Part II Goals: Equity, Efficiency, Security, Liberty (pages 37-38)

- Equity- “treating likes alike”
- Efficiency- “getting the most output from a given input”
- Security- “satisfaction of minimum human needs”
- Liberty-“do as you wish as long as you do not harm others”
- None of these criteria offer a simple solution. Each of them contains ambiguities and problems of interpretation that make them the object of political struggles.
- In the polis, the concepts of equity, efficiency, security, and liberty are continuously constructed. Rather than giving a single answer to a policy problem, the general definitions provide a battleground for more particular fights.
- In a paradoxical way, these concepts unite people at the same time as they divide.
- People aspire to convince others that their interpretation best fulfills the spirit of the larger concept to which everyone is presumed to subscribe.
- There is an enormous range of choice in the interpretation of the criteria of policy analysis.
- Policy politics is the process of making these choices in interpretation.

Chapter 2-Equity

The Dimensions of Equality: the most famous definition of political science says it is the study of “who gets what, when, and how.”

Distributions- are at the heart of public policy controversies. It is important to keep in mind from the start that equity is the goal for all sides in a distribution of whatever the issue is.

Chapter 2 *See table page 3: Chocolate Cake Distribution

The paradox in distributive problems:

- “To justify income distribution, it is necessary to show that individuals somehow do not have a just title to the income they earned.” On the other side, equality in the distribution of certain crucial resources is considered the norm, and deviations from equality must be justified in terms of other social goals.” (p. 60)
• Equality may mean in fact any equality, equal treatment may require unequal treatment: and the same distribution may be seen as equal or unequal, depending on one’s point of view.

In any distribution there are 3 important dimensions:

• the recipients (who gets something?)
• the item (what is being distributed?)
• the process (how is the distribution to be decided upon and carried out?)

Chapter 3: Efficiency

• Efficiency—2 simple definitions:
  o “getting the most out of a given input”
  o “achieving an objective for the lowest cost”
• Efficiency is NOT a goal in itself
• Efficiency is getting the most out of something
• Like the equal slices of the cake…no one is opposed to efficiency (see Chapter 2, Equity)
• Stone contends, “Everyone would like to attain something of value in the least costly way.”
• Conflicts arise over 3 questions:
  1. Who gets the benefits and bears the burdens of a policy?
  2. How should we assess the values and costs of a policy?
  3. What mode of organizing human activity is likely to yield the most efficient results?
• What is often true in the polis is that inputs are also outputs (What you put in, is what you get out)
  o Inputs & outputs are not always tangible or measureable
  o The paradox can be described as complications regarding input/output—what I think is important vs. what you think is important
• One person’s efficiency is another person’s waste….we must consider how we define what we value

• Reference Library example: Herbert Simon considered how one might apply the criteria for efficiency to the management of a public library. Simon stated, “A ‘good’ public library, from the administrative perspective, is not always the one that owns every book ever published, but the one that has utilized the limited allocated funds to establish as ‘good’ a collection as possible under the circumstances.”
  
  o Questions to consider:
    ⅰ What is the definition of a “high quality” book collection?
    ⅱ How do we measure the costs and the benefits?

• It is difficult to measure efficiency due to the fact that things are constantly changing

• The objectives for public policy are thrown into a political conflict

• Assumptions come into play when we apply a concept to a concrete policy choice
  
  o Who & what are important?
  
  o When two sides are in a conflict-what one side prefers is considered to be most efficient

• Efficiency & The Market
  
  o Basic theory of the market: voluntary exchanges are the best way to achieve efficiency
  
  o Getting more for less; concerned with own growth
  
  o Rule: Markets are governed by contracts
  
  o Rules of ownership: ownership is a right to use and trade something backed up by the state. The legal rules of ownership in a society serve to define what we are permitted to own, by whom, and how
  
  o Societies ensure that the rules of ownership are enforced
  
  o Rules are made to be broken:
    ⅰ Weapon/illegal drug possession
    ⅱ Exceeding speed limits
• The polis is focused on the people and what is best for the community

• The Equity Efficiency Trade-Off- See chart page 84
  o Economic policies tend to resolve equality with efficiency. The idea that the two are incompatible is a politically useful myth for the wealthy.

