—a distinction that Baumgartner et al.'s theory would not anticipate. This difference led Liu, Lindquist and Vedlitz to conclude that different venues, such as the president or T V media, may also process signals differently.

Related to that finding, Workman, Jones and Jochim note that how "political institutions organize themselves to process information presents opportunities for the generation of information" (2009, p. 83). The central problem with the pluralist American system, Workman, Jones and Jochim argue, is an oversupply of relevant information to policymakers, through congressional committees competing for issue definitions to administrative organizations sending signals about policy priorities to political principals. "Policymakers in the elected branches of government rely on the supply of information from the federal bureaucracy to inform policy decisions and political calculations, including the decision to become involved in the first place. Given this fact, the ways in which jurisdictional overlap and redundancy shapes the information supplied to higher levels of government (in the form of signals) become a very important topic for study" (Workman et al., 2009, 88).

The key contribution of information processing theory on agenda setting is the focus on both the sender and receiver of relevant policy signals. Each works in an environment that can expand or attenuate the flow of information. Workman et al. (2009) end with a vivid example of how this process could work with disastrous results: the occupation of Iraq. Bureaucrats in the Coalition Provisional Authority busily went about setting up a stock market in Baghdad despite extreme lapses in security. The C PA thought the problem confronting it was simply to establish a market economy, and it was unprepared to send signals about other problems. As a result, political policymakers were unable to prioritize information on the ground in Iraq and react accordingly.

Beyond Subsystems

Agenda setting theories normally evaluate how subsystem actors put their issues in front of relevant policymaking organizations. This subsystem research is a mainstay of the literature. Boscarino (2009) provides a recent example. She examines sustainable forest policy in the U.S. and discovers that policy entrepreneurs at the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society "problem surfed" their forestry solutions over time. Reinforcing Kingdon (2003), she finds that when economic concerns were of foremost importance in the early 1980 s, forestry policy advocates adopted economic language for their sustainable forest initiatives. Later in that decade, however, when water quality was highly salient, forestry advocates highlighted forests' role in providing clean water. Advocates, then, try to attach their solutions to salient issues, surfing problems until their solution takes hold.

But the subsystem concept can only go so far to describe many contemporary problems facing policymakers. Subsystems are often interconnected. The nature of complex problems may require input from many—previously unlinked—subsystem players. Crises, too, can be important catalysts for subsystem interconnectedness. The result is a blurring of the boundaries that clearly demarcated subsystem expertise and concern. Boundary-spanning, or transboundary, policy problems present new challenges to the study of agenda setting.

Jochim and May (2010) argue that instead of thinking about policymaking in terms of subsystems, analysts should focus on the development (or lack thereof) of "policy regimes." A regime could be visualized as a type of glue that links subsystems together to combat a transboundary policy problem. This glue could take the form of common ideas or vocabularies or integrative institutions of government. For example, Jochim and May view "drug criminalization" as a regime that linked law enforcement and treatment-oriented subsystems around "zero-tolerance" policies. Health professionals who viewed drug addiction as a disease to be treated rather than a crime to be punished often had to adopt the vocabulary of law enforcement rather than the other way around. The White House Office of Drug Control Policy and the Drug Enforcement Agency also provided institutional linkages.

Trans-subsystem dynamics make us reevaluate how many degrees of freedom policy actors have in setting their own agenda. Subsystem actors compete against each other for time on the larger, system-wide agenda in "normal" policymaking. When it comes to transboundary policy problems, however, the subsystems compete against related subsystems to highlight their particular dimension of a problem, and the linked subsystems then have to fight for consideration against other linked subsystems seeking to have their concerns addressed.

Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) understand how both issue salience and strategic manipulation of issue dimensions can affect agenda setting policy dynamics: "transmission of policy knowledge across previously unlinked subsystems is largely driven by policy entrepreneurs seeking advantage in policy advocacy through adapting elements of previously unused arguments (belief systems) drawn from other subsystems" (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009, 42). They visualize a "policy topography"—a three-dimensional space in which policy actors and institutions are

located in relation to one another. The dimensions of that space are the "ideological tendency" of the public at large (i.e., a left-right "public mood"), the scope of the issue (i.e., the size of the group affected by the outcome), and the issue's salience generally. For Jones and Jenkins-Smith, the key to understanding *trans*-subsystem change is public opinion. Like other ACF scholars, they view public opinion as an external constraint and coalition resource, but they also view it as a source of internal shock.

Changes in public opinion have effects on issue salience and, largely within a subsystem, which dimensions of a problem are highlighted. Accordingly, "salience disruptions" and "dimensional shifts" become ways of understanding the linkages between subsystems. "Salience disruption is initiated by large-scale events that focus public attention on specific subsystems (or groups of them) and thereby generates enormous effort, resources, and change in those subsystems, while simultaneously drawing attention and resources away from others" (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009, 42). Dimensional shifts, meanwhile, are functions of strategic manipulation. "The linked nature of subsystems virtually assures that important changes in key variables affecting one subsystem will have spillover effects in others within and across domains. The outcome of debates in one subsystem can become a threat to coalitions engaged in advocacy in other subsystems; similarly, these outcomes may become a resource for others" (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009, 42).

Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) use the 9/11 terrorist attacks and climate change as examples of the *trans*-subsystem dynamics they intend to explain. The 9/11 terrorist attacks represented a "salience disruption" that upset the established ways of thinking about policy problems like immigration. They argue that immigration was previously considered in terms of economics, morality and government resources. After 9/11, immigration was framed as a security issue as policy entrepreneurs sought to "strategically navigate the newly formed policy topography" (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009, 50). Climate change represents internally-driven *trans*-subsystem dynamics as agents of the air quality subsystem strategically linked with the electricity generation and then the renewable energy subsystems with eventual spillovers into weather and disaster management subsystems as the issue gained more attention.

Instead of Jochim and May's (2010) idea that ideas, interests and institutions prompt the emergence of integrative policy regimes, Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) argue that opinion serves as the glue for subsystems dealing with transboundary policy problems. Mass opinion is a resource for elite policy actors. And while elite opinion undoubtedly influences mass opinion, elites are also constrained by how the public views their issues. In "good" times, public opinion or issue salience can be a resource entrepreneurs use to gain agenda access. Other times, entrepreneurs face an uphill battle against negative views or a lack of interest. A further constraint on policy entrepreneurs is the activity in other, linked subsystems. Strategies employed in one may provide valuable information for other subsystems with many linkages. Negative opinion of one subsystem's issues may have ripple effects on other closely linked subsystems' behavior.

Crises and the Bureaucracy

Another challenge that transboundary policy problems pose to agenda setting theory is the extent to which the bureaucracy fosters policy action. Traditional principal-agent accounts of the relationship between policymaker and bureaucrat are unidirectional: policymaker sends signal to bureaucrat, and bureaucrat implements. Yet, in complex policy environments like those found in the aftermath of widespread disruptions and crises, bureaucrats often have expertise that political masters can employ to make sense of messy problems. This gives the bureaucrat a promotion of sorts within the literature. As noted in Workman et al. (2009), administrative agencies are central components of agenda politics, and how they process new information affects the issues to which they pay attention.

"Salience disruptions" have repercussions on the bureaucracy. May et al. (2008) make this point by analyzing the bureaucratic response to preparedness policy before and after 9/11. Centralized authority within a bureaucracy amplifies the policy signals of political principals and leads to top-level attention, which crowds out attention to other issues. Delegated authority, meanwhile, dampen policy signals and leads to agenda stability (May et al., 2008, 521).

May, Workman and Jones document how the well-established Federal Emergency Management Agency initially processed terrorism after the 9/11 attacks as if it were just another problem to consider, despite the high level of political signaling by Congress and the president. Terrorism joined natural disasters, like hurricanes, to the list of issues F E M A processed simultaneously. After FEMA was rolled into the Department of Homeland Security, the centralized structure of DHS channeled attention almost exclusively to terrorism and crippled FEMA's ability to respond to other types of disasters. After Hurricane Katrina, attention shifted marginally to include natural disasters as well.

In other words, *what* the bureaucracy pays attention to is conditioned by *how* the bureaucracy pays attention. Like public opinion, bureaucratic structure can constrain or empower policy entrepreneurs in building, and setting, an agenda. And this, too, can have ripple effects across subsystems—especially since administrative agencies can serve as a major linkage across subsystems.

While crisis and exogenous shocks are often pegged as the reason for agenda change, there is also evidence to suggest that subsystems can provide buffers that reduce the likelihood of upheavals following disruptions. May et al. (2009a,b) argue that the disruption of 9/11 did not result in heightened levels of policymaking or dramatic change in interest mobilization. They argue that shifts in mobilization and attention are selective, and not all subsystems are affected the same way. With regard to homeland security, subsystems related to food safety, technological hazards and natural disasters saw little difference in their patterns of behavior after 9/11—suggesting that "spillovers" between linked subsystems may be rarer than previously thought. Likewise, interests in subsystems that were not disrupted did not demonstrate a competitiveness that would otherwise be expected during a widespread disruption.

Homeland Security is a boundary-spanning problem, as its mission is broadly defined across issues related to terrorism, natural disasters, and to the protection of infrastructure. Yet the policymaking in each attendant subsystem is largely self-contained except for a couple of notable exceptions. Disruptions, then, may not have a dramatic affect on agendas, especially if policymaking before the disruption is not tightly linked across subsystems and is not particularly salient for the public at large.

What May et al. (2009a,b) identify, however, may be policymakers' crude attempt to make sense of complex issues and impose—however arbitrarily—some structure to a policy space that is rapidly changing with new events. Boin notes that future crises are more likely to be "transboundary" in that subsystems are increasingly linked: "Modernization has created 'highways for failure' that leverage the effects of emerging threats (be they man-made or natural)" (2009, p. 370). Lawmakers' strategy of "going to what they know" may improve response times, but it may also limit their ability to consider new ideas and learn from the past.

Lagadec makes the critical point that major crises require a new way of identifying what should occupy the agendas of major policy actors: "Emerging crises demand something else: the ability to spot the signs of phenomena that cannot be represented by any known model. In that case, the alert cannot be given automatically (as in an emergency) or largely preformatted (as in a known crisis), using preestablished principles" (2009, p. 479). But the problem with emerging crises is that signals to policymakers are virtually silent until it is too late to get ahead of a problem, and then, once signals are identified, they represent a threat to a status quo in which almost all parties are heavily invested. A remedy to this structural problem, Lagadec argues, is developing flexibility in policymaking, such as empowering bureaucrats as well as political leaders to develop creative solutions to emerging problems.

Conclusion: Future Directions

The literature on agenda setting has matured from developing concepts to analyzing the underpinnings of those concepts. This represents an important development in advancing scholars' understanding of the policy process. Researchers now have a firmer foundation for testing hypotheses about agenda setting. Greater precision about the mechanisms of agenda setting and policy change also help to foster more comparative studies, so general patterns can be discerned regardless of institutional specifics.

Richer descriptions of the policy process have advanced knowledge of how policy entrepreneurs and officials set the agenda. Boscarino (2009) demonstrates how advocacy organizations search out problems to which to attach their preferred solutions. Liu et al. (2009) demonstrate how attention can differ across institutional venues. And Liu, Lindquist, Vedlitz, and Vincent (2010) show that local policymaking adds different contours to the current understandings, finding that coalition- and consensus-building influenced the policy process more than adversarial politics and public opinion. A renewed appreciation for the importance of venue on the agenda setting process is just one way richer descriptions have improved existing research.

Deeper theorizing about how bounded rationality produces policy punctuations has also emerged in the last two years. This theorizing has focused on institutional friction and information processing (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Workman et al., 2009). The increasing costs of policymaking activity as policy works its way through the process can mean inputs build up to critical thresholds and then cause a flurry of activity as policy makers act to catch up. How information is processed by political institutions also matters in the formulation of policies. This deeper theorizing has also included how the bureaucracy is prepared to send signals to political masters. May et al. (2008) focus on how the bureaucracy pays attention to policy issues and how that affects to what the bureaucracy pays attention. This increased attention to the bureaucracy advances the literature on agenda setting to include even more relevant players.

The bureaucracy is a critical component in understanding the linkages between policy subsystems, and how transboundary policy problems are addressed by connected policymaking institutions. Scholars have recently started moving beyond subsystems to describe how policymakers make sense of the complex issues confronting them. Jochim and May (2010) and Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) advance policy scholars' understanding of how to think about these problems that connect several, previously insulated subsystems. For Jochim and May (2010), subsystems are linked by similar ideas, interests and institutions. For Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009), public opinion is the glue that positions these subsystems in relation to one another.

While this new line of thinking about policymaking remains to be fleshed out, one element of it is clear: the problems facing policymaking communities are increasingly complex, and crises are often the greatest catalysts of transboundary policymaking. Boin (2009) and Lagadec (2009) argue that as crises increase in complexity, there is a new era of policymaking as a result. Modernization, Boin notes, has created "highways for failure" because of the complexity of networked systems (2009, p. 370). Flexibility in policymaking seems to be one way of averting catastrophe.

Yet, there is reason to doubt that widespread crises and interconnected policy regimes actually produce tightly-knit policymaking communities. May et al. (2009a,b) find that the disruption of the 9/11 terrorist attacks did not dramatically affect significant portions of the subsystems attendant to issues now grouped as "homeland security," such as food safety. Their work forces scholars, again, to consider various nuances of subsystem dynamics. While transportation security subsystems were affected by 9/11, the food safety subsystem was not, despite the reorganization of both into the Department of Homeland Security. Theories of the policy process now have to include the possibility that widespread exogenous shocks produce differentiated policymaking processes.

For all the progress and increased richness in the study of the agenda setting process, however, there remain gaps. Some of the gaps relate to how agenda setting matters to policy adoption, and then, implementation. Other concerns relate to how to operationalize the mechanisms of agenda change. For example, do the president's speeches really count as informative signals to the bureaucracy? Finally, how does agenda setting affect the durability of the legislation enacted?

Howlett (2009) makes the case that many policy scholars have inadequately accounted for the sequence in which policymaking events occur. New Institutionalists, then, are neglecting what American Political Development scholars can bring to the research table analytically: a focus on the role of time. Howlett (2009) argues that instead of focusing on path dependency and increasing returns, policy scholars should view events in the policy process as a series of reactions that do not necessarily produce "lock in" of certain patterns but may in fact reverse earlier events. So while Howlett's critique extends to both New Institutionalists and APD scholars, it nevertheless presses all researchers to take time and the sequence of events seriously.

The role of time is particularly important when looking at the durability of legislation. Patashnik (2008) examines major reform efforts, and discovers that instead of increasing returns to a way of doing business, policy can destroy previous interests opposed to reform—remaking the landscape. His conclusions take aim at both the punctuated equilibrium model of policy change and other models of institutional design as well. For example, Patashnik examines the role of outside interest groups and their downstream effects, unlike those who only look at policy entrepreneurs. The limitations of punctuated equilibrium models is also apparent. Reform efforts, Patashnik finds, can vary in pace and across parts of a subsystem. And punctuations themselves differ in size and import. Studies like Patashnik's are rare at this point, but reflect where implementation research is headed.

There seems to be endless variation in the politics of agenda setting and downstream developments. This variation poses a challenge to analysts seeking a way to create general predictive models of individual and organizational behavior. The challenges of complex problems and the often sclerotic nature of bureaucracy only add to the challenges. As a result, the policy process literature seems stuck between "grand theories that are not helpful and helpful theories that are not grand" (Weimer, 2008, 493).

Another potential challenge may be embedded in the literature analyzed above. The complexity of policy problems, the role of information in the policy process, and the speed at which problems change (think of the exponential rise in mean temperatures indicating climate change) all point to a reevaluation of existing theories of the policy process. Is the natural state of policymaking really slow, incremental change given how quickly problems arise and demand attention? Are rapid periods of change really interesting departures from the norm? Or will the changing nature of problems and issues lead to a changed policy process approach that reflects nearly continuous change? In science and policy studies alike there is a heightened interest in entropy, chaos, and complex adaptive systems as a way of approaching the challenge of continual change (see Bardach, 2008).

It is unclear, however, whether existing frameworks are inadequate to the task of addressing such a problem. System-wide agenda space will always be a scarce commodity and how policymakers' attention to problems shifts focus is a central question in all extant theories, especially punctuated equilibrium theories of policy change. Periods of instability and change will always happen because of agenda scarcity. It is impossible for legislators and presidents to maintain concentration on

all issues at once. It is unclear how other theories deal with the reality of the serial processing of policy problems, even when complex problems change and demand attention frequently.

The research over the last two years, however, seems to make clear that there are plenty of opportunities for firming up scholars' understanding of the precise dynamics of agenda setting. Future efforts at doing so will have to be holistic in their accounts—taking full account of the roles and relationships between legislative actors as well as the bureaucracy and interest groups. Future efforts will have to address variation across and within subsystems, since some parts of policy change may move at different paces than others. They will also have to carefully track differences in policymaking according to varying venues. And finally, increasingly complex problems often prompt efforts at overarching regimes to make sense of related issues. Future research will have to investigate how regimes, as a unit of analysis, add to understanding of linked policymaking across subsystem boundaries.

The scholarship on the politics of agenda setting seems to have hit a second stage in its development. From grand theories of the policy process, recent research has narrowed the field to tractable questions. While questions about operationalization will remain, researchers appear to have moved away from metaphors and examples toward richer descriptions of activity that examine the underpinnings of the policy process.

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Note

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Trends and Innovations in Public Policy Analysis

Deven Carlson

This essay identifies three notable advances that have influenced the field of public policy analysis in recent years: the move toward social experimentation, the use of meta-analysis and Monte Carlo simulation in benefit-cost analysis, and the rise of institutional actors that promote the practice and dissemination of high-quality policy analysis. In addition to describing each of these innovations, this essay discusses how each of these advances has affected the practice of public policy analysis.

Introduction

The field of public policy analysis is not constrained by traditional disciplinary boundaries or practices. It is informed by the work of political scientists, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and lawyers, as well as scholars of substantive policy areas, such as those who specialize in education, welfare, housing, health care, and many other policy areas. Theoretical or methodological innovations in any of these areas are often quickly added to the toolkits of policy analysts and manifest themselves in their work. As a result, the field of policy analysis is unique in its dynamism and continual evolution. This essay describes three notable advances that have taken place in recent years and discusses the effects of these innovations on the practice of public policy analysis.

Contemporary policy research places an intense focus on using exogenous variation in treatment assignment to identify the causal effects of various policies or interventions on particular outcomes of interest. Among other consequences, this focus has resulted in an increased use of social experiments as a method for estimating policy impacts. Because policy research is often used to inform policy analysis, the trend toward the increased use of social experiments has affected the field of policy analysis in several important ways.[1] The first part of this essay describes the movement toward social experimentation, the advantages and drawbacks of doing so, and the impact of this movement on the field of policy analysis.

Residing under the broad umbrella of policy analysis is the methodology of benefit-cost analysis. Whereas traditional policy analysis purports to identify *all* potential impacts of selected policy alternatives, benefit-cost analysis is concerned with identifying all *efficiency-related* policy impacts and then monetizing these impacts to determine which policy alternative is most desirable from a social

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efficiency perspective (Boardman, Greenberg, Vining, & Weimer, 2006; Weimer & Vining, 2011). Because benefit-cost analysis falls under the larger umbrella of policy analysis, many of the innovations in policy analysis—such as the move toward experimentation—also influence the conduct of benefit-cost analysis. There are other advances, however, that are unique to the practice of benefit-cost analysis. The second part of this essay focuses on two recent advances that are predominantly in the domain of benefit-cost analysis: (i) the use of meta-analysis to enhance the generalizability of benefit-cost analyses and (ii) the utilization of Monte Carlo simulation methods to convey uncertainty in the estimates of specific benefit and cost categories, as well as in the estimate of net benefits for a particular policy.

As the field of public policy analysis lacks a single disciplinary home, it has long occupied a space where its visibility is largely a function of the efforts of particular scholars and policy domains. As a result, its use, popularity, and influence in policy debates has waxed and waned over time. There is a sense, however, that these ebbs and flows are abating and policy analysis is beginning to occupy a mainstream position consistently in policy debates. This movement toward the mainstream can be partially attributed to an increased emphasis on the practice and dissemination of high-quality public policy analysis by a diverse set of institutional actors. The third part of this essay explores the role that three specific actors have played in ushering policy analysis and benefit-cost analysis toward the mainstream. In particular, it describes how the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP), and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation have advanced the cause of high-quality policy analysis. By describing the roles of these three institutions, I highlight how the recent emphasis on rigorous public policy analysis is the result of efforts by federal government agencies, state-level governmental institutions, and non-governmental entities.

By focusing on the three topics identified above—the move toward social experimentation, recent innovations in benefit-cost analysis, and institutional actors that have promoted the practice and dissemination of high-quality policy analysis—I provide a description of some of the most important recent innovations and advances in public policy analysis, as well as a portrayal of the current state of this vibrant field. Public policy analysis, which is growing in influence both inside and outside of the academy, provides scholars and analysts with a rigorous, systematic process for informing the important policy debates of the day, debates that affect the lives of millions of people in meaningful and diverse ways.

The Move Toward Social Experimentation

Traditional policy analysis is a systematic, multi-step process requiring a diverse set of skills and information from a wide variety of sources. Weimer (2009, p. 93) provides a succinct summary of the process when he writes "Canonical policy analysis defines the problem being addressed, identifies the social values, or goals, relevant to the problem, constructs concrete policy alternatives, projects the impacts of the alternative policies in terms of the identified goals, and makes a recommendation based on an explicit assessment among goals offered by the alternatives." Of

these steps, projecting the impact of each policy alternative in terms of the relevant goals is perhaps the most important, yet also the most difficult (Bardach, 2009).

The task of projecting the impact of policies in terms of various goals requires analysts to assemble all available evidence that can usefully inform predictions about the likely effects of all relevant policy alternatives. While this is an inherently forward-looking endeavor, some of the most valuable evidence for informing predictions about future policy impacts comes from backward-looking policy research and evaluation; oftentimes the best predictor of the future effects of a policy is the past performance of identical or similar policies. Consequently, it is easy to see how high-quality policy research and evaluation can be an invaluable resource for practitioners of traditional policy analysis.

In recent years, policy research has exhibited an intense focus on identifying the causal effect of a policy or intervention on one or more outcomes of interest. Do charter schools increase student achievement? Does the relocation of families from public housing projects to low-poverty neighborhoods result in improved labor market outcomes? Answering questions such as these with precision and clarity is the main, and oftentimes sole, goal in contemporary policy research. In theory, a wide variety of research designs can provide valid and reliable estimates of causal relationships. In many of these designs, however, a causal interpretation of any estimates requires strong assumptions.[2] As a result, preference is generally given to studies that can clearly demonstrate treatment assignment to be exogenous. While multiple designs can provide persuasive cases for exogenous assignment to treatment—regression discontinuity approaches and natural experiments are two such designs—perhaps the most convincing demonstration of treatment exogeneity is random assignment of units to treatment and control groups.

The allure of the experimental approach is clear; under what many consider to be relatively weak assumptions, experimental designs can provide unbiased, model-free estimates of the causal effect of a given treatment—often a specific policy or social intervention—on a particular outcome of interest. Many of the earliest applications of experimental designs in social policy research occurred in the context of early childhood education in the 1960s and '70s with evaluations of programs such as the Perry Preschool Project and the Carolina Abecedarian Project (see Heckman, Hyeok Moon, Pinto, Savelyev, & Yavitz, (2010) and Campbell and Ramey (1994) for descriptions of these programs and their respective designs).[3] These evaluations signaled the beginning of a steady increase through the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s in the use of experimental designs to evaluate the effects of a wide variety of social programs and policies on selected outcomes. See Greenberg and Shroder (2004) for a catalog of social experiments.

Case Study: Education

Although experimental evaluations have become increasingly common in nearly all social policy domains, the movement toward randomized controlled trials (RCTs) as the preferred method for evaluating the impacts of policies and

interventions has perhaps been most pronounced in the area of education. Established by the Education Sciences Reform Act of 2002, the Institute for Education Sciences (IES) has made a concerted effort to improve the rigor of education research in order to provide better guidance to policymakers and practitioners. The effort of IES to increase the rigor of education research may be best exemplified by the creation and maintenance of the What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) and the associated Registry of RCTs. As its name suggests, the WWC is intended to serve as a one-stop shop for obtaining information on the effectiveness of various educational interventions and policy reforms. Each intervention or policy reform contained in the WWC is classified into one of the three following categories: Meets Evidence Standards, Meets Evidence Standards with Reservations, or Does Not Meet Evidence Standards. While several factors ultimately determine the rating assigned to a particular intervention or policy reform, only interventions evaluated using an RCT are eligible to receive a rating of Meets Evidence Standards. Perhaps not surprisingly, this standard has resulted in a substantial number of educational interventions and policy reforms being evaluated experimentally. To catalog the growing number of RCTs in education, IES created the Registry of RCTs. The registry serves as a repository of information about all RCTs funded by the Department of Education. As of this writing, the Registry contains descriptions of over 100 RCTs that have been funded by the Department of Education in recent years, including prominent evaluations of charter schools, private school vouchers, and dozens of other interventions and policy reforms (Gleason, Clark, Clark Tuttle, & Dwoyer, 2010; Wolf et al., 2010).[4]

In addition to increasing the number of experimental evaluations, the heavy focus that IES has placed on RCTs has also driven innovation in the field of experimental design and evaluation. Early experimental evaluations, such as the Perry Preschool Project, were generally small in scale with individual students being randomized at a limited number of sites. Such practices led to concerns about external validity and the presence of spillover effects (Bloom, 2005). In response to such concerns, it has become increasingly common in education for groups, or "clusters," to serve as the unit of randomization. Studies routinely randomize classrooms, schools, and even whole school districts to treatment and control groups in an effort to determine the effects of a particular intervention or policy. This evolution has spawned a literature that provides guidance on several issues that arise during the execution and analysis of cluster randomized trials. A sampling of these issues include missing data, statistical models for estimating treatment effects, and improving precision to name but a few (Puma, Olsen, Bell, & Price, 2009; Raudenbush, 1997; Raudenbush, Martinez, & Spybrook, 2007; Schochet, 2009). This guidance can be found in peer-reviewed journals, as well as in a series of Technical Methods Reports published by the National Center for Education Evaluation, which is an agency located within IES. Taken as a whole, the intense focus on designing and executing RCTs, coupled with the accompanying methodological advances, has undoubtedly represented one of the most dramatic and influential changes in the field of education research in recent memory.

Advantages, Drawbacks, and Influence of RCTs on Public Policy Analysis

As the movement toward social experiments has progressed, the advantages and drawbacks of this research design have become increasingly clear. As stated earlier, the primary appeal of experimental designs stems from the fact that, under what many consider to be relatively weak assumptions, they can provide unbiased, model-free estimates of the causal effect of a given treatment on a particular outcome of interest. A secondary advantage of experimental designs is that the logic and results of experimental studies are relatively easy to explain to policymakers. As a result, experimental evaluations have the potential to exert substantial influence on policy decisions.

Like any research design, the experimental approach has its share of drawbacks and critiques, a sampling of which are discussed below. First, the cost of designing and executing a high-quality RCT is substantial (Weimer & Vining, 2009). Oftentimes a single RCT costs multiple millions of dollars; several high-quality observational studies can generally be conducted for the price of a single experiment. Second, the external validity of experimental results is often unclear (Schneider, Carnoy, Kilpatrick, Schmidt, & Shavelson, 2007). Concerns over external validity can be generated by two distinct factors. First, it could be the case that the study sample is not representative of any larger population of interest. Units that take part in RCTs are rarely randomly sampled from a well-defined population of interest and, as a result, it is not clear whether the results can be generalized to a broader population. Second, attempts to generalize experimental results often run into general equilibrium concerns (Stock & Watson, 2003)—it is uncertain whether the results of even large-scale cluster randomized trials will be replicated when an intervention or policy reform is scaled up in size. As an example, consider the disconnect between the results of California's statewide class-size reduction initiative and the Tennessee STAR experiment. The Tennessee STAR study, which was a large-scale cluster randomized trial, found reduced class size to have a significant, positive effect on student achievement. California policymakers took note of this result and implemented a statewide class-size reduction initiative—expecting it to raise student achievement—but the official evaluation of this initiative failed to find a positive effect (Bohrnstedt & Stecher, 2002). Evaluators concluded that the class-size reduction policy resulted in declines in teacher qualifications and a more inequitable distribution of credentialed teachers. These general equilibrium effects, which were not observed in the Tennessee STAR experiment, may have contributed to the failure of the class-size reduction initiative to increase student achievement.

Although many people contend that experiments rely on more plausible assumptions than other research designs, this viewpoint is not shared by everyone. Heckman and Smith (1995) observe that experiments assume members of the control group cannot obtain close substitutes for the treatment. The authors note that "substitution bias" is introduced into the experiment when this assumption is violated. Similarly, experiments assume there to be no spillover from the treatment units to the control units (Bloom, 2005). Violation of this assumption can also result in the introduction of bias into the experiment. Finally, experiments rely on randomization

to generate treatment and control groups that are balanced on all dimensions, both observable and unobservable. Unequal or nonrandom attrition from the treatment and control groups can lead to biased results.

