

**THE POLICY SCIENCES, SOCIAL WORK,
AND THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY**

by

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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Social Welfare
in the School of Social Work**

Columbia University

1978

D. S. W. converted to Ph. D. in 2011

Abstract

The Policy Sciences, Social Work, and the Analysis of Social Policy

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This dissertation addresses two issues. One is the means by which particular policy science concepts and technologies inform social workers functioning as analysts of social policy. The second is the caveat of social work regarding the analysis and development of social policy.

Because, among social scientists, economists, systems analysts, political scientists, and policy scientists most frequently contribute to the development and analysis of social policy, their disciplines have been chosen for study. The concepts and perspectives unique to each have been described with regard to how they are applied to the development of social policy.

The first element of the study design is the introduction of the concepts, techniques and perspectives of economics, systems analysis, political science, and the policy sciences as they

are pertinent to the development of social policy. Policy analyses are presented illustratively in order to stress discipline-based differences in methodological and/or conceptual foci. Distinctive underlying decision-rules by which policy choices are made by different analysts are described.

The study is also designed to explore means by which the knowledge and skill base of the policy sciences can be useful to a social worker in the role of policy analyst. Concepts, techniques and underlying decision rules are presented as they can be "borrowed" by social workers who analyze policy.

Finally, an interpretation of the role of the social worker as policy analyst is presented. The strengths and limitations of each macroscience are recapitulated. The synthesizing of concepts and methods of inquiry that are relevant to the analysis and development of social policy is elucidated.

Dr. Alfred J. Kahn's readers benefit from his
scholarly work and his wisdom; his students
from his warmth, and patience and kindness.
I am privileged to be numbered among both.

Hart, Aileen Florita. "The Policy Sciences,
Social Work, and
the Analysis of
Social Policy."

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CHAPTER I

DESCRIPTIVE AND METHODOLOGICAL PARAMETERS OF STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The substance of this dissertation has been pursued in light of two policy-related issues. One is the unified, broadbased perspectives about dilemmas of social reform that has been legitimized and formalized by the convergence of the social sciences during the past two decades. The second is the relevance of social work to the analysis and development of social policy. How do social science concepts and technologies inform social workers who deal with policy development? Conversely, what -- if any -- are the unique substantive contributions

of social work to the analysis and development of social policy?

Because, among social scientists, economists, political scientists, policy scientists and systems analysts most frequently contribute to the development and analysis of social policy, their disciplines have been chosen for study. The concepts and perspectives unique to each have been described with regard to how they are applied to the development of social policy.

OBJECTIVES

The study has two objectives. The first is to introduce the concepts, processes, and perspec-

tives of economics, systems analysis, political science, and the policy sciences, as they are pertinent to the development of social policy. To foster this objective, policy analyses will be presented illustratively in order to stress discipline-based differences in methodological and/or conceptual foci. Distinctive underlying decision-rules by which policy choices are made by different analysts will be described.

The second major objective of this study is to explore the relationship of social work to the development and analysis of social policy. That is, as the policy sciences converge around a broad-based perspective about social welfare and social problems, the boundaries of social work will, of necessity, shift accordingly: either externally, as defined by other disciplines, or within the confines of the social work profession. Will social work have a unique contribution to social policy analysis? How can social work's traditional use of social science theory be adapted to policy analysis? Will social policy analysis be recognized as a legitimate social work contribution? Or will

social policy analysis be the domain only of the policy sciences as they continue to develop an interest and expertise in the analysis and development of social policy? What will be the relationship between social work and the policy sciences with regard to social policy analysis and development?

It seems timely, in view of such query, to explore social work's traditional propensity for borrowing knowledge from the social sciences. In what ways can social work utilize techniques, concepts and decision-rules endemic to economics, systems analysis, political science, and the policy sciences? Specifically how are the methodologies utilized applicable to the social worker's study of social policy?

RATIONALE

Because social policy has developed incrementally and in accordance with the vagaries of political processes, analyses of social problems and the policies engendered to cope with them have tended to focus on specific subjects, rather than to reflect a generic method of inquiry. Individual approaches to analysis, although they may reflect common trends, tend to differ according to such variables as the subject matter, the political or ideological commitment of the analyst, his professional training, and the mandate with which his analysis has been commissioned. And from a narrower perspective, social policy development can be distinguished as being reflective of a discipline or field of study, problem-focused, or a combination of the two.

In addressing the problems of conceptualization and measurement in studying policy impacts, it is possible to distinguish discipline from policy-oriented research. Discipline-oriented research

advances the understanding of an intellectual problem on a theoretical level; policy-oriented research, on the other hand, is problem-based and concrete.

The intent of this study, in this regard, is to initiate an inquiry about the continuum between discipline and problem-based analyses of social policy: Specifically, can differences in problem-oriented approaches to social policy be attributed to differences in the disciplinary backgrounds of the analysts? What particular variables exemplify differences in the disciplinary backgrounds of the analysts? Of what concepts or knowledge-based skills are these differences composed? Conversely, do approaches to social policy analysis transcend differences in discipline? Or, are styles of policy analysis dictated by the problem at hand, rather than by a methodological approach?

The impetus for the study is two-fold: First, there is no widely known and accepted model for social policy development that considers the relationships among potential contributions of the several social science methodologies. Secondly, there is no systematic reference in the literature to all aspects of the relationship between the policy sciences and social policy development.

PROPOSITIONS

This study has been based upon four propositions. One is that the differences in disciplinary approaches to the analysis of social policy can be distinguished. The second is that comparison of policy analyses yields particular variables that can be identified both in a specific study, and in the theoretical literature of the analyst's discipline. The third is that economics, systems analysis, political science and policy science contribute concepts, techniques and approaches that can be utilized by social workers in their role as policy analysts.