• Efficiency & Education:
  o Best teachers for the lowest cost
  o 100% graduation rates- more teacher equates to smaller class size-is this efficient or inefficient-based on values?
  o Instructional methodologies-lecture vs. cooperative learning (time teachers spend on planning)
  o Collaborative team teaching-efficient for whom? Students? Teachers?

Chapter 4: Security

  ▪ Rationale model: the minimum requirements (needs) for biological survival
  ▪ These values change based on the market view and the polis view
  ▪ Valuation of Resources:
    o Needs are determined politically, not biologically
    o Education Example:
      ▪ Is there a standard for needs determination that provides security for ALL students?
        • Eg. test taking & modifications/accommodations provided for students with IEPs, 504 plans, and ELL’s
          o Standard assessment for ALL, however the administration of the test is NOT the same for ALL students (testing modifications: time, setting, format, repeated readings, etc.)
  ▪ Standard of Comparison:
    o Should we measure needs based on a fixed standard or a relative one? Should a person’s relational status be considered based on other members of the community?
• Eg. You own a Hyundai and live in a poor neighborhood; neighbors have dysfunctional vehicles, or none at all- therefore, you feel comfortable with your situation b/c your needs are being met, and they exceed the current standard.

• Eg. You live in an affluent community, neighbors own high end vehicles, Mercedes, Lexus, Volvo, you may feel badly that you are driving a Hyundai b/c the basic need of getting from point A to B is being met, however your ‘comparison’ need is not.

• Education example: Should we measure needs based on a fixed standard or a relative one? Should a student, school, or district’s relational status be considered based on other members of the group, school, county, state, country, and world?

  • A school district is surrounded by very high-functioning districts that score mostly level 3’s and 4’s on the NYS 3-8 ELA & Math exams. The relational status impacts the principal’s decision to allocate resources (AIS, extra help, technology, tutoring, smaller class size) to ensure that students earn similar scores to these high performing districts, which they are being compared. Less funding for enrichment programs and advance level courses.

  • A school district is surrounded by low-functioning districts that score is and 2’s on the NYS 3-8 ELA & Math exams. The relational status impacts the principal’s decision to allocate resources for ELA & Math in order to sustain Level 3’s & 4’s, thus leading to less funding for science, technology, enrichment programs, and advanced level courses.

• Purposes of Resources:

  o Should we provide resources that meet immediate needs for survival, or resources that allow for future needs as well (Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.)

• Education Example:

  • Language immersion programs-Spanish, French, Chinese, Japanese, etc.

  • Advanced placement course
• Electives at the high school (College Essay, Creative Writing, Ethics & Values)

• Science and technology courses (Marine Biology, Forensics, Astronomy, Environmental science)

• American Sign Language (ASL)

• Business courses (Fashion Marketing, Entrepreneurship)

• **Time:**
  - Should society secure only current needs or also provide protection against future needs and risks of harm?
    - Eg. Military-Protects the entire country

• **Unit of Analysis:**
  - Should society secure only the needs of people as individuals or also people’s relational needs? (dignity, sense of belonging, trust, and community)
    - Eg. Churches, temples, clubs, organizations, teams

**Chapter 5: Liberty**

• Polis viewpoint: polis is a community with some collective public interest. The liberty in a community is limited to obligations in the community.

• Liberty- “People should be free to do what they want unless their activity harms others.”