Other common critiques of social experiments include both ethical and epistemological concerns. Ethically, withholding a treatment or intervention that is expected to produce positive effects from the control group can be difficult to justify. Epistemologically, experiments often leave questions about particular causal mechanisms unanswered; an experiment can tell us the average effect of a specific treatment on a given outcome but it says little about particular structural parameters that may also be of interest.

Proponents of social experiments contend that the advantages of the research design outweigh any potential downsides. Skeptics are less sure of this contention. Regardless of the ultimate resolution of this debate, the fact is that experimental evaluations have become increasingly common in nearly all policy domains. How has this trend affected the practice of traditional public policy analysis? As noted earlier, projecting the impact of each policy alternative in terms of the relevant goals is both the most important and difficult step in policy analysis. The move toward increased social experimentation has provided policy analysts with a stronger evidence base to draw upon when generating predictions about the likely effects of various policy alternatives. This has the potential to result in more accurate predictions that can be made with greater certainty. At the same time, social experiments should not be seen as a panacea for policy analysts. Practitioners of policy analysis must caution against excessive certainty in predictions that are based on experimental evidence; analysts should consider several issues when developing such projections. For example, analysts should carefully assess the generalizability of the experimental results upon which they are basing any predictions. Similarly, analysts must assess how closely the policy reform that was evaluated experimentally aligns with the policy alternative whose impact they are attempting to predict. As long as analysts exercise appropriate caution, the movement toward social experimentation should, on the whole, greatly benefit practitioners of traditional public policy analysis.

Trends in Benefit-Cost Analysis: Meta-Analysis and Monte Carlo Simulation

Many trends and innovations that affect the practice of public policy analysis—such as the move toward social experimentation—also influence benefit-cost analysis. There are other advances, however, that are more specific to the practice of benefit-cost analysis. This section describes two recent advances that have been primarily in the domain of benefit-cost analysis: i) the use of meta-analysis to enhance the generalizability of benefit-cost analyses, and ii) the utilization of Monte Carlo simulation methods to convey uncertainty in the estimates of specific benefit and cost categories, as well as in the estimate of net benefits for a particular policy.

Meta-Analysis

Among other tasks, benefit-cost analysis requires the analyst to catalog all efficiency-related impacts of each policy alternative, project these impacts, and then monetize the impacts. As is the case in traditional policy analysis, the first step in projecting impacts in benefit-cost analysis involves assembling all available evidence—including evaluations of similar policies—that can usefully inform predictions about the likely effects of the policy alternatives. In some cases there may be only one or two evaluations of similar policies upon which predictions can be based. In other cases, however, analysts may have the luxury of drawing on a significant number of evaluations of similar policies. In cases where multiple evaluations exist, it is often beneficial to use meta-analysis as a method for summarizing the findings of the various evaluations. In its most stylized form, meta-analysis involves collecting all studies that estimate the effect of a specific policy on a particular outcome, standardizing the impact estimates presented in each study into effect sizes, and then systematically analyzing the effect sizes; comprehensive treatments of applied meta-analysis are provided by Lipsey and Wilson (2001) and Cooper, Hedges, and Valentine (2009). From the standpoint of benefit-cost analysis, the meta-analytic results of greatest utility are generally the mean effect size across studies and the variability around the mean. Analysts can use this information to guide their predictions about the effects of relevant policy alternatives on a particular outcome. The mean effect size will shape the magnitude of the prediction while the variability in effect sizes will influence the certainty with which the prediction is made. In addition to providing information about the mean and variance of effect sizes, meta-analysis also has the ability to examine whether any of the variability in effect sizes can be explained by relevant characteristics of the studies, such as research design, sample characteristics, political context, or any number of other factors. Analysts can use such information to refine their predictions.

The benefits that meta-analysis provide to practitioners of benefit-cost analysis can be substantial. Meta-analysis provides analysts with a rigorous, systematic method for using all available evidence to project the effect of policies on outcomes. This helps analysts avoid the dangers inherent in basing predictions on a single evaluation, which could be plagued by any of several deficiencies, such as a flawed research design or an unrepresentative sample (Boardman et al., 2006). Further, by providing a method for summarizing all available evidence, meta-analysis often enhances the generalizability of benefit-cost analyses. Using meta-analysis to inform benefit-cost analysis permits practitioners to analyze the efficiency of a policy that has been broadly implemented. Relying on a single evaluation performed for a particular site makes it difficult to generalize the results of a benefit-cost analysis beyond that site, and site-specific analyses are often of only limited utility to policymakers.

Although meta-analysis can provide significant benefits to practitioners of benefit-cost analysis, there are also several challenges to its use. First, meta-analysis is often a time- and resource-intensive endeavor. Analysts must locate all relevant studies and then scour each study for the information needed to compute a stan-

dardized effect size. These tasks often require a significant amount of time and resources, which can be problematic for analysts operating under a fixed timeline and a limited budget. This constraint can be especially relevant if policy alternatives are expected to have multiple efficiency-related impacts and the analyst hopes to perform meta-analyses for each of them. Second, meta-analysis nearly always requires a number of subjective judgments to be made. Analysts must develop an operational definition of the intervention in order to guide judgments as to which evaluations should be included in the meta-analysis (Lipsey, 2009). The choice of which evaluations to include can influence the results of the meta-analysis. In addition, analysts must determine how to calculate the effect size that will serve as the basis for the meta-analysis. This task is guided by the desire to employ the most appropriate effect size measure, but is constrained by the data that are presented in the individual evaluations; it is often difficult to locate all data needed to calculate effect size statistics. Despite these challenges, analysts should strive to employ meta-analysis to inform benefit-cost analysis whenever possible. The potential gains in generalizability and certainty generally exceed the costs of conducting meta-analyses.

Monte Carlo Analysis

Uncertainty is inherent in the practice of benefit-cost analysis. Projecting the impact of policy alternatives on various outcomes is clearly an imprecise endeavor. Monetizing the projected impacts—through the application of market or shadow prices—also involves uncertainty. Even cataloging all efficiency-related impacts of policy alternatives is not always a fully straightforward task. Because of the central, if unwelcome, role that uncertainty occupies in benefit-cost analysis, practitioners must ensure that they adequately communicate the uncertainty associated with their estimates. Although several methods can be used to convey uncertainty, there is a growing view that Monte Carlo analysis represents the most desirable approach for doing so and should be a part of every benefit-cost analysis (Weimer & Vining, 2009).

Monte Carlo analysis is appealing because its logic is straightforward and its execution is relatively feasible. In its essence, Monte Carlo analysis involves conducting a specified number of trials—usually 10,000 or 100,000—that perform a specified calculation. In the context of benefit-cost analysis, Monte Carlo simulations are most often used to estimate net benefits, but the method can also be used to estimate specific benefit or cost categories. In each trial, all uncertain parameters are randomly drawn from probability distributions specified by the analyst (Boardman et al., 2006). When possible, these distributions should be based on published empirical results. The end result of this simulation process is a distribution of estimates. Within this distribution, the mean, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum estimates are often of interest to analysts. The mean estimate represents the expected value of the category while the standard deviation can be interpreted as a measure of uncertainty of that estimate. The minimum and maximum estimates represent worst- and best-case scenarios, respectively. When Monte Carlo analysis is used to calculate net

benefits, the proportion of estimates greater than zero can be interpreted as the probability that the policy will have positive net benefits (Weimer & Vining, 2009).

From a benefit-cost perspective, the primary appeal of Monte Carlo analysis stems from its ability to accommodate simultaneously all uncertain parameters when calculating estimates of a specific benefit or cost category, or net benefits of a project or policy. In addition to accommodating uncertain parameters, Monte Carlo analysis has the added ability to distill the results into an easily interpretable format. The results can be effectively presented either numerically—as a table—or graphically—as a histogram. Furthermore, Monte Carlo analysis is neither time nor resource intensive; it can be performed in fairly little time by anyone with access to a spreadsheet program or nearly any statistical software package. Monte Carlo analysis represents a powerful, yet simple, method for conveying uncertainty in estimates.

Unlike other recent trends and innovations in policy analysis and benefit-cost analysis, Monte Carlo analysis has no notable disadvantages or challenges. Overall, because of the large potential benefits and the limited downsides of Monte Carlo analysis, it is easy to see why leading benefit-cost scholars believe the practice should be part of every benefit-cost analysis (Boardman et al., 2006; Weimer & Vining, 2009).

Institutional Supporters of Policy Analysis

Public policy analysis has historically faced several hurdles to becoming an influential, mainstream analytical approach in both academia and the broader policy community. In academia, public policy analysis lacks a single disciplinary home; it draws on the fields of political science, economics, sociology, law, and many others. While the eclecticism of policy analysis is a large part of its attraction, it has also resulted in policy analysis struggling to gain the institutional resources, support, and stature that often accompany approaches grounded in a single discipline. In addition, scholars often lack career-advancement incentives to work in this area. For better or worse, the incentive structure underlying career advancement generally encourages publication in disciplinary journals. This fact has likely dissuaded some scholars from focusing more heavily on policy analysis. In policy communities, policy analysis and benefit-cost analysis have previously been viewed as manipulable methodological tools that policy advocates often use to support a desired policy. This view was strengthened by the increased visibility of think tanks with particular viewpoints through the 1980s and 1990s.

Taken together, these factors have resulted in substantial variation in the use, popularity, and influence of policy analysis over the years. There is a growing sense, however, that this traditional variability is diminishing and policy analysis is beginning to consistently occupy a mainstream, influential position in policy debates. This movement toward the mainstream is the result of a confluence of factors, but increased institutional support has played a substantial role. Although a wide variety of institutions have been instrumental in increasing the visibility of high-quality policy analysis, the actions of three particular institutions—the Congressional Budget Office, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy, and the John D. and

Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation—have been particularly effective in promoting policy analysis.

Although the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has long been a source of rigorous, unbiased policy analysis, the value of such work became acutely apparent during the debate over health care reform that took place in 2009 and 2010.[5] As the debate progressed, it became clear that policymakers of all viewpoints and partisan affiliations trusted and respected the analysis issued by CBO. There were numerous points where the future direction of the debate was clearly going to be shaped by a forthcoming CBO analysis. Rarely has policy analytic work played such a visible and influential role in a policy debate of such high stakes. However, by providing rigorous analysis with clearly stated assumptions and no policy agenda, the CBO illustrated the substantial value that such high-quality work can bring to important policy debates.

Although the CBO's influence resides primarily in the policy community, it is not exclusive to that domain; CBO employees routinely take active steps to engage the professional and scholarly communities as well. A prominent example of such engagement are two 2007 pieces coauthored by Orszag and Ellis—the CBO director and senior analyst at the time—on the topic of rising health care costs that appeared in the New England Journal of Medicine (Orszag & Ellis, 2007a,b). The perspectives presented in these articles were influential in shaping discussions among policymakers, scholars, and practitioners. As an example of their influence, these pieces have each been cited approximately 60 times in the scholarly literature since their publication about three years ago.

Most states have an organization or agency that is charged with providing state policymakers with information on relevant policy options, but few are as skilled and respected as the Washington State Institute for Public Policy (WSIPP) (see Weimer and Vining 2009 for an in-depth description of the activities of the WSIPP).[6] The WSIPP was founded in the early 1980s and was charged with providing policymakers with unbiased analysis on topics requested by the state legislature. A feature that makes the WSIPP unique is its ability to execute high-quality benefit-cost analysis. The WSIPP routinely releases analyses that use sound analytic practice to bring evidence to bear on a wide variety of current policy issues. For example, WSIPP recently released a benefit-cost analysis of extending foster care to age 21 (Burley & Lee, 2010). It also routinely performs analyses in the areas of mental health and criminal justice. Unlike the CBO, which only analyzes the specific policy proposal submitted by Congress, the WSIPP often analyzes several potential policy alternatives. The WSIPP provides a valuable service to Washington policymakers, and other states would likely benefit from developing an institution with similar capacities.

While institutions such as the CBO and the WSIPP have been successful at generating respect for high-quality policy analysis in the policy community, the MacArthur Foundation has focused mainly on promoting the practice of high-quality policy analysis within academia. The MacArthur Foundation has provided a substantial amount of resources and support to further the causes of policy analysis and benefit-cost analysis.[7] For example, it has helped underwrite the Benefit-Cost Analysis Center at the University of Washington as well as the Society for Benefit-

Cost Analysis.[8] It has also financed workshops designed to strengthen the practice of benefit-cost analysis and encourages many of its grantees to perform benefit-cost analyses on a variety of policies and interventions. In short, the MacArthur Foundation has exhibited a substantial commitment to improving and increasing the practice of policy analysis and benefit-cost analysis among scholars. The tangible results of this commitment can be found in several recent publications that can serve as useful resources for both scholars and practitioners of benefit-cost analysis. These publications include an edited volume that assesses the state of the practice of benefit-cost analysis in ten distinct social policy areas (Weimer & Vining, 2009), a recent report that provides guidance for valuing benefits in benefit-cost analyses of social programs (Karoly, 2008), and articles appearing in the recently established *Journal of Benefit-Cost Analysis*.

Although the MacArthur Foundation has focused heavily on promoting policy analysis within academia, it also recognizes the importance of building the capacity for high-quality policy analysis in the larger policy community. As a result, the MacArthur Foundation—in collaboration with the Pew Charitable Trusts—has initiated an effort to expand benefit-cost capacity at the state level. In effect, the organizations hope to promote the creation of organizations with benefit-cost capacity on par with that of the WSIPP. Through its diverse efforts to enhance the practice of policy analysis, the MacArthur Foundation strives to positively impact policy outcomes.

The three organizations discussed above are diverse in many respects, but they share one important commonality. Specifically, these institutions are committed to conducting and promoting high-quality policy analysis. Such a commitment permits these institutions to gain the trust of policymakers with diverse viewpoints and partisan affiliations. When all interests in a policy debate respect and trust a particular organization, analysis by that organization can provide a common starting point for constructive discussions and result in an improved policy outcome.

Conclusion

The ultimate purpose of public policy analysis is to provide scholars, analysts, and practitioners with a rigorous, systematic analytical approach for identifying the most desirable policy alternative for addressing a specific problem. Similarly, the primary goal of benefit-cost analysis is to determine whether a particular policy meets a predefined threshold of social efficiency. Although both of these analytical approaches are based on well-accepted principles that contribute a measure of stability to their practice, they are also flexible enough to incorporate innovations that are likely to help analysts reach the goal of accurately identifying the most desirable policy alternative. The flexibility of these approaches is illustrated by their incorporation of the three advances discussed in this essay—the move toward social experimentation, the growing use of meta-analysis and Monte Carlo analysis, and the increased institutional support for high-quality policy analysis.

Each of these innovations has exhibited the ability to improve the practice of public policy analysis in a distinct manner. Social experiments provide information

that may allow policy analysts to project the impact of policy alternatives on relevant goals and outcomes with more accuracy and confidence. Similarly, meta-analysis represents a systematic method for drawing on all available information when predicting the effects of a policy or intervention, a feature that has the ability to enhance the generalizability of a benefit-cost analysis. Monte Carlo simulation is an ideal tool for accommodating uncertainty that may arise from several different sources and distilling it into a single, easily-interpretable expression of the uncertainty inherent in any benefit-cost estimates. The increased institutional demand for, and practice of, high-quality policy analysis has provided resources and support for improving and advancing the field of policy analysis. As this field undergoes further evolution it will have the potential to garner even more institutional support, which will have the potential to spark a cycle of continuous improvement and progress in the field of public policy analysis.

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Notes

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1. For a systematic discussion of the difference between policy research and policy analysis see Weimer (2009) or Weimer and Vining (2011).
2. For example, regression coefficients can be interpreted as causal estimates under the assumption of conditional independence.
3. Job training programs—such as the National Supported Work Demonstration (NSW)—represent another policy area that pioneered the use of experimental designs to evaluate their effects (see LaLonde, 1986 for a brief description of the NSW).
4. See http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/references/registries/RCTSearch/RCTSearch.aspx for a listing of all evaluations contained in the Registry of RCTs.
5. For further reading, the CBO's website can be accessed at www.cbo.gov. For a comprehensive collection of CBO publications related to the health care debate see http://www.cbo.gov/publications/collections/collections.cfm?collect=10.
6. For further reading, the WSIPP website is located at: http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/. The website contains links to all WSIPP publications, including benefit-cost analyses.
7. For a description of MacArthur's initiative to strengthen and promote the practice of benefit-cost analysis, see http://www.macfound.org/atf/cf/%7BB0386CE3-8B29-4162-8098-E466FB856794%7D/SOCIALBENEFITSBUFFSHEET-V5.PDF.
8. For more information about the Benefit-Cost Analysis Center see http://evans.washington.edu/node/1262. The website for the Society for Benefit-Cost Analysis can be found at http://benefitcostanalysis.org/.

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A Contemporary Reading of *Advice and Consent*

Peter deLeon and B. Kathleen Gallagher

This essay revisits deLeon's argument describing the development of the policy sciences. The authors propose two "new" phenomena that have affected the mission and shape of the policy sciences, one—the rise in importance of the non-profit sector—being exogenous in nature, the second—the adoption of the concept of governance—being endogenous. It ends with an illustration.

Introduction

In 1988, Peter deLeon, writing under the auspices of The Russell Sage Foundation, published *Advice and Consent*, in which he described his interpretation of *The Development of the Policy Sciences.* In *Advice and Consent*, deLeon first outlined the basic concepts underpinning the Lasswellian "policy sciences," with special emphasis paid to the defining characteristics of the policy sciences that distinguish them from other academic research fields. Their three principal hallmarks were: (i) that they were explicitly problem oriented; (ii) that they were multidisciplinary in the conceptualization of a problem and their analytic approach to understanding that problem; and (iii) that they were explicitly normative in their approach, clearly defined (by Lasswell, 1951, p. 16) as the "policy sciences of democracy." Drawing upon Lasswell's original depiction of the policy process (Lasswell, 1948/2009; Lasswell, 1956), the policy research community basically accepted a policy process approach characterized by six phases or stages, most notably laid out by Brewer and deLeon (1983):

- *Initiation*, or the initial recognition of the problem and the framing of the subsequent research design.
- *Estimation*, during which "costs" and "benefits" of the various policy options are estimated and compared.
- *Selection*, at which time a choice is made by authoritative decision makers, either to adopt one of the posed options or to ask for additional analysis be done to develop additional information.
- *Implementation*, during which the chosen policy is put into operation for the targeted population.

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- *Evaluation*, when the policy as implemented is assessed in terms of a given criterion (e.g., efficiency or equity), often resulting in revised implementation activities, which can effectively alter the initial design of the program.
- *Termination*, in which a program is discontinued for any number of reasons.[1]

From these benchmarks, *Advice and Consent* traced the development of the policy sciences as a function of what deLeon posed as five pivotal post-World *War*II historical phenomena. These included the legacy of the analytic achievements during the Second World War, the War on Poverty, the American experience in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal and threatened impeachment of President Richard Nixon, and the initial Energy Crisis. In each of these instances, it is important to note that these were exogenous events that, in various ways, affected the tone and shape of the policy research community in terms of the policy cycle framework, e.g., the War on Poverty's travails reflected the lack of information regarding policy implementation (see Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984).[2]

Since its publication in 1988, deLeon has revisited his policy narrative, looking to update his analysis in light of more current political events, including the invasions of Iraq, various aspects of the global war on terrorism, the financial debacles of the first decade of the 21st century, the on-going conflict over political funding, and, close to one hundred and fifty years after the passage of the 14th Amendment, the election of an Afro-American as the President of the United States (see, e.g., deLeon, 2006; deLeon & Martell, 2006; deLeon & Vogenbeck, 2007). None of these seemed to cast the same defining powers as the earlier posed five, which is not to suggest the more recent events have been less momentous. Rather, the policy cycle would appear to have been relatively robust or flexible in terms of its earlier-posed explanatory framework. Or, perhaps equally arguable, sclerotic.

We would like to argue for the former proposition abetted by two emerging phenomena, which, we suggest, have had a significant effect on the structure of the policy cycle, the first in the exogenous sense (i.e., a political event that has shaped how we view the policy cycle), the second being endogenous (i.e., how we conceptualize the policy process). The former refers to the development and growth of the nonprofit sector in the United States, which emerged as an independent, pivotal policy force in the late 1970s, making it a viable actor with the public and private sectors in the drama called public policy. The latter refers to the relatively recent use of the concept of governance, or what Kettl (2002) defines as the "interpenetrability" of the three sectors as they interact to create and operationalize public policy and management. We will briefly discuss each before proposing how they interact to affect the workings of the policy process cycle with relatively more time outlining the genesis and growth of the American non-profit sector.

The Nonprofit Sector in the United States

The role and size of government has been debated in the United States since the nation's founding. James Madison argued, in *Federalist Number 10,* that the federal government would guard against the possible dangers of "factions" in a way that

smaller republics could not (Hamilton, Madison, & Jay, 1982). The efforts of the Freemasons, Sons of Liberty, and other groups active during the American Revolution contributed to opinions of the detrimental impacts of voluntary organizations (Hall, 2006). During the debates over the Constitution, the anti-Federalists argued that a central government threatened individual rights and gave too much authority to one individual, the president. Smaller, more localized groups provided citizens a means to gather strength, express their opinions, and possibly influence the government (Hall, 2006).

Laws governing these groups evolved in response to regional influences, including politics and religion. The New England states were more receptive to them, while other regions enacted laws to limit the strength of corporations and associations. Hall (2006, p. 37) has indicated that "Where charities and tax laws favored private initiatives, philanthropic and private enterprises flourished. Where the laws discouraged them, they did not."[3] The size and scope of the nonprofit sector reflect several environmental variables, in particular, legal, social, and cultural norms. Religious diversity also predicts a greater presence of nonprofit organizations (Hall, 2004; James, 1987). According to James (1987), religious leaders strategically utilize nonprofit organizations to foster growth of the congregation. The United States has historically had a favorable legal environment, corresponding social origins, and religious diversity that indicate the development of a large number of nongovernmental associations that developed naturally into its nonprofit sector. Government and cultural norms coincided to produce a nonprofit incubator in the United Sates.

It is difficult to find a mention to the development of the American nonprofit environment without a reference to Alexis de Tocqueville (1835/2000) and his prescient two-volume *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville (1835/2000) praised Jacksonian democracy, a political system in which the emphasis was placed on equality among citizens and where voluntary associations formed an education system for politics; Tocqueville wrote:

> Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of over a thousand other kinds—religious, moral, serious, futile, extensive, or restricted, enormous or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found establishments for education, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; and in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools. If it be proposed to advance some truth, or to foster some feelings by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever, at the head of some new undertaking, you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association (Tocqueville, 1835/2000: 628–629).

De Tocqueville particularly articulated that civic participation fostered more judicious political decisions (AlexandeR, Nank, & Stivers, 2001).

Associations evolved for both men and women, albeit on separate tracks. As a means for collective voice and expression, associations began to proliferate (Hall, 2006) during the 19th century. Men's social clubs emerged in the first half of the century and women's social clubs began appearing in the 1860s (McCarthy, 1991). In contrast, men's service clubs did not appear until the early twentieth century, a century after women's service clubs had emerged. Men's service clubs continued the male tradition of providing another mechanism for business networking and promotion. A few gradually garnered great power (such as the Grange movements) that manifested themselves politically; others were smaller but equally determined to express themselves politically, often at great risk (the activities of the pre-Civil War Abolitionists, for example).

Women's membership in these new organizations was argued and dismissed because they were not perceived as being able to contribute to the business and political networking that was a critical piece of these organizations' missions (Nathan, 2009). Largely excluded from men's social and service clubs, women relied on their own clubs for social, intellectual, and service opportunities. Hall (2006, pp. 38–9) has observed that "Barred from electoral politics, women used associations to create a "separate sphere" of educational, religious, and cultural activity." Women's clubs, Blair (1994) avers, evolved through four significant stages to serve the needs and expectations of members from a variety of middle-class and upper-class communities and regions. They appeared to satisfy women's needs for self-development and intellectual development. Then they extended women's domain by providing for women to serve the community's needs. The third phase presented itself as women expanded their role to domestic housekeeping, caring for the community while engaging in it. Finally, women's clubs entered a phase of building physical facilities. Settlement houses were most common in large, urban areas in the East and Midwest but women's clubs developed in communities of varying sizes and in all geographic areas (Scheer, 2002). Women's clubs created an environment in which women could engage in substantive thought and/or work without risk of social censure and associations emerged as a means for the disenfranchised (women and minorities, for example) to enter the political arena, particularly in the anti-slavery and, of growing importance, the women's suffrage movements (Hall, 2006).

The issue of slavery was significant to the evolution of voluntary and charitable associations. It became an interstate debate and served to emphasize the national perspective in dialogue and politics in the still young United States (Hall, 2006). National organizations and associations increased in power and provided precedent for other reform movements to aspire to the national stage and prompt relief from the federal government.

While men saw their associations as an outgrowth of their political experience, the opportunities of club life were significant for women, if for no other reason than because there was little alternative. These associations served as a sanctioned non-family activity, a vehicle by which women could express themselves as a group while improving their minds and their communities (Blair, 1994). By 1885, over 100,000 women had allied themselves through women's clubs to explore literature, the arts, history, and current events during a monthly meeting (Blair, 1994). Building social

capital, using the words of Robert Putnam (1995), these associations schooled women to master the skills of citizenship (Scheer, 2002). Participation in social and voluntary organizations prepared women for active roles in democracy.

The twentieth century brought with it expectations of change for the non-profit association. Three great social movements found their geneses in the social transition between the centuries, specifically the transformative politics of the Progressive Era, the passage of the 19th Amendment giving women the right to vote, and, for better or worse, the passage of the 18th Amendment initiating prohibition.[4] Men's and women's associations all labored mightily for these political changes; their passage indicated that these associations had found their political feet. In addition, these groups' activities resulted in innumerable changes in the cultural and personal health lives of their communities. Women's clubs were extraordinarily effective. After passage of the suffrage Amendment in 1919, women continued to leverage strength from their association and voluntary networks to influence and embarked upon careers in public administration (McCarthy, 1998).

The affluence of the Gilded Age meant that both men's and women's clubs were populated by people with disposable income and free-time. In the U.S., populism was in full flower. Mary Parker Follett (1918/1998), writing at the turn of the twentieth century, laid out an argument for participatory democracy in *The New State*. She advocated for participation of all members of society through small groups or communities. Small groups, she held, would provide opportunities for deliberative discussions and dialogues that could lead to the evolution of group-held goals, ideas, and actions. Follett's argument has continued with contemporary scholars. DeLeon (1997) makes a case for participatory democracy citing the work of, *inter alia*, Robert Putnam (1995), Carole Pateman (1970), and Jane Mansbridge (1980). Putnam's (1995) presentation of the loss of social capital and its effect is a key component of deLeon's argument, which he relates back to its historical antecedents.

> Robert D. Putnam's masterful argument that the American society has lost much of its social cohesiveness—a loss that reflects unfavorably on its political bases—mirrors de Tocqueville's proposition: individuals are educated for a political milieu by working together; so the continual fusillade of social conditions that isolate citizens from one another certainly undermines the democratic cooperativeness envisioned by de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill (deLeon, 1997, pp. 35–96).

Nonprofit associations nurture the democratic purpose through the development of group identification, the formation of group mission, and the execution of tasks designed to serve the mission, fight isolation, and provide citizen training that informs political voice, thus benefitting democratic society.

The government and nonprofit sectors in the United Sates operated relatively independently until the twentieth century. Up to this point, public and social welfare were limited and provided by local government (Smith & Lipsky, 1993). Nonprofit organizations received the majority of their support from individuals, while government support was being heavily restricted. This limited the risk exposure of the

then-fiscally conservative government and permitted an informal relationship with few demands of the modestly sized nonprofit sector (Smith, 2005b).

The formation of foundations and trusts by such prominent, society-oriented and immensely wealthy figures as the Rockefellers and Carnegie and Ford transformed the prospects of philanthropy as a method to solve social problems (Bremmer, 1960/1988).[5] In fact, most likely in recognition of the social "goods" provided by the the nonprofit association, the federal income tax law was amended in 1917 to permit deductions of up to 15 percent of taxable income for charitable contributions (Bremmer, 1960/1988).

The US government was led by President Herbert Hoover as the Great Depression started. It was his belief that individuals, voluntary organizations, and local government should be responsible for social welfare relief programs (Bremmer, 1960/1988). His views were articulated in his 1922 book *American Individualism,* in which he described a network of associations collaborating with government to improve public welfare through a heightened value for cooperation and public service (Hall, 2006). Beginning with his election in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency assumed a markedly different approach and led to the unprecedented entry and involvement of the federal government into the nation's social welfare fabric (Bremmer, 1960/1988). Although there is little doubt that Roosevelt presided over the federal government's wholesale involvement in the nation's social, economic, and health sectors, he also implemented programs through state and local government and private entities and encouraged, through tax policies, the charitable giving of corporations and individuals (Hall, 2006). Policies and practices of the New Deal relied upon public-private partnerships (Hall, 2006).