The most important hypothesis upon which this study is based is that social work differs from economics, systems theory, political science and the policy sciences in two ways. One is the obvious difference in perspective. The other is a singular cadre of concerns that call for particular analytic approaches.

SOCIAL WORK AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS
OF SOCIAL POLICY

If social work can claim uniqueness vis a vis policy analysis, that uniqueness rests in a field of expertise, a set of value preoccupations, and a perspective about the role of consumerism in the planning process.¹

Increasingly, social work's field of expertise is recognized as the personal social services. These services include family and child welfare services; programs for very old and very young citizens; programs for the physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped; and access and referral services.²

¹See, for example: Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969); Alfred J. Kahn, Social Policy and Social Services (New York: Random House, 1974); Martin Run, Social Policy, Issues of Choice and Change (New York: Random House, 1971); and Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht, Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy (New York: Prentice Hall, 1974).

²Sheila B. Kamerman and Alfred J. Kahn, Social Services in the United States (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), p.3.

No single perspective about the development or analysis of policy characterizes the social work profession. Particular value perspectives, however, constitute recurrent themes in the literature. One such value is the importance of redistribution of goods and services. Redistribution, in this regard, can be broadly defined as the recycling of scarce resources both from richer to poorer people by devices other than market transactions.¹

Ultimately correlated with issues of redistribution is the profession's concern with the relationship of the public and private sectors. Since redistribution implies dedication to the securing of rights and benefits by other than market criteria, the balance of government and private provision of services is crucial: reduction of inequalities is the objective for which redistribution is an instrument.

¹See, for example: Richard M. Titmuss, "Issues of Redistribution in Social Policy," Commitment to Welfare (New York: Pantheon, 1969), p. 122. See also Robert Lampman, Ends and Means of Reducing Income Poverty (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971).

The third value preoccupation of relevance to social work is a focus on comprehensive, public-sector planning. Stressing prevention and intervention as social work tasks, the function of planning is to strengthen the viability of the family unit and to provide institutional outlets for social development.

There are constant tensions and dilemmas inherent within each task as well as among them. For instance, redistribution necessarily confronts scarcity of appropriately allocated resources, and consequent choices among programs. Similarly, the concept of clients as consumers often raises the tension inherent between the role of expertise and that of participation in policy processes.

In light of these tasks, this study assumes that the profession's primary contribution to policy analysis is the articulation of choices, conflicts, and constraints upon action, brought about by tension among competing values.

CORE CONCEPTS

Core concepts utilized by economists, systems analysts, and policy scientists will be defined and developed in the body of this text. Throughout, particular concepts will retain constant properties.

Policy development will be defined as attention to the choice among alternatives in light of specified criteria; analysis of alternative policies designed to achieve certain objectives.¹

Social Policy is a term that a) refers to a field of study: as such it is a synonym for the social welfare sector, and b) is a core of ideologies and values -- a standing plan -- indicative of particular choices and constraints upon action.

Policy Analysis is the application of deliberate analytic devices to policy choice, either regarding a total planning process, or a category thereof such as task definition of a program, or implementation.

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning (New York: Russel Sage, 1969), pp. 131-132.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMICS AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF CHAPTER

The purpose of this chapter is to explore means by which economic perspectives, concepts, and techniques can be applied by social workers to the development and analysis of social policy. While the technical armentarium may not be readily accessible, economic analyses of social policies are comprehensible to the non-economist and can be informative in broad terms, if not in technical detail. The application of economic constructs to

both the ideological parameters and to the practical nature of social policies can be illuminating. In addition, key economic concepts and tools can be fruitfully applied to the definition of a problem, to its alternative solutions, and to the projection of its consequences.

CONCEPTS AND PROCESSES

Economists concern themselves primarily with two issues. One is the ways in which resources are utilized; the second is the means by which the fruits of economic activity are distributed. Concepts and processes with which economists function with regard to these two issues can be classified in three categories.

The first category is, in essence, a systems approach to the interrelationship of phenomena. From this perspective, problems, issues, policies and policy consequences are measured and defined as they affect one another. Integral to an analysis of tax policy, from this point of view, would be a study of

the benefits and expenditures that specific kinds of taxes generate. Similarly, a study of the financial costs of a program would reflect its social costs and benefits as well.

A systemic approach to interlocking phenomena is relied upon by economists to analyze the long and short-run effects of policy or program choice. The economist's study of a rise in the payroll tax, for instance, accounts for the inherent tradeoffs and opportunity costs, both social and economic.¹ He/she also illustrates the indirect macroeconomic effects of policy change -- in this case upon purchasing power and inflation.

Economic concepts and processes can also be applied to the measurement or specification of a problem or condition. Varying definitions of poverty and inequality, for instance, are arrived at using quantitative techniques. Obviously, how poverty is defined has major implications for social policy; defining poverty as the absence of minimum provision leads to policies different from those defining poverty as inequality.

¹See for example, Alicia H. Munnell, The Future of Social Security (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1977), and Joseph A. Pechman, Henry J. Aaron, and Michael K. Taussig, Social Security, Perspectives For Reform (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1972).

The third category is characterized by the assumption that because resources are limited, choices among priorities are necessary. Resource allocation, rationing and redistributive processes constitute vehicles by which selection among competing alternatives is executed. From this perspective, also, all public expenditures are analyzed as products of choice, resource allocation, tradeoffs, and opportunity costs. The economist focuses upon both efficiency and distributional issues.

All three categories are reflective of the economists' increasing concern with effectiveness as a criterion for the measurement of program objectives. While efficiency has traditionally been a mainstay to economic analyses of social policy, more recent studies reflect a dual preoccupation with effectiveness as well as efficiency;¹ they also evince an increased concern about the role of policy in repairing the deleterious consequences of market transactions for low income groups.

¹See for example, Arthur M. Okun, Equality and Efficiency, The Big Tradeoff (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975), and Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking For Social Action (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971).