• **Material harms:** categorized as examples of bodily injury, loss of income, loss of property value, higher taxes

• **Amenity harms:** aesthetic, environmental, quality-of-life (satellite dish, loud music, public smoking)

• **Emotional and physical harms:** distress, loss of self esteem, anxiety, depression

• **Spiritual and oral harms:** behavior that offends religious or moral beliefs (homosexuality)

• What harms to communities, organizations, groups, should trigger restraints on liberty? Effects on the ability to function as a community. Public vs. private schools. Cost of taxpayers to support private and charter school amenities.
• **Accumulative harms**: activities that are harmful only if a lot of people do them (waste disposal, sewage disposal, not obeying recycling laws)

• Harms to a group caused by harms to one of its members. (Job rejection based on basis of gender, race, and age is more than simply the loss of a job.)

• Harms to society or community caused by individual failure to undertake helpful actions. “Being a good Samaritan”

• Whose liberty should be curtailed or defined?

• When the activities of several different groups, organizations contribute to causing harms, whose activity should be restrained? Who should bear the burden of change?

• When “corporate actors” cause harm should their actions be restrained? In what ways? How? Churches, franchises, and political parties are corporate actors that people affiliate with by choice. There are paradoxes within these groups regarding decisions of working conditions, charitable donations, and social capital.

• Is there a liberty security trade-off? (see chart page 127)
  
  o Stone contends that the “YES” column is the market view. Eg. Security creates dependence on the provider of security. Mentally disabled citizens and young children are dependent on others which foster agencies (CPS and Advocacy agencies). Security is necessary for liberty, however it undermines it.

  o People have different talents, skills, and the abilities to secure their valued resources. Skills and talents are not equitable.

**Part III: Problems**

**Chapter 6: Symbols**

• Words used to represent things…sometimes used to provide explanations of how the world works

• **Narrative Stories**-description of the problem translated into a parable or tale so people have a reference to relate to…used as a tool to appeal to the audience-
  
  o Types
    ▪ Stories of Decline
    ▪ Stories of Control
    ▪ Conspiracy
    ▪ Blame the Victim (rape)
Stymied Progress  Eg. Global Warming; Gangs; VADIR reports;

- **Synecdoche**- Taking a small part of the problem to represent the whole in an effort to represent the scope to make it more manageable. People look at things with a narrow focus. Eg. Horror story- extraordinary case is used to describe the entire population in order to gain control.
- **Metaphor**- likeness to something else, common types in politics- organisms, natural laws, machines, tools, containers, disease, and war.
- **Ambiguity**- the ability of statements, events, and experiences that have more than one meaning. The “glue” of politics. Allows people to agree on laws and policies because they can interpret different meanings into words. Having more than one meaning. “Reading between the lines”

**Chapter 7: Numbers**

Numerical strategies in problem definition- numbers are as real as artifacts. Represent the vision of the artist or experience.

- People react to being counted or measured, and try to “look good” on the measure.
- The process of counting something makes people notice it more, and record keeping stimulates reporting.
- Counting can be used to stimulate public demands for change.
- When measurement is explicitly used to evaluate performance, the people being evaluated try to manipulate their “scores.”
- The power to measure is the power to control. Measurers have a lot of discretion in their choice of what and how to measure.
- Measuring creates alliances between and the measured.
- Numbers don’t speak for themselves, and people try to control how others will interpret numbers.

**Chapter 8: Causes**

Argues who or what is to blame, product of natural causes or man?

- **Inadvertent Cause**- common interpretation for poverty, malnutrition, and disease ignorance Eg. BP Oil Spill; intervening conditions; unforeseen side effects; avoidable ignorance; carelessness; omission

- **Accidental Cause**- anything our culture understands as belonging to the realm of fate. Eg. car that careens out of control; the CAT scanner that crushes its captive patient; nature; weather; earthquakes; machines that run amok
• **Intentional Cause** - oppression; conspiracies that work; programs that work as intended, but cause harm

• **Mechanical Cause** - intervening agents; brainwashed people; machines that perform as designed, but cause harm

• **Complex Systems** - when social systems are too complex, failure is inevitable

• **Institutional** - long standing ingrained patterns of behavior

• **Historical** - similar to institutional, but tends to reproduce over time

**Chapter 9: Interests**
The groups that have a stake in an issue or are affected by it; the sides represented

- Objective Interests - effects that impinge on people
- Subjective Interests - those that people believe affect them
- Negative Interests - fighting against a present condition; vision of a good society

Market believes that good interests are stronger.
Polis on the other hand, knows good interests are the weaker ones that need to be protected.