World *War*II led to a number of changes that would affect the development and growth of the American nonprofit sector. Universal income taxation was enacted in 1943 and the progressive income taxes on personal income and estates and high corporate taxes encouraged charitable giving and the growth of foundations (Hall, 2006). Post-World *War*II Americans were cognizant of social injustice, the subjugation of people based on race, religion, and gender while simultaneously experiencing the largest national and per capita wealth of any nation (Bremmer, 1960/1988). Mounting public criticism over the recognition of the government's and nonprofits' collective failures to meet the needs of the poor and disenfranchised in the 1950s and 1960s prompted government intervention (Harrington, 1960; Smith, 2005a). As the welfare state grew, the government and nonprofit sectors both expanded. As a result, public funding of nonprofit organizations ballooned in correspondence with the growth of federal social policy (Smith, 2005b). The Civil Rights Act, Medicare/Medicaid, the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities, Peace Corps, VISTA, Teacher Corps, Model Cities, and various pursuits of the Great Society are evidence of federal government's increased role in responding to social problems. Still, with the federal government being largely restrained by the demands of the Vietnam engagement, the government cooperated with voluntary agencies—which had already demonstrated its willingness and capabilities—to expand the programs offered and the pool of those served.

The present size of the American non-profit sector is difficult to assess except that it has unquestionably grown greatly. Hall (2004) reports that, as a result of government decentralization, a reduced governmental workforce, and an ambiguous process of contracting out, direct federal government payments accounted for between twelve and fifty-five percent of total nonprofit revenues by the 1970s. The expansion of the nonprofit sector was accompanied by a shift away from the voluntary and towards the professional. Hall (2004) identifies the 1970s as the period in which nonprofit organizations emerged as a unified sector.

The economic support for the nonprofit sector similarly suggests the size and scope of the nonprofit sector. According to the Independent Sector (2010), the revenues for public charities reporting in 2005 was $1.1 trillion in the following ratio: 50 percent earned income; 29.4 percent government support; 12.3 percent charitable contributions; and 8.3 percent other (Independent Sector, 2010). Multiple sources of revenue are presenting an increasingly complex system for nonprofit organizations to manage (Grønbjerg, 1993; Salamon, 2004; Smith & Grønbjerg, 2006; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Weisbrod, 1997). While they figuratively pale next to the public and private sector economies, these data and the present roles of the nonprofit sector indicate that the non-profit sector has earned its place—economically, institutionally, politically, and socially—at the policy table. Though its influence may rise or fall,[6] there seems little doubt that the nonprofit community must be part of any policy process.

Governance

The emergence of the concept of "governance" is the implicit recognition of multiple pressures in the U.S. and how best to conceptualize those phenomena. In direct terms, Milward and Provan (2000, p. 360) have defined governance as the aggregation of public and private authorities "concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action," while Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill (2001, p. 7), more process oriented, define governance as the "regimes, laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publically supported goals and services." More institutionally speaking, we can define "governance" as the involvement of the public, private, and nonprofit sectors towards a pre-agreed policy objective." As the previous section of this paper demonstrated, the expanded role of the nonprofit sector clearly warrants its place in terms of agenda setting and implementation.

The primary reasons for the emergence of governance are surely multiple. The fractious nature of the American body politic and its federalist heritage—made even more fissiparous by political and economic divisions and exclusions—is certainly one candidate. Another, as outlined above, reflects the emergence of a powerful nonprofit community that strives to establish government policy and is often in the position of being able to implement those policies. A third might lie in the information technology revolution; access to policymaking circles is simply easier. Fourth is an extension of the "hollow state" condition (Milward & Provan, 2000); Heinrich, Lynn, and Milward (2009, p. i3) acknowledge the possibility of "a steady, longer term

transformation away from direct provision of goods and services through traditional public administration towards more devolved authority and decentralized public service delivery" underpinning a reliance on concepts of governance.

Obviously, in a polity increasingly characterized by complexity and "interpenetrability," none of these occurs independently. Furthermore, as funding, increased transparency and accountability measures, and principal-agent theory come to bear on the practices of nonprofit organizations, there is concern that nonprofit organizations may lose elements of their ethos and advantage. Trends among nonprofits include increased competition and decreased negotiation power (Frumkin, 2002; Grønbjerg, 1993; Gazley & Brudney, 2007), fragmentation and replication of services (Smith, 2005b), and a shift away from volunteers and towards professionalization (Smith, 2005a), Still, as Ott (2001, p. 244) cautions, "We are losing something important as our nonprofit organizations turn into little service delivery businesses." Nonprofits enter the contracting regime in search of financial stability but find the consequences of government contracts pulling them between satisfying contractual obligations and pursuing their stated mission (Ott, 2001). Concerns over the impact of contracting on the nonprofit sector center upon: transformation into small, quasi-government agencies, mission creep, and the loss of independence and autonomy.

However, it is necessary to recognize that the definition and centrality of governance is not universal; George Frederickson (2005, p. 283) has argued cogently against the concept, suggesting that it is "substantially the same as already established perspectives in public administration, although in a different language." At issue seems to be the ambiguity of the terms. Lynn et al. (2001, p. 2) speak persuasively to that charge:

> The term "governance" is widespread, in both public and private sectors, in characterizing both global and local arrangements, and in reference to both formal and informal norms and understandings. Because the phrase has strong intuitive appeal, precise definitions are seldom thought to be necessary by those who use it. As a result, when authors identify "governance" as important in achieving policy or organizational objectives, it may be unclear whether the reference is to organizational structure, administrative processes, managerial judgment, systems of incentives and rules, administrative philosophies, or a combination of these elements.

Still, one must defer to the widespread acceptance in public management of both the term "governance" and its wide application. Indeed, Lynn, Heinrich, and Hill's book is entitled *Improving Governance*; a year earlier, Heinrich and Lynn (2000) wrote *Governance and Performance;* and, in 2004, Patricia Ingraham and Lynn (2004) co-edited *Improving the Art of Governance*. Just as important as its general acceptance in public management circles is its widespread acceptance in the public policy lexicon, for it reflects the important centrality of governance across the policy cycle. Brewer and deLeon 1983 emphasize a holistic approach to each of the policy stages. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) have provided a powerful support for the idea of governance as imperative to their concept of *Deliberative Policy Analysis*. Elinor Ostrom (1990) was an early advocate of the necessity of local groups having a guiding voice

in determining environmental allocations. And much of the participatory policy literature demands involvement across all the involved parties (see Fischer & Forester, 1993; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). This participation is even more necessary when democratic norms are valued.

An Illustration

An example of both new phenomena would be useful. Voluntary Environment Programs (VEPs) were designed to be an alternative to the "command and control" environmental regulations that characterized federal environmental actions during the 1960s and 1970s (see deLeon & Rivera, 2010 for details). The problem with the "command and control" regulations (replete as they were with sanctions) was that they simply were not resulting in the expected improvements in the environment. Moreover, they often resulted in duplicitous practices. Firms would go to great lengths to "greenwash" their actions, i.e., engage in environmental actions that were seemingly consistent with "good" environmental behavior but, in reality, delivered much less than promised. Moreover, the American body politic was undergoing a more systemic deregulatory movement, most notably in the communications, financial, transportation and environmental sectors of the economy. The implication was that fundamentally governmental control was not working and that the regulated industries warranted greater leeway or latitude in achieving set standards.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) served as the VEP "poster boy." DeLeon, Rivera, and Mandinero (2010, p. 1) made the case: "In general terms, VEPS reflect self-regulatory agreements reached among and promoted by corporate firms, industrial associations, often nonprofit groups, and, finally, for legitimacy's sake, the relevant government agencies." Thus, one found EPA establishing VEPs, such as the Green Lights and 33/50programs, and the US Forest Service (assisted by nonprofits, such as Nature's Conservatory and, at least initially, the Sierra Club) sponsoring the National Association of Ski Area's Sustainable Slopes Program. DeLeon et al. (*ibid*.) indicate that since the 1980s, there has been close to 150 VEPs with close to 15,000 participating members.

The track record of VEPs taken as a whole is, at best, mixed. Analysts have justifiably wondered how a "voluntary" program (i.e., one lacking explicit sanctions) can operate in the face of conflicting objectives (e.g., institutional survival versus "public goods"). But the purpose here is not to perform a requiem on VEPs. Rather, VEPs serve as an illustration of the effect that nonprofit organizations can have on the policy cycle informed by the concepts and operations of governance. Simply speaking, the existence of VEPs in the arsenal of the policy sciences would not have been recognized in the founding generation of policy proponents. Nonprofit organizations had yet to establish themselves as serious participants (except for a few issue-areas) and the facilitating property of governance had yet to establish itself. To the point of this example, one we propose is generalizable: nonprofit organizations and the concept (and practice!) of governance will have a lasting effect on the policy science and the policy cycle.

Discussion

Naturally in the twenty-plus years since *Advice and Consent* was published, there has been an extensive menu of landmark political events, ranging, *inter alia*, from a massive terrorist attack on the US homeland to the literal impeachment of a sitting US president to disastrous improprieties emanating from the banking and investment industries to seemingly unending public health crises to the historic election of an Afro-American president. Viewed in a critical light, however, the "lessons" American derived from the invasions of Iraq did not seem to be qualitatively different from the US experiences in Vietnam. For this essay, the primary criterion for new additions was evidence that the new additions to deLeon's original enumeration can be seen both to have been important and demonstrate promise that their centrality is enduring.

Using these lenses, it is almost impossible to understate the ascendency of the nonprofit communities in U.S. policy deliberation.[7] In housing, mental health, public education, environmental concerns, health care, and even foreign policy, the guiding hand of their nonprofit organizations have informed state and the federal governments. To be sure, nonprofit organizations hardly speak with a unified voice, as one might expect in a democratic polity, but they do serve the interest aggregation and articulation functions, perhaps more readily than deLeon's proposed "participatory policy analysis" (1988: 113–140). To push the metaphor only slightly, nonprofits represent the "new" elephant in the policy deliberation rooms, replacing the well-practiced public/private sectors duality. What better then to have the concept of governance that incorporates the new entry into the halls of policy power? In other words, the incorporation of the exogenous event (the emergence of the nonprofit organization) with an endogenous condition (governance) portends their combined effects to provide better information on issues related to the policy processes of government.

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Notes

1. This Lasswellian heuristic of the policy process has been largely adopted by the policy research community; see Brewer and deLeon (1983), Dunn (1994), Anderson (1995), May and Wildavsky (1976), Kraft and Furlong (2007), and, especially Parsons (1995). Its role in shaping the research agenda within the policy process community is posited by deLeon (1999). A critique is offered by Sabatier (1999). See Hupe and Hill (2006) for a thoughtful assessment.
2. Beryl Radin (2000) offers an alternative perspective of the growth and change in the policy advice industry.
3. Contemporary institutional isomorphism theory would predict that liberal governments, like the United States, will be limited in size while the nonprofit sector will be large (Salamon & Anheier, 1998).
4. Social movements and their policy implications are addressed by Meyer, Jenness, and Ingram (2005).

5. A counter movement argued that such philanthropic efforts were craven attempts of the wealthy to manipulate federal tax policy gained strength around 1910 and led to criticism of tax-policy but failed to alter the law (Bremmer, 1960/1988).
6. On 2 February 2010, the on-line *Wall Street Journal* published an article headlined "Once-Robust Charity Sector Hit With Mergers, Closings" (Banjo & Kalita, 2010).
7. And, perhaps, throughout the world, if the rapid growth on the non-governmental organization continues.

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Theories of the Policy Process: State of the Research and Emerging Trends

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Over the last two decades many alternate theories of the policy process have been developed. This essay covers recent scholarship (from 2008 to 2010) regarding the major policy process theories. In addition, several recent trends in research are discussed including; the use of narrative in policy theory, issues that cross multiple subsystems, bureaucracy in the policy process, and synthesizing multiple theories and frameworks.

Introduction

Policy scholarship is divided between knowledge *in* the policy process and knowledge *of* the policy process (James & Jorgensen, 2009; Lasswell, 1971; Weimer, 2008). Knowledge *in* the policy process largely refers to knowledge produced through analysis and evaluation (James & Jorgensen, 2009), whereas knowledge *of* the policy process is "focused on the how and why of policymaking" (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 6). Early ways of understanding the policy process included Lowi's typologies (Lowi, 1972) and, most notably, the "stages" heuristic (see deLeon, 1999 for a review). Scholars became dissatisfied with the stages heuristic and called for "better" theories of the policy process (Nakamura, 1987; Sabatier, 1991). In particular, Sabatier (1991) noted that the stages heuristic had "outlived its usefulness and must be replaced" (Sabatier, 1991, p. 147). One of the major criticisms of the stages heuristic was that it did not contain any causal mechanisms; therefore it was not a scientific theory (Sabatier, 2007, p. 7). As dissatisfaction with Lowi's typologies and the stages heuristic grew, a number of alternative theories of the policy process began to proliferate (see Sabatier, 2007). This essay offers a brief assessment of the current state of policy process research and highlights several emerging trends.

This essay lays out the current policy process theories and frameworks and discusses recently published peer-reviewed research. The frameworks and theories to be discussed are drawn from Paul Sabatier's (2007) *Theories of the Policy Process*.[1] Frameworks and theories included in this essay are the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD), Multiple Streams (MS), the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), Policy Diffusion, Punctuated-Equilibrium (PE), and Social Con-

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struction and Policy Design. Recent research (largely from 2008 to 2010) was chosen from a search of major political science, public policy, and public administration journals including; *American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Policy Studies Journal, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Review of Policy Research, Journal of Public Policy, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, and *Public Administration Review.* In addition, web searches using each framework or theory as search terms were conducted using both Google Scholar and ISI Web of Science. Research was chosen based on (i) empirical application, (ii) innovative methodology, and (iii) theoretical contribution and/or extension.[2] The major factor for selection was theoretical insights and expansions of the theory or framework. Finally, policy area-specific research or journals are, for the most part, not examined.

The first section of this essay discusses recent research related to each of the major theories or frameworks. I give brief summaries of exemplar works that provide theoretical contributions (themes tying together several papers are discussed where possible) and I then provide a summary paragraph tying these recent works back to the theory or framework. The second section discusses emerging trends and growing areas of research. These trends include the Narrative Policy Framework, recent work on subsystems, *trans*-subsystems, and policy regimes; the role of the bureaucracy in the policy process, and ways to synthesize the various theories and frameworks.

Current Theoretical Frameworks

Institutional Analysis and Development Framework

The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework grew from the institutional rational choice (IRC) literature (Ostrom, 2007b). The IAD framework began as a book chapter (Kiser & Ostrom, 1982) examining the impacts of institution arrangements on human behavior, and has since grown into a fully developed research program. Its main proponent, Elinor Ostrom, was recently awarded a Nobel Prize in Economics.[3] The IAD framework focuses on institutional arrangements in collective action settings and largely deals with common pool resources[4] (see Ostrom, 2007b for a review). The IAD framework encompasses a theory of common pool resources, but for the purposes of this essay I focus on recent research based on the aspects of the framework that deal with institutions.[5]

Using collaborative watershed partnerships, Hardy and Koontz (2009) examine the type of groups involved, the rules these groups implement across the various levels of action (constitutional, collective choice, operational), and the subsequent impacts on watershed management. The three types of groups that they analyze are "government centered" (government agency based), "citizen centered", and "mixed" (both government agencies and citizen groups). Hardy and Koontz (2009) find that these groups tended to construct "rules-in-use" that varied across each level. The authors conclude that government and "mixed" groups tended to be similar in the type of rules they implemented (largely more formal and embedded in

federal and state policy), whereas citizen groups tended to implement less formal agreements. The IAD framework identifies various institutional levels of rule-making authority, and Hardy and Koontz (2009) build on this insight by examining the way that different types of collectives can construct varying types of rules. This work adds greater understanding to the importance of citizen and government groups, how these groups create rules, and the subsequent impacts of those varying rules on policy outcomes.

One of the major insights offered by the IAD framework is that individuals can create self-governing institutions that mitigate conflicts (Ostrom, 2007b). Using 14 interstate water compacts negotiated by states in the western U.S., Schlager and Heikkila (2009) empirically test the ability of these compacts to reduce conflict. Specially, the authors compared the ability of water compacts to reduce conflict versus other institutions such as courts, legislatures, and government (federal and state) agencies. The authors found that, of the 23 resolved conflicts studied, five were resolved by government agencies or legislatures, eight were resolved by compact commissions, and ten were resolved through courts (Schlager & Heikkila, 2009, p. 382). Compact commissions were most likely to alter operational-level rules, while courts were most likely to alter collective choice and/or constitutional-level rules. The IAD emphasizes self-governing institutions, and this article has provided important empirical support for the role of interstate compacts in resolving conflicts. In addition, by analyzing the type of rules that are typically altered through different venues, the authors are able to relate various policymaking venues with the IAD. Overall, interstate compacts seemed to be most effective at mitigating conflicts at the operational-level, whereas the courts were more effective at reducing constitutional-level conflicts.

Within the IAD, institutions are defined as the "shared concepts used by humans in repetitive situations organized by rules, norms, and strategies" (Ostrom, 2007b, p. 23). Based on this definition, Crawford and Ostrom (1995) laid out a grammar of institutions. This institutional grammar can guide analysts in the identification of "institutional statements" which contain the strategies, rules, and norms that constitute a given institution. Recent work by Basurto et al. (2009) has developed a coding scheme for legislation, and/or other policy documents, based on this institutional grammar. Within their coding et al. define rules as prescriptions enforced by sanctions, norms as prescriptions enforced by inducements, and strategies as "regularized plans" made given the present set of incentives and the expected behavior of others (2009, 15). Basurto et al. (2009) then proceed to apply their coding strategy to two pieces of legislation; a federal transportation bill and a bill from the state of Georgia regarding abortion. They found that each bill contained many more statements of norms then of rules or strategies. In fact the transportation bill seemed to contain only norm statements (it contained 128 in all). The abortion bill contained 110 norm statements, 3 strategy statements, and 4 rule statements. This work offers a way to empirically examine the types of institutional statements that the IAD framework would expect. This coding scheme could be useful to scholars examining the type(s) of institutions (rules, norms, strategies) embedded in policy designs, and the possible impacts of these institutions on policy outcomes.

In two recent papers, Ostrom (2007, 2009) offers an expansion of the IAD framework to include linked social-ecological (e.g., human-environment) systems (SESs). The focus of this expanded framework is on making SESs sustainable by integrating understandings of the ecological system in question with the governance structure overseeing that system. The framework includes the following attributes "(*i*) *a* resource system (e.g., fishery, lake, grazing area) (*ii)* the resource units generated by that system (e.g., fish, water, fodder) (*iii*) the users of that system, and (*iv*) the governance system" (Ostrom, 2007, p. 15182). Of interest is the outcomes produce by (i) the interaction between these various attributes and (ii) the interaction between higher-level attributes such as the larger socioeconomic, political, and ecological systems. This expansion of the IAD offers an interdisciplinary framework that includes both social and natural sciences, and is focused on the sustainability of common pool resources.

The IAD framework is the only major policy theory or framework to be based on institutions. The work summarized here expands our understanding of institutions within the IAD. Hardy and Koontz (2009) examined how institutional design (rules) varied both by groups and levels of action. Schlager and Heikkila (2009) identified how self-governing institutions (interstate water compacts) were able to mitigate conflicts even when other government policymaking venues were included. One issue with the broader IRC literature, including the IAD framework, is that it seldom takes multiple institutions into account (Lubell, Henry, & McCoy, 2010). The work by Schlager and Heikkila (2009) incorporated multiple policymaking institutions and found support for the IAD framework. In addition, other work has argued that collaborative institutions are intermixed in an "ecology of games." This ecology contains several overlapping and multijurisdictional institutions that impact policy outcomes (Lubell et al.). It is expected that future work will continue to examine the impacts of multiple, inter-connected institutions. Basurto et al. (2009) developed a coding scheme for scholars to analyze institutional and policy designs that scholars should find extremely useful. Finally, Ostrom (2007, 2009) expands the IAD framework to include institutions embedded within broader social, political, and ecological systems.

Multiple Streams

Multiple Streams (MS) was developed by John Kingdon (1984) in his book *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. It posits that there are three separate and independent streams related to policy making; the problem stream, the politics stream, and the policy stream. Elements of the problem stream include the issues that "policy makers and citizens want addressed" (Zahariadis, 2007, p. 70). The politics stream consists of the national political environment, which can include public opinion and the partisan control of policymaking institutions. Finally, the policy stream consists of ideas and solutions, developed by experts and policy specialists, waiting to be implemented. Policy change occurs when a "window" of opportunity opens and a policy entrepreneur merges the three streams by

applying an idea from the policy stream to an issue in the problem stream at a time when the problem/solution coupling is acceptable within the political stream.

Within MS, advocates and experts in the policy stream have ideas for policies, and monitor the problem stream for a condition amiable to their solution. Recent work has dubbed this "problem surfing" (Boscarino, 2009). According to Boscarino, problem surfing is defined as advocacy groups attaching "their preferred policy solution to whatever problem(s) [is] salient at the time" (2009, p. 421). In the area of forestry policy, Boscarino (2009) found that two interest groups, the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club, tended to connect "their solution of sustainable forestry to different policy problems at different times" (p. 426). In addition, Boscarino (2009) found that both groups were sensitive to broader, high salience[6] issues including the economy, climate change, and water quality. These groups would alter their message to include reference to these higher salience issues. One of the criticisms of MS is that it does not offer clear hypotheses that are falsifiable (Sabatier, 2007). However, Boscarino (2009) is able to empirically tests hypotheses generated from MS and finds results consistent with what MS would expect.

One of the major assumptions of MS is that each stream operates independently from the others. Using participation in school violence prevention, Robinson and Eller (2010) examine the assumption of separate problem and policy streams. The separate streams assumed in MS imply that participation in one stream limits participation in another. Using a survey of school superintendents, Robinson and Eller (2010) find that, counter to this assumption, many individuals and organizations participate in both problem identification (the problem stream) and policy proposals (the policy stream). This finding provides some empirical evidence that calls into question one of the major assumptions of MS.[7]

Building on MS, recent work has put forth a revised multiple streams model (Ness, 2010; Ness & Mistretta, 2009). One revision involves adding institutional factors, termed policy milieu. The policy milieu includes such institutions as state government structures, and state higher education governance structures (the revised multiple streams model is tested in the higher education policy domain). In addition, the revised model expands the policy stream into a "policy field" that contains the politics and problem stream. The assumption behind this expansion of the policy stream is that, "policy trends and information are present throughout the policy process" (Ness & Mistretta, 2009, p. 492). The policy trends within the policy field are comparable to adoption trends in the policy diffusion literature, while the policy information is comparable to information sharing between and across coalitions in the ACF (Ness & Mistretta, 2009). Policy entrepreneurs, like in the original MS theory, seek to merge the streams (in this case the politics and problem streams) when a window of opportunity is present.

In the revised model of MS, the focus is shifted from agenda setting to one of policy design and formulation. Entrepreneurs, located in the policy field, seek to merge the streams in order to ensure their preferred policy design is implemented. Using a comparative case study approach, Ness and Mistretta (2009) find that the revised MS model accounts for the policy design differences between two neighbor-

ing states (Tennessee and North Carolina) with regard to use of a lottery to fund higher education. Specifically, the authors found that "state government structure, related intra-state policy trends, policy entrepreneurs, and the timing of policy windows mattered most" (Ness & Mistretta, 2009, p. 509). Additional research found the revised MS model was able to provide insight into policy design choices regarding need-based vs. merit-based college aid in New Mexico, Tennessee, and West Virginia (Ness, 2010).

As noted, MS is often criticized for not producing empirically testable hypotheses. However, each of the articles discussed provided empirical applications of MS. Boscarino (2009) found some support for MS by empirically testing how groups surf the problem stream for salient issues to attach to or reframe their solutions. Robinson and Eller (2010) however did not find support for the independent stream assumption of MS. Finally, a revised MS model moved beyond agenda setting by offering empirical insight into policy design choices (Ness, 2010; Ness & Mistretta, 2009). The revised model of MS seems to have only been tested within the higher education domain; further work should empirically test this model across various policy domains.

Advocacy Coalition Framework

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was initially devised by Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith (Jenkins-Smith, 1990; Sabatier, 1987, 1988; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1988), and was later expanded and clarified by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, 1999) and Sabatier and Weible (2007). The focus of the ACF is on policy learning and policy change within a policy subsystem. Policy change was initially thought to occur as a result of policy learning or external shocks. External shocks include public opinion, changes in governing coalitions, and outputs from other subsystems (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). More recent iterations of the ACF have added internal (subsystem) shocks, and negotiated agreements between coalitions as factors influencing policy change (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

Central to advocacy coalitions are shared policy core beliefs that are shaped by more abstract core beliefs. The ACF argues that shared beliefs result in coalitions that are homogenous (with regard to beliefs and patterns of coordination) and stable overtime. Weible, Sabatier, and McQueen (2009) examined over 80 applications of the ACF and found that coalitions are largely stable, particularly among "principal" members. However, coalition defections occur and coalitions are not necessarily homogenous in their beliefs. Some coalition members can vary in their policy core and secondary aspect beliefs and sub-coalitions may also exist.

Coalition homogeneity may be undermined by the political and/or self-interests of coalition members (Nohrstedt, 2010; Szarka, 2010). A long line of research in the ACF has examined the possible importance of interests with regard to coalition homogeneity and stability (see Szarka, 2010, pp. 838–40 for a review). More recently, Nohrstedt (2010) finds that interests played a large role in nuclear policy making in Sweden. Political parties often made policy decisions based on strategic political

concerns rather than normative beliefs. Another important aspect of coalition stability may be trust (Lubell, 2007). Lubell (2007) finds that shared policy core beliefs are predictive of the level of trust that coalition member's exhibit. Other work however, has noted that narrow coalitions based on normative beliefs may not be broad-based enough to encourage substantial policy change (Ansell, Reckhow, & Kelly, 2009). In sum, coalitions have been demonstrated as stable, however political or material interest may undermine their homogeneity. On the other hand, homogeneity may weaken the ability of a coalition to bring about policy change.

In addition to coalitions, the ACF has traditionally been concerned with subsystem dynamics. However, work by Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) argues that ACF scholars should examine more macro-level, *trans*-subsystem features of the policymaking system. These macro-level features include clusters of linked subsystems, public opinion, and policymaking venues. These features constitute the policy topography in which policy actors operate. Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) argue that public opinion, underutilized in ACF applications, is the foundation of the policy topography. They contend that shifts in public opinion can act as an exogenous shock and shift the policy topography and/or act as an endogenous shock, causing shifts within a particular subsystem.

Apart from public opinion, Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) offer two other types of possible shocks; salience disruptions and dimension-shifts. Focusing events and events within proximate subsystems can act as exogenous shocks to a subsystem causing a salience disruption. The 9/11 terrorist attacks are offered as an example of a salience disruption. A type of internal shock mentioned by Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) are policy dimension-shifts. Policy dimension-shifts occur when strategic policy entrepreneurs import arguments from another proximate linked subsystem. The scientific consensus regarding anthropogenic climate change is given as an example of an issue that could possibly be used to cause a dimension-shift within one of the subsystems linked to climate change (e.g., coal energy, air quality and pollution, and nuclear energy). The paper by Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) offer two important expansions to the ACF; the first is the role of public opinion as both a constraint on coalition strategy and a resource, and the second is the expansion of the ACF beyond subsystems (traditionally assumed to be independent and self-contained) to a policy topography model.

Recent work summarizing over 80 applications of the ACF (Weible et al., 2009) demonstrated that the ACF has developed into a strong research program; with a growing number of applications outside the United States and across several policy areas. The work discussed above examined one of the ACF's key assumptions; the stability and homogeneity of advocacy coalitions. Overall, coalitions have been found to be relatively stable overtime, but not consistently homogenous. Stability and homogeneity may be undermined by the interest considerations of some coalition members. Weible et al. note that future work should differentiate between principal and auxiliary coalition members (2009, 130). The conjecture would be that principal coalition members are more likely to be both stable and homogenous, whereas auxiliary members may demonstrate stability but are less likely to be

homogenous. Apart from coalitions, Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009) argue that ACF scholars should examine the *trans*-subsystem dynamics of the policy topography model. This model offers insights based on public opinion and strategic policy entrepreneurs that can be incorporated into a fuller understanding of policy learning and change.

Policy Diffusion

Policy diffusion research tracks how similar policy innovations are adopted across states in the American context, or across countries in comparative contexts. Diffusion research has a long history in political science (Walker, 1969); however diffusion as a way to understand the policy process is largely attributed to Berry and Berry (1990, 2007).

One of the criticisms of policy diffusion is that there is no clear causal mechanisms illustrating how innovations move across states and/or countries (Gilardi, 2010; Shipan & Volden, 2008). Several recent articles have put forth specific mechanisms that can lead to policy innovation. Using antismoking policies across U.S. cities, Shipan and Volden (2008) lay out four mechanisms for policy innovation. These mechanisms include learning, economic competition, imitation, and coercion. They found that learning can occur when a similar policy is in place in other proximate cities. Second, they found that economic competition makes a city less likely to adopt antismoking policies, which are viewed to have some cost, if surrounding cities have not. Third, imitation was shown to occur by cities being more likely to adopt the policy if the nearest biggest city had a similar policy. Finally, coercion occurred as cities were less likely to adopt antismoking policies if state wide antismoking policies were in effect.