TYPES OF STUDIES: MAJOR TRENDS

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURES AND BENEFICIARIES

Several types of studies are used by economists to analyze the consequences of social policy. A major one is the analysis of expenditures and delineation of transfer payments that benefit different categories of people.

Plotnick and Skidmore provide an excellent example of this type of study.¹ Their detailed statistical analysis of changes in the incidence of poverty and the composition of the poverty population between 1965 and 1972 traces the effects of economic factors on pre-transfer poverty.

In addition to cataloging the specific social welfare costs and in-kind programs included in expenditures, Plotnick and Skidmore tease out proportions of expenditures going to the population

¹Robert D. Plotnick and Felicity Skidmore, Progress Against Poverty: A Review of the 1964-1974 Decade (New York: Academic Press, 1975).

at large as compared with that explicitly benefitting low income groups. They also analyze expenditures not only in absolute terms, but also as percentages of total government spending.

ANALYSIS OF INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG POLICY CHOICES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

Another type of study in which economists engage is an analysis of interrelationships among policy choices and policy consequences. This kind of analysis is based upon the premise that resources are limited and that any program or policy choice carries with it risk and uncertainty as well as anticipated and unanticipated consequences. Economists who argue for a status quo incomes policy, for instance, maintain that any feasible increase in benefits for one population group automatically and inevitably diminishes benefits for another population group. From this point of view, an innovative negative income tax system might imperil the benefits accrued to current recipients of Supplemental Security

Income, food stamps, and other in-kind programs, unless either taxes and/or federal costs spiral.

The analysis that focuses on interrelationships among effects of various programs also considers the social and economic cost of not introducing a given strategy. Not supplying people with adequate cash and in-kind assistance carries the potential risk of including hospital or institutional costs that might have been prevented, were the original benefits adequate.

The interlocking relationships and tradeoffs among economic and social goals is nowhere more dramatically illustrated than in the economist's analysis of the Supplemental Security Income program. An analysis of how the Supplemental Security Income program affects disparate goals inherent in the existing tax-transfer system illustrates the interlocking nature of administrative and financing mechanisms, as well as conflicting policy consequences implicit in income maintenance policy generally.

Ozawa,¹ in her analysis, highlights the basic social and economic policy changes brought about by the passage of the Supplemental Security Income program: administrative and financial federalization; uniform, federal eligibility requirements; and presumed needs rather than means tests to determine eligibility. In analyzing the Supplemental

¹Martha Ozawa, "S.S.I.: Progress or Retreat," Public Welfare 32 (Spring 1974): 33-41.

Security Income program as one facet of income maintenance policy inextricable from others, Ozawa describes the economic and social advantages, limitations, disparities and inequities brought about by the program. With the use of statistics comparisons, and precise definitions of costs and benefits, she illustrates the irreconcilability of a program meant to be progressive with a previously existing system placing a premium on work incentives and productivity in the labor market.

By contrasting the Supplemental Security Income program eligibility requirements and benefit levels with those that pre-dated it, she is able to project the inequities and the inflexibility inherent in the Supplemental Security Income program. She notes that some of the virtue in routine made possible by the utilization of a three-month accounting period and the use of presumptive needs, may create a lack of flexibility given emergency needs. Different kinds or degrees of incapacity or disability, for instance, can affect beneficiaries differently, despite similar living arrangements; adjustment for over or under payments in a previous quarter creates obvious hardships for the poor in planning for a three-month period; the automatic reduction of the Supplemental Security Income program by one-third for beneficiaries living in another

person's household may negatively affect both parties, particularly if the beneficiary pays rent. Similarly, a relative offering lodging to a beneficiary, and having other financial obligations, may not be able to incur the equivalent of one-third the Supplemental Security Income benefit.¹

Ozawa's analysis of the relationship of the Supplemental Security Income program to existing social security legislation further illustrates the analytic concept of interlocking phenomena. She explores the policy consequences of one person's being simultaneously eligible for a means tested income maintenance program such as the Supplemental Security Income program, and a non-means tested program such as Social Security. She notes that: "Under the law, a person who retires at 62 receives at least a 20% cut in social security benefits to which he would have been entitled if he retired at 65. But if his social security benefits at 65 is expected to be below the Supplemental Security Income standard, his decision to retire early would not decrease his ultimate income after he reaches 65. The point is that because of the Supplemental Security Income's guarantee of income for the aged, the 20% reduction in social security benefits imposed on the worker who retires at 62 is nullified as soon as he

¹Ibid., p. 36.

reaches 65."¹

The interlocking phenomena approach to policy analysis makes clear that while policies are enacted and programs developed in a fragmented manner, the effect upon the recipient can only be accounted for in toto. When the multiple effects of programs on the beneficiary are analyzed, the contradictions and irrationalities and inefficiencies among them become evident. The inadequacies, inequities and contradictions of a policy may not be evident when a single program is analyzed as programs for which a single beneficiary is eligible.

Recognition of the interrelationship among taxes, transfers and expenditures, between the problem of poverty and the nature of public aid to solve them, is also the basis for Stein's analysis of income transfers.² His primary focus is the economic consequences of either replacing or reforming the existing system of public aid.

¹Ibid, p. 37. See also, Alicia H. Munnell, The Future of Social Security (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1977).