- **Mobilization** - the process by which effects and experiences are converted into organized efforts to bring about change. Conservatives believe that issues stimulate mobilization unless the issue is not important. Liberals believe that issues stimulate mobilization unless the issue is being blocked.

***************CHART Ch. 9***************

**Chapter 10: Decisions ???**

**Chapter 11: Inducements**

Incentives and deterrence are flip sides of the same coin. They are motivators to change behavior in people.

**Positive Inducements** – incentives or rewards

**Negative Inducements** – sanctions or penalties
• There are three parts involved in inducements. The first is the inducement giver, the second is the receiver/target, and the third is the actual inducement. The donkey and carrot illustrates how inducements work. People want to reach their goals in the easiest way. Inducements alter people’s progress toward their goals.

• In order for inducements to be successful, the person affected must care about the cost and the rewards and be willing to adjust behavior. Inducements that occur far into the future have less effect than those that are immediate.

• Positive inducements can create alliances and a spirit of good will, both parties must give something. Negative inducements can divide two parties and can build resentment.

• Sanction giver may not have to give anything – successful threats are free – the powerful get something for nothing.

• Incentive systems work by capitalizing on the weakness of the targets, not by empowering them. It is most effective when the target is needy.

• Inducements try to get individual motives and community goals on the same page.

**Chapter 12: Rules**

• the essential form of social coordination, no society could support the number of officials necessary to secure that every member of society was officially and separately informed of every act he was required to do. Rules are officially designed to accomplish social goals and therefore are generally referred to as laws.

• Societies have many types of rules to coordinate behavior in addition to informal laws and regulations such as social customs and traditions, informal norms of small groups and families and moral rules and principles.

• Rules are indirect commands that work over time. Indirect because they are stated once to the general group to whom they apply.

• Rules derive power from legitimacy, the quality of being perceived as good and right by those whose behavior they are meant to control.

• Precise rules isolate people from prejudice and provide predictability. The problem with precise rules is that they cannot adjust to new circumstances.

• Non precise rules on the other end allow for tacit knowledge, non precise rules leave space for creativity in particular situations. Non precise rules symbolize ideals and aspirations for the community.
Chapter 13: Facts

- described by Stone as persuasion. Persuasion has two faces: Rational ideal and Propaganda or Indoctrination. Each has its own language: Information vs. propaganda, enlighten vs. enslave, liberate vs. brainwashing

- **Rational Ideal**
  - Neutral facts
  - Unbiased techniques
  - Disinterested conclusions
  - Voluntary behavior, individual is autonomous
  - Full disclosure of information
  - Conflict is temporary and unnecessary
  - Force is replaced by discussion
  - Individuals are brought into harmony by the power of logic and evidence

- **Propaganda or Indoctrination**
  - Intentionally manipulative
  - Dependant thinking
  - Interests of the indoctrinator remain secure
  - Charles Linblom; preceptoral system
  - Withholding of information is just as effective
  - Can also happen through ordinary citizen-government contract in life (teachers, voting registrars, police, judges etc.)
  - Simple things such as naming (classifying) are indoctrination
  - Most of our knowledge of the world comes from social knowledge not from direct observation

- We are as much influenced by the person’s race, looks, social manners, reputation, and credentials as by the content of information.
In the life of the polis, facts are always under dispute

Persuasion as a policy instrument has often been viewed either as a neutral instrument of science and the market, or as a dangerous weapon of totalitarian governments. These ideal types obscure the nature of influence in the polis. Shaping of information is an inevitable part of communication and an integral part of strategic behavior.