Shipan and Volden (2008) focused, in part, on the importance of learning for policy diffusion; however other work has shown that the influence of learning may be conditioned by political ideologies (Gilardi, 2010). Using a Bayesian framework, Gilardi (2010) discusses how countries learn from the experience of other countries, and how that learning can be influenced by partisan attachments. Gilardi (2010) defines learning, in a Bayesian sense, as "a process whereby policy makers change their beliefs about the effects of policies" (p. 651). Policy makers update prior beliefs based on the experiences of other countries. Gilardi (2010) uses unemployment benefits policies of 18 OECD countries and finds that right leaning governments are more likely to adopt cuts in unemployment benefits when other countries have adopted similar cuts without suffering election losses. Left leaning governments are less likely to adopt those polices if other countries experience a subsequent rise in unemployment (Gilardi, 2010).

Policy entrepreneurs have long been understood to play a role in policy development and change (Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996); specifically they play a pivotal role within MS by taking advantage of opportunities and merging the disparate streams to enact policy change (Kingdon, 1984; Zahariadis, 2007). Mintrom and Norman define policy entrepreneurs as "highly motivated individuals or small teams [that] draw attention to policy problems, present innovative policy

solutions, build coalitions of supporters, and secure legislative action" (2009, p. 649). In addition to MS, policy entrepreneurs have been thought to play a role in policy diffusion (Berry & Berry, 2007). Two recent papers examined the role that policy entrepreneurs can play in the diffusion of policies (Koski, 2010; Teodoro, 2009).

The first paper considers bureaucrats as policy entrepreneurs. Teodoro (2009) conjectures that the career mobility of bureaucrats can have an impact on the types of policy adoptions that occur across municipalities. Using a survey of municipal police chiefs and water utility managers, Teodoro (2009) is able to identify the career trajectories of bureaucrats and the hiring practices of several municipal government agencies across the U.S. Teodoro (2009) finds that agency heads that hired from within their agency are less likely to initiate policy innovation, while those that hired from outside the agency are more likely to initiate innovation. At the agency level, Teodoro finds that agencies that "routinely hire agency heads from outside the organization" (2009, p. 178) are more likely than agencies that typically hire from within to adopt new polices.

A second paper highlights the importance of policy entrepreneurs for the adoption of problems with low public salience (Koski, 2010). Using the diffusion of policies regarding the design of energy efficient building across cities (assumed to be a low-salience issue), Koski (2010) finds that policy entrepreneurs (termed knowledge brokers) played a critical role in policy adoption. With low-salience issues, knowledge brokers are needed to connect the policy idea to broader issues of public concern. In addition, policy entrepreneurs develop a "policy kernel" (a shared vocabulary of problem definitions and solutions), and they "act as linking agents between innovators and practitioners" (Koski, 2010, p. 97).

The policy diffusion model accounts for the movement of policies across governments. One of the criticisms of this model is that it lacks clear causal mechanisms that explain diffusion and adoption. The papers presented here offered several possible mechanisms. Shipan and Volden (2008) empirically tested four diffusion mechanisms including policy learning, economic competition, imitation, and coercion. Learning as a diffusion mechanism was also examined by Gilardi (2010) who found that learning occurs but is mediated by ideology. This insight has important implications for the way diffusion through learning occurs. Finally, two papers examined the role of policy entrepreneurs in policy diffusion. The first paper, characterizing bureaucrats as policy entrepreneurs, finds that bureaucratic mobility acts as a mechanism of diffusion and the second paper finds that policy entrepreneurs, as knowledge brokers, are vital to the adoption of policies related to low salience issues.

Punctuated-Equilibrium

Punctuated Equilibrium is focused on two facets of policymaking; long periods of policy stasis and periods of large scale policy change. PE was initially introduced by Baumgartner and Jones (1991, 1993, 2009)[8] and has subsequently developed into a theory of information processing, attention, and policy choice by governments (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005a,b; True, Jones, & Baumgartner, 2007; Workman, Jones, & Jochim, 2009). PE was originally applied to the American policy making system,

however recent work has shown successful applications in other countries (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Breunig, Koski, & Mortensen, 2010; John & Jennings, 2010).[9] This essay focuses on recent developments of PE as a model of policy choice based on the theory of disproportionate information processing and attention (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005a,b).[10]

As noted, PE has evolved beyond subsystem dynamics into a "full blown and viable model of choice for public policy" (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005a, p. 325; Mortensen, 2009). This line of research defines information as "signals" from the external environment and information processing consists of "collecting, assembling, interpreting, and prioritizing" those signals (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005b, p. 7). Processing these signals involve two aspects; selective attention and attention-driven choice (Mortensen, 2009). Selective attention, similar to bounded rationality, assumes that individuals are cognitively limited in their ability to process all available information. A similar assumption, termed institutional friction, exists for the limited ability of institutions to process information. Attention-driven choice assumes that individuals, as well as institutions, "ignore or overreact to the information signals from their surroundings" (Mortensen, 2009, p. 437) and as a result can make inefficient policy choices.

Apart from selective attention and attention-driven choice, understanding how governments process information involves understanding the related concepts of prioritization of information and the supply of information (Workman et al., 2009). Prioritization of information is important because governments are often faced with an oversupply of information. To deal with this oversupply, governments engage in both serial and parallel processing.[11] The oversupply of information is argued to be a result of "pluralistic, redundant, parallel, competing, and hence 'inefficient' " processes of information gathering (Workman et al., 2009, p. 83). Workman et al. (2009) conclude that to deal with this oversupply of information Congress delegates, not only policy making authority but also information processing to the bureaucracy. This insight highlights a new and important role for the bureaucracy and its possible influence on policymaking vis-à-vis its role in information processing.

The disproportionate information processing aspects of the policy choice model has been successfully applied to questions of public budgeting (Breunig et al., 2010; Mortensen 2009; Ryu, 2009). Applying the model to public budgeting incorporates both the long-held incrementalism assumption of budgeting and the PE predictions of stability punctuated by large budgetary changes. Breunig et al. (2010) compared longitudinal budget data in Demark and the United States and found, consistent with previous research, similar patterns of aggregate budgetary changes (i.e., small, medium, and large) in both countries. Even with the aggregate similarities, the authors find diverse patterns of change and stability in more specific policy areas. In some areas the countries exhibited similar patterns of change and stability and in others there were divergent patterns. The authors conclude that further work should move beyond aggregate comparisons to account for the patterns found at the more specific policy area level.

Along similar lines, additional research finds that patterns of budget stability and punctuations can vary by type of government expenditure (Ryu, 2009). Ryu

(2009), using U.S. state government budget data, finds that institutional friction and the oversupply of information can play a role in both budget stability and budget change and that these impacts vary by expenditure type. These two papers highlight the importance of understanding public budgets beyond aggregate shifts.

A final paper by Mortensen (2009) examines the attention driven choice aspect of the policy choice model. Mortensen (2009) connects public opinion with political attention (Congressional hearings), and budgetary authority. He concludes that "popular issues [measured by public opinion] tend to benefit from large increases in macro political attention but also—and perhaps even more intriguing—that unpopular issues tend to benefit from decreasing attention" (Mortensen, 2009, p. 450). This paper offers interesting insights into the importance of public opinion and political attention in determining budget authority. Political attention is assumed to be a critical component of the policy choice model and this paper empirically links political attention to a policy outcome (budgetary authority). In addition, the paper notes how public opinion, acting as information, can mediate the impacts of attention.

A large body of literature, typically using principal-agent models, argues that information asymmetries exist between Congress and the bureaucracy due to the cost to members of Congress of obtaining policy relevant information. The policy choice model argues that information is not rare and costly, but rather over abundant and as a result Congress often delegates the processing of this information to the bureaucracy (Workman et al., 2009). In other words, costs are incurred by members of Congress from the *processing* of information not the *obtaining* of information. Several empirical applications using public budgets were examined and they provided, in general, empirical support for the policy choice model. Public budgeting has been shown to exhibit the patterns of stability and change the model would expect (Breunig et al., 2010). In addition, the attention aspect of the model was shown to be significant, but conditioned by public opinion (Mortensen, 2009). Finally, as noted by Breunig et al. (2010) and Ryu (2009), the ability of the model to explain budget change at disaggregate levels and with various types of expenditures requires further development.

Social Construction and Policy Design

The social construction and policy design framework is focused on the way that attitudes regarding the target population of a policy can influence the type of policy that is created. In addition, the framework is also focused on the reciprocal—how policy can impact the way that target populations are viewed. The social construction framework was initially developed by Schneider and Ingram (1993, 1997) and later clarifications were made by Ingram, Schneider, and deLeon (2007).

A recent review of 47 applications of the social construction and policy design framework found that the framework possessed "broad utility" for both scholars and practitioners (Pierce, Schumacher, Siddiki, & Pattison, 2010, p. 20). The review examined applications by substantive policy domain and by data collection and analysis methods (Pierce et al.). Pierce et al. find that the majority of applications of the social construction and policy design framework were in the areas of health and

welfare policy. Other areas included homeland security/defense, the environment, fiscal, education, immigration/race relations, and criminal justice. In terms of data collection and analysis, the majority of applications (69 percent) used qualitative methods, 20 percent were quantitative, and the remaining used mixed methods (Pierce et al.).

Recent work by Reich and Barth (2010), apply the social construction framework to policies regarding in-state tuition for undocumented college students. The authors compare in-state tuition policies across two states; Kansas and Arkansas. The states enacted different policies even though they are similar in terms of demographics and political institutions. Kansas adopted a policy that allows undocumented residents to pay in-state tuition, while similar legislation in Arkansas was not successful. Reich and Barth (2010) compared the policy deliberations that occurred in both states and found that undocumented students in Kansas where constructed as "proto-citizens", whereas the debate in Arkansas focused on questions about jurisdictional authority. They concluded that one of the key factors was the positive construction of the students in Kansas. This construction added a dimension to the debate (students, brought here as children, attempting to better their situation through education) that was able to garner enough Republican support to allow the legislation to pass. Reich and Barth (2010) provide valuable empirical and quantitative support for the importance of social constructions for policy design and adoption.

The social construction and policy design framework employs policy design as both a dependent variable and an independent variable (Ingram et al., 2007; Schneider & Sidney, 2009). Policy design consists of nine elements that include (1) problem definition and goals, (2) benefits and burdens to be distributed, (3) target population, (4) rules, (5) tools, (6) implementation structures, (7) social constructions, (8) rationales, and (9) underlying casual assumptions (Schneider & Sidney, 2009, pp. 104–105).

Some recent work has argued that policy design should be incorporated as a dependent variable in policy process theories and frameworks (James & Jorgensen, 2009; Real-Dato, 2009). James and Jorgensen (2009) argue that future work should examine the role of policy knowledge (i.e., policy analysis and policy evaluation) in determining policy design. In addition to being a dependent variable, policy design can be an independent variable in a feed-forward process. Schneider and Sidney (2009) identify four types of feed-forward effects that further work should develop. The first is the way that policy designs "create target populations," the second includes "specific rules or allocation of resources that differentially impact citizens," the third is the way that policies "embed many aspects of the rhetoric in the policy debate" specifically casual assumptions and rationales, and finally the impact of policy on pressing issues such as political participation, public cynicism, income inequality, and political rhetoric (Schneider & Sidney, 2009, p. 111).

Traditional research on policy design focused on the way in which problems were defined. The social construction and policy design framework argues scholars should also focus on the way in which target populations of a policy are defined. Building on this insight, the work by Reich and Barth (2010) found that the way that undocumented students were defined (i.e., socially constructed) played a large role

in determining whether in-state tuition legislation was successful. In addition, other research brought into view considerations of the importance of policy design as both a dependent variable and an independent variable in models of the policy process. The majority of policy process research attempts to explain policy change. Scholars should be encouraged to examine issues of policy design as well.

Emerging Trends

While the limited time scale (2008 to 2010) of this essay makes identifying "trends" somewhat difficult, the following themes have emerged recently and I expect will continue to be studied by scholars of the policy process.

Narrative Policy Framework

Recent work on the role of narratives in the policy process has offered new insight into how individuals process political and/or policy-relevant information (Jones & McBeth, 2010; McBeth et al., 2007, 2010). According to the narrative policy framework (NPF), individuals understand policy issues in terms of "stories" that include a setting or context, a plot, characters (heroes and villains), and a moral to the story (Jones & McBeth, 2010). The authors also argue that policy narratives need not be "relative" (i.e., context specific) but can be generalizable if "anchored" to normative beliefs. The authors suggest partisanship, ideology, and Cultural Theory (CT) as possible anchors that could guide the interpretation of policy narratives.

Jones and McBeth (2010) lay out several hypotheses, at both the micro and meso levels, that can be empirically tested. The micro level hypotheses posit predictions about individual level public opinion and the possibility of narratives to shift opinion. They hypothesize four ways that narratives can move individual opinion; (i) if a narrative alters how an individual views the world, (ii) if an individual identifies with the hero in the narrative, (iii) the degree to which the narrative is congruent with the individual's prior beliefs, and (iv) the amount of trust that the individual places in the source of the narrative. At the meso level, Jones and McBeth (2010) offer three hypotheses regarding the strategic use of narratives by groups and/or coalitions. These hypotheses are tied to classic ideas regarding conflict expansion by strategic policy actors. Jones and McBeth (2010) posit that (i) "losers" in the policy debate will use narratives to expand conflict, (ii) "winners" will employ narratives to contain conflict, and (iii) policy actors will use narratives to split opposing coalitions.

The NPF offers a way for policy scholars to empirically measure how policy relevant information is transmitted and interpreted by both policy elites and the mass public. It could possibly stand on its own as a policy process theory, or could be incorporated into existing frameworks and theories. For example, narratives can be used to explain policy-oriented learning between and across coalitions in the ACF. Narratives could also be employed by policy entrepreneurs to merge streams or hasten policy diffusion and adoption. Finally, narratives could possibly shed light on how and why information is weighted and processed by governments when making policy choices.

Subsystems and Beyond

Policy subsystems have been the dominant level of analysis for many policy process theories and frameworks;[12] particularly the ACF and PE. Recent work has brought new insights regarding subsystems. Two recent papers by Peter May and his colleagues argue that policy subsystems remain stable even after significant external disruptions (May, Sapotichne, & Workman, 2009a,b). This insight confirms long held assumptions about how subsystems bring stability to the policymaking process. In addition, recent research has begun to focus on various types of subsystems. These types include unitary, collaborative, and adversarial (Weible, 2008). The type of subsystem can have a direct bearing on the types of coalitions within that subsystem. For example, a unitary subsystem is based on a single cooperative coalition, while collaborative subsystems could have multiple coalitions, and finally an adversarial subsystem would contain multiple competing coalitions (Weible, 2008). In addition, these different subsystems are likely to use policy information and utilize policy learning in different ways (Weible & Sabatier, 2009). Finally, subsystem dynamics can help explain how policy change occurs (or doesn't) following a focusing event or crisis (Nohrstedt, 2008; Nohrstedt & Weible, 2010).

Other recent work has begun to move beyond the subsystem as the level of analysis in policymaking. PE has expanded from a model of subsystem dynamics to a system wide model of policy choice (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005a,b). In addition, recent work has argued that the ACF should move beyond the subsystem level to a more macro level policy topography (Jones & Jenkins-Smith, 2009). Other research has argued that policy problems typically encompass more than one subsystem and could be better understood as a "policy regime" (Jochim & May, 2010). Policy regimes are "governing arrangements that foster integrative actions across elements of multiple subsystems" (Jochim & May, 2010, p. 304). These regimes often emerge as a result of messy policy problems that span multiple policy areas or a crisis which can cause large scale policy disruption (May et al., 2009a, 2009b).

Policymaking and the Bureaucracy

In large part, the bureaucracy has not been a major feature of policy process theories.[13] Several recent papers have assumed a larger role for the bureaucracy and individual bureaucrats in the policymaking process. In a paper regarding information processing by governments, Workman et al. (2009) argue that Congress delegates, not only policymaking authority but also information processing to the bureaucracy. This delegation occurs as a result of the oversupply of information in the political system. Additional research regarding bureaucratic structures and information processing, argues that delegated authority and formal routines within the bureaucracy can dampen signals from political principals (Congress and the President) while centralized authority and informal procedures can amplify those signals (May, Workman, & Jones, 2008). In addition, Robinson et al. (2007) finds that bureaucratic centralization[14] can make budget punctuations more likely, while punctuations are less likely in larger organizations. A final paper argues that theories of delegation

to the bureaucracy should be put alongside other policy process theories or incorporated within Jones and Baumgartner's (2005a,b) policy choice model (Lavertu & Weimer, 2009). Lavertu and Weimer argue that theories of delegation contain a, "clear causal mechanism and empirically falsifiable predictions regarding the interests, information, and institutions that affect delegated policymaking," specifically delegation "explains the level of detail and the types of administrative procedures specified in statute" (2009, p. 100).

In addition to the bureaucracy, recent work has discussed the importance of individual bureaucrats in the policymaking process. Teodoro (2009) imagines bureaucrats as policy entrepreneurs and bureaucratic mobility as a causal mechanism for policy diffusion. In addition to policy entrepreneurs, recent research equates bureaucrats and public managers and argues that their role in the policy process is underdeveloped; particularly with regard to policy implementation (Hicklin & Godwin, 2009; Meier, 2009). Meier (2009) argues that there exists an overemphasis on policy design without regard to the bureaucrats that implement those policies. As Meier notes, "one of the basic facts about of implementation is that individuals, not institutions, make the majority of decisions that drive policy" (2009, p. 14).

The importance of the bureaucracy in the policymaking process has not been sufficiently considered by current policy theory. The work discussed here offer suggestions for future work that should be explored. The role of delegated information processing to the bureaucracy has important implications for policy designs and the conditions necessary for policy change. In addition, theories of delegation could be integrated into the ACF, as well as the policy choice model. It is likely that delegation patterns would vary depending on whether bureaucrats where members of the dominant coalition or the minority coalition.

Synthetic Framework of the Policy Process

Recent work regarding the policy process has largely proceeded within the established theories and frameworks. However, some work has called for integrating the various frameworks (Real-Dato, 2009; Schlager, 2007). Schlager (2007) argues that "Over the past several years, the family resemblance among the policy process theories and comparative policy models has become more pronounced, to the point where they probably belong under a single roof and that roof is the currently entitled advocacy coalition framework" (p. 317).

Along similar lines, Real-Dato (2009) argues that MS, PE, and the ACF can be joined into a single "synthetic explanatory framework." In addition, he states that the IAD could serve as theoretical "baseline" that can incorporate the synthetic framework. Using the IAD imbeds the other frameworks within a structure that accounts for the importance of institutions in the policy process, and allows for multiple levels of analysis. Real-Dato (2009) goes on to argue that the synthetic framework would incorporate three mechanisms of policy change; endogenous change, conflict expansion, and exogenous impacts. Endogenous change is change that occurs within the policy subsystem, largely as a result of policy learning. Change due to conflict expansion results from policy actors looking outside the subsystem for potential

allies. Conflict expansion is based on venue-shopping by dissatisfied subsystem actors, and/or change brought about by policy actors altering the policy image of those outside of the subsystem and creating a punctuation (Real-Dato, 2009). Finally, policy change can occur as a result of exogenous impacts. Exogenous impacts can indirectly impact policy through causing an endogenous change in the subsystem or through a direct impact by causing policy change "independent of internal processes within the subsystem" (Real-Dato, 2009, p. 136).

Following Schlager (2007) and Real-Dato (2009) and focusing on merging the various theories and frameworks into a unified framework of the policy process certainly seems worth pursuing.[15] The main advantage of such a unified framework is that it would allow scholars to take advantage of the cumulative knowledge of each of the frameworks.

Both before and since Sabatier's (1991) call for better theories of the policy process, multiple theories and frameworks have offered important insights into the policy process. This essay briefly outlined some recent work that has expanded those frameworks. While this essay only scratches the surface of the thriving field of policy process theory, it is my hope that one can conclude that the work examined here is of a high value and the larger field is producing interesting and exciting research. The field has generated several frameworks and theories that continue to be empirically tested and revised to sharpen our understanding of the policy process.

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Notes

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1. In February 2008 many of the leading scholars of the policy process met at the University of Oklahoma for the Policy Theory Workshop: The Next Generation of Public Policy Theories. Most of the papers presented at that workshop were published in the *Policy Studies Journal, Vol.37, No.1, 2009*. A majority of those papers addressed several current policy process frameworks and are therefore included within the discussion of that framework. Some of those papers outside the current frameworks are discussed in the emerging trends section of this essay.
2. Even given this restrictive criteria and time frame, a single review article cannot possibly include everything published. Attempts were made to include pieces that offered new insights and provided fruitful avenues for future research.
3. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/2009/press.html.
4. Typically these are natural resources; however some recent work has begun to use the IAD framework to examine "cultural" commons, such as open-source software (Madison, Frischmann, & Strandburg, 2010).
5. For those interested in common pool resource theory see *Working Together: Collective Action, the Commons, and Multiple Methods in Practice* (Poteete, Janssen, & Ostrom, 2010).
6. Salience was measured by mentions in the *New York Times*.
7. The assumption of stream independence has often been criticized (see Zahariadis, 2007). Zahariadis (2007) notes however that "stream independence is a conceptual device" (p. 81). He goes on to argue

that—like rational choice models based on the assumption that individuals act "as if" they were rational, despite some evidence to the contrary—scholars applying the MS framework can assume that the streams act "as if" they are independent.

8. A second edition of *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (2009) includes a new introduction and updates on each of the cases presented in the 1993 edition.
9. Despite the growth of PE, questions still remain about the causal mechanisms of policy punctuations (Smith & Larimer, 2009). One of the mechanisms proposed by Baumgartner and Jones (1993) is an external event (such as the Three Mile Island accident for the nuclear energy subsystem). However, some recent work has found that external events were not significant factors to induce punctuations within forestry policy (Cashore & Howlett, 2007) and tobacco policy (Givel, 2008).
10. Subsequently termed the policy choice model; this term incorporates disproportionate information processing and the politics of attention (POA) model.
11. Parallel information processing allows institutions to respond to multiple signals at once. The organization of Congress into committees and the organization of policy actors into subsystems are examples of parallel information processing.
12. See McCool 1998 for a review of subsystems and related concepts.
13. Bureaucrats are assumed to members of advocacy coalitions and government institutions play a role in PE. However, there aren't explicit hypotheses about the bureaucracy and its role in policymaking.
14. Measured by the "percentage of spending on central administration" in a school district (Robinson et al., 2007, p. 145).
15. An alternative approach may be a comparative one in which multiple frameworks are examined and tested in the same study to see which provides more explanatory power (Meier, 2009).

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Lingering Debates and Innovative Advances: The State of Public Opinion Research

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The intersection of public policy and public opinion has fostered the development of an extensive body of scholarly literature. Much of the research strives to disentangle the relationship between policy and opinion. For this rich area of study to continue to flourish, it is imperative that innovations in public opinion are grasped and utilized. In this essay, I synthesize the most significant advances made to policy related public opinion research in the last few years. Although debates from previous decades persist, theoretical and methodological advances lead to an increased comprehension of the nuances and complexities of the relationship between public opinion and policy.

Introduction

> "*The pictures inside the heads of these human beings, the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes, and relationships, are their public opinions*."—Walter Lippmann (1922)

It is fair to say that researchers today hold a clearer understanding of "the pictures inside the heads of these human beings" than when Lippmann first wrote this description of public opinion. Modern public opinion scholars are applying advances from multiple disciplines. These breakthroughs lead to an increased comprehension of how individuals process information, the influence of media, and the impact of deliberation. Some newer approaches highlight the role of affect, personality, and genetics, but classic debates in the literature persist. There are still disagreements surrounding the precise linkage between public opinion and policy, and the ability of individuals to form opinions and ideologies.

The intersection of public policy and public opinion yields a wealth of scholarly literature. The dynamic connection between policy and opinion is the subject of multifarious empirical and normative analyses. For this rich area of study to continue to be fruitful, it is imperative that the most recent findings in the arena of public opinion are understood and utilized. In this essay I synthesize the most significant substantive and theoretical contributions made to policy related public opinion research in the last few years. Nevertheless, mine is not an exhaustive examination

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of the literature in public opinion. Instead, I highlight several key areas of public opinion research in the subsections of this essay. Each section should not be perceived as entirely distinct. Instead, the topical and theoretical subsections should be viewed as a set of interwoven and interrelated facets of public opinion.

The essay is divided into several sections. First, the progress made in media studies is examined. A second section focuses on information processing and opinion formation. Next, developments related to ideological constraint, issue preferences, and polarization are highlighted. I then explore recent findings on the linkages between public opinion and public policies, and follow up with a presentation of the progress in deliberative democracy research. In only brief sections developments related to genetics, methodology, trust in government, and race and immigration are discussed. Finally, the significance of the theoretical and empirical developments and how they lead to a better understanding of the complex relationship between public opinion and policy is discussed.

Public Opinion and the Media

To grasp the relationship between public opinion and public policy, it is critical that researchers comprehend the channels through which people receive information. For years, a burgeoning area of research examined the power of media to frame its communications. Now, the framing literature moves beyond solely examining the influence of a single frame, and instead analyzes the influence of multiple competitive frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Hartman & Weber, 2009; Jerit, 2009). Competing frames create a setting that not only allows for a thorough analysis of different types of frames, but also an environment akin to the real world. Analyses demonstrate that framing effects depend more on the quality of frames than the frequency, and that competition between frames alters their influence (Chong & Druckman, 2007). These researchers also argue that levels of political knowledge are important predictors of the impact of competing frames.

Another line of research examines competition between frames and cues, and provides analysis over time (Druckman, Lynn Hennessy, Charles, & Webber, 2010). The authors demonstrate that the impact of frames and cues is dependent on the processing-style of individuals, but the inclusion of both competition and time is critical to the study of political communication. The literature is increasingly moving toward an understanding of the processes by which issue frames impact opinion. This requires not only an examination of differing frames, but also an emphasis on the receiver's level of political awareness and strength of values. Thus, issue frames impact opinion through different processes dependent on characteristics of the receiver (Slothuus, 2008).

A related theoretical concept in media studies is priming. Recent studies document the breadth and limitations of this concept. One prominent domain within the priming literature concerns political campaigns. Some evidence suggests that in presidential debates both the candidates' remarks and the media's instant analyses prime various considerations for viewers (Fridkin, Kenney, Gershon, Shafer, & Woodall, 2007). Similar to the framing studies, these effects relate to levels of sophis-

tication and degree of partisanship. The concepts of repetition and time also extend to priming studies. Repetition of primes in campaigns over time is found to have a longer cumulative and enduring impact than recent and transitory primes (Claibourn, 2008). Other studies examining differing amounts of priming, often termed the dosage hypothesis, find less consistent results (Malhotra & Krosnick, 2007). Even presidential campaign appearances on late night comedy programs lead to significant priming effects and provide substantive policy information (Parkin, 2010). Other research examines the importance of subliminal primes and implicit measures of attitudes (Kam, 2007a; Weinberger & Westen, 2008). Despite the diversity of priming studies, there is still debate concerning the existence and applicability of the concept. One challenge asserts that media attention to an issue provides information to viewers who learn and change opinions in a manner that is distinct from what was previously described as priming (Lenz, 2009).

As technology has fostered the development of diverse media outlets that can present competing frames, the topic of selective information exposure is increasingly important for understanding opinion. There is solid evidence for selective-exposure across several media types (Stroud, 2008). There is strong support for the "issue public hypothesis" that individuals seek out information on policies they perceive as important, and modest support for the "anticipated agreement hypothesis" that people seek information about candidates they expect to agree with (Iyengar, Hahn, Krosnick, & Walker, 2008). Other research reveals that individuals left and right of center who couple their cable news with online news content are more liberal and conservative than those who do not (Nie, Miller III, Golde, Butler, & Winneg, 2010). Additionally, the authors find that these individuals are more interested in niche issues. Media types and coverage are even linked to levels of policy-specific knowledge (Barabas & Jerit, 2009; Jerit, Barabas, & Bolsen, 2006).

For policy scholars to understand the role of public opinion in the policy process, they must grasp the intricate relationship between media and opinion. These studies illuminate the significance of a few of the most groundbreaking studies on framing, priming, and selective exposure. The research on framing and priming effects over time could be linked to policy change over time. Perhaps selective exposure could be tied to polarization in opinion and related policy gridlock. This research is pivotal to how individuals receive information and the opinions formed about public policies.

Information Processing and Opinion Formation

Innovations in psychology and research methodology are beginning to help isolate the processes and mechanisms through which people process information and form opinions. In recent years, a large body of literature developed around a theory of motivated reasoning (Burdein, Lodge, & Taber, 2006; Kim, Taber, & Lodge, 2010; Lebo & Cassino, 2007; Lodge & Taber, 2005; Taber, Cann, & Kucsova, 2009; Taber & Lodge, 2006). The theory unites affect and cognition to assert that an individual's prior attitudes toward people, groups, and issues will bias how he or she selects and processes new information concerning those topics. The theory is often linked to the "hot cognition hypothesis" which argues that "all sociopolitical concepts are affect

laden" (Lodge & Taber, 2005). Motivated reasoning and the hot cognition hypothesis are often coupled with on-line processing models. In sum, individuals develop affective charges concerning various topics over time, and these prior motivations significantly influence how people process new information. It is a theory which highlights the primacy and automaticity of affect. When employing this theory, strong empirical evidence is presented for three related hypotheses. First, an attitude congruence bias where people view evidence that supports their prior attitudes as more compelling. Second, a disconfirmation bias where people counter-argue evidence that is incongruent with prior attitudes. Third, attitude polarization is the result of biases promoting more extreme attitudes (Taber & Lodge, 2006; Taber et al.). These effects heighten with strong priors and high levels of political sophistication.

