

FALL 2018

CAPA PUBLIC POLICY
FORUM

SEPT 6, 2018

**PUBLIC POLICY AND
HOW TO MAKE
SOCIAL CHANGE**

PUBLIC POLICY FORUM F-18: TOPICS

- Public Policy and How to Make Social Change
- Powers And Limitations Of State Government
- Gender And Race In America
- Food And Social Justice
- The Environmental and Health Impacts of Herbicides and Pesticides
- The Trump Administration's Foreign Policy Priorities
- Turning our Oceans into Landfills: The Growing Problem of Plastic Pollution

WHAT'S OLD, WHAT'S NEW

- <https://newrepublic.com/article/146915/american-politics-has-never-been-normal>
- Yes, we see to have hit an all time low
- BUT: “The United States *has* been here before. For almost the entirety of the country’s first century of existence, politics was a zero-sum game—and often a blood sport. All fights were to the death, and those parties that lost were eliminated. The Federalists ceased to exist. So did the old Whigs, after losing *their* battle to the death with the Democrats. The battle between the antebellum Democratic Party and the Republicans ended in the Civil War. The Democrats continued to exist in name, at least, but the national party was shattered in 1860, and for the next 70 years, it was able to win power only when Republicans were divided.”

WHAT'S OLD, WHAT'S NEW

- <https://newrepublic.com/article/146915/american-politics-has-never-been-normal>
- “This sort of tit for tat, of playing for all the marbles all the time, quickly becomes irreversible in a democracy. It only abated here in the United States, after nearly destroying the country, because in the years after Reconstruction two powerful new mass political movements, Populism and Progressivism, disrupted the traditional structure of the two-party system. U.S. politics was essentially made over into a four-party (or more) system, with malleable liberal and conservative wings in each major party. These tended to crosscut regions and ideologies in ways that might seem incomprehensible today. Southern white populists, for instance, often favored liberal economics, farm subsidies, suffrage for women, Prohibition—and the KKK.”

WHAT'S OLD, WHAT'S NEW

- <https://newrepublic.com/article/146915/american-politics-has-never-been-normal>
- That system, which basically prevailed for about a hundred years, from the late 1870s through the 1970s, began to crumble as our politics hardened once more along regional and ideological lines. Republicans' pursuit of the "Southern strategy" to scoop up Wallace voters, followed by the Clintons' largely disastrous effort to reshape the Democrats from a culturally diverse party with shared liberal economics into a center-right economic party with shared cultural values, have pushed our politics back to the winner-take-all past.

WHAT'S OLD, WHAT'S NEW

- AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM
- <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~norrande/pol231/hist-06-bw.pdf>
- <http://time.com/4561347/presidential-election-results-interactive/>

THINGS TO NOTICE

PACS, SUPER PACS

- [Super PACs | OpenSecrets](#)
- Super PACs are required to report their donors to the Federal Election Commission ...As of September 04, 2018: 113 groups organized as super PACs have reported total receipts of Legislative Majority PAC, \$0, Liberal, \$945,339.
- [No PAC Act \(H.R. 1743\) - GovTrack.us](#)
- To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to prohibit a candidate for election to the ... committee of the candidate and from establishing a leadership PAC. ... September 1, 2018 <<https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/115/hr1743>>.

AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL (ALEX)

- <https://www.alec.org/model-policy/>
- The American Legislative Exchange Council is America's largest nonpartisan, voluntary membership organization of state legislators dedicated to the principles of limited government, free markets and federalism. Comprised of nearly one-quarter of the country's state legislators and stakeholders from across the policy spectrum, ALEC members represent more than 60 million Americans and provide jobs to more than 30 million people in the United States.

THINK TANKS → DOING MORE THAN THINKING

- **Think Tankers Paid to Spy for Foreign Governments? (Tuesday, June 5, 2018)**
- **A private platform that scores of think tankers use to earn extra cash is reportedly being investigated by Special Counsel Robert Mueller. While the platform promoted itself as an "expert network," reporting indicates that it was also involved in intelligence collection. (The Daily Beast).**
- **In the fall of 2016, Donald Trump Jr. and other key aides to the future president reportedly met in Trump Tower with Joel Zamel, the founder of a company called Wikistrat.**

THINK TANKS
→ DOING
MORE THAN
THINKING

- **US Think Tank Facilitated Russian Spy Meeting with Gov't Officials? (Tuesday, July 24, 2018)**
- **Maria Butina, accused in the United States of spying for Russia, had wider high-level contacts in Washington than previously known, taking part in 2015 meetings between a visiting Russian official and two senior U.S. officials.**
- **Butina traveled to the United States in April 2015 with Alexander Torshin, then the Russian Central Bank deputy governor, and they took part in separate meetings with Fischer and Sheets to discuss U.S.-Russian economic relations during Democratic former President Barack Obama's administration.**