²Bruno Stein, On Relief Economics of Poverty and the Public Purpose (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

Stein's analysis of the notch problem, for instance, alludes to economic concepts of alternative options, marginal effects, and tradeoff costs:

"What economists call a 'notch' problem exists when earning an additional dollar makes the unit economically worse off than not earning it. This would be the case, for example, with a guaranteed minimum income above which the unit is fully subject to positive income taxes. Under such a circumstance, a family that earns the guaranteed income in the labor market may find it receives less disposable income than a family of the same size and composition that merely collects its guarantee in the form of a transfer payment."¹

PROBLEM SPECIFICATION: QUANTIFICATION AND MEASUREMENT

A third type of study in which economists frequently engage is the specification of a problem

¹Ibid., p. 92.

or condition. For instance, poverty frequently is defined according to the economic and social conventions of the society in which it occurs. It can be specified either as an absolute concept, referring to a degree of measurable financial impoverishment; or as a relative term, implying a discrepancy and inequality among peoples.¹ The latter category is sometimes referred to as social poverty or inequality: "Social poverty is not merely economic inequality of property and income living standards, but also social inequality; that is, a relation of inferiority, dependence or exploitation."²

Hobsbawm³ refers to two other categories of poverty affecting the various definitions used: pauperism and moral poverty. Pauperism refers to those "people unable to maintain themselves at the level conventionally regarded as minimal without outside assistance." By implication, the level is predetermined and connotes a "model of social

¹Plotnick and Skidmore, pp. 169-170.

²Martin Rein, "Poverty, Policy and Purpose: The Dilemmas of Choice," Social Policy: Issues of Choice and Change (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 221-249.

³E.J. Hobsbawm, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Free Press, 1968), vol. 12, pp. 399-403.

relations that indicates which paupers have a claim on public assistance and who is to assist them."

Moral poverty "defines the place of poverty in the value system of a society or of its subgroups and institutions. It defines whether poverty is morally acceptable and what status it confers or prevents the poor man from enjoying."¹

Ways of measuring poverty are as varied as the definitions. Three commonly used approaches to a definition of well-being are a budget-orientated poverty line, a comparative income approach, and an examination of the share of the bottom fifth. Each approach draws on a different data base and, therefore, leads to different estimates of size, direction of poverty and to a different characteristic of the poor.

Plotnick and Skidmore², for instance, note that: "Rising average real incomes do not affect the absolute measures of poverty. However, the relative poverty lines increase at about the same rate as average incomes. A society can reduce the problem of poverty

¹ Ibid., p. 400.

² Plotnick and Skidmore, p. 170.

in an absolute sense by moving people above a given poverty threshold. The same society may simultaneously become less egalitarian as measured by the distance of its poorest citizens from the typical standard of living. The absolute measure would show progress towards the reduction of poverty; the relative measure would not."

Plotnick and Skidmore's¹ focus is the proportion of federal government spending that goes to the poor. They illustrate how the proportion of "anti-poverty budgets" -- those providing cash, goods, or service benefits directly to identifiable pretransfer poor -- has changed during the last ten years. And they analyze changes in the level and composition of pretransfer poor. In that their analysis relies on a variety of absolute and relative definitions of poverty, their findings are multifaceted. Their examination of the effectiveness of the cash-transfer system between 1965 and 1975, for instance, illustrates the rapid growth in expenditures that cash transfers have had as a proportion of social welfare spending. They also describe the numbers, composition, and change of pre-transfer and post-transfer poor over time,

¹Plotnick and Skidmore.

and assess contributions made by public income transfer policy to these changes.

While economists claim no monopoly on the ability to measure poverty, they do contribute unique perspective, particularly the synthesis, comparison, and projection of interlocking sets of data. Lampman, for instance, has dramatized the fact that the composition of the poor is defined by and is sensitive to a myriad of sociological phenomena. He notes that, between 1947 and 1967, the net effect of demographic changes worked against the reduction of poverty. He concludes that poverty was reduced in spite of rapid increases in family size and in the non-white population generally, and decreases in the number of working heads of families:

Each change may be said to have contributed about 500,000 families to the potential candidates for poverty status in 1967. However, categories overlap -- e.g., changes are related to labor force changes so that the combined effect must have been considerably less than 4 times 500,000 or 2 million families.¹

Levitan, in analyzing census material concerning the characteristics of the poor, elicits other pertinent information. He concludes that minority and female-headed household units are more apt to be poor and less apt to escape poverty.

The proportion of 1968 poor also poor in 1969 varied from about half of the families headed by white males to 2/3 of those headed by nonwhite males and females to 3/4 of families headed by nonwhite females. Conversely, families headed by nonwhites and females were more likely to fall into poverty.²

Lampman, in his definition of poverty and inequality, illustrates that poverty reduction cannot be expected except within the context of overall economic conditions including the rate of unemployment and of economic growth.³ Lampman also explains how and why

¹Robert Lampman, Ends and Means of Reducing Income Poverty (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971), p. 79.

²Sar Levitan, Programs In Aid of the Poor (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976 edition).

³Lampman, p. 167.

the analysis of tax structure and its impact upon poverty cannot be separated from the system of public and voluntary transfers which also affect it:

In 1967 the American system of transfers was operating on a scale of 132\$B. Of this total, the pretransfer poor received cash and service transfers of about \$50B. In return they paid about \$10B in the form of contributions and taxes. Hence they were net beneficiaries of about \$40B. This is one measure of the scale of our continuing war on poverty.¹

In essence, the eliciting of aggregate data, and the prediction of trends based upon recognition of interlocking social and economic phenomena, are types of studies typical of the economist's analysis.

¹Ibid.

TECHNIQUES UTILIZED

Cost benefit analysis, cost effectiveness, the Program Planning Budgeting System, and systems analysis are similar techniques. All are means by which the economist and others measure resource investment against output produced. All are utilized to evaluate the efficiency and to a lesser extent the effectiveness of programs.