Another form of information processing accentuates a micro-level theory of issue definition. Wood and Vedlitz (2007, p. 552) suggest that "people process information about policy issues through a filter that emphasizes past assessments, ideology, background, social cues, and the continuing intrusion of new information." The result is that most issue definitions remain stable over time, but new information of a sufficient magnitude can produce significant punctuations in issue definitions.

Other research demonstrates that interpretations, not factual beliefs, drive opinions (Gaines, Kuklinski, Quirk, Peyton, & Verkuilen, 2007). The authors show that respondents hold fairly accurate beliefs about facts concerning the war in Iraq. Despite possessing similar factual beliefs, partisans interpret the facts in predictably different ways. In addition, individuals who are better informed are more likely to effectively mold their interpretation of facts to bolster their partisan positions.

A burgeoning area of research in public opinion hinges upon recent advances in the study of emotions. Much of this literature relates to affective intelligence theory and distinct emotions (Civettini & Redlawsk, 2009; Druckman & McDermott, 2008; Gross, 2008; MacKuen, Wolak, Keele, & Marcus, 2010; Petersen, 2010; Small & Lerner, 2008; Valentino, Banks, Hutchings, & Davis, 2009; Valentino, Hutchings, Banks, & Davis, 2008). This line of research attempts to understand the linkages between particular emotions and opinions, information seeking, and memory. One theme is an emphasis on moving beyond positive and negative emotions, and dissects the differences between negative emotions of anxiety and anger (Druckman & McDermott, 2008; Petersen, 2010; Valentino et al.).

An emerging area of study finds value in the linkage between personalities and politics (Mondak, Hibbing, Canache, Seligson, & Anderson, 2010). Research suggests that openness to new experiences and conscientiousness are connected to political orientations and attitudes (Carney, Jost, Gostling, & Potter, 2008). Other research links personality traits to political, economic, and social attitudes. For example, one study shows that the effect of personality traits is often as large as education or income in predicting ideology, and that the relationship between personality and ideology varies along racial lines (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, & Ha, 2010).

These breakthroughs in information processing and opinion formation help explain how people filter information and employ biases in their opinions of policies. These particular studies introduce novel predictors for policy support and allow for

a more thorough and nuanced understanding of the likelihood of policy change as well as the capacity for policy learning.

Issue Preferences, Ideology, and Polarization

Recent research also engages the enduring debates over the ability of citizens to express genuine preferences, demonstrate ideological constraint, and become polarized over time (Campbell, Miller, Converse, & Stokes, 1960; Converse, 1964; Miller & Shanks, 1996; Page & Shapiro, 1982; Zaller, 1992). One study finds structured and stable issue preferences for individuals, and asserts that measurement is pivotal (Ansolabehere, Rodden, & Snyder, 2008). The authors argue in support of surveys using multiple measures rather than individual survey items. In an effort to reduce measurement error, they employ structural models and average a large number of survey items on the same broadly defined issue. They assert that once this error is reduced, issue preferences approach party identification in coherence and in the predictive power of presidential vote choice. An analysis that estimates ideology on the same scale as candidate positions, finds meaningful ideologies strongly relate to policy proposals considered in Congress (Jesse, 2009). Other research demonstrates that partisanship is more ideological and more issue based along liberal and conservative divisions than it was in the 1970s (Bafumi & Shapiro, 2009). Using Bayesian Item Response Theory, there is support for a multidimensional conception of ideological preferences, where it is possible for individuals to hold liberal preferences in one dimension and conservative preferences in another (Treier & Hillygus, 2009).

A theme woven through decades of research focuses on citizens' evaluations of political parties. This literature has implications for voting behavior, mass opinion, and unquestionably, public policy. Recent studies explicitly test competing theories and find strong support for valence models in the United States, Canada, and Britain (Clarke, Kornberg, & Scotto, 2009; Clarke, Sanders, Stewart, & Whiteley, 2004; 2009). In valence models, leaders and parties are evaluated on their actual and anticipated performance in achieving consensually agreed-upon policy goals, or valence issues (Clarke et al.). Individuals rely heavily on heuristic leader images and partisan attachments. Here, partisan attachment is viewed as a storehouse of accumulated information about past performance that is continually updated. In these studies, valence models have outperformed prominent sociological and spatial models. This research has ramifications for issue preferences and public perception of policymakers.

Despite a consensus on ideological polarization at the elite level in the United States, public opinion scholars continue to disagree about the existence or extent of polarization for the mass public and its implications for policymaking (Abramowitz & Saunders, 2008; Claassen & Highton, 2009; Fiorina, Abrams, & Pope, 2008; Hetherington & Weiler, 2009; Levendusky, 2010). Research finds dramatic increases in ideological polarization in the mass public, and these divisions are most extreme among more interested and informed citizens (Abramowitz & Saunders, 2008). However, others challenge many of these assertions, and attribute the conflicting findings to differences in measurement (Fiorina et al.). Some researchers take a more nuanced view and suggest that only well-informed individuals respond to elite

polarization by becoming more partisan in their views (Claassen & Highton, 2009). It is also clear that elite polarization brings about more attitude and voting consistency among ordinary citizens (Levendusky, 2010). Although the debate over ideology and polarization continues, these studies contribute to our understanding of the policy process and the likelihood of policy change. In addition, this research indicates that some policy problems may be more politically intractable than we had previously believed.

Public Opinion and Public Policy—Direction?

A primary theme at the intersection of opinion and policy concerns the direction and linkage between the two concepts. Does public opinion drive policy, or do policies influence opinions? V.O. Key (1961, p. 7) states "Unless mass views have some place in the shaping of policy, all the talk about democracy is nonsense." The debate lingers as there is evidence in support of each direction depending on the topic, data, and method of analysis.

Research that examines state-level gay rights policies finds a high degree of responsiveness to policy-specific opinion (Lax & Phillips, 2009a). However, the authors find that the relationship between opinion and policy varies significantly across issues, often in respect to salience. Including variables of salience and institutional friction, one study demonstrates that policies are more responsive to opinion at the agenda-setting stage than policymaking at the decision-making stage (Jones, Larsen-Price, & Wilkerson, 2009). Where institutional friction or transaction costs are high, responsiveness is mitigated. When the salient issue of the death penalty is coupled with elective state supreme courts, mass opinion can influence court composition and judge behavior (Brace & Boyea, 2008). Another study finds little evidence that the Supreme Court responds strategically to public opinion, but finds partial support that the Court responds to the same social forces that influence the public (Giles, Blackstone, & Vining, 2008). Examining county-level policies, other researchers find that social service spending varies as a function of ideological orientation, and is conditioned by differing institutional structures (Percival, Johnson, & Neiman, 2009). Criminal justice policies also respond to public preferences for more or less punitive policies (Nicholson-Crotty, Peterson, & Ramirez, 2009).

An analysis of mass feedback to welfare reform policy finds that the policy produces few changes in public opinion (Soss & Schram, 2007). The authors also present propositions for when mass feedback is possible. Another line of research reveals how the nature of a Supreme Court decision impacts people's acceptance, even if they are ideologically predisposed to disagree with the outcome (Zink, Spriggs, & Scott, 2009). The authors find that when the Court issues a unanimous decision and follows precedent, rather than a divided decision and overruling precedent, people are more likely to agree with and accept the decision. The influence of policy elite's endorsements is also discussed (Bartels & Mutz, 2009). They present evidence that the Court bears persuasive power to move

public opinion based on multiple processes of influence, and Congress maintains a conditional ability to move opinion that is more potent than was previously understood. Thus, there is evidence in support of both opinion driving policy and elites influencing public opinion. All theoretical models of the policy process include public opinion in some manner. The studies discussed in this section can help policy researchers better understand the complexity of public opinion's role in the policy process.

Deliberative Democracy and Communication Networks

Another realm of public opinion research with normative and empirical implications focuses on deliberative democracy and communication networks. Mutz (2006) analyzes deliberative democracy, and isolates who is likely to discuss politics with people holding oppositional viewpoints, when it occurs, and its consequences. She finds that people seek homogeneity and civility. In doing so, cross-cutting talk occurs in non-intimate networks, but political discussion is most likely in an intimate setting. Individuals who are most knowledgeable and hold extreme views are the least likely to be exposed to disagreement. Thus, the advantages of deliberation are awarded to few individuals. Mutz notes that exposure to opposition can increase awareness for the reasoning underlying opposing views, can increase understanding of the rationale for one's own views, and can enhance tolerance. However, exposure to opposing views can also negatively impact political participation. Deliberation and public decision-making is linked to polarization (Stasavage, 2007). One study demonstrates that discursive activities are not strongly influenced by demographic traits, but are instead driven primarily by social and political capital (Jacobs, Cook, & Delli Carpini, 2009). They find that face-to-face deliberation is tied to increased participation. Other research links deliberative democracy to discursive representation that promotes discourse in existing government institutions and the broader public sphere (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008). Research finds that most participants' views toward same-sex marriage and sexual minority rights remain unchanged after deliberating (Wojcieszak & Price, 2010). The authors connect deliberation with confirmation bias research, and find that those strongly opposed to such policies, become even more opposed after discussions. On the other hand, strong proponents do not polarize their views, but are slightly less favorable toward same-sex marriage and sexual minority rights after disagreements.

A related line of research specifically addresses communication networks. Political discussion can stimulate argumentation which impedes discussion (Huckfeldt & Mendez, 2008). They demonstrate that this combination helps explain patterns of disagreement in democratic politics. Research on friendship networks reveals a durable and significant influence of friends looking to each other for advice and information, conditioned by issue salience and levels of awareness (Parker, Parker, & McCann, 2008). There is evidence that micro political communication networks do not avoid controversies in the larger political environment (Huckfeldt, 2007). He also demonstrates that perceptions of the opinions of others are less accessible with controversial issues, and that communication between two citizens is most effective

with such issues. Another line of work amalgamates the social network literature with affect and emotions to find that disagreement can depolarize emotions toward political candidates (Parsons, 2010). Previous literature surrounding group composition effects is challenged in a study that finds only sporadic and weak evidence of group influence (Farrar, Green, Green, Nickerson, & Shewfelt, 2009). However, social influence is demonstrated by Fein, Goethals, and Kugler (2007) who show that exposure to other people's reactions significantly impacts perceptions of presidential debates. Deliberation and social networks have a well-documented influence on public opinion. These concepts are instrumental to how the public thinks about problems in society and whether they support proposed solutions.

Genetics

For decades, public opinion research emphasized the role of environmental and socialization forces in the construction of attitudes. In recent years, this research is coupled with genetic breakthroughs. Hatemi et al. (2009a) examine longitudinal political attitudes of twins, and find a sizeable genetic influence in early adulthood that remains stable throughout adult life. They state that "offspring begin with the attitudes learned from their parents, but as they leave home, their own experiences and individual genetic disposition interact to modify those attitudes" (p. 1152). Genetic research in politics is used to evaluate specific opinions and concepts such as social trust and the "gender gap" (Hatemi, Medland, & Eaves, 2009b; Sturgis et al., 2010). In addition to genetics, evolutionary biological theory is also applied to political attitudes and opinions (Alford & Hibbing, 2004). Parental transmission and socialization forces are not relegated to an inferior theoretical position. Instead, there continues to be strong evidence in support of parental social influence, especially in consistently politicized families (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009).

Advances in Methods

Although there have been many methodological advances in the study of opinion, I focus on a limited set of innovations in statistics, experiments, and survey techniques that are relevant to public opinion and policy research. Lax and Phillips (2009b) compare the performance of two methodological estimates of state-level public opinion. They analyze disaggregation of national surveys by states, and simulations employing multilevel modeling and post stratification by population share (MRP). They find that both approaches work well under ideal conditions, but MRP generally performs better. Disaggregation of state level data from national surveys often requires large samples pooled over extended time periods. They argue MRP should be used when samples are small to medium, but its advantages are less likely to be worth implementation costs when samples are large.

Experimental methodology is increasingly popular and diverse. Its growth in application, impact, and prominence is well documented (Druckman, Green, Kuklinski, & Lupia, 2006). The authors suggest that the experimental method is "a generally accepted and influential approach" (p. 634). A recurring issue in experi-

mental research is the recruitment of subjects. A recent study broadens the subject base beyond university students to include campus staff for laboratory research (Kam, Wilking, & Zechmeister, 2007b). They find that campus staff has higher response rates, and few discernable differences from the general local population. Thus, campus staff members present a propitious opportunity for an alternative convenience sample in experimental research.

Many public opinion studies include measures of political knowledge, sophistication, or awareness. In recent years, the measurement of political knowledge is being reexamined and scrutinized (Gibson & Caldeira, 2009; Miller & Orr, 2008; Prior & Lupia, 2008; Sturgis, Allum, & Smith, 2008). Providing respondents with time or monetary incentives, Prior and Lupia (2008) find that existing measures of knowledge confound political knowledge with motivation and underestimate recall of political information. Other research debates the inclusion of "don't know" options in knowledge questions (Miller & Orr, 2008; Sturgis et al.).

In regard to surveys, an increasingly important concern is the relationship between the growth of cell-phone only households and under-coverage error in the use of random-digit-dialing techniques. The debate over how to handle this concern cannot be addressed in the confines of this essay. However, it should be noted that the implications for this issue and techniques to ameliorate possible problems are under examination (Ansolabehere & Schaffner, 2010; Blumberg & Luke, 2007; Ehlen & Ehlen, 2007).

Trust in Government

Voluminous literature examines the dynamics of trust in government in the United States. Past research often pointed to the performance of the economy, the president, and Congress as explanations for levels of trust. A common theme in this research and the most recent literature is an attempt to explain why levels of trust remain below those reported in the 1950 s and 1960 s. One analysis suggests that social capital accounts for the decline in trust over the last forty years (Keele, 2007). Other research looks to the priming literature and argues that people are using different and less favorable criteria to evaluate government than were used in the past (Hetherington & Rudolph, 2008). It is not enough for citizens to feel that they have a voice in politics, but they must also believe they possess influence in order to foster political trust and policy satisfaction (Ulbig, 2008). The quality and quantity of information distributed to individuals also influences levels of trust (Cook, Jacobs, & Kim, 2010). Trust in government has a long history of being linked to public policy support. If this linkage is to continue, the advances in trust in government literature must be wedded to policy research.

Race, Immigration, and Opinion

There are three major fields of research that examine the importance of race and immigration to public opinion. First, there is a growing body of literature that analyzes the "race gap," and how race impacts perceptions of various political

phenomena. Most of this research focuses on the differences between African Americans and whites. A second area of research on race politics continues to debate the role of symbolic racism, principled conservatism, and group conflict. A third line of research examines immigration policies and opinions in reference to racial threat and contact theories.

Although the theoretical explanations may differ, researchers continue to document racial differences in opinion. African Americans and whites respond differently to argument frames about the death penalty (Peffley & Hurwitz, 2007). These authors show that blacks are more responsive to frames that are both racial and nonracial than are whites. Whites are resistant to persuasion, but when given a racial frame that reveals the death penalty discriminates against African Americans, whites become more supportive of the policy. The authors explain this reaction by discussing how blacks and whites differ in whether they attribute the causes of crime to dispositional or systemic forces. Other research analyzes racial differences in responses to explicitly racial, implicitly racial, and nonracial verbal cues and primes (White, 2007). Using social identity theory and priming a positive attachment to a super-ordinate identity reduces intergroup biases toward policies (Transue, 2007). Racial disparities in levels of information, and their implications for holding members of Congress accountable are illuminated (Griffin & Flavin, 2007). Issue frames and cues can activate race and gender group schemas that impact opinions on policies that are not at all group targeted (Winter, 2008). Research on African American opinions shows that episodic framing of HIV/AIDS activates negative attitudes toward behaviors associated with the disease and toward black men who engage in them, and generates support for mobilization and regressive policy solutions (Spence, 2010).

The debates between the theories of symbolic racism, principled ideology, and group conflict continue. Each theory is buttressed with substantial evidence. Neblo (2009a) argues that the debate continues due to mistakes in the measurement of public opinion about race. He asserts that conceptual problems impede theoretical progress. There is evidence for a more complex perception of the debate that uses a typology (Neblo, 2009b). In reference to the three major theses, he states "Each of the major parties to the debate is partially right in their account of public opinion about race politics, but about independently identifiable sub-sets of subjects" (2009b, p. 31). Other research on race politics examines the importance of elite rhetoric and stereotypes, and racial differences in perceptions of the rhetoric (Nelson, Sanbonmatsu, & McClerking, 2007).

In recent years, a profuse amount of research unites the literature on immigration with racial threat and contact theories. Anglo attitudes toward English-language and immigration policies relate to the size of the Latino population and are conditional on levels of segregation (Rocha & Espino, 2009). Hopkins (2010) finds support for a "politicized places" hypothesis where hostile political responses to neighboring immigrants are most likely when there is a sudden influx of immigrants paired with salient national rhetoric that bolsters a threat. The idea of economic self-interest as an explanation for immigration policy attitudes finds little empirical support (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2010). The authors also find that

both rich and poor natives are equally opposed to low-skilled immigration. Other research illustrates the importance of elite discourse and group cues to trigger emotions (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). Immigration attitudes of the Spanish-speaking population are shown to vary by news source (Abrajano & Singh, 2009). A core network theory that emphasizes the interpersonal environment, and has implications for both group threat and contact theories, is reinforced (Berg, 2009). The theoretical intrigue and policy salience ensures that the analysis of this literature will continue in the future.

Conclusion

V.O. Key (1961, p. 8) asserts that "To speak with precision of public opinion is a task not unlike coming to grips with the Holy Ghost." Despite the difficulty of the task, it is clear that opinion research has progressed. Public policy scholars should be aware of the multifarious advances made in the public opinion literature. It is an area of research that is making significant progress, but also continues to wrestle with classic puzzles. This essay illustrates the growing importance of competitive frames and selective exposure to media studies. I emphasize the significance of motivated reasoning, issue definition, and interpretation for information processing and opinion formation. I also present emerging literature on emotions and personality. Persistent disagreements concerning the linkage between policy and opinion, and the ability of individuals to hold meaningful opinions and ideologies are discussed. Advances in deliberative democracy, genetics, methods, and trust in government are also recognized. Finally, this examination of public opinion literature acknowledges recent innovations in research concerning classic theories in race politics and immigration studies.

As discussed throughout the essay, the advances described in each of these subsections have much to offer public policy researchers and practitioners. The progress in public opinion can be particularly applicable to studies of agenda-setting, policy formation, adoption, and feedback. The innovations in media studies demonstrate how the public receives information about policies, and how their support for policies can be molded and even polarized through presentation. Policy practitioners and researchers can use the framing and priming literature to understand how media can be wielded to appeal to certain individuals and mobilize support for policies. Research on selective exposure can be used to comprehend and target specific audiences and issue bases. The studies on opinion formation illustrate the mechanisms by which people interpret policy information and employ biases in their opinions of policies. More precisely, policy researchers can better comprehend who will learn from policy-related information, and who is more likely to filter information through motive-laden biases. The continuing debates on issue preferences and ideologies have implications for policy agenda-setting, elections, and voting behavior. Although polarization at the mass level is not unanimously agreed upon, it could be linked to elite polarization and policy gridlock. Additionally, researchers who concentrate on state-level policies and data should consider multilevel modeling instead of disaggregation of national surveys when samples are

small. Lastly, scholars focusing on race and immigration should examine the burgeoning literature on public opinion in these policy areas. These potential policy applications are far from comprehensive. The diversity of policy studies and the host of breakthroughs in public opinion create unbounded opportunities for future study.

Due to the importance of public opinion to both normative and empirical research, grappling with old debates and testing innovative ideas is critical. If public opinion is to maintain an integral role in policy research, it is imperative that modern advances in opinion research are grasped and employed by policy scholars. This synthesis of the literature demonstrates that the relationship between policies and opinion bears many nuances and is quite complex. This essay provides a concise overview of recent advances in opinion studies that can serve as a starting point for future public opinion and policy research.

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Whither Civil Defense and Homeland Security in the Study of Public Policy? A Look at Research on the Policy, the Public, and the Process

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Though the policy science movement was born with the purpose of counseling the Department of Defense on a plethora of security matters, modern research within the field of public policy has tended to neglect issues of defense and security focusing instead on a wide variety of domestic problems. This nearly exclusive focus on domestic issues remained largely intact until September 11, 2001, when the threat of terrorism propelled defense and security back onto the disciplinary research agenda. Though exceptionally slow to adjust, policy scholars are gradually coming to terms with this new reality and are beginning to focus on security and defense in a way that informs policymakers and advances policy theory. This research note is meant to introduce interested readers to this trend by exploring broad themes and exemplar works within the field over the last few years.

Introduction

The systematic study of public policy, which largely grew out of the policy sciences movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s, has evolved a great deal over time. In addition to countless theoretical and methodological innovations, the register of substantive issues that problem-oriented policy scholars have tackled in the last 60 years is increasingly expansive. Contemporary research topics range from the minute details of nanotechnology and cognitive risk perceptions to the macro-politics of environmental concern and anthropogenic climate change. Given this massive scope and the inherently bounded nature of scholarly attention, it should be no surprise that issue coverage within the field of public policy is somewhat ephemeral. As societal needs thrust new problems onto the disciplinary research agenda,

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policy scholars generally adjust by addressing new issues and temporarily discounting others.[1]

Research on defense and security policy in the US represents an intriguing example of the aforementioned process. In the late 1930s through the mid-1940s, societal needs revolved around the Second World War (WWII). Largely in response to these needs, the policy science movement was born with the purpose of counseling the Department of Defense on a plethora of matters, ranging from resource allocation and efficiency to Nazi propaganda and public opinion during the wartime. In the early 1950s, issues related to WWII tapered in significance and policy researchers slowly shifted from a focus on defense and security to pressing domestic problems, like inequality and rampant poverty. This trend continued until the mid 1960s, when the conflict in Vietnam escalated and Robert McNamara and his "Whiz Kids" called on policy analysts to streamline the wartime budget by "rationalizing" the decisions made about risk, strategic priorities, and defense expenditures. Accordingly, the disciplinary agenda remained interested in defense and security until the mid to late 1970s when the Vietnam era waned and policy scholars once again turned to issues of domestic importance, including energy shortages, educational inequality, social welfare, and environmental degradation.

Aside from the occasional voyage into Cold War politics,[2] this nearly exclusive focus on domestic issues among mainstream policy scholars remained largely intact until September 11, 2001, when the threat of terrorism propelled defense and security back onto the disciplinary research agenda. Though exceptionally slow to adjust, modern policy scholars have come to terms with this new reality and are beginning to focus on security and defense in a way that informs policymakers and advances policy theory. This research note is meant to introduce interested readers to this trend by exploring broad themes and exemplar works within the field over the last few years.[3] In recognizing that no single article can meaningfully discuss everything that has been written about defense and security policy, I focus specifically on research related to civil defense and homeland security policy designed to protect the United States against terrorist activity.[4] Though this decision necessarily limits the scope of this paper, I am confident that this focus casts a net that is broad enough to capture major themes in recent research.

In order to structure the ensuing discussion, I borrow from Hofferbert's (1974) "funnel of causality", to categorize recent research into multiple levels of generality. Though feedback loops are surely pervasive, it is heuristically useful to think of public policy as deriving from various forces that operate directly and indirectly at different levels of abstraction. For example, Hofferbert (1974) looked at the way in which mass political behavior influences governmental instructions, which in turn shape elite decisions, and ultimately policy outcomes.[5] With the spirit of this argument in mind, I categorize recent research on defense and national security policy into three different levels—the policy, the process, and the public (Figure 1).

In order to better frame this discussion, the note starts with the policy section, which is the most specific level. In this section I introduce research that analyses several different aspects of homeland security policy. In so doing, the discussion highlights the rationality of national funding in response to differential levels of risk,

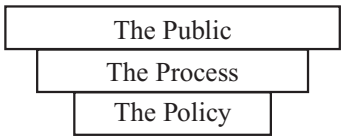

Figure 1. Levels of Generality.

local coordination and implementation in a multijurisdictional maze of federalism, and closes with a more general look at the extraordinary difficulties associated with protecting the homeland and how policymakers and analysts should attend to these monumental challenges. From there, I move on to the second section, which introduces research on the more general policy process wherein defense and security policy is made and changed. Though work on this front is relatively scant, scholars are making rapid progress by considering the way in which the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and the subsequent elevation of threat have rippled through multiple subsystems and redefined the administrative landscape. Finally, this scope expands even further by transcending the institutions of government to consider research on public perceptions and beliefs about homeland security policy. In particular, this section focuses on research that deals with a core dialectic that constrains modern questions about homeland security policy in the United States—namely, to what degree is the public willing to sacrifice civil liberty and civil rights in order to enhance national security? After introducing exemplar pieces of research within the aforementioned categories, I offer a few concluding remarks and then look briefly at what the future holds for the study of defense and security in the field of public policy.

The Policy

On September 11, 2001, a group of 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes and crashed them into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon in Arlington, VA, and into the ground outside of Shanksville, PA. When the dust settled, 2,976 people had died and more than 6,000 others were injured. Since then, the US government has launched an international war against terrorism and dedicated an enormous amount of resources towards protecting the domestic front from another catastrophic attack. For example, as the centerpiece of this effort, the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) spends more than $50 billion a year to identify, defeat, and mitigate threats to the safety of the American people. Like most public policies, the goal of defending the homeland from another terrorist attack is laudable yet more complex than any one person can imagine. Accordingly, sound analysis of homeland security policy that is both descriptive and prescriptive is imperative.

With this in mind, Tyler Prante and Bohara (2008) attempt to answer a rather simple yet important question—what factors influence the way in which the DHS allocates grant funding? To answer this question Prante and Bohara pit two relatively plausable theories against one another. On the one hand, rationalist theory expects that relative threat of a terrorist attack that states face will govern the allo-

cation process. In brief, they argue, states incurring a higher risk should receive more funding. Rivaling the rationalist theory, previous research suggests that the policy-making process is at most boundedly rational and influenced by a myriad of political variables, such as "pork barrel" politics. Thus, the "political" hypothesis suggests state partisanship and distributive politics are more important than relative risk in determining state DHS funding. To test these two theories, Prante and Bohara construct a series of econometric models which creatively compare the explanatory validity of the contending theories. In doing so, they find robust support for the rationalist and normatively reassuring notion that the risk of terrorist attack is positively associated with DHS grant allocations. By contrast, they find no support for the widely popular claim that allocation decisions are politically motivated. In other words, it appears that security considerations are more influencial than political concerns in explaining patterns of DHS funding.

Having briefly touched upon the genral determinants of homeland security spending, Erica Chenoweth and Clarke (2010) build upon Prante and Bohara (2008) to address the obvious corollary and perhaps more important question of implementation and local performance. In a federal system such as the US, protecting the homeland from a terrorist attack is an extremely challenging undertaking that demands constant cooperation and clear communication within and across a wide variety of jurisdictions. For example, though the federal and state governments are intimately involved in coordinating and financing homeland security efforts, local city/municipal governments are the first responders if an attack were to occur. This system of disjointed federalism creates a labyrinth of collective action and governance problems that hinder the implementation of crucial policy initiatives and ultimately jeopardize national security.[6]

Chenoweth and Clarke (2010) highlight this problem by examining city attempts to improve communications interoperability—the critically important ability of emergency responders and governmental authorities to talk and share data during a crisis situation in order to reduce the consequences of a terrorist attack. In addition to the availability of resources (funding) they hypothesize that governance maturity as well as institutional structure will influence city attempts to improve interoperability. After statistically comparing 48 US cities, they come to a number of interesting conclusions. First, and perhaps most surprisingly, they find that increased funding is not related to successful implementation, when controlling for governance and institutional context. In short it appears that simply increasing the resources allocated to a city is not sufficient to solve problems related to communications interoperability. Rather, they conclude that cities with relatively mature governance structures, high levels of multijurisdictional participation, and formal agreements that clearly delegate responsibility across participating jurisdictions have a discernable performance advantage over cities with informally structured relationships and highly autonomous decision makers.

Extending these findings to homeland security policy in general sheds light on a number of important issues that researchers and policymakers alike should note. First and foremost, coordination during a security crisis is highly desirable but it is not automatic. Second, increasing security funding does not necessarily induce coor-

dination, nor does it solve the collective action problem associated with emergency response. Third, local governance and institutional context are essential considerations when thinking about how to improve homeland security policies. In other words, DHS officials looking to advance state and local implementation efforts should explicitly attempt to build partnerships between stakeholders from multiple policy sectors and levels of government that are supported by codified rules and protocols.