Chapter 14: Rights

Concept of rights in the polis

Positive rights:

1. A right is a claim backed by the power of the state
2. Rights derive from the power of the government
3. People can have rights only to those things they claim and for which the state backs them up

Normative rights:

1. A right is whatever people in a given society ought to be able to do, have or expect from fellow citizens and the government
2. Rights derive from some source other than power, such as morality, religion, rationality, or natural law.
3. People can have rights to things they don’t actively claim, and for which the state would not back them up.

Procedural rights:

- defines a process by which decisions are made
- Substantial rights – defines specific actions or entitlements people may claim
- Negative – a right to be free of restraint; says no one can prevent you from doing something.
- Positive – an entitlement to have or receive something specifies obligations of someone to provide whatever the entitlement is.

Source of rights:

- Legislatures – statutes passed by a legislative body at any level
- Constitutions – constitutions of the United States or any of its states.
• Administrative agencies – rules and regulations promulgated under agency authority
• Courts – Past decisions and precedents of judges at any level of the court system

**Mechanisms of rights:**

• Formal statement - given in one of the four sources above
• Grievance process – Adjudication between two or more parties to a conflict by a neutral third party.

**Tort law**

• protects groups of people who suffered a common injury or malpractice. The law of accidents relies on the idea of what people think is reasonable compensation for one’s loss and what community think should be the standard.
• In the end rights are not tools or instruments, operating mechanically and consistently. Like all policy instruments, they are dependent on and subject to larger politics. Perhaps their most distinctive feature, as policy instruments, is that they provide occasions for dramatic rituals that redefine or reaffirm society’s internal rules and it’s categories of membership.

**Chapter 15: Power**

• Constitutional engineering – this is a theory based on the idea that different types of collective decision – making processes yield different kinds of outcomes.
• Restructuring is a bid to reallocate power. Someone not winning will want to shift policy to an arena where they might prevail. New decision making structure by design of its mechanism, will produce decisions in the public interest as well as enabling a subordinate interest to become dominate.

**Two perspectives of structure of authority:**

1. Does it work to solve the nominal problem?
2. What is the nature of the community that is constituted by the type of authority structure to solve the problem? Who is given the right to make decisions about the problem

**Variations of constitutional engineering**

1. Change the membership of the decision making body
2. Change the size of the decision making body
3. Shift the locus of decisions among federal, state and local governments
• Redefining membership in the polis:
• Electorate – Change voter qualifications
• Office holders – Change the system of representation
• Descriptive – Representatives are selected according to demographic characteristics they share with constituents
• Substantive – Representatives are selected according to policy beliefs they share with constituents
• Accountable – Representatives are accountable to constituents if constituents have ability to influence representatives and to remove them from office.
• Changing the size of decision making units small vs. large
• Small communities have face to face knowledge and people are more likely to have empathy for fellow citizens. Decisions will be based on better intimate knowledge of community.
• Small communities can use flexible and informal solutions and use loyalty and empathy to smooth over conflict; they are more conducive to rational deliberation
• It is easier to form a unified majority in a small community, so government action is possible, there is a smaller risk of deadlock.
• Small communities provide greater opportunities for participation in governance.
• A larger community offers a greater selection of possible representatives and a greater chance of finding more competent ones.
• It is harder for demagogues to persuade a large number of people than a smaller. Decisions will be based on reason rather than emotion.
• The larger the community the less likely there will be a unified majority on any issue. Policy is less likely to be dominated by a faction or special interest.
• It is harder for small elite to capture a larger government
• Changing the distribution of power among levels of government:

**Arguments for decentralization:**

1. Gives authority to local officials who have better knowledge of their communities
2. Allows for diversity of solutions to meet different local needs
3. Allows localities and states to experiment with policy ideas and develop knowledge about what works
4. Gives communities more autonomy thereby enhancing liberty of members

Arguments for centralization:

1. Gives authority to national officials who are less parochial, less likely to share local prejudices and more likely to have a broader view
2. Stimulates policy decisions based more on technical issues and less on narrow local self interest
3. Allows for standardization of policy in all jurisdictions, and enhances fairness
4. Allows central officials to redistribute power and resources among smaller jurisdictions, thereby promoting equality.