QUANTIFYING COSTS AND BENEFITS

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Cost-benefit, as the name implies, refers to the relationship between the resources utilized (cost) and the benefits obtained (benefit). It can be applied narrowly to an agency budget; or more broadly to measure government investments. A cost-benefit analysis sets out to answer whether given investment projects should be undertaken, and, since resources are limited, which one should have priority for implementation. Cost-benefit analysis can be used to determine the level of intensity with which a particular institute

can most efficiently operate; or the combination of outputs it should produce, given a specified objective.¹

Cost-benefit analyses begin with a projection of program output for a specified period of time: Preschoolers to attend a daycare center for several years, delinquency to be prevented, elderly in need of housing. A "social value" is then ascribed on the "product" or outcome, again over a specified time period: increased learning among preschoolers who attended day care, decreased community costs due to prevention of child delinquency, quality housing for the elderly.

Benefits and costs are calculated and compared for the course of an average or typical year. A ratio is then calculated for the relationship of gross annual benefits to total annual costs.

Dorfman² describes the complex of processes involved in a cost-benefit analysis:

¹E.J. Mishan, Economics for Social Decisions: Elements of Cost Benefit Analysis (New York: Praeger University Series, 1975, 3rd Printing), p. 11.

²Robert Dorfman, ed., Measuring Benefits of Government Investments (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1965), pp. 6-8.

1. Categorizing of units or groups which may be affected by the programs or policies.
2. Conceptualizing of effects of a program or policy, including indirect and unanticipated consequences. For instance, better nutritional care leads to better physical health, but may also improve ability to concentrate and hence educational achievement. Also, public provision of nutritional care is a form of redistribution.
3. Quantifying program objectives and impacts including costs and benefits.
4. Imputing a price on different types of social impacts or qualitative phenomena.
5. Clarifying what method of analysis will be most efficient given particular objective.
6. Selecting a relevant time period for analysis.
7. Determining social and economic opportunity costs.

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7. Determining social and economic opportunity costs.

An example of how a study of costs, benefits and consequences is applied to social sector programming is R. Wager's "Care of the Elderly,"¹ undertaken by the Essex County Treasury Department in England.

The study utilizes social survey data to redefine costs incurred so that they include social as well as dollar amounts. In addition it focuses upon issues previously not considered by orthodox accounting procedures:

a) Are domiciliary care and residential care really feasible alternatives for the elderly?

b) Is it possible to assess the state of the potential clientele in a fairly objective way that will be useful for operational purposes?

c) Is it possible to establish a suitable basis for comparing the costs of such widely differing facilities as domiciliary care and residential homes?

d) Is it possible to identify patterns of care that are likely to be less costly without being less effective?²

¹Robert Wager, Care of the Elderly (London: Institute of Municipal Treasures and Accountants, 1972).

²Ibid. p. 5.

By calculating resource costs to the community at large, rather than simply local authority expenditures, the researchers come to more broad-based conclusions than possible in other types of studies. They observe, for instance, that elderly citizens living alone incur costs higher than those who, because they live with others, spend less. Therefore, they note that "there are significant potential economic savings to the community through making small purpose-built dwellings too big for their needs ... irrespective of whether the accommodation is (public or private)."¹

Institutional and domiciliary² living options were compared for costs and benefits. The utility of the study's findings was its quantification of relevant social factors not traditionally perceived in monetary terms.

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

² "Domiciliary care was defined as all services enabling the elderly to continue being satisfactorily in their own homes or with relatives or friends." Ibid., p. 12.

For instance, information was secured by indicating the absence of facilities deemed necessary -- an indoor toilet, bathroom, electricity and gas, indoor mains water supply and sewage.¹ Also quantified were less tangible items such as if the applicant had difficulty in climbing stairs and was living without an elevator, and if he/she needed but had no house cleaning help. Similar indices were developed in other categories relating personal attributes such as age, social financial situation, health and incapacity, to reasons why applications were submitted requesting residential care or domiciliary services.

A major contribution of cost benefit analysis, as illustrated in the Wager study, is the concept of resource cost as opposed to financial cost. Resource cost is defined as "the lost opportunity of carrying out some other useful activity with the resources preempted."²

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Ibid., p. 39.

Cost benefit analysis of circumstances prompting the elderly to apply for residential care indicated that physical incapacity was not a sole or even a major impetus: that is, "accommodation problems, social isolation, low morale and breakdowns in relationships were also often present."¹ Examination of the levels of care already received led the researchers to conclude that "a large proportion of elderly people in need of substantial care could obtain it in the community if intensive domiciliary care were provided."

As illustrated in the study, cost benefit analysis encompasses all major costs and benefits regardless of auspice. The authors concluded that

Although the benefits of maintaining the elderly independent in the community were not valued, the rather marginal difference overall between the cost of intensive domiciliary care suggests that a greater return would be obtained by the relative diversion of resources in the future away from the expansion of residential facilities into a selective domiciliary care program for those substantially in need of support.²

¹Ibid., p. 65.

²Ibid., p. 66.

COST-EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS

Cost-effectiveness is a variant of cost-benefit analysis. It is used as a decisionmaking tool in cases in which objectives are assured but means for achieving them are variable. It is used specifically to make a choice among possible alternatives to achieve a particular objective. It involves A) specification of objectives, B) identification of alternatives, C) quantification of nondollar costs, and D) utilization of performance measures.¹

For example, if a community mental health board must decide the location of an outreach clinic, the focus for analysis is discrete. Alternatives are essentially similar. That is, accounting for geographical considerations, available land at particular costs, population distribution and existing facilities, the purpose of the analysis is to choose the best alternative location.

¹Jack W. LaPatra, Applying The Systems Approach to Urban Development (New York: Dowden Hutchinson Ron Inc., 1973), p. 44.

In cases in which alternatives are dissimilar, cost effectiveness analysis is especially useful. For instance, if the mental health board's mandate is not to choose a site, but to improve the quality of mental health services, the criteria for choice become more complex. Cost-effectiveness analysis is often applied to such a situation.

PLANNING PROGRAMMING BUDGETING SYSTEM

While the Planning Programming Budgeting System is used with less and less frequency, it is worthy of note because of the complicated issues of measurement its use raises.