Whereas Chenoweth and Clarke (2010) consider the local challenges associated with implementing emergency *mitigation* procedures, Jonh Mueller (2010a) broadens this scope to analyze the general cost effectiveness of "passive defense" or *protection* measures designed to make potential targets less vulnerable to terrorists attack. In doing so, Mueller begins by introducing several factors that dramatically complicate policy formulation and implementation. For instance, he notes that the number of potential terrorist targets is essentially infinite and that target selection is an effectively random process. As a result, Mueller suggests, it is virtually impossible and perhaps even futile to make a priori decisions about which targets to defend. Compounding this difficulty, actors can readily change targets if an original plan is foiled. Thus, as opposed to preventing an attack, the protection of a specific target means that other targets will necessarily become more vulnerable. These factors, in conjunction with his argument that the number of terrorists within the US appears to be much smaller and less capable than originally feared, lead Mueller to his central thesis that the majority of current efforts to protect the homeland from terrorist attacks are "highly questionable" and should therefore be reconsidered. Upon reconsideration, he argues, policymakers should base their decisions on a systematic cost-benefit analysis of each protective measure that includes a frank discussion of the probability and likely consequences of another attack.

Unsatisfied with this assessment, Warren Eller and Gerber (2010) contend that many of Mueller's critical assumptions are suspect and that his overall analytical framework is woefully oversimplified. As a result, they argue that Mueller (2010a) does not provide an adequate basis for analysis of homeland security policy. Instead, Eller and Gerber insist that prescriptive policy analysts must embrace the complexity of security policy by incorporating a number of important dimensions that Mueller failed to consider. For example, rather than analytically isolating protection policies from other goals such as mitigation, preparedness, response, and/or disaster recovery (which Mueller self-consciously does) Eller and Gerber argue that analysts must consider homeland security as a system of interacting variables that combine to enhance national security. Failure to do so, they believe, necessarily distorts an already messy picture and prohibits the advancement of useful policy alternatives. Likewise, because US security policy is formulated and implemented in a boundedly rational democratic society, where policymakers face direct electoral pressures, policy researchers and analysts alike cannot afford to neglect differential perceptions of risk among the mass public. For instance, despite Mueller's point that the risk of another terrorist attack is exceedingly low, large swaths of the public continue to feel threatened and therefore place a tremendous amount of pressure on the government

to make the nation more secure. As such, policymakers weigh the costs and benefits of a security measure as balanced against the demands of society—sometimes this results in a policy that is not "Pareto optimal." More importantly, when it comes to the calculation of risk, Eller and Gerber agree that the odds of a terrorist attack on any single target are rather slim; however, they contend that the probability of an attack is not evenly distributed across all targets. Accordingly, they argue that it is possible to rank targets according to the likelihood of attack and therefore it is possible to prioritize security efforts. This difference in opinion makes protection and defense possible and worth pursuing.

In response to Eller and Gerber's rebuttal, Mueller (2010b) makes a number of points that scholars interested in analyzing risk and homeland security should keep in mind. Most notably, he reiterates the role that probability should play in calculating risks and making policy. In particular he maintains that sensationalized "worst-case" thinking and additive rather than multiplicative risk equations, both of which are embraced by the DHS, lead to the continued overestimation of risk and ultimately misinformed homeland security policy. Ultimately, the debate about risk and the appropriate role of the government in protecting the homeland from another terrorist attack is one that cannot be settled by way of two articles in a single academic journal.[7] Instead Eller and Gerber as well as Mueller provide an engaging discussion that will hopefully urge policy scholars to remain focused on the understudied yet "remarkably fecund issue area of counterterrorism policy" which promises to advance both substantive and theoretical goals (Eller & Gerber, 2010, p. 36).

The Process

Having briefly introduced a few different pieces of scholarship that address the specifics of particular homeland security polices, I turn now to the policy process, wherein governmental institutions translate societal problems into policy outcomes. As mentioned at the beginning of this note, research in this area has been rather slow to develop, perhaps reflecting the notion that protecting the homeland from terrorism is a highly complex issue that straddles the traditional lines that divide domestic policy, international relations, emergency management, and public administration. For example, unlike traditional domestic policies that are processed and made in a pluralistic legislative atmosphere dominated by advocacy coalitions and subsystem politics, homeland security policy cuts across multiple subsystems, many of which are shrouded in exclusivity, and secrecy, and heavily influenced by the executive, bureaucratic, and military wings of the government.[8] Among other things, these complexities challenge traditional theories of the policy process and force researchers to broaden their understanding of politics and policy.

Peter May, Joshua Sapotichne, and Samuel Workman (2009a) embrace the aforementioned challenge by stepping back and viewing the attacks on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent threat of terrorism as a relatively rare "widespread" policy disruption that engaged actors from a variety of issue areas and disturbed multiple subsystems at once. With this focus in mind, May and his collaborators trace the

disruptive threat of terrorism within and across eight different subsystems, all of which are now tasked with various measures designed to protect the homeland.[9] In so doing, the authors compare and contrast patterns of subsystem attentiveness, policymaking activity, and federal agency involvement. With regard to attentiveness, they find that all eight subsystems devoted substantially more time and energy towards understanding the threat of terrorism in the aftermath of 9/11. Despite this sudden and relatively universal spike in attention, May, Sapotichne, and Workman show that capturing the attention of policymakers in the different subsystems is insufficient to motivate heightened levels of policymaking across the board. Rather, policymaking activity increased in those subsystems most closely associated with the threat of terrorism, like domestic preparedness, and decreased in relevant but peripheral subsystems, like food safety. In considering how federal agencies have responded to the threat of the terrorism, May et al. find that bureaucratic attention to terrorism also spiked in 2001, but that attention did not necessarily lead to influence. In particular, the DHS, which threatened to fundamentally restructure institutional relationships within subsystems, had a relatively muted impact that was restricted to subsystems not previously dominated by a particular bureaucratic agency (like border protection). Considered in total, these findings suggest that 9/11 and the subsequent threat of terrorism invoked a great deal of attention from both policymakers and agency officials, but did not fundamentally alter the unit responsible for policymaking and change—the subsystem.

Continuing with this focus on 9/11 and the lingering threat of terrorism, May, Sapotichne, and Workman (2009b) look at how this disruption affected the mobilization of interest groups within the abovementioned subsystems. Several theories of the policy process, including multiple streams (Kingdon, 1984), punctuated equilibrium (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993) and the advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993), suggest that major external events—like 9/11—will shock subsystems, creating an environment of uncertainty and jurisdictional ambiguity that beguiles the interest of previously uninvolved groups. To test this theory, May et al. examine interest mobilization within all eight subsystems before and after 9/11. With regard to mobilization in general, they find that interest group involvement in subsystems varied a great deal in the aftermath of 9/11. In subsystems that are completely disrupted by threat of terrorism, like domestic security and public health, interest mobilization nearly doubles. By comparison, in relatively unperturbed subsystems, like information security, mobilization actually decreases. After noting this differential in general mobilization patterns across subsystems, May and his coauthors go on to dissect the process of mobilization into the types of interests most likely involved, the diversity of interests involved in each subsystem, and the spillover of interests across subsystems. With regard to the types of interests involved, they found that local, state, and regional interests, as well as bureaucratic and other experts are most involved in the eight subsystems. This is exactly what we would expect, the authors argue, in the aftermath of an event that creates such high levels of uncertainty—subsystem members were self-consciously relying on interests that could provide them with as much information as possible about the terrorist threat. In terms of diversity and the spillover, the theoretically derived expectation

of an interest upheaval or "free for all" was not supported; rather, despite large increases in intensity, the types of interests involved in the highly disrupted domestic security and public health subsystems were relatively consistent before and after 2001. Likewise, representatives from the major subsystems did not migrate from one subsystem to another in order to conquer unoccupied policy space. In all, the findings in this study parallel the lessons drawn from the previously discussed piece—despite the dramatic way in which terrorism was thrust onto the policy agenda, subsystems are stabilizing forces that resist major disruption.

Having looked at the direct influence of the terrorism disruption on a variety of policymaking subsystems, Peter May, Samuel Workman, and Bryan Jones (2008) move on to look at how federal agencies responded to the threat of terrorism and how those choices have affected their ability to respond to policy demands. In brief, they argue, the terrorist attacks of 2001 ignited an extreme degree of fear and anxiety in the American public, which quickly turned into immense pressure on elected policymakers to enhance national security. In responding to this pressure, policymakers demanded that federal agencies "do much more" and "do things differently" to protect the homeland. In reacting to these demands, the federal bureaucracy was forced to choose between two organizational strategies. On the one hand, the bureaucracy could have gone down the traditional path of delegating authority and creating formal routines to deal with the terrorism threat. By comparison, the bureaucracy had the option to centralize authority and create new decision-making rules that were rather informal but more flexible. Ultimately, because of the unique and dramatic nature of the terrorism disruption (which demanded a speedy and "different" response), May and his colleagues find that the Office of Homeland Security (OHS), which eventually became the DHS, opted to go with a centralized approach. This decision meant that authority was concentrated at the top of the bureaucracy and that coordination with subordinate agencies was conducted by way of flexible informal guidelines. This decision had profound consequences that have reverberated throughout the public sector. In particular, this concentration of authority combined with the prolonged salience of terrorism as an issue, pushed the DHS to concentrate almost exclusively on the threat of another attack, which crowded out attention to other issues like natural disaster preparedness, destabilized the funding available to state agencies, and created an environment of distrust among intergovernmental partners. As a result, the authors argue, the DHS was unprepared for events like Hurricane Katrina and has been unsuccessful in bolstering cooperation and communication across federal jurisdictions.[10]

In addition to providing a closer look at the way in which homeland security policy evolved in the aftermath of 9/11, these three articles clearly demonstrate an earlier point that was made by Eller and Gerber (2010) and reiterated by Mueller (2010b). Namely, that focusing on defense and security policy promises to simultaneously advance Lasswell's twin goals of injecting knowledge into and extracting theoretical deductions from the policy process.[11] With regard to theory, the work of May and his collaborators has pushed boundaries of organizational theory and agenda setting and challenged the way in which future scholars should think

about the massive disruptions like 9/11 and the way in which they reverberate throughout the policymaking process. In particular, widespread disruptions seem to create temporary chaos that is diffused relatively quickly by the equilibrating influence of previously established subsystems. Only time and additional research will tell whether or not this is an anomalistic phenomenon unique to homeland security, or an insight that can be generalized to widespread disruptions in other domains.

The Public

As noted by Eller and Gerber (2010) and a host of other researchers, mass perceptions about risk and security are an extremely important feature of the post-9/11 policy landscape. In addition to stimulating the institutional agenda, public perceptions and beliefs on terrorism and security fuel coalitions and shape policy alternatives by constraining mass preferences and delineating the boundaries within which policymakers are expected to act.[12] Accordingly, a number of recent articles have attempted to better specify the relationship between public perceptions, policy preferences, and homeland security policy. Many of these works are united by a common interest in understanding public willingness to sacrifice freedom (civil rights and liberties) in order to enhance national security.

Hank Jenkins-Smith and Herron (2009) introduce this theme by briefly examining different points throughout history where US citizens were asked to suspend personal freedoms in order to maintain the security of the nation. Having situated their research in the broader context, Jenkins-Smith and Herron go on to explore the belief structures that underlie public preferences for liberty over security, and vice-versa. In doing so, they draw upon a national survey conducted in 2007 to find that preferences are systematically influenced by political orientations and supported by a hierarchy of beliefs. With regard to political orientation, they conclude that Democrats normatively prefer policies that balance freedom over security, whereas Republicans tend to rank security ahead of liberty. Likewise, though conditioned by political affinity, they find that relatively abstract core beliefs like ideology and political culture consistently constrain more specific domain beliefs like perceptions of security and trust in government, which then influence particular policy beliefs about the proper emphasis the government should place on protecting civil liberties. In addition to highlighting the fault lines that divide large segments of the population, this finding supports the revisionist notion of a rational public capable of making coherent policy decisions in a highly technical yet poignant domain such as homeland security policy in the aftermath of 9/11.

Like Jenkins-Smith and Herron (2009), a number of researchers have empirically established the intuitive connection between confidence or trust in government and support for restrictive national security policies.[13] On average, people who express high levels of confidence in the government's ability to combat terrorism will support policies that are otherwise controversial. Whereas Jenkins-Smith and Herron (2009) argue that this trust is a function of core political, cultural, and

ideological beliefs, Kimberly Gross, Paul Brewer, and Sean Aday (2009) look to uncover the emotional sources of confidence in government. In particular, they expect that retrospective feelings of *pride* and prospective feelings of *hope* will systematically influence the amount of confidence an individual has in the government. To test this proposition they imaginatively analyze panel and cross-sectional surveys conducted in 2001 and 2002. In their cross-sectional analysis, they find positive relationships between hope, pride, and confidence in government in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. At a given point of time, higher levels of hope and pride correspond with higher levels of confidence. Moving on to their panel results, they find mixed support for the temporal nature of these relationships. Respondents who reported higher levels of hope in 2001 were more likely to maintain elevated levels of confidence in 2002. On the other hand, when controlling for previous levels of hope and confidence, feelings of pride during 2001 were not statistically related to continued confidence in 2002. In all, this piece successfully argues that emotions—in addition to political factors such as partisanship—are important to consider when discussing public trust in government and subsequent willingness to support restrictive security policies.

As compared to the previous studies—which sought to discover the factors that influence perceptions about the appropriate balance of liberty and security in general—Thomas Sanquist, Heidi Mahy, and Fredrick Morris (2008) attempt to explain differential reactions to a series of specific measures designed to enhance homeland security. To accomplish this, Sanquist and his coauthors draw upon research within the risk and technology paradigm.[14] In doing so, they employ a psychometric survey and multivariate analysis to explain support for 12 different security policies, ranging from relatively benign measures like airport passenger and baggage screening to more invasive practices like monitoring of internet and email, or using the global positioning system (GPS) in cell phones and cars to locate potential offenders. In general, they find that two perceptions systematically constrain individual acceptance of the different security policies—perceived effectiveness and perceived intrusiveness. If the public is convinced that a particular policy is valid, accurate, enhances national security, and that it derives a personal benefit, they are likely to support it. Such policies include airport security, canine detectors, and radiation monitoring at border crossings. By contrast, if the public believes that a measure directly infringes upon civil liberties, causes public embarrassment, or leads to financial loss, they are more likely to oppose it. In other words, members of the public appear to evaluate potential security measures in a rational way; they support beneficial (effective) policies and oppose costly (intrusive) policies.

Narrowing this focus even further to a particular security measure—the REAL ID Act passed by Congress in 2005—Valentina Bali (2009) applies many of the aforementioned insights in order to better understand the prospects for policy success. In so doing, she asks a random sample of Michigan residents to answer a number of questions concerning reform in personal identification policies. In accordance with recent research, she finds that general support for national identification reforms is relatively high. Perhaps this reflects the general perception that such policies are comparatively less intrusive yet potentially effective. Likewise, with

regard to the individual characteristics that influence preferences, she finds that trust in government, heightened concerns about terrorism, and political conservatism are positively related to policy support. Having corroborated previous research, she then adds a new dimension to the debate—framing. In brief, she finds that public opinion is fairly sensitive to the way in which the identification policy is sold. If threats such as terrorism and illegal immigration are emphasized, support for the policy increases. However, contrary to her expectation, a frame based on the erosion of civil liberties does not induce policy opposition. This null finding is interesting but not necessarily surprising; perhaps it is difficult for members of the public to equate national ID policies with a tangible loss of liberty. If she were studying security policies like wiretapping or photo surveillance, which entail a concrete loss of individual freedom, perhaps the civil liberty frame would have become more salient.

Continuing with this theme, Deborah Schildkraut (2009) examines public support for ethnic profiling in the US as a way to enhance national security. Though similar to the previously mentioned studies, Schildkraut's explicit focus on ethnic profiling moves policy research beyond civil liberties into the domain of civil rights. This shift, though it may seem trivial, significantly alters the calculus involved in how members of the public make decisions about which policies to support. Whereas infringements upon civil liberty involve a direct and personal loss of freedom, infringements upon civil rights generally restrict the freedom of others. Accordingly, many of the factors that influence support for ethnic profiling are related to public perceptions about "the other." In stressing this fact, Schildkraut expects that individual conceptions of what it means to be "an American" will powerfully influence support for policies that restrict civil rights—like ethnic profiling or even internment. To test this theory, she designs a survey to measure two different conceptions of national identity—ethnoculturalism and liberalism. Those scoring high on the ethnocultural scale are thought to be highly traditional, set rigid boundaries around American identity, and therefore likely to support ethnic profiling policies. By contrast, survey respondents scoring highly on the liberal scale are likely to endorse universal rights, minimal government intervention, equality of opportunity, and therefore reject the idea of ethnic profiling. After controlling for alternative explanations like race, partisanship, patriotism, and perceived security from terrorism, Schildkraut finds that ethnoculturalism and liberalism are powerful constructs that systematically influence support for ethnic profiling. In summary, this suggests that individual willingness to support homeland security policies that restrict civil rights is influenced by differential conceptions of American identity.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, public perceptions about threat and security have influenced homeland security policy in a number of direct and indirect ways. At the most basic level, the terrorist attacks on 9/11 generated extreme feelings of anxiety, vulnerability, and fear among the American people, which was quickly translated into direct pressure on elected officials to make the country a safer place. As the scholars introduced in this section have noted, many of these policies have circumscribed individual freedoms and jeopardized civil rights. This has forced political officials and the American people to wrestle with a fundamental question that has plagued the nation since the Constitutional Convention in 1787—how much

freedom should be sacrificed in the name of national security? As expected in an age of increasing ideological and cultural polarization, answers to this question range from one end of the spectrum to the other. Fortunately, as the aforementioned scholarship has demonstrated, a rather limited number of commonly held values, perceptions, and beliefs appear to unite broad coalitions of people that interact to draw the appropriate line between security and freedom. In turn, this line will set the boundaries around which policymakers are expected to act—moving too far in either direction is likely to invoke an unwanted electoral backlash. Accordingly, as the attacks on 9/11 become an increasingly distant memory and new events spark the attentiveness of the American people, it is important that policy scholars continue to monitor and systematically organize the evolution of public perceptions and beliefs about freedom and security in the modern age of terrorism.

Concluding Remarks

As has been argued throughout this note, the violent attacks on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent threat of terrorism spawned an intense societal demand for safety in what was previously thought to be a steadfast and secure American nation. In responding to this demand, problem-oriented policy scholars have slowly adapted by once again adding defense and security to the disciplinary agenda. In reflecting upon the state of current research, I hearken back to the Hofferbert's (1974) funnel metaphor, which organizes the direct and indirect forces that impact policy outcomes by way of descending generality. In particular, though defense and security scholarship is quite diverse, the majority of recent work among mainstream policy scholars can be roughly placed into one of three categories or "levels of generality"—research on the policy, the process, or the public. Whereas research at the policy level tends towards policy analysis, research on the policy process focuses on the way in which the institutions of government translate problems into broader policy action, and research on the public looks at the way in which individual perceptions and beliefs shape mass preferences.

Looking now to the future, researchers should focus on synthesizing this research by explicitly concentrating on the mechanisms that link the different levels of analysis. How, for example, do public beliefs and perceptions about freedom and security influence the policy process and, in turn, constrain policy analysis and outcomes? Correspondingly, how do particular policy decisions discursively affect public perceptions and beliefs about the future of homeland security? In all, though a great deal of work remains, policy scholars are to be commended for embracing the complexities associated with homeland security and the tremendous progress that has been made in the last few years of research. This renewed interest in defense and national security promises to advance the discipline, both in terms of substance and theory.

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Notes

1. For an excellent depiction of the endogenous and exogenous forces responsible for the development of the Public Policy as a field, see deLeon (1988).
2. For an exemplar look at defense and security policy during the Cold War, see deLeon (1987).
3. In that this paper is focused of policy research, I began my search for recent scholarship to journals targeting a policy audience (i.e., *Policy Studies Journal, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Politics & Policy, Review of Policy Research, Journal of Public Policy*). From there, I broadened my search to general adience journals (i.e., *American Journal of Political Science*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, etc.). Lastly, I scanned two specific journals which have published a great deal on the topic of homeland security—*Risk Analysis* and *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management*.
4. Note that this decision means that this piece necessarily excludes recent research on other aspects of security and defense policy, which include topics such as foreign policy, national security strategy, and military politics. Likewise, recent research on natural disaster preparedness and other nonterrorism-related facets of homeland security are beyond the scope of this discussion. If interested in better understanding the many different facets of homeland security, see Bellavita (2008).
5. See also Hofferbert and Urice (1985).
6. For a fascinating and innovative look at the governance problems associated with homeland security policy, see May, Jochim, Sapotichne, (2010) and Jochim and May (2010).
7. This is not to say that these are the only two articles that attempt to systematically understand the risks associated additional terrorist attacks. For example, see Robinson, Hammit, Aldy, Krupnick, Baxter (2010), Rose (2009), Farrow and Shapiro (2009), and Chen, Wu, Wu, (2009) for other recent discussions on how to value the risks associated with terrorist attacks as well as the costs and benefits of particular measures.
8. For a relatively concise but well written introduction to the multidisciplinary complexities associated with homeland security and emergency management policy, see Sylves (2008). See especially Chapter 7, which directly addresses the relationship between the military, the executive, and the legislative branches of government.
9. These subsystems include: food safety, technological accident preparedness and response, natural disaster preparedness and response, border protection, transportation security, public health emergencies, information security, and domestic preparedness.
10. For more on the downstream administrative consequences of 9/11, and the relationship between terrorism and emergency management, refer to Birkland (2009).
11. See Lasswell (1971) for more on the different purposes of policy research.
12. For more on how public perceptions influence the institutional agenda, see Jones and Baumgartner (2005). For a discussion about public opinion and policy coalitions, refer to Jones and Jenkins-Smith (2009). For more on the relationship between public opinion and policy alternatives, see Kingdon (1973).
13. For example, see Baldwin, Ramaprasad, Samsa (2008), Davis and Silver (2004), and Davis (2007).
14. For a brief introduction to this school of thought, refer to Slovic (1987; 2000).

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Accountability, Affordability, Access: A Review of the Recent Trends in Higher Education Policy Research

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The following research note surveys the most recent literature published in the past two years on higher education policy and politics in the United States. We identify three prominent themes in the literature including research on accountability, affordability, and issues concerning access and equity. We observe that there has been increased attention paid to theories of politics by those who study higher education, which has played a vital role in pushing the boundaries of education research to help begin answering many of the field's most complex and multi-dimensional questions. This theoretical development has allowed education policy scholars to better understand why various policies are adopted, how they change over time, which groups benefit, and how institutions are affected by changes in the economic and political landscape.

Introduction

At the beginning of the last decade, Donald Heller (2001a) identified three major challenges that would face higher education in the years to come: Affordability, Access, and Accountability (Heller, 2001a). Two years later, Micheal McLendon issued an ambitious call for research that focused on what is commonly referred to as the "politics of higher education" with an emphasis on the connection between state policy and processes and education outcomes in higher education (McLendon, 2003). McLendon lamented the "underdevelopment" of literature focused on the politics of higher education that was in dire need of methodological, conceptual, and topical multidimensionality and strong theoretical development. Since that time, there have been numerous scholars who responded to McLendon's call for analytical rigor and theoretical development, and they have been overwhelmingly focused on the substantive issues that Heller cited nearly a decade ago.

The following research note attempts to survey the most recent literature published in the past two years on higher education policy and politics in the United States.[1] Issues related to accountability and governance structures have risen to the forefront in recent years, and a growing literature that focuses on theories of political responsibility and bureaucratic discretion has developed to try and understand the implications that new performance-oriented policy reforms have for public univer-

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sities. Closely related to this topic is a body of literature that focuses on questions relating to state budgets and university finance to explore the relationship between state governments and institutional support. Another grouping of articles takes up the issue of need-based versus merit-based aid, with a particular focus on understanding why states and institutions favor one approach over the other, and the implications that such choices have on student populations. Finally, a collection of articles focuses on issues related to diversity and student achievement for traditionally underrepresented groups, and the impact that state political interventions into race-concious admission policies have on institutions and minority student access. We conclude the essay with a discussion of where the research on higher education policy appears to be heading and areas for possible future research that are in need of further development.

Governance and Accountability

Over the last fifteen years, the performance of American public colleges and universities has become a topic of great concern. The most recently available statistics indicate that the average public four-year institution graduates less than 60 percent of its students within six years (and many schools do considerably worse than that, particularly with respect to racial minorities) (Schneider, 2008). As a result, a number of observers have raised concerns about the ability of US institutions of higher learning to adequately respond to societal needs for a highly-trained labor force, and to advance goals of economic opportunity and racial progress (Bowen, Chingos, McPherson, & Tobin, 2009; Hess, Schneider, Kelly, & Carey, 2009; Schneider, 2008; US Department of Education, 2006). These concerns have been compounded by skyrocketing costs of college tuition, which threaten to push college completion beyond the reach of many Americans (Fossey & Bateman, 1998; Heller, 2001b; Mumper, 2003; St. John, Paulsen, & Carter, 2005; Titus, 2006a). As a result, state policymakers have spent considerable energy seeking solutions that will improve both the performance and cost-effectiveness of public institutions.

Performance funding policies, which directly link institutional funding to the achievement of objective benchmarks, seek to re-cast the relationship between public universities and their political agents by providing incentives for improved performance and sanctions for poor student outcomes, and have received considerable attention from scholars during the past decade and a half (Alexander, 2000; Burke, 2002, 2005; Burke & Minassians, 2003; Herbst, 2007; Layzell, 1999; McLendon, Hearn, & Deaton, 2006; Serban & Burke, 1998; Zumeta, 2001). Central to this movement has been a serious debate about the proper balance between institutional autonomy and public accountability (Alexander, 2000; Dunn, 2003; Huisman & Currie, 2004; Lane, 2007).

Although research on performance funding policies and the accountability movement has lessened over the last two years as compared to the early part of the decade, there have been several works that have furthered scholarship in this area. Building on previous work by McLendon, Heller, and Young (2005), Leslie and Berdahl (2008) explore the case of higher education reform in Virginia, where several

flagship universities sought to convert from public institutions to chartered universities that would receive less financial support from the state in exchange for greater autonomy and discretion. They find that reform advocates "misestimated" (Leslie & Berdahl, 2008, p. 309) the ability of the political system in Virginia to process such a radical change, and that as a result, the state ended up adopting an accountability policy quite different than that which reformers initially anticipated. The primary conclusion they draw is that reform advocates face a difficult decision between pushing for incremental versus radical reform, and that failure to adequately assess the political situation can result in unpredictable policy change with potentially undesirable components.

Like Leslie and Berdahl (2008), much of the scholarship on accountability and governance reforms has tended to focus on understanding the policy process that resulted in change (McLendon & Ness, 2003; McLendon et al., 2006, 2005), rather than the effects these policies have on institutions. In terms of understanding policy impacts, much of the early scholarship was based on case study analysis and qualitative work (Burke, 2002, 2005; Serban & Burke, 1998; Zumeta, 2001). Volkwein and Tandberg (2008) conducted a quantitative study of accountability policies and governance reforms to determine whether they resulted in any significant improvements in performance. Using a cross-sectional dataset that ranged from 2000 to 2006, they are able to control for a variety of state contexts to isolate the effect of accountability and governance reforms on state Measuring Up scores. They find no relationship between stronger accountability policies and better performance, which suggests that, to this point, the accountability movement, at least in the form of performance funding policies, has largely failed to achieve any real improvement in student outcomes.

One component in building accountability mechanisms revolves around the construction of student unit record systems (SURS), which track students from K-12 all the way through college completion. Some observers have argued that these systems, and the data they collect, should play a central role in accountability regimes for both K-12 schools and institutions of higher learning, and have thus urged states to invest more heavily in building SURS (Bailey, 2006; Ewell, 2007; US Department of Education, 2006). Hearn, McLendon, and Mokher (2008) use event history analysis to understand why some states have constructed these costly data systems while others have not, and find that adoption was predicted by a combination of state demographic variables and state political ideology. They claim that those interested in pushing for increased investment in SURS would be well served to consider strategies that will mobilize liberal bases of political support, and that will effectively dissuade concerns about potential threats to student privacy (Hearn et al.).

Another area within the accountability discussion that has received little attention until recently has been the role that trustees and governing board members play in helping to align campus policies with state priorities. While previous research has explored variation in governance arrangements and their impacts on institutional performance in great detail (Hearn & Griswold, 1994; Knott & Payne, 2004; Lowry, 2001a; Marcus, 1997; McGuinness, 2003; McLendon, Deaton, & Hearn, 2007; McLen-

don & Ness, 2003; McLendon et al., 2005) little work has considered the role that differences in governing board members might have on higher education outcomes.

Minor (2008) finds that states have tremendous variation, not only in the arrangement of university governance institutions, but also in the manner that members are selected to serve on these bodies. He contends that trustees can be a critically important resource to aid campus leaders as they seek to respond to both market forces and demands from political leaders, and that as a result, processes which lead to the selection of more effective trustees should, in theory, improve the performance of institutions of higher learning. While the research on this topic currently lacks sophisticated statistical tests, Minor finds preliminary evidence that states which have more rigorous processes for selecting trustees experience better higher education performance.

Finally, Richardson and Martinez (2009) employ an institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework to better understand how state governance structures, political actors, and policy decisions (rules) are related to performance in higher education. Drawing on qualitative data collected from intensive case studies in five states (New Mexico, California, South Dakota, New Jersey, and New York), they find that states can positively influence outcomes by allocating higher levels of appropriations for K-12 and higher education, centralizing coordination and planning activities, incorporating private universities as part of state-wide initiatives, and by funding and implementing need-based financial aid programs.