REVOLVING DOOR:
GOVT ↔ BUSINESS
← LOBBYISTS →
← ACADEMICS
← THINK TANKS →

- **Thursday, July 26, 2018**
- **H.R. McMaster Returns to Hoover Institution**
- **H.R. McMaster, pushed out in April as President Donald Trump's national security adviser, is joining Stanford University's Hoover Institution, where he hopes to develop bipartisan national security ideas.**
- **Mr. McMaster first worked at Hoover in 2002 as a national security affairs fellow and then served as a visiting fellow from 2003 to 2017.**

THINK TANKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION

- [How Heritage Stocked Trump's Government \(Friday, July 6, 2018\)](#)
- **The Trump team may not have been prepared to staff the government, but the Heritage Foundation was. In the summer of 2014, a year before Trump even declared his candidacy, the right-wing think tank had started assembling a 3,000-name searchable database of trusted movement conservatives from around the country who were eager to serve in a post-Obama government. The initiative was called the Project to Restore America, a dog-whistle appeal to the so-called silent majority that foreshadowed Trump's own campaign slogan.**

WIKISTRAT

- **Wikistrat** bills itself as a “crowdsourced” geopolitical analysis firm based in Washington, D.C. But interviews with current and former employees and documents reviewed by The Daily Beast tell a different story: that the vast majority of Wikistrat’s clients were foreign governments; that Wikistrat is, for all intents and purposes, an Israeli firm; and that the company’s work was not just limited to analysis. It also engaged in intelligence collection.

THINK TANKS: INFO & WATCHDOGS

- ++++++
- <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2017/09/27/439675/fighting-special-interest-lobbyist-power-public-policy/>
- ++++++
- https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Think_tanks
- =====
- <http://www.thinktankwatch.com/>
- ++++++

THINK TANKS: INFO & WATCHDOGS

- <https://www.gotothinktank.com/global-goto-think-tank-index>
- ++++++
- <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/why-think-tanks-matter-era-digital-and-political-disruptions>
- ++++++
- <https://www.heritage.org/impact/heritage-kicks-largest-gathering-think-tanks-north-america>
- ++++++
- https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/gov_relations/oirpublicinterestgroups

PERMANENT POLYARCHIC DISEQUILIBRIUM

- Living in an “either/or” world, does not work with Permanent Polyarchic Disequilibrium, i.e. the world constantly coming at you from many directions, with increasing fluidity of values, norms, truth, facts...

GPS: LOCATION, LOCATION...

- Definitions in the context of this PP-Forum are mainly about determining—and deciding—domains of conversations & projects, which sounds easier than it usually is. For example:
- Principles
- Laws
- Rules
- Customs, tacit understandings

GPS: LOCATION, LOCATION...

- **private sphere (individuals and families) or by civil society (social, economic, or political associations or organizations)**
- **constitutions, legislative acts, and judicial decisions**