Planning Programming Budgeting System, another variant of cost-benefit analysis, is the specification and analysis of objectives in various government activities over a given time span. By broadening the range of alternatives available to policy development and program design, Planning Programming Budgeting System is a means of choosing among options. Its function is to assist the decisionmaker in choosing among priorities; the Planning Programming Budgeting System is

the measurement and projection of total program costs including capital outlay and external costs, as well as tradeoff and opportunity costs. In effect, Planning Programming Budgeting System is the systematic analysis of alternative choices for the purpose of choosing efficiently and effectively among both objectives and means for achieving them. It is the application of cost-benefit techniques to the public sector.

Planning Programming Budgeting System is the analysis of program output with regard to specified program objectives. For instance, in the manpower field, a decision to concentrate limited resources on unemployed, white high school graduates is a priority -- if the goal is steady employment and high wages. But, if the ultimate objective is to improve job opportunities (social benefit) for hard-core underemployed ghetto residents, different measures of effectiveness are needed.¹

With regard to education, for instance, the Planning Programming Budgeting System can contribute

¹Charles Schultze, The Politics and Economics of Spending in the Public Sector (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 20.

to basic choices concerning government intervention. It focuses on such questions as, what knowledge and skills should be developed? When? Where? How? For whom? What kind of public education should be provided? What resources are necessary?¹

Subsidiary issues for which Planning Programming Budgeting System techniques are relevant include questions of financing, and national economic goals: the creation of human capital, the production of a skilled labor force, the contribution to economic strength and technological growth, and job satisfaction.²

The purpose of Planning Programming Budgeting System, given the above-named goals, is to counteract some of the limitations of existing budgetary arrangements: these include the lack of coordination among decisions that should be interrelated; inadequate knowledge concerning the full cost of alternative decisions; and considerations of the implications of alternative choices and the tradeoffs they imply,

¹Weiner Z. Hersch, "Education in The Program Budget," in David Novick, Program Budgeting (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 178-207.

²Ibid., p. 181.

based on calculations of the lifetime flow of students through the formal education system.¹

At the same time, the Planning Programming Budgeting System considers nationally identified goals, their relationship to specific programs, and the relationship of resource inputs to budgetary questions. Planning Programming Budgeting System can facilitate long-range projections and illuminate some of the consequences of spending funds on one program rather than another. Planning Programming Budgeting System can also determine the best mix of programs -- between the public and private sector, among types of programs, and upon the most effective means by which a given objective can be obtained.²

The Planning Programming Budgeting System is, by its nature, an attempt to counteract incremental, politicized budgeting with comprehensive, long-range planning:

¹Ibid., p. 190.

²Ibid., p. 198.

In one sense, it is a systematic organization of the 3rd step in the budgetary reform which began more than 50 years ago: financial control, managerial efficiency, and systematic, strategic planning ... It brings both the budgetary process and the analytic problem-solving approach into the specification of objectives and the selection of alternatives among programs, and these are the very essence of the political process.¹

Planning Programming Budgeting System is calculated to confront problems basic to governmental decision-making; Carlson enumerates such problems, and includes:

1. The limitation of available resources, the need for using them efficiently.
2. The necessity of deliberate policy choice in those areas where the budget portion subject to discretion is not foreclosed by prior commitments.
3. The problems of evaluation and coordination and size.²

The Planning Programming Budgeting System is designed to focus on these problems by:

1. Comparing the efficiency of alternative ends and means.
2. Relate goals to effectiveness and efficiency standards.

¹Schultze, p. 34.

²Jack W. Carlson, "The Status and Next Steps for Planning, Programing and Budgeting," in Public Expenditures and Policy Analysis (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 367-68.

3. Present the range of available alternatives to decisionmakers.¹

Relevant steps include:

1. Specification of alternative policies to be examined, which assumes that these alternatives are aimed at goals which are known.
2. Designation of one of the alternatives as the best alternative. This is usually the status quo.
3. Analysis of the amount of deviation from the base alternative involved in each of the alternatives -- a series of critical variables is established and divided into those which are, and are not, beneficial.
4. Measurement of all variables that are measureable and some statement about the best outcome of the various alternatives in relation to the base alternative.²

¹ Ibid.

² Anthony Downs, "Commentary," in Robert Dorfman, ed., Measuring Benefits of Government Expenditures (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1965), p. 342.

PROBLEMS IN THE APPLICATION OF COST-BENEFIT
TECHNIQUES TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Among problems frequently mentioned in trying to apply cost-benefit techniques to social problems are the problems of omission, of quantifying different benefits as they are useful to different target groups, of choosing discount rates and opportunity costs for different programs, or of quantifying dynamic systems: Kahn has noted that "the method does not cope with many human gains which may be very important: changes in self-image, status, family responsibility, satisfaction and so on which may be a direct result of a program."¹

Difficulty in specifying or ordering conflicting values as they affect the choice among alternatives is another problem not resolved by Planning Programming Budgeting System or other cost-benefit techniques. Values frequently conflict and interlock, thereby intensifying the difficulty of specifying tradeoff

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 256.

values. Schultze notes:

We may not like the income distribution consequences of a given tax measure designed to achieve a desired unemployment inflation mix, or the consequences of an expenditure cut on federal social programs. But the tradeoff we might have chosen, considering only the objectives of unemployment and inflation may not be acceptable when the particular policy actions affect many other values. And these various values cannot usually be measured in terms that allow one to be directly compared with others -- that is, weights cannot be assigned to them.¹

Not only values, but also social merits and qualitative outputs are also difficult to quantify. Some attempts have been made to apply cost-benefit methods to social goals and human benefits. Mack and Meyers,² for instance, developed a self-styled unit of measurement to compare alternative programming options in the public recreation field. The unit, "merit weighted user day," is based on appropriate considerations, including desire to foster public recreation, interest in ecology, and distributive equity.