While scholars have begun to make serious headway in understanding and explaining these new accountability policies and governance arrangements, there is still considerable work to be done. Relatively little scholarship has systematically explored the expectations that state policymakers have about performance based accountability regimes, or the ways that campus leaders have responded. Thus, we have a basic understanding about the macro-level forces that have pushed states towards adoption, and about general patterns related to their effectiveness, but a much more limited base of knowledge related to the causal mechanisms that result in the success or failure of these policies. As scholars continue to be interested in the power relationships that drive higher education policy and institutional performance, issues related to both accountability and finance are likely to remain central to the field. It is this second topic that we now turn our attention towards.

State Finance of Higher Education

Finance was a hot topic for scholarship during the early part of the decade, and continues to be an area of intense research within the higher education community. As state governments have faced increasing pressures to fund competing programs, like Medicaid, and have endured difficult recessions that saw dramatic declines in state revenues, they are increasingly finding it difficult to maintain support levels for public institutions of higher learning (Doyle & Delaney, 2009; Kane, Orzag, Apostolov, Inman, & Reschovsky, 2005; Rizzo, 2004). At the same time, colleges and universities have experienced tremendous increases in operating costs, which has led to a growing need for other streams of revenue, such as private donations,

competitive research grants, and increased student tuition (Archibald & Feldman, 2008; Harter, Wade, & Watkins, 2005; Hearn, 2006; Mumper, 2001; Weisbrod, Ballou, & Asch, 2008). These changes have resulted in considerable efforts by researchers to understand the political factors that affect higher education spending and to discern the impacts that this new fiscal environment has had on institutions and student outcomes.

Prior to the last decade, only a few studies attempted to explain higher education funding policy, and they generally tended to either ignore or downplay the importance of political variables and explanations. However, there have recently been a number of works that have begun to focus on the importance of politics in shaping appropriations decisions (Archibald & Feldman, 2006; Doyle, 2007; Lowry, 2001b; Nicholson-Crotty & Meier, 2003; Rizzo, 2004; Tandberg, 2006). Furthermore, during the last two years, a series of articles have built on this literature to integrate theories from public policy and political science into an understanding on higher education funding (Dar, 2010; Dar & Spence, 2010; McLendon, Mokher, & Doyle, 2009; Trostel & Ronca, 2009). For instance, McLendon, Hearn, and Mokher (2009) and Tandberg (2010, 2009) each focus heavily on the role that interest groups, institutional arrangements (such as term limits and gubernatorial power), and partisanship play in influencing the amount of money that states appropriate to higher education. All three articles find strong evidence that funding for higher education increases in the presence of a weaker governor, a larger percentage of Democratic control in the legislature, and as the number of higher education interest groups increase relative to other lobby groups in the state. Surprisingly, they also find a positive relationship between term limits and higher education support, which suggests the need for further research to explore the role that legislative experience plays in shaping principal-agent relationships between the state legislators and public universities (McLendon et al., 2009).

As state appropriations continue to decline relative to other sources of revenue, questions surrounding the potential implications of privatization in higher education have emerged as a central theme. Organizational scholars have long wrestled to understand how (and if) public and private organizations differ from one another along important dimensions such as efficiency and equity (Boyne, 2002; Bozeman, 1987; Bozeman & Bretschneider, 1994; Niskanen, 1971), and as public support for higher education decreases relative to private streams, these concerns have been raised with regards higher education in the United States. In particular, many have argued that public support for higher education is vital to increase access, improve equity, and promote social progress (Heller, 2001b; Mumper, 2003; Ryan, 2004; Titus, 2006a). In an edited volume by Morphew and Eckel (2009), a collection of scholars approach the issue of privatization in higher education from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including education, political science, economics, and organizations. Together, their works address a number of important questions regarding the extent to which privatization has occurred over the last decade and the impacts that continuing trends of privatization are likely to have on students, faculty, university administrators, and state policy makers in America during the decades to come.

Cheslock and Gianneschi (2008) take up the issue of decreasing state appropriations and the role that private donations play in compensating for lost revenue and rely on an economics perspective to understand the implication that this shift towards increased reliance on private donations is likely to have on equality of resources across institutions. If private donors are largely motivated to give by things that selective institutions are better positioned to provide (like naming rights and research breakthroughs), then private donations will disproportionately go to a small concentration of elite universities. They find compelling evidence that this is indeed the case, which suggests that the recent trend in declining state support will have differential impacts across institutional types and missions, and that less selective institutions will struggle to maintain current levels of quality. Because less selective institutions often play a vital role in providing access to traditionally underrepresented groups, these findings have serious implications for questions concerning equity within higher education.

Scholars have long been concerned about potentially negative impacts on student outcomes that result from lessened state support for public colleges and universities (Ryan, 2004; Scott, Bailey, & Kienzl, 2006; Titus, 2006a). Zhang (2009) continues this line of scholarship by investigating whether decreases in state appropriations are associated with declines in six-year graduation rates. He presents impressive quantitative analysis which indicates that increased state funding has positive impacts on institutional performance, and that these findings hold across institution types and funding environments. Additionally, Jaeger and Eagan (2010) show that greater reliance on contingent faculty, which many institutions are turning to as a cost saving mechanism, has negative impacts on student outcomes.

Given the volatile nature of the current spending environment across several states, the importance of state finance policies in higher education will continue to be a point of much debate. If decreasing state support is indeed a cold reality that public universities will need to adjust to in the coming years, then there are serious questions about the implications such trends have for student achievement. As state governments continue to push for heightened accountability and improved performance, future scholarship will need to continue to explore institutional responses to these competing pressures.

There remain several important questions that strike at the core of the higher education community, and which will likely continue to be central in future discussions regarding both finance and governance. To what extent should higher education be conceived of as a public good that ought to be subsidized by taxpayers? To what extent should market forces prevail, such that institutions are forced to compete for resources, and students, who obtain significant private benefits as a result of their education, bear the primary cost of attendance? What is the optimal balance between efficiency and affordability versus quality, and how should society balance these concerns against long-standing attempts to maintain and increase access? Closely related to these questions is another aspect of the financing debate that centers on various state policies towards the provision of financial aid, and whether public assistance should be awarded primarily based on need or on merit, which this is the topic of our next section.

The Politics of Aid and the Issue of Merit

The debate concerning the use of merit aid versus need-based aid policies has been prolific in the higher education literature and continues to be an important point of discussion in more recent studies (Dowd & Coury, 2006; Doyle, 2006; Heller, 1999). Over the past generation, state policies toward financial aid have shifted from direct grants to student loans and eventually from income-based aid to merit-based aid (Tierney & Venegas, 2009; Toutkoushian & Shafiq, 2010). Merit-based financial aid became popular beginning in the early 1990s as a mechanism to award aid based upon the "merits" or qualifications of the student, rather than their financial need (Ness, 2008). Such policies are designed to combat the "brain drain" effect within states, reduce student out-migration, reward high achieving students, and stimulate academic capital across states (Heller, 2002; Zhang & Ness, 2010).

At the heart of the debate is the fate of low-income and economically disadvantaged populations that typically need financial support to attend public colleges and universities. Proponents of merit aid policies argue that such financial incentives will motivate students of all backgrounds to perform at higher levels and reward students for exceptional work, while opponents suggest that students from less fortunate backgrounds, who are generally less likely to qualify based on merit criteria, will be disproportionately denied access by such policies (Hoxby, 2004; Luna, 2006; St. John, 2006). Previous research has concluded that various types of financial aid do in fact improve enrollments, especially among less advantaged populations, and that access to financial assistance can help offset the negative effects of tuition increases and "sticker shock" on college enrollment (Dowd & Coury, 2006; Gladieux, 2004; Heller & Marin, 2002; McPherson & Schapiro, 1998).

A series of studies have explored the spread of education policies such as merit aid across states using theories of diffusion and innovation. Previous research on innovation and diffusion in education suggest somewhat mixed results, with studies on the spread of education policies such as school choice reform showing very little regional trends (Mintrom, 1997; Mintrom & Vergari, 1998; Wong & Shen, 2002). McLendon et al. (2005), however, found a strong pattern of the adoption of postsecondary finance reform in one state and the "spread" of such policies to neighboring states within the first three to five years afterwards. Building upon this previous body of work, Cohen-Vogel, Ingle, Levine, and Spence (2008) looks at the migration of merit aid policies across the American states. Cohen-Vogel et al.'s work is unique, however, to the study of diffusion in that the authors utilize in-depth qualitative interviews with state policymakers to explore what led them to adopt merit aid policies in the first place. The authors find limited support for state-by-state diffusion, but do find evidence to suggest the vital role played by policy communities and professional associations that facilitate the spread of ideas, as well as the importance of competition between neighboring states for student enrollment, revenues, and overall academic achievement and rankings. Thus, many state policymakers within the realm of education policy are seeking to not only "keep up" with other states, but also to engage in a sharing of ideas and best

practices through regional and national associations that transcend purely regional explanations of diffusion.

Additional research conducted in the past two years has further explored merit aid policies within the context of state policy processes. In what is easily the most in-depth look at the origin of broad-based merit-aid programs to date, Erik Ness (2008) explores the way that state policymakers choose eligibility criteria for merit aid awards in three states including New Mexico, West Virginia, and Tennessee. Ness uses several policy process theories including advocacy coalition, multiple streams, and electoral connection frameworks as a theoretical lens through which to explore the process of merit aid criteria selection. Ness's work reveals the powerful and influential role that policy entrepreneurs played in the adoption of merit aid, and illustrates the contentious nature of debates regarding eligibility criteria that can have dramatic impacts in determining "winners" and "losers." In a later work, Ness (2010) compares the explanatory power of these three conceptual frameworks—advocacy coalition, multiple streams, and electoral incentives—to understand the policy process of merit aid criteria selection, and finds the multiple streams perspective to provide the best explanation of state selection processes, with policy entrepreneurs and the presense of policy windows playing a crucial role in adoption.

Along similar lines, Ness and Mistretta (2009) look at two states, North Carolina and Tennessee, that demonstrate divergent paths in regards to the adoption of merit-based scholarship programs with the former choosing to adopt a state lottery without allocating proceeds to support merit aid programs while the latter chose to bolster non-need aid programs with state lottery revenues. The authors' qualitative analysis of the events that transpired during the adoption of such policies reveals the importance of policy advocates in the policy process, the importance of intrastate characteristics, and the timeliness of events. For instance, at the time, North Carolina did not face the same "brain drain" problems that Tennessee policymakers were focused on correcting. As a result, North Carolina lawmakers chose to invest lottery revenues heavily in K-12 education, rather than in a merit-based scholarship program.

In addition to studying the adoption of merit-aid as a way to test theories of the policy process, several studies have focused on the impacts that merit aid policies have on a number of state, institutional, and individual outcomes (Dee & Jackson, 1999; Dynarski, 2004; Heller & Marin, 2002; Ness & Tucker, 2008). Orsuwan and Heck (2009) examine student migration patterns over a ten-year period to determine the effect that merit aid policies have on state postsecondary enrollments when coupled with prepaid tuition plans. Using time series analysis, the authors find that merit aid policies are typically successful at incentivizing students to attend in-state schools in hopes of receiving a merit aid scholarship. Further, they observe an additional decrease in the out-migration of students in states offering both merit aid policies and prepaid tuition plans, suggesting the importance of such incentives in mediating enrollments and preventing talented students from leaving the state. Zhang and Ness (2010) observe a similar pattern with merit aid states experiencing both growth in first year and resident enrollments, but with noticeable differences in

impacts across states based upon certain characteristics of the merit aid programs in question.

Titus (2009) looks at the impact of various state financial aid policies on the production of bachelor degrees using state level data from 1992 to 2004. His findings reveal that as the amount of state need-based aid increases, the proportion of bachelor's degrees generated rises as well, suggesting the ability of this particular type of aid to offset the rising costs of attending a public postsecondary institution within the state. Perhaps more interesting is that Titus (2009) finds no statistical relationship between non-need aid, or merit aid, and the production of bachelor degrees within the state, which is surprising considering the investments that many states across the country make in this particular form of financial assistance with the hopes of improving student performance.

Other studies have looked at how various types of state financial aid policies in higher education impact individual postsecondary institutions. For instance, Doyle, Delaney, and Naughton (2009) investigates whether or not the distribution of state financial aid has an effect on how institutions themselves distribute types of aid to students. More specifically, the authors are interested in determining whether institutions respond to changes in state financial aid policy by "complying" and offering similar aid, such as if the state favors aid based on need and postsecondary institutions followed suit, or if public colleges and universities "compensate" by offering more merit-based aid in states that favor need. Doyle et al. (p. 521) find evidence to suggest that "state policy appear[s] to play a significant and substantive role in the relationship between need, merit, and institutional aid," with institutional aid being positively associated with academic excellence in states with large need-based policies, while aid in states with large merit-based policies showing a positive relationship with the income level of the student.

Similarly, a later study by Doyle (2010) explores whether or not the adoption of merit-based aid policies within a state essentially "crowds out" or lowers the amount of need-based aid as a "second order" effect. Using Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) theory of punctuated equilibrium, and Lindblom's (1959) incrementalism, he finds that there is little difference in the level of need-based aid in a state following the adoption of merit-based aid policies over the course of several years. However, Doyle (2010) does find evidence to suggest that change in the amount of need-based aid, or any state financial aid for that matter, occurs gradually and incrementally over time, with amounts in the previous year proving to be the best predictor of need-based aid levels overall. This implies that while states have been quick to invest heavily in alternative aid policies such as merit, they have done so with little noticeable impacts on existing policies.

The last two years of scholarship in this area reveal several interesting aspects of state policies toward financial aid that are important to both scholars and policymakers. First, while the spread of merit aid policies has been exponential, these new state policies have not necessarily crowded out other forms of aid, but have in fact impacted the type of aid distributed by institutions. Second, the spread of aid policies have not followed traditional patterns of policy diffusion, as scholars have instead found evidence that is suggestive of a more complex process that involves

learning communities, professional associations, and interstate competition. Finally, recent studies have shined light on the critically important role that aid policies can have for student access and success in higher education. Furthermore, these policies have serious implications for the ability of state governments to address inequities and provide opportunities for society's most disadvantaged members, which is the subject of our final section.

Equity and Diversity in Higher Education

A fourth major substantive area of the literature has explored issues concerning equity and diversity in higher education. Equity has been a term loosely used in the education literature that can take on a number of meanings, including the fair distribution of resources in society, improvements in access to higher education among historically under-represented groups, and the pursuit of specific policy goals designed to right past wrongs. DesJardins (2003) identifies two broad types of equity in higher education that provides a useful conceptual framework including vertical equity—which refers to the unequal treatment of unequal groups such as policies designed to improve access to higher education among students of disadvantaged backgrounds—and intergenerational equity—the distribution of resources to ensure equity across generations (also referred to as *mobility*). While this distinction can be useful analytically, it is important to remember that these two concepts are not mutually exclusive, and that they are often times complimentary. For instance, many policies which are aimed at increasing vertical equity, such as those which seek to increase access for low-income or minority populations can also have a positive impact on intergenerational equity, and vice-versa.

Reports within the past two years have called attention to substantial race and gender disparities in student access and success in the higher education system (Carey, 2008; Engle & Theokas, 2010a, 2010b). As of 2006, rates of college enrollment among African American, Latina/o, and American Indian students continued to lag behind their Anglo counterparts by as much as 18 percent (Horn & Carroll, 2006). Furthermore, although enrollments in public 4-year universities have increased by as much as 11 percent for historically disadvantaged groups from 1975–2001, fewer than 46 percent of minority students completed a college degree within six years compared to 64 percent of whites (Carey, 2008). Additionally, much of the reported increase in college enrollment among students of color has been in less selective, open enrollment institutions which often have alarmingly low rates of retention and graduation, while African American enrollments in the most selective institutions, where student outcomes are often much more positive, has actually declined in recent years (Melguizo, 2008).

In addition to explaining the impacts of state policies on access and performance a number of scholars have attempted to understand institutional factors that influence student outcomes (Horn & Carroll, 2006; Jencks & Phillips, 1998; Pascarella, Smart, Ethington, & Nettles, 1987). A recent national report by Carey (2008) titled *Graduation Watch:Making Minority Student Success a Priority* looked at fluctuations in the achievement gap between African American and white students at comparable

institutions from 2001 to 2006. Carey found substantial differences across peer institutions with some colleges demonstrating marked success in closing the graduation gap between black and white students, and in some cases even reversing it. In many instances, more selective institutions were found to have the smallest differences between African American and white graduation rates, suggesting not only the quality of resources at these schools, but more importantly, the caliber of students self-selecting into such universities.

Recent work on the importance of institutional factors on minority student success has also explored the relationship between campus climate and degree completion (Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008). Building off a long line of qualitative research, Museus et al. conducted a national study of campus climate across the United States and observed notable differences in degree completion across racial groups with African American students demonstrating the most sensitivity to unfavorable campus environments. However, effects of campus climate are not particular to only African American students, and the authors find Latina/o and Asian students having only a slightly higher tolerance for negative academic environments.

Whether the result of state or institutional factors, these gross disparities in student outcomes that continue to persist have far reaching implications for both vertical and intergenerational inequity (DesJardins, 2003; Hoxby, 2004; Pennington, 2004; Zhang, 2008). Some reports suggest that college graduates earn on average almost a million dollars more from the beginning and end of their careers than those with a high school diploma (Pennington, 2004). However, a study by Zhang (2008) reveals persisting gaps in earnings among gender and racial groups that is partially attributable to an underrepresentation of females and minority students in high paying majors such as engineering and sciences, as well as an underrepresentation of students of color in more selective universities. Practitioners and scholars alike argue that such trends have much larger implications in regards to addressing serious economic disparities in our society that have persisted for generations (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Hoxby, 2004).

Some postsecondary institutions have sought controversial race-conscious solutions to improving postsecondary enrollment and success among low income and historically under-represented groups in public colleges and universities as a tactic to address vertical inequity (Hicklin, 2007; Long & Tienda, 2008). Researchers at the end of the last decade explored the effectiveness of such affirmative action policies in attracting a more diverse student body, especially in more selective institutions, and the benefits of diversity that pass down to all individuals and students in such multi-racial climates (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Hurtado & Cade, 2001). More recent work has evaluated the impact of state and federal interventions on the behavior of universities and student enrollment patterns that have revealed important interactions between political and bureaucratic institutions. Such interventions constrain the ability of public colleges and universities to address issues of unequal access in higher education, and to assemble a more diverse student body through race-conscious admission policies (Hicklin, 2007; Park, 2009).

Hicklin (2007) explored how the intervention of *Hopwood, Bakke,* and the Michigan cases impacted minority student enrollment across states affected by such

restrictions using data from 1990 to 2000. She finds that political interventions into race sensitive admission policies have had varying effects on minority student enrollment in public colleges and universities depending on the competitiveness of the institution and several other intervening characteristics. Rather than decrease the total number of enrolled minority students in the affected state's postsecondary institutions, these restrictive policies merely "redistribute" students of color from more selective universities to less selective ones (Hicklin, 2007). Such second order effects can have consequences for both the achievement of vertical equity and intergenerational equity as the number of minority students in more competitive colleges and universities begins to decline.

Furthermore, Long and Tienda (2008) investigated changes in university admissions policies in Texas after the controversial *Hopwood* decision and found that direct advantages previously extended to students of color in enrollment decisions completely disappear following the controversial ruling, and worse, actually become disadvantages. Furthermore, the authors find that minority enrollments at these institutions never returned to "pre-*Hopwood*" levels thus suggesting the power of judicial and legislative interventions into university policies.

A substantial area of the literature on diversity over the last two years has also focused on the impact of particular state political characteristics on minority student enrollments in state colleges and universities. Theories of descriptive and substantive representation in both political and bureaucratic institutions has shed considerable light on the driving forces behind improving outcomes for underrepresented groups in the education system (Hicklin & Meier, 2008). Traditionally, studies have focused either on how the type of policy passed is influenced by changes in minority representation (e.g., Bratton & Haynie, 1999), or how representation effects the outcomes of policy (Meier & Stewart, 1991). Hicklin and Meier (2008) explore a confluence of political and bureaucratic factors that influence African American and Latina/o enrollments in public colleges and universities including representation in the legislature, structure of the bureaucracy, and the policies passed that restrict affirmative action. The authors find a positive relationship between Latina/o and black representation in the legislature and increases in minority student enrollment, but that this effect is conditioned by the structure of the chief bureaucratic agency governing public higher education in the state. For instance, the effects of representation on enrollments were greatly diminished in states with highly centralized governing boards, which tend to enjoy greater autonomy from legislative mandates, and enhanced in states with more decentralized higher education governance systems, which tend to be more sensitve to the will of state policymakers. Similar relationships have been observed in regards to how political and administrative forces influence minority student graduation rates as well (Hicklin & Meier, 2008).

In a related vein, Chen and DesJardins (2008) observe differential impacts of financial aid policies across levels of income on the risk of dropout behavior among college students. The authors find that the dropout gap between students of low income backgrounds and middle income backgrounds is narrowed to a greater extent by the availability of Pell grants, while student loans and work study have similar effects across all groups. Furthermore, Ness and Tucker (2008) observe dif-

ferences in the perceived impact of merit aid decisions on the choice to attend college across both minority students and students of low-income backgrounds. More specifically, the authors find that African American and students of low socioeconomic status perceive a greater impact from whether or not they receive merit aid on their decision to pursue an advanced degree. Both studies draw attention to the different impacts of aid policies across students with various levels of need and racial background.

The handful of studies reviewed here has helped draw attention to the complexities associated with promoting diversity and addressing inequities, including the promotion of both vertical and intergenerational equity, in the higher education system. The authors cited over the past two years have advanced our understanding of the effects of political interventions in institutional admissions policies, the political and administrative factors important to improving minority student access and success, and the differential impacts of state and institutional policies across diverse groups of the population. More research is needed in regards to understanding how the broader political context and accountability mechanisms adopted can help improve graduation rates among students of color, and help close gaps in achievement that persist today.

Conclusion

In this research note we have reviewed a sample of the more recent work in higher education policy conducted over the past two years that has contributed to our understanding of how political and institutional relationships impact policy and student outcomes in postsecondary education. These studies continue to advance our knowledge of the broader state contextual forces that shape the nature of higher education policy, as well as the policy implications of programs and initiatives designed to meet the challenges outlined by Heller (2001a) almost a decade ago including issues in accountability, affordability, and access.

In reviewing the most recent scholarship in higher education policy, it is abundantly clear that the increased use of theoretical frameworks borrowed from political science and public policy has been instrumental in pushing the boundaries of education research. From policy streams and diffusion, to principal-agent relationships, the subject of higher education provides ample opportunities to test theories from a number of disciplines, including political science and public policy. The interaction between state political variables and institutional outcomes is especially fertile ground in higher education research, particularly given recent discussions of accountability policies and the struggle between state engineered improvements in institutional performance and the preservation of institutional autonomy in postsecondary education.

Furthermore, research on federal and state financial aid and financing of higher education are especially relevant given the recent economic decline that has forced state policymakers to make difficult decisions in regards to spending. Understanding how both institutions and students are affected by either state or federal-level decisions are particularly poignant in understanding the second order effects of

policy, as well as the unintended consequences. For instance, a recent line of work has explored the impacts of increased federal grants-in-aid on tuition levels set by universities, better known as the "Bennett Hypotheses," and the overall impacts of competing financing alternatives on state higher education policy and the behavior of postsecondary institutions that shows considerable promise (Curs & Dar, 2010; Curs, Singell, & Waddell, 2007; Singell & Stone, 2007).

Lastly, in the past decade and a half, more attention has been paid to issues of diversity and the success of students from all backgrounds in the higher education system. As our country has become increasingly diverse, the importance of improving access and success to a quality education beyond high school for students of all backgrounds is especially important in addressing disparities in our society and growing gaps between the haves and have-nots. The use of financial aid and other state policy levers will be important to understand different ways of addressing inequity in higher education in more legally palatable ways. While not a complete review of the higher education literature, the scholars mentioned here have advanced our knowledge of the politics of higher education put forth by McLendon (2003) less than a decade ago, and have attempted to address the challenges that confront policymakers in the 21st century.

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Notes

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1. We approached the selection of articles for the following review according to several decision rules. First, given the broad range of topics covered in the past two years concerning education policy more broadly, we have narrowed the scope of the following research note to include only those scholarly works that pertain to the politics of postsecondary education. As such, we primarily focused our search on leading journals in Public Policy, Public Administration, and Education. Second, we focus our review on the major works that have advanced research on the politics of higher education according to three broad areas: accountability, affordability, and access, which we identified as the central themes that have preoccupied recent scholarship. Third, while we focus primarily on journal articles, we also included a few books that have made substantial contributions to our understanding of policy in postsecondary education. While we acknowledge that our selection of articles may be seen as subjective, we feel that it best captures the most recent developments in the study of higher education policy, as well as the leading contributors in the field.

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The Mosaic of Governance: Creating a Picture with Definitions, Theories, and Debates

Robbie Waters Robichau

The popularity of governance can be seen across academic genres. In some ways, the tremendous amount of theorizing on the subject has created contentious areas of debate. However, the approach that I argue will move the discussion forward is a focus on areas of agreement, where studying governance as a form of statecraft is considered. In order to advance the governance conversation, this essay speculates on the intersections of future governance research areas and maintains that making governance studies meaningful involves more empirical testing and inductive explorations by scholars.

The value of governance is that it serves as a central organizing framework (Stoker, 1998); some even argue that there is a specific "logic of governance" that can be empirically examined (Heinrich, Hill, & Lynn, 2004; Hill & Lynn, 2005; Hill & Hupe, 2009; Robichau & Lynn, 2009). Even though scholars have provided a rationale for studying governance, further research in the area is hindered. The broad application of governance meanings and analyzes have rendered it "fashionable . . . imprecise, [and] wooly" (Fredrickson, 2005, p. 289), "shapeless" (Lynn, 2010a), and both ubiquitous and contested (Bevir, 2010). The attractiveness of governance stems from its applicability to various social science discourses and global practices, though this popularity comes at a cost. General understanding of governance remains elusive, leaving the scholarly community with a legacy of misunderstanding and theoretical imprecision that hampers the development of a complete picture of governance.

Although it is less noted in theoretical discussions, the governance phenomenon flourishes in many academic fields. Beyond some of the more traditionally associated fields (e.g., public policy and administration, political science, and business), governance research encompasses work in a diverse array of academic disciplines such as anthropology (see Eckert, Dafinger, & Behrends, 2003; Higgins & Lawrence, 2005; Raeymaekers, Menkhaus, & Vlassenroot, 2008; Shore & Wright, 1997) and geography (e.g., see Herod, Tuathail, & Roberts, 1998; Seldadyo, Elhorst, & De Haan, 2010; Sparke, 2006; Wójcik, 2006). In some instances, theory development and research in these fields rely on contrasting assumptions of governance. These differences bring with them the potential for interdisciplinary collaboration where adherence to

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academic silos may no longer be necessary. However, examining governance from an interdisciplinary approach would be a fruitful endeavor for another paper.

As a field of academic study, governance is ripe for expansion. Global studies in governance are increasing, and yet, its assimilation into the disciplines reinforces the field's problematic heritage. Governance scholarship is reaching a critical point where cohesion among and within academic domains is justified. Regardless of where one falls on the governance spectrum, the central questions remaining to be answered are: what exactly *is* governance and how are scholars studying it and practitioners experiencing it? In answering these questions two conceptual parameters will be employed: first, only literature from the public domains will be applied, and secondly, the focus will be upon the most recent governance literature (i.e., materials mostly written in the last three years). Confining this essay to work in the public sphere of the last few years does bring with it certain limitations. The purpose of this exercise and journal issue is to frame policy research from the perspective of new scholars to the field; therefore, I have chosen to focus on breadth over depth. A number of interesting governance topics will not be discussed in this paper although they are worthy of attention (e.g., delineating public from private actors and actions in governance models or issues of legality and legitimacy of governance mechanisms).

The intention of this essay is to show that the complexity of governance conversations should not inhibit scholars from reaching some level of consensus that will enable the field to advance a research agenda; furthermore, emphasizing the *art* form of governing may prove to be a critical component of progressing governance scholarship. Developing this argument entails three processes. The first approach is to introduce the subject of governance with an overview of definitional differences and then to review the persistent debates in the literature. The second method is to establish a foundation of agreement through the lens of the modes of governance. Accordingly, reaching clarity in governance research revolves around scholars' abilities to move theories and practices forward beyond classifications and generalizations and towards a productive research agenda. With this challenge in mind, the final portion of this essay speculates on the intersections of future governance research areas and argues for the importance of making governance studies meaningful through empirical testing and inductive explorations.

The Meaning(s) of Governance

As with many debated topics, the source of confusion in governance begins with its definition. Over the last several decades, governance has been given multiple meanings and special significance beyond the standard dictionary definition, which has not proven to be advantageous (Hughes, 2010). As an illustration, 50 separate governance concepts are described by Bevir (2009) and this array of governance usages creates additional obstacles for researchers (Bevir, 2009, 2010). One way to counter-balance complexity is to focus on commonalities. Thus, many theorists reason that governance describes something broader than government (Bevir, 2010; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007; Jordan, 2008; Kjær, 2004; Milward & Provan, 2000);

however, Bevir warns that this logic does not give theoretical license to reduce government to a mere "hollow shell" (2010, p. 255). With this in mind, we begin our search for a governance definition through examining commonalities, while acknowledging the existing role of government in governance as well.