LET'S RE-ZOOM

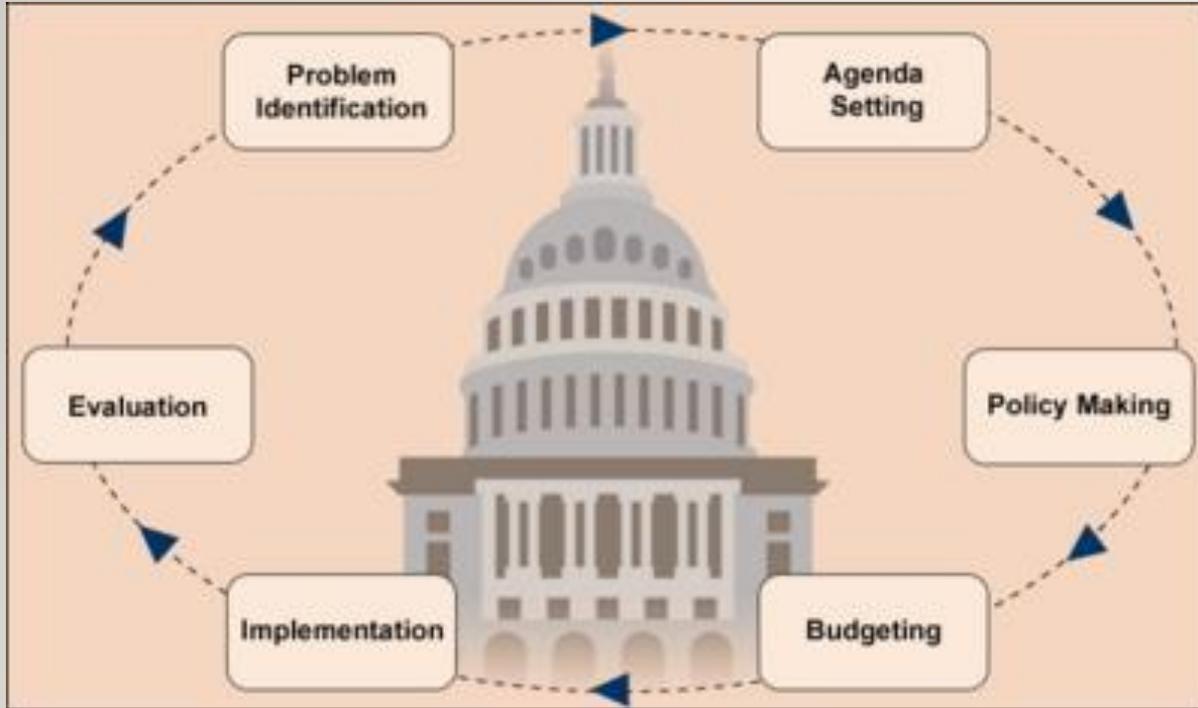
- Audio
- <https://youtu.be/yesyhQkYrQM>
- Visual
- <https://youtu.be/loL7wRgBugM>

RATIONALITY

- These sections are drawn from Deborah Stone, POLICY PARADOX
- Including notes on that book @
- http://www.academia.edu/10615201/Policy_Paradox_The_Art_of_Political_Decision_Making_Chapter_One_Summary

RATIONALITY PROJECT

- Public policy experts see their challenge as rescuing public policy from chaos, emotions.
- Rationality models clarify, steps, sequences, predictive evaluation, tweak
- Even back to the Framers, trying to ‘cure the mischiefs of faction’ using various devices in the Constitution (e.g. checks and balances, electoral college, judicial overrides)
- Early 20th-century Progressive movement, cult of experts, hence “political science”
- Lately: “rational choice” projects
- SOURCE: Deborah Stone



RATIONALIST MODELS

RATIONALITY PROJECT

- The “rationality project” does not deal with ambiguity, moral intuition, etc. Users “worship objectivity”
- Their categories of analysis, criteria, etc. are claims, not universal truths.

RATIONALITY PROJECT

- Stone “politics is a creative and valuable feature of social existence”
- SO use models that ‘account for the possibilities of changing one’s objectives, of pursuing contradictory objectives simultaneously, of winning by appearing to lose ... and, most unusual, of attaining objectives by portraying oneself as having attained them.’”

RATIONALITY PROJECT

- “Analysis itself is a creature of politics: it is strategically crafted argument, designed to create ambiguities and paradoxes and to resolve them in a particular direction” (Stone) .
- So, yes, use political analysis, but analysis that embraces paradoxes, stops seeking rationalization (Stone) .

FACTS & “FACTS”

- Facts in the Rational Ideal Model
- - It assumes the existence of neutral facts, but facts do not exist independent of interpretive lenses. Even naming an object, action or policy is a political act (terrorism vs. security measures).
- - The problem goes beyond naming. Most of our knowledge comes from social knowledge, but the institutions charged with finding facts make choices in developing the information (e.g., what kind of data to collect), and they can have a private agenda.
- - Even scientific facts are not always perfectly accurate or unbiased (placebo example).
- - The rational ideal overstates the purity of information and people's rationality, as we are influenced by more than just facts (Kennedy vs. Nixon example).

POST- IDEOLOGY?

- Rafal Soborski <https://www.richmond.ac.uk/faculty-research/school-of-communications-arts-social-sciences/dr-rafal-soborski/>
- “ideology is unavoidable but anti-neoliberal movements have chosen not to foreground it, and so are unable to develop a coherent alternative. Instead, they are inward-looking, vague and disparate; they stay at a pre-political level and do not go beyond this to develop a political agenda and strategy. This leaves power in the hands of neoliberalism, whose proponents, conversely, have used ideology and politics astutely to advance their project, with the book highlighting the role of think tanks.”

POST- IDEOLOGY?

- “For Soborski, anti-neoliberal movements claim they have moved beyond ideology and replaced it with new and unique networking and prefigurative practices. This makes coherence and mobilisation difficult as there is nothing around which to build a political programme or organisation. On the ground, participants sometimes draw on longstanding ideologies and movements to which their spokespeople are said to pay too little attention, like Marxism, anarchism and even social democracy.”
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2018/06/20/book-review-ideology-and-the-future-of-progressive-social-movements-by-rafal-soborski/>

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- Theda Skocpol and Lara Putnam: “Middle America Reboots,” in DEMOCRACY JOURNAL, note “the emergence of a new kind of politics in the U.S. pushed by mostly middle and upper-class, college-educated white women from suburbs and towns.
- “Ideologically, this segment stretches from the center to the progressive end of the spectrum. Most identify as Democrats, although Skocpol and Putnam find that the common concern of these “pop-up groups” is “protecting American democracy and reclaiming citizen ownership of public life.”
- <https://progressivestrategy.net/change-is-coming-grassroots-organizing-democratic-politics-and-the-2018-elections/>

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- “Organizationally, these new groups are embedded in their local communities and do not constitute a national movement in the standard way such movements are understood. For instance, they don’t have a national leadership or organizational structures, unlike most advocacy organizations and many groups associated with “the resistance.”
- “How have these groups coalesced into effective organizations? Skocpol and Putnam find that they rely on “relational organizing,” meaning that individuals have used their existing personal relationships to build extensive volunteer and activist networks.”
- <https://progressivestrategy.net/change-is-coming-grassroots-organizing-democratic-politics-and-the-2018-elections/>

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- <https://mobilisationlab.org/8-ideas-campaigns-changing-2018/>
- 8 ideas: How campaigns and campaigners are changing for 2018
- 19 Dec 2017 by Monica Davies
- [Cocreating a **Change-Making Culture** - Stanford **Social Innovation** ...](#)
- As the late management guru Peter Drucker once said, “Culture eats strategy for ... To build a healthy change-making culture, collaboratives are adopting new ... The Progressive Resurgence of Federalism ...

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- [Newsletter 1/2018 - Building new Alliances | Progressive Society](#)
- <https://www.progressivesociety.eu/article/newsletter-12018-building-new-alliances> Mar 14, 2018 ... The introduction of Progressive Society's goals, the launch of the new ... for a new set of mind, strategies and methodologies on how to develop our ... “You cannot grow eternally” - Ecological transformation as a social lever.
- [The Dismantling Of Progressive America. Why The 2018 Elections ...](#)
- Nov 28, 2016 ... The 2018 and 2020 elections are critically important, because they align ... Drawing new district lines in states with the most redistricting activity ... The strategy worked. ... More Progressive Agenda unless we change this in 2018 and 2020.
US News · World News · Business · Environment · Health · Social ...

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- [Social Movements and Progressivism - Center for American Progress](#)
- ...A rich history of social movements shaped progressive thought throughout ... Central to all progressive social movements is the belief that the people do not have to wait for change from the top ... In other cases, social movements band together to create new 2018 Smart on Crime Innovations Conference.

POP-UP DEMOCRACY

- [The changing narrative - A new ontology for the progressive movement?](#)
- <https://open.coop/2018/07/18/changing-narrative-new-ontology-progressive-movement/> Jul 18, 2018 ... The changing narrative – A new ontology for the progressive movement? ... the vast majority of society has operated according to some slightly skewed ... The sessions on 'The changing narrative' at OPEN 2018 are a chance ...
- [Andrew Gillum's Upset Reveals a Winning New Progressive Strategy ...](#)
- <https://www.thenation.com/article/andrew-gillums-upset-reveals-a-winning-new-progressive-strategy/> Aug 29, 2018 ... If 2018 is not the year that the Democratic establishment learns its lesson, it will be ... The party who wrote off his candidacy needs to change, and ... They offer social programs: GED classes, food pantries, or Deferred Action ...

WORLD BANK: NEW THINKING?

- Generating political will and public will for positive social change
- <https://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/generating-political-will-and-public-will-positive-social-change>
- “Long-term, effective change in complex issue areas typically happens only if the government and key public stakeholders are pushing in the same direction. Political action to address social problems and their deleterious outcomes is not enough to effect large-scale change if opposed or undermined by the public. Efforts originating with the government often coincide with laws that demand change, but not all citizens feel compelled to obey. Similarly, social change efforts driven by nongovernmental entities will flounder if government opposes or refuses to reinforce the change. To achieve success in the fight against adverse outcomes of social problems, the government and large segments of the public must be willing to recognize the problem, understand the problem in a similar way, and agree on solutions.”

WORLD BANK : NEW THINKING?

- <https://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/generating-political-will-and-public-will-positive-social-change>
- The Political Will and Public Will (PPW) approach detailed in the PPW Toolkit is different from other approaches to enacting social change. The PPW approach calls for systematic assessment of both political will and public will and maps directly to specific tools. Parallel definitional structures for the two concepts facilitate examination of the interactions between political will and public will.
- Political will exists when “a sufficient set of decision makers with a common understanding of a particular problem on the formal agenda is committed to supporting a commonly perceived, potentially effective policy solution.”
- Public will exists when “a social system has a shared recognition of a particular problem and resolves to address the situation in a particular way through sustained collective action.”

COLLECTIVE ACTION PROBLEMS

- “Common problems are defined as situations where self-interest and public interest work against each other.”
- TWO TYPES: actions with private benefits entail a social cost (industrial waste into a lake); and social benefits require private sacrifices (school system requires taxes).

POLITICAL REASONING

- “Political reasoning is reasoning by metaphor and analogy. It is trying to get others to see a situation as one thing rather than another.”
- Rationality project rests on market model, including elections, laws, goods, services, policies
- Rationality-market model misses the struggle over ideas, but Stone shows that policy making “is a constant struggle over the criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave.”
- An idea is an argument, a proposition, or collection of ideas that together make a view of the world.
- “...all policies involve deliberate attempts to change peoples behavior” (Stone) .

POLICY CONSTELLATIONS

- **Key areas of disagreement: goals of a public policy; means used to attain it; definition and perception of the problem at hand. All often linked to values.**
- **Types of policies: (a) distributive (designed to confer a benefit on a particular individual or group); (b) redistributive (transferring resources from one sector to another); (c) regulation (rules guiding the operation of government programs and business markets)**
- **SOURCE: DEBORAH STONE, POLICY PARADOX**

MARKET VS POLIS

- “Control & Power is the primary defining characteristic of a political society and is derived from all the other elements. Any model of society must specify its source of energy, the force or forces that drive change. Its purpose is always to subordinate individual self-interest to others. It operates through influence, cooperation, and loyalty. It is based also on the strategic control of information. It is a resource that obeys the laws of passion rather than the laws of matter.

MARKET VS POLIS

- “A theory of policy politics must start with a model of political society, that is, a model of the simplest version of society that retains the essential elements of politics.” Let’s use the word Greek word “polis,” meaning “city-state.” POLIS describes an entity small enough to have very simple forms of organization yet large enough to embody the elements of politics.

MARKET VS POLIS

- In the market model, change is driven by exchange, which is in turn motivated by self-interest. Through exchanges, the use and distribution of resources is changed. In the polis, change occurs through the interaction of mutually defining ideas and alliances. Ideas about politics shape political alliances, and strategic considerations of building and maintaining alliances in turn shape the ideas people espouse and seek to implement.

MARKET VS POLIS

- The market model is used because of the prevalence in contemporary policy discussions.
- In the market model, the participants, strive to maximize their own self-interest. Self-interest is described as one's own welfare as perceived by them
- This maximizing of welfare stimulates people to be resourceful, creative, clever and productive, and ultimately raises the level of economic well-being of society as a whole, and this is assumed to be benefits to all of society.

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Story of Decline
- “In the beginning, things were pretty good. But they got worse. In fact, right now, they are nearly intolerable. Something must be done.”
Usually ends with a prediction of crisis:
“Unless such-and-such is done, disaster will follow.”
- Examples ?

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Stymied Progress:
- “In the beginning things were terrible. Then things got better, thanks to a certain someone. But now somebody or something is interfering with our hero, so things are going to get terrible again.”
- Examples ?

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Change-is-only-an-illusion:
- “You always thought things were getting worse (or better). But you were wrong. Let me show you some evidence that things are in fact going in the opposite direction. Decline (or improvement) was an illusion.”
- Examples ?

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Story of Helplessness and Control:
- “The situation is bad. We have always believed that the situation was out of our control, something we had to accept but could not influence. Now, however, let me show you that in fact we can control things.”
- Examples ?

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Conspiracy
- Its plot moves us from the realm of fate to the realm of control, but it claims to show that all along control has been in the hands of a few who have used it to their benefit and concealed it from the rest of us.
- Examples ?

SYMBOLS & STORIES

- Blame-the-victim
- It moves us from the realm of fate to the realm of control, but locates control in the very people who suffer the problem.
- Examples ?