¹Schultze, p. 39.

²Ruth P. Mack and Sumner Meyers, "Outdoor Recreation," in Dorfman, pp. 71-101.

The time period to which one refers, as well as the number of dimensions and consequences of a policy being considered, also affect the use of cost-benefit techniques. Schultze¹ notes that in practice there are so many facets to public policy that the tradeoff functions among them are impossible to measure. What appears to be a logical means by which one objective can be measured often has multiple implications and consequences for other more controversial objectives.²

The impracticability of measuring the relationships between inputs and outputs is another difficulty in applying Planning Programming Budgeting System. The lack of feedback between past experience and future decisions is extensive.³ Schultze has noted, in fact, that the lack of feedback between program results and the decision process is one of the weakest links in the budgetary system.

¹Schultze, p. 39.

²Ibid., p. 40.

³Ibid., p. 60.

Weisbrod's study¹ of the economics of high school dropout rates illustrates this problem. He notes that people other than the dropouts themselves have a stake in dropout prevention; and that multiple implicit, immediate and long-term consequences, benefits and social costs accrue to all who are involved. Reduced crime and delinquency, for example, may be one viable rationale for the institution of dropout prevention programs. Others include the effect of dropout prevention programs upon the levels of unemployment and education in a given population.

To measure relevant costs and benefits, one would have to be equipped to quantify crime and delinquency resulting from additional dropouts as well as its social costs.² In addition, less tangible benefits would need to be accounted for: do more years of education result in greater civic participation? What values and negative attitudes and

¹Burton A. Weisbrod, "Preventing High School Dropouts," in Dorfman, pp. 117-167.

²Ibid., p. 135.

financial problems do dropouts pass down to their children?¹

Rivlin synthesized the goals and problems of applying Planning Programming Budgeting System to social problems when she noted that there is no "magic formula" because the decisions are inherently difficult. Uncertainty is impossible to measure. And different decisions affect different groups of people differentially. Planning Programming Budgeting System has complicated decisionmaking processes in that it illuminates the complexities of choice.

Kahn, in a similar vein, has noted:

For most public purposes and certainly in the social field, there is a vast gap between the aspirations of Planning Programming Budgeting System advocates and cost-benefit analysts and what they are able to accomplish. Those who assumed that pure technology would replace preferences and politics have begun to appreciate the limitations of these new tools ... the entire process is dependent upon clarity about goals and on an ability to distinguish ends and means. It is therefore not a substitute for the effort to develop policy planning.²

¹ Ibid.

² Kahn, p. 260.

PROJECTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC TRENDS

The Brookings works¹ on Setting National Priorities illustrate the use of economics for summarizing and projecting trends, a third economic technique applied to the development of social policy. An analysis of government spending, and a dissection of the national proposed budget, provide invaluable information about the politics and economics of government spending vis a vis particular social problems and their effects upon one another. Such information provided in the annual Brookings series has been used as a counterbudget in that options are delineated and costed out.

The annual Setting National Priorities series, for instance, provides a barometer of changes in the functions of government regarding social policy. Their analyses focus on issues concerning the magnitude of government spending; the allocation of resources between competing domestic and national security programs; and the distribution of the tax burden. They analyze the philosophical implications of national

¹Brookings Institution Staff, Charles Schultze et al. eds., Setting National Priorities (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1963-1968).

policy choices as well as feasible alternatives, goals and strategies. They also interpret both the short and long-term implications of various, interrelated social and economic policies. They focus, for example, on major economic stabilization policy; changes in the nation's defense posture; the development of national policy on energy resources; and options for federal responsibility for income support, and national health insurance programs.

Authors of the Brookings studies also compile and analyze comparative and projective data describing particular problems, problem groups, or solutions accounted for in the federal budget. The quantification of receipts and expenditures often provides a factual basis for the economist's analysis of the government's role in redistributing and allocating resources. For instance, in comparing the extent of income support programs in 1969 and 1976, Brookings Analysts note that several major characteristics of earlier years no longer held in the mid 1970's.¹

¹Henry Owen and Charles L. Schultze, eds., Setting National Priorities, The Next Ten Years (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976).

One such characteristic was the absence of substantial aid -- in cash or in-kind -- to the working poor. Families earning low wages often benefit less from the government transfer system than do families receiving Aid for Dependent Children transfer payments.

A second trend noted was the rapid expansion of Aid for Dependent Children caseloads. Such a trend was attributed to the failure of the Aid for Dependent Children Program to provide assistance to two-parent families, resulting in dissolution of the family. It was also attributed as a force to drive working mothers out of the labor market since its financial criteria discouraged women who were low wage earners.

The third trend considered was the inequities and disparities among states with regard to welfare benefits conferred. It was linked for analytic purposes to the draining of state and local governments for meeting welfare needs.

The Brookings study of the government's role in providing income support is based upon an analysis of the tax-transfer-expenditure relationship. Quantification, measurement of the degree of efficiency, adequacy and equity in the existing system provides

the data base for this analysis. The study finds that after ten years of sharp increases in federal and state outlays for social programs, poverty has not been eliminated, nor has the distribution of income changed¹.

Similarly, with regard to equity, the study concludes that people similarly circumstanced are often differentially treated by public benefit programs. The authors note, for instance, that "although food stamps have narrowed the gap between different groups of poor people, poor mothers with dependent children can still qualify for substantial cash assistance while poor families of the same size and income status but with employed heads cannot. The growth of in-kind programs that do not provide uniform benefits has created unfair other situations. A welfare family living in public housing in a state with a generous Medicaid program and having a child in college on a federal scholarship may be made much better off than a similar welfare family not receiving housing assistance in a state with bareboned medical

¹Ibid., Chapter Eight.

assistance whose child has dropped out of school and is trying to learn a trade."

With regard to efficiency, the authors note that the income support system is unwieldy, fragmented, expensive and inefficient. The multiple eligibility requirements and forms necessary to qualify for various programs are also costly, because of multiple bureaucracies to administer different programs to the same group of people.

Social Security Bulletin, the official monthly publication of the Social Security Administration, provides further examples of economic approaches to the projection and summary of trends relevant to social policy. Many of their articles present and analyze the financial costs and benefits of programs operations and transfer payments. Others review expenditures in a given area over time.¹ Social Security Bulletin articles often review operating statistics for public income maintenance programs. The annual "Social Security in Review" and "Social Welfare Expenditures for the Fiscal Year" identify the distribution of costs and beneficiaries for various programs and benefits groups.

¹Marjorie Smith Moeller, "National Health Expenditures, 1929-74; Private Health Insurance in 1973," Social Security Bulletin 2.75, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 21-41.

SIMULATION TECHNIQUES¹

Simulation techniques are used by economists to project or predict the consequences of specified conditions or variables. Models are constructed on the basis of known information concerning relationships among variables. New or alternative interventions or variations are "imposed" on the model so that social consequences can be deduced.

One such model developed by the Urban Institute is TRIM.² TRIM applies alternative program rules to the current population survey, and, given a family's social and economic characteristics, calculates changes in benefits going to a particular family. TRIM is a computer operated model that provides comprehensive analysis of all public transfer programs as they impact upon a representative sample of the population. Like other simulation models, TRIM allows the altering of variables in existing programs and the designing of alternative innovative ones, such that effects of particular variables can be traced out for different elements of the population. It can show, for instance, how many people would be eligible for benefits; what the cost of those benefits would be to public agencies; and

¹For a discussion of other Simulation models, see Chapter III, "Systems Analysis and the Analysis and Development of Social Policy."

²"Search," (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, Spring 1976), vol. 6, no. 1-2, p. 6.

what the total mix of benefits would be to families of different socioeconomic groups.

TRIM has been utilized at the Urban Institute, over the past few years, as an instrument for policy analysis. It has been used, for example, to estimate the cost, coverage, and consequences to particular socioeconomic groups of the Family Assistance Plan. It has also been used to test out alternative strategies at cash assistance for a job and income program; a guaranteed annual income plan; changes in federal income tax policy; several transfer programs for the elderly, and several strategies of cash assistance for the delivery of public housing and food stamp programs.

Other simulation models have also been used to design federal housing programs. One developed by the Urban Institute staff has been used to enhance planners' understanding of how extant housing markets function by simulating the complex economic interrelationships in an urban housing market.

The model includes four major variables. The first is households, the demographic characteristics of which are those of an actual population of a particular urban area. Those characteristics include income distribution, racial features, and other demographic data. The second component of the housing model is existing dwellings, mirroring extant housing stock in the area. The third is the actual numbers of new dwelling units being built to satisfy effective demand. And the fourth is the public sector as it affects the quality of public housing by means of housing policy, programs, subsidies, tax deductions, and standards.

The four components are specified in a model that allows for the simulation of an actual housing market. That market reflects the equilibrium between the objectives of landlords and households. Landowners want profits; householders, satisfaction. Relevant neighborhood characteristics such as property value, average travel time to and from work, and ethnic characteristics of current residents as compared with potential residences are simulated as well.

The model also simulates general determinants of housing market changes such as long-run cost factors, population growth and income distribution. The model reflects changes in market factors as they would occur over a ten year period or longer.

The model is representative of a microanalytic simulation in that its focus is individual groups of households of various age, income, and ethnic mixes, and on extant housing stock in an individual neighborhood as opposed to macroeconomic conditions and nationwide scope.

Simulation models are a valuable tool for policy analysts. Application to a full-scale housing allowance program, for instance, has suggested that a severe inflationary effect would be its concomitant consequence, particularly among allowance recipients. The model has also been used to determine the inflationary or deflationary effect of housing allowances when combined with programs that increase the supply of housing that eligible households can afford. For instance, two policies enlarging extant housing stock were compared for inflationary effects: construction subsidy and a rehabilitation program.

The Federal Housing and Urban Development Agency plans to use the model in other policy analysis

capacities. One is to consider the consequences of recent socioeconomic trends upon urban housing quality -- trends such as the growth of single-parent families and elderly households; and changes in price factors such as oil and fuel or interest rates. A simulation model will also be used for a study of new housing markets as opposed to renovated housing. In both cases, a housing simulation model is proving utilitarian in that it can analyze a wide array of program proposals and their behavioral concomitants.

ECONOMISTS GENERATE POLICY CHOICES WITH A SERIES
OF DECISION RULES CONCERNING EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVENESS,
EQUITY, AND ADEQUACY AS BASES OF ALLOCATION

This section will describe ways in which economists choose among policy options with a series of decision rules concerning efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and adequacy as bases of allocation. Economists typically address a variety of relationships in this regard. One is the issue of equity and the redistributive effects of a policy or program.

A second issue often analyzed by economists is the relationship between the amount and nature of a given benefit, and relevant conditions of eligibility. Within the broad context of eligibility, analysts frequently dissect the relationship of benefits to need, to labor market affiliation, to definitions of income, and/or to definitions of family unit utilized to determine eligibility.

A third means of choosing among policy options with a series of decision rules concerning bases of

allocation is reflected in the economist's concern with the making of choices -- specifically between effectiveness and adequacy on the one hand, and efficiency on the other.

RELATIONSHIP OF TAXES AND TRANSFER PAYMENTS

One way economists dissect bases of allocation for goods and services is to analyze which population groups pay for and benefit from a particular program. Haveman,¹ for instance, in describing the relationship of income transfers to income redistribution notes that income maintenance programs account for 40 percent of a