Defining governance frequently involves the use of words like networks, rules, steering, order, control, new, good and corporate governance, governing, and authority. Many turn to the dictionary as a point of reference for explaining governance. In paraphrasing dictionary meanings, Lynn (2010c) defines governance as "the action or manner of governing—that is, of directing, guiding, or regulating individuals, organizations, or nations in conduct or actions" (p. 671). A broad definition like this allows for the conceptual application of governance to micro and macro levels. In a similar manner, Hughes (2010) combines the Latin word *gubernare* and dictionary meanings into a working definition where governance is "about running organizations, about steering as in the original derivation, how to organize, and how to set procedures for an organization to be run" (p. 88). These definitions provide a map for navigating governance meanings, but there are other useful phrases that provide insight of what governance is about including: "ordered rule" and "collective action or decision making" (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Löffler, 2009; Milward & Provan, 2000; Stoker, 1998, 2004), "all patterns of rule" whether formal or informal (e.g., Bevir, 2009, 2010; Imperial, 2005; Löffler, 2009), and "exercise of authority" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007; Stivers, 2008). The quest for a mutually agreed upon definition seems unlikely; furthermore, it could be argued that the persistent debates in governance are spurred on by conceptual ambiguity in the first place.

Rediscovering Governance as Statecraft

One pragmatic and underutilized expression for describing governance is that of art.[1] Another way to express the art of governing is "statecraft." Camilla Strivers' work, *Governance in Dark Times*, provides a timely and much needed discussion of why applying elements of statecraft to governance inquiry matters. Stivers (2008) reveals that at one time the term governance simply implied statecraft. Statecraft can be characterized as the "exercise of distinctively governmental responsibilities" and as "the *art* of acting according to duty, justice, and reason on behalf of a community of citizens" (Stivers, 5 italics added). As a result, public policy and administration should be based on higher ideals like that of truth, fairness, and democracy. Stivers informs us that we—citizens, politicians, and administrators—are all faced with the challenge of living through "dark times" of governance. She presents the tragic events following 9/11 like the war in the Middle East and the U.S. torture scandals are evidence of a fundamental darkness in policy and administration. The most telling contention made by Stivers regards the root cause of governance problems i.e., the loss of the public realm where authentic dialogue and disagreement could take place.

Stivers calls for a renewal in public life that represents interpersonal connections between public servant ethos, publicly-spirited dialogues, institutional forms, and

individual citizens that enable the practice of democracy in public spaces once again. Her arguments remind us that the exercise of *true* statecraft or governance mandates the integration of democratic principles with creative solutions in order to solve policy problems. Governance requires an adherence to a state's rules and constitutional arrangements while simultaneously calling for its administrators, politicians, and citizenry to be accountable to one another. The time has come where the idea of statecraft of governance theories and practices needs to return.

The Axis of Disagreement: Persistent Debates

Academic discourse, democratic practices, and politics are all shaped by how the governance story unfolds (Bevir, 2010; Hysing, 2009). Many well-intentioned scholars try to formulate governance theories and framework that will refine our knowledge of governance; and yet, the total effect of these interpretations seems to reinforce disagreement and undermine theoretical advances. To complicate matters, the underlying assumptions of governance explanations often vary between European and American scholars establishing additional inconsistencies. These differences can be implicit and problematic to identify (for explanation of differences, see Bevir, Rhodes, & Weller, 2003; Lynn, 2006; Skelcher, 2007). Despite variations in the governance narrative between continents and sub-fields, the essential governance debates in the public sphere remain very similar. As an organizing principle, governance assumptions operate at both local and global levels; however, the ability to apply these theories to multiple contexts can sharpen controversy. Several of the current and unsettled themes found in governance literature will be considered below.

Is Governance Eclipsing Government?

The concept of governance is not new (Bevir, 2009; Lynn, 2010c; Osborne, 2010), and as some observe, it is as old as government itself (Peters & Pierre, 1998). While this may be true, scholarly debates in governance persist. When it comes to answering whether governance movements are more important than government's role, many scholars take this issue to heart and choose sides. On one hand, there are those who maintain that current governance trends (e.g., governance as networks) are new and distinctive from the past (Bang & Esmark, 2009; Bevir, 2010; Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, 2006; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; Kooiman, 1993, 2010; Osborne, 2010; Rhodes, 1996, 1997; Salamon, 1989, Salamon & Elliott, 2002). While on the other hand, theorists wishing to preserve the historical traditions of governance, question the validity a new and transformational form of governing (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009; Bovaird & Löffler, 2009; Heinrich, Lynn, & Milward, 2010; Heinrich et al., 2004; Hughes, 2010; Jordan, Wurzel, & Zito, 2005; Lynn, 2010b, 2010c; Marinetto, 2003; Olsen, 2006; Taylor, 2007). Lynn (2010b) even refers to an emerging "new skepticism" where "the new (public) governance is, at best, a highly nuanced and qualified story" (pp. 117–118). The subtleties of this debate can be captured by two facets. Primarily, is

there sufficient evidence to argue for a new form of governance that surpasses government; and consequentially, are paradigmatic changes occurring in favor of a governance movement.

The evidence on a universal switch from governmental systems to governance structures is imprecise and doubtful. A *state-centric* and *society-centric* approach best describe scholarly viewpoints of the state in this matter. The state-centric perspective maintains that the state retains its power as the chief actor and center of society, while the society-centric position contends that the state is being hollowed out, decentered, and thus, is progressively relying upon non-state actors to fulfill its duties (Jordan, 2008). The latter approach lends itself to the notion that new forms of governing are materializing. The question, however, over which approach most accurately illustrates reality, remains unanswered (Jordan, 2008). Thus, some theorists take a more neutral stance between the state- versus society-centric approach. For example, Bell and Hindmoor (2009) propose a "state-centric relational" method for specifying governance interactions where the state leads as the central authority and controller of governing capacities; nonetheless, the state also takes a "relational" approach that involves expanding new and strategic relationships with other non-state actors. In this manner, the state attempts to "govern better rather than less" (Wallington, Lawrence, & Loechel, 2008, p. 3) through deliberate alliances.

There are some who choose not to weigh in on the state- or society-centric discussion of governance altogether. They hold strong to their conviction that without evidence, the presence of new governance forms are nothing more than pure scholarly debate (Lynn, 2010a). Similarly, these voices have reservations about the ability of governance to eclipse government (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009; Hysing, 2009; Jordan, 2008; Lynn, 2010a,b, 2010c). Perhaps, Heinrich, Lynn, and Milward best summarize this position:

> There is little meaningful debate over whether the changes in governance are in fact occurring . . . unfortunately, the profession is much better at proclaiming "the new" than at making evidence-based arguments . . . [and] the new is seldom viewed as a consequence of a historical or path-dependent logic of change (2010, pp. i9–i12).

Undeniably, the suggestion of using a path-dependent logic of governmental change deserves more attention in the literature. Kjær (2004) concludes, "in all, governance does not take place without government, and governance theory should leave the role of the state open to empirical investigation rather than simply assume that the role is declining" (p. 204). Kjær's warnings and new governance skepticism in the field (Lynn, 2010b) suggests that more time and research is needed, if we want to claim with any certainty that governance is the new form of government.

A second approach for tackling the governance eclipsing government question hinges on whether paradigmatic changes from new public management to public governance have occurred. Just as some proclaim the new is being ushered in too soon, others see a clear distinction between new public management and (new) public governance paradigms (Bevir, 2010; Klijn, 2008, 2010; Osborne, 2010). A change in paradigmatic frameworks, so the argument goes, indicates that something

original and distinctive may be transpiring. Bovaird and Löffler (2009) argue that public policy paradigms have evolved significantly over the last thirty years from "old public administration" that has been partly replaced by "new public management" and now to a "public governance" perspective. However, they note that certain aspects of each approach still remain in most countries and it is hard to say if, or when, there will be a singular viewpoint on the subject.

One emerging paradigm, espoused by Stephen Osborne (2010) and his colleagues, is "new public governance" (NPG). Grounded in institutional and network theory, the NPG model accounts for the complexities associated with both "a *plural state*, where multiple interdependent actors contribute to the delivery of public services, and a *pluralist state*, where multiple processes inform the policy-making system" (Osborne, 2010, p. 9). Osborne's NPG offers scholars an alternative perspective with the capacity to analyze the intricacies of design, delivery, and management of present-day public services in areas where public administration and new public management frameworks have failed to do so.[2] Hence, the debate over evidence is somewhat skirted in favor of a distinctive perspective that broadly examines the governance literature. It will be interesting to see if others adopt the NPG point of view and apply it to their research.

Are Governance and Networks One in the Same?

The role that networks play in governance lingers at the forefront of debates. One of the leading scholars in the area, Erik-Hans Klijn, reviewed the prior ten years of European literature on governance. One of his boldest and most controversial claims is that it is no longer necessary to distinguish between governance and governance networks since "governance is the process that takes place within governance networks" (2008, p. 511). Expanding upon his claim, Klijn later asserts that, "[a]t best, we can make a faint distinction by saying that governance relates to the interaction process (and its guidance), while networks relate to the empirical phenomenon that policy issues are solved within networks of actors" (2010, p. 305). Correspondingly, Klijn's network approach and Osborne's NPG paradigm both consider the processes and relationships of governance as distinctive from past perceptions of government. Other noteworthy scholars see a strong connection between networks and governance practices (Agranoff, 2007; Bevir, 2010; Kooiman, 2003; Löffler, 2009; Martin, 2010; O'Toole & Meier, 2010; Rhodes, 1997; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007).

The popularity of networks as the predominant or only form of governance, however, brings forth serious administrative issue that needs to be considered. In his attempt to address some of the administrative concerns of networks, Stoker (2006) proposes that network governance produces a specific management model. His "public value management" paradigm is distinguishable from traditional public administration and existing public management archetypes because it respects the relationships people form in networked atmospheres. Stoker's approach considers the meaning of politics in managing public services while accounting for public service ethos, democratic practices, and managerial roles. Comparably, Jackson (2009) contends that the future role of government will be to function as a "broker"

between public and private sectors and "relationship management [will be] central to public governance" (p. 39). If governments are to act as middle-men between networks and other governing forms, then the need for statecraft and public sector values becomes paramount. There is no consensus on whether governance networks are as pervasive as some claim; nevertheless, the administrative implications of these governance forms may prove to be highly problematic and rife with undemocratic practices. Like Stiver's, Stoker and Jackson also see the need for incorporating the art form and values of governing back into the governance as networks conversation.

Can Governance be Put Into a Typology?

When a theoretical concept is in a state of flux, the natural scholarly reaction is to try and simplify that idea by constructing descriptive categories. Governance epitomizes an example of why typologies are necessary. In order to build an understanding of the global governance labyrinth, numerous individuals have developed categories for how others are studying governance so that ideological congruence may be reached. Table 1 shows that labels and language of governance typologies vary, but their underlying meanings do not. This is not to say that the authors used in this demonstration would entirely agree with the comparisons of their classifications of governance research to one another; however, when their descriptions are evaluated more carefully, they appear to be more similar than contradictory.

The benefits of analytical frameworks are that they give students of governance a place to begin. However, failure to agree upon the same language to explain the same phenomenon generates unnecessary theoretical hurdles in the literature. Subsequently, we are left with a logical background for describing how governance is being studied internationally, but without the proper language to articulate our framework to others.

How does Democracy Fit Into the Governance Picture?

Arguably, one of the most significant conversations demanding scholarly consideration today focuses on democratic practices in public governance systems (Bevir, 2010; Catlaw, 2007; Hendriks, 2009; Lynn, 2010c; Meuleman, 2008; Skelcher, 2007; Sørensen, 2006; Wallington & Lawrence, 2008). In a pluralistic world, where the state must coordinate and direct a web of governing relationships and devolved processes, alarm is being raised as to *who* and *how* governance will be governed. The phrase scholars have employed to convey the "governance of governance" is meta-governance. Meta-governance is defined as the "process of steering devolved governance processes" and is "directed at controlling the environment of action in the public sector, rather than controlling that action directly" (Peters, 2010, pp. 37–38). Peters maintains that choosing strategies of meta-governance symbolizes "an attempt to reassert some balance of power with the policy-making system of the public sector, and to continue to involve non-state actors in the process while recognizing the primacy of politics" (p. 48). Meta-governance implies the necessity for some level of governmental involvement in governance structures and processes.

Table 1. Similarities in the Categorizations of Governance[4]

The authors' categorizations seem to capture the basic idea of:	Osborne (2010) describes "new public" governance as:	Lynn (2010c) explains scholarly of studying governance as:	Pierre and Peters (2005) investigate governance models as:
A society-centric view incorporating non-state actors in policy processes & implementation	Public policy governance	Governance-not-government	Governance without government
A state-centric view where the laws, states, & its actors play a prominent role	Administrative governance	Multilevel governance	Ètatiste
The state's use of private delivery of services	Contract governance	Third-party government	Liberal-Democratic
The complexity of all institutional and intersectoral relationships and arrangements of the state	Socio-political governance	New Governance	State-centric
Networks are highly relevant	Network governance	Governance as networks	The Dutch governance school

Bell and Hindmoor (2009, p. 47) utilize the acronym of SERDAL (i.e., steering, effectiveness, resourcing, democracy, accountability, and legitimacy) to explain the 6 main functions of meta-governance. These authors acknowledge that democracy is a vital component of meta-governance.

Many argue that governance and democracy can work better when citizens are consistently engaged and consulted in the process and throughout public dialogues and debates (Bang, 2004; Bevir, 2006, 2010; Catlaw, 2009; Sørensen, 2002; Stivers, 2008; Stoker, 2004; Wallington & Lawrence, 2008). However, there are those who note that even now, meta-governance and public governance perspectives require democratic accountability, direction, equity, and legitimate constitutional arrangements (see Bell & Hindmoor, 2009; Bogason & Musso, 2006; Lynn, 2010b; Peters, 2010). Kjær (2004) cautions us not to forget that "governance is not equal to democracy" (p. 170). Likewise, Bevir (2010) argues that governance in effect "undermines old expressions of representative democracy" (p. 2). Thus, the charge then becomes how to maintain democratic institutions in a world of governance rather than a world full of governments.

Reaching a Consensus: The Modes of Governance

In some ways, the tremendous amount of theorizing on the subject has created contentious areas of debate. However, the approach that I argue will move the discussion forward is a focus on areas of agreement, where studying governance as a form of statecraft is considered. We can uncover a domain of agreement based on the mechanisms of or patterns of rule in the governance. Three of the most commonly discussed resource allocation mechanisms of governance are networks, hierarchies, and markets (Dixon & Dogan, 2002; Jordan, 2008; Kjær, 2004; Lynn, 2011; Osborne, 2010). Bell and Hindmoor's (2009) state-centric relational approach incorporates persuasion (i.e., how governments persuade behavioral changes in their citizens) and community engagement as other forms of governance (see also Löffler, 2009). Kooiman (2010, p. 79) describes what others call "modes" of governance as "subsystems of the governing system" where the main components are states, markets, civil society, and hybrids (i.e., the intersections of the state, markets, and civil society). In sum, Löffler suggests that for there to be good governance there must be good government. As such, the state must initially answer what its role should be in various contexts (e.g., as co-producer or as sole supplier of services), and then, choose the best mechanism—via networks, hierarchies, or markets—for properly dealing with problems (2009, pp. 229–230). The following sections will review the three most common modes or subsystems of governance.

Networks

Networks have been hailed as creating space for innovation, reciprocity, trust, and self-organization (Agranoff, 2003; Bevir, 2010; Bogason & Musso, 2006). However, networks are problematic because they raise issues of equality, accountability, democratic legitimacy, and equity (Bogason & Musso, 2006; Eikenberry, 2007;

Hendriks, 2009; Kjær, 2004). The study of networks as a form of governance is worthy of a separate review itself, for just as governance is surrounded with definitional and categorical debates, so too are discussions around networks. Given this, the aim here is to briefly focus on networks as a mode of governance. To the extent that governance means governance networks (Klijn, 2008, 2010; see also Rhodes, 1996), then the ways in which networks are conceptualized and explained makes a difference for how the broader topic of governance can be understood. Klijn (2008) asserts that three traditions of governance networks exist: policy networks, interorganizational service delivery and policy implementation, and governing networks. Each network type is distinctive with individual origins and focuses.

In a somewhat similar discussion of governance and networks, the recently released edited volume of *The New Public Governance* (2010), assesses "interorganizational networks" (see Klijn, 2010; O'Toole & Meier, 2010; Martin, 2010) and "policy networks" (see Jung; Huys & Koopenjan, 2010; and Acevedo & Common, 2010) as some of the key elements of governance. In the governance literature many refer to Rhodes' classic description of governance that centers upon the managing and steering of "self-organizing, interorganizational networks" (1996, p. 660; see also Bevir & Rhodes, 2003; Jann, 2003). Others, however, create their own descriptions of governance networks as being a "relatively institutionalized frameworks of negotiated interaction within which different actors struggle with each other, create opportunities for joint decisions, forge political compromises and coordinate concrete actions" (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007, p. 27).

At the broadest level, networks simply explain groups of interdependent actors and their existing relationships (Bevir, 2009, p. 137). Despite the most simplistic definition of networks, it remains a complex topic in the literature. Catlaw (2009) asserts that the metaphor of a network has been used to such an extent that it is hard to know what people are talking about when they use it. Hughes (2010), citing from the work of Pollitt (2003) and Mintzberg (2000), argues that the network approach can be "unsatisfying", "over-done", and "overblown" (pp. 97–101). However, as an "organizing principle or as one approach to governing," networks do have some redeeming utility (Hughes, 2010, p. 101). Lynn discusses the work of Fredrickson as an attempt to "both narrow and make more precise the concept of governance in order to rescue it from the oblivion of meaninglessness that is the fate of fashionable new concepts" (Lynn, 2010c, p. 677). Furthermore, Fredrickson divides the networks aspect of governance into three parts: "vertical and horizontal interjurisdictional and interorganizational cooperation; third-party governance; [and lastly as] public nongovernmental governance" (2005, pp. 294–95). His depiction of networks demonstrates how the network literature could be used to inform the governance literature.

Perhaps, one of the best ways to conclude the network discussion is to connect it with a line of inquiry that captures the perplexity of networks. In 2009, Aaron Wachhaus (2009) surveyed ten of the top tier journals and 125 articles in public administration including two policy journals, from 1987 through 2006, looking for coherence and fragmentation in the network literature.[3] Through the use of discourse analysis, Wachhaus creates a scheme of the top 31 attributes of networks composed of only those characteristics which appear in more than 10 percent of the surveyed

literature. Only after this is Wachhaus able to develop a minimal definition of networks that encompasses seven attributes needed for a general discussion of public administration networks (pp. 70–1) (i.e., exchange, interaction, interdependency, complex, and nonhierarchical-occurring in the arena of governance and policy). Due to the highly fragmented nature of the network literature, Wachhaus calls for more academic rigor, consistency, and clarity on the subject of networks. As both governance and network literatures have been flooded with definitions, conceptualizations, and highly contextual applications their usefulness wanes.

Hierarchy

There are a handful of social scientists who speculate, and in certain cases downplay the relevance of hierarchy, usually favoring governance from a more horizontal and fragmented system perspective (Bogason & Musso, 2006; Klijn, 2008, 2010; Sørensen, 2002; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Some go a step further by questioning the abilities of structures in institutional hierarchy to cope with current societal complexities like rapid technological advances and cultural diversity (Bogason & Musso, 2006). Conversely, a select few scholars argue that hierarchy still prevails in many democratic nations and policy domains, and therefore, deserves recognition as an effective tool of governments (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009; Kjær, 2004; Lynn, 2011). Lynn points to two main perspectives in the literature on hierarchy. In one scenario hierarchy is conceptualized as "rationalized instrument of authority", and in the other, hierarchy is seen as an "institutionalized expression of liberal democratic principles of accountability" (Lynn, 2011, p. 229). From his studies, Lynn is concludes that the abandonment of hierarchy would require a reconstitution or modifications of representative institutions, which has yet to appear in democratic societies.

Contrary to popular positions of many governance theorists, Bell and Hindmoor (2009) declare a resurgence of hierarchy as a governing mechanism; especially in light of research on the growth of the "regulatory state" (see also Light, 2008; Lynn, 2010a; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2009). They cite the use of hierarchical solutions to new policy problem in such areas as smoking, terrorism, illegal immigration, or obesity (e.g., the ban on junk food in schools) as evidence of the presence of hierarchies in modern-day society. Undeniably, it would be challenging to imagine a form of government where hierarchy did not exist in at least some fashion. Lynn (2011) takes a similar stance as Bell and Hindmoor maintaining that there is even a "logic of hierarchy's persistence" which he equates with a "logic of continued evolution of a fundamentally useful institution of representative democracy" (p. 233). Kjær (2004) too notes that the abandonment of hierarchical models can be misleading for three reasons: (i) representative democracies are still built upon this model; (ii) it is possible for hierarchies and networks to coexist or overlap; and (iii) hierarchy allows for the coordination and monitoring of networks (pp. 42–4).

Other benefits of hierarchy include accountability, specialization, and rationalization (Bevir, 2009). The problem that some social scientists see with hierarchy in the

new governance model is when excessive layering leads to unresponsiveness, inflexibilities, and inefficiencies (Bevir, 2009). However, the challenges that hierarchy may present to a highly developed, globalized, and technologically advanced society have yet to lead governments to abandon its use as a governing tool.

Markets

A third prevalent application of a governance tool is that of the markets. In this review, governance by markets describes the strategic ways governments employ public-private partnerships, collaborative association, outsourcing, contractual relationships, and third-party government as a way to fulfill their purposes. The increasing use of market solutions by governments has been depicted as "governmentaliz[ing] the private sector" (Kettl, 1993, p. 14), "commercialization of government" (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009, p. 17), the "marketization" of government (see Keating, 2004, p. 6), "managerialism" (Kjær, 2004, p. 25), and overall privatization. A reliance of government on markets via private and nonprofit sectors can be attributed to the new public management movement (Kjær, 2004; Lynn, 2010b) and rational choice theory (Bevir, 2010). The diversity of governing provisions within market arrangements is copiously discussed in the literature (e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Bertelli & Smith, 2010; Greve & Hodge, 2010; Hysing, 2009; Imperial, 2005; Johnston, Nan, Hicks & Auer, in press; Kettl, 2010; McBeath & Meezan, 2010; McQuaid, 2010; Smith & Smyth, 2010).

The proclaimed benefits of these types of governing relationships can be concisely summarized as the three Es: economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (Kjær, 2004; Rhodes, 1997). In Ansell and Gash's (2008) meta-analysis of 137 cases of collaborative governance, they uncover that some of the crucial factors for producing successful collaboration include face-to-face dialogue, trust building, cultivated commitments, and shared understanding. Conversely, they also find that collaboration can fail in instances of distrust, lack of commitment, and when the process is manipulated by powerful stakeholders (p. 561).

Market types of governing relationships require government to take on the role as "smart-buyer" of private services (Kettl, 1993), "broker" (Jackson, 2009), and "manager" (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009) between the various sectors. It may be true that different types of government and private sector relationships require different types of management. For example, Bevir (2010) associates project management with contracting out while process management is needed for partnerships. Essentially, governing by markets requires the state to be proactive in how it manages and coordinates its multifarious relationships as well as how it establishes desired outputs and outcomes. It must be acknowledged that market, government, and policy failures exist so the necessity for proper management becomes paramount. Jackson (2009) states that "both markets and public bureaucracies are flawed institutions" (p. 30) consequently "relationship management is central to public governance" (p. 39). When it comes to contracting-out services, governments must focus on performance and results with "twenty-first-century approaches to govern effectively the realities of its twenty-first-century governmental tools" (Kettl, 2010, p. 252).

Salamon states that governments new role in governance is one of a "balance wheel" (2002, p. 209).

The Research Challenge: Theory-Grounded Evidence

Developing research exists that moves past the questions of whether governance is new and towards a more focused research agenda in substantive policy areas. The literature seems to establish that governance is not a new concept (e.g., Kooiman, 2003; Lynn, 2010c); however, what remains to be unearthed is *how* new and proposed practices of governance are being implemented and managed globally and locally. Moreover, there is an obligation to demonstrate why theorists benefit from conducting governance over government research (Fredrickson, 2005).

There are individuals who have begun applying governance theories and frameworks to an array of public policy areas in an effort to conduct translatable research. Scholars can turn to these recent studies as examples for how to approach their own research agendas in governance.

One growing area of governance research examines sustainability and innovation. For instance, Jordan et al. (2005) review the utilization of "new" environmental policy instruments (NEPIs) to determine changes from government to governance in eight industrialized nations (all from Europe, except for Australia) and the EU environmental policy sector. Hysing (2009) sets out to empirically test the rhetorical device of government to governance in the policy realm of Swedish forestry and transportation. His conclusion is that changes are occurring in both directions of more and less government or governance. Similar to these studies, Jordan (2008) maintains there is sufficient research to start building a bridge between governance and sustainable development literatures (see also Glasbergen, Biermann, & Mol, 2007). Likewise, Moore and Hartley (2010) argue that public sector governance innovations are transpiring globally and thus deserve attention from governance scholars across policy domains.

Another growing area of interest targets developing measures of good governance. For example, some scholars have started researching casual linkages in economic growth rates and good governance measures globally (Kurtz & Schrank, 2007) while others call for the need of benchmarking "good local governance" practices in governments (Bovaird & Loffler, 2002). Governance research can also be expanded by incorporating gender analysis theories and frameworks in exposing the plurality of various governance spheres (Panda, 2008). And finally, other theorists are concerned with the broader societal implications of governance failures (Dixon & Dogan, 2002; Jessop, 2004; Nickel & Eikenberry, 2007; Stivers, 2008) and dark networks (Raab & Milward, 2003; Milward & Raab, 2006).

There is a strong desire among academics to make governance research more meaningful and complete by conducting empirical studies on the tangible practices of governance (e.g., see Heinrich et al., 2010; Jordan, 2008; Jordan et al., 2005; Kjær, 2004; Lynn, 2010a, 2010c). Theories and analytical frameworks are most useful when they can be applied to practical policy and managerial problems. Osborne (2010, p. 416) argues for an open, natural systems approach to studies of new public

governance that takes "*the public service system*"—public policy processes, public service organizations, technologies, management, and networks, and all interrelationships—into account as the unit of analysis. Löffler (2009) also notes that governance theorists must be cognizant of the interactions and negotiations taking place in policy systems at both the local and international levels. Future governance research will require a broad and systemic approach to answer the biggest questions in the field. In 2010, both Heinrich et al. and Osborne urged scholars to answer their lists of several questions concerning governance. In essence, multiple research agendas exist for conducting significant and evocative research in governance. All the fields need are for those proposals to be taken up and studied.

Perhaps, one of the most insightful lines of inquiry, that has not filtrated governance literatures, may tie back into the notion of art or statecraft. In a world where statecraft is practiced, governance transcends theoretical questions and debates in lieu of a higher purpose: the exercise of democracy. Stivers (2008) calls for a "governance of the common ground" that results from consistent application of democratic practices over time involving "many small steps—discussions, actions, stories, practices, shared understandings—in the direction of democracy" (pp. 117–20). The paradox of governance is resolving what *is* with what should *be*. Conceivably, we as scholars fall short by examining governance from a perspective of finite processes and structures of governing, managing, leading, and representing, rather than from a holistic approach emphasizing democratic ideals and practices at every meaningful opportunity.

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Notes

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1. There is some work that considers how the notion of art plays into governance (e.g., *The Art of Governance* edited by Ingraham & Lynn, 2004), but this perspective does not seem to be the norm.
2. Osborne (2010, p. 10) provides a useful chart that contrasts NPM, PA, and NPG based on 7 core elements (i.e., theoretical roots, nature of the state, focus, emphasis, resource allocation mechanism, nature of the service system, and value base).
3. For inquiring minds, Wachhaus surveyed PAR, JPART, A&S, ARPA, IJPA, PS, PSJ, PAQ, JPAM, & PPMR.
4. There may be some concerns about the discrepancies between Pierre and Peters' distinction between the *Èstatiste* and *State-centric* models. I tried to stay true to how various authors discussed the term more than how they labeled it. For example, Pierre and Peters describe the *Èstatiste* model as "government [as] the principal actor for all aspects of governance and can control the manner in which the social actors are permitted to be involved, if they are at all" (Pierre & Peters, 2005, p. 11). This view seems similar to how Lynn (2010c) and Osborne (2010) describe administrative and multilevel governance. Pierre and Peters explain the *State-centric* approach as "the state remains at the center of the process,

but institutionalizes its relationships with societal actors" (p. 11). In this vein, Lynn and Osborne refer to socio-political and new governance in the same manner, and thus, it was categorized in this manner. For each author's explanation of models see Lynn (2010c, pp. 674–81), Osborne (pp. 6–7), and Pierre and Peters (pp. 11–12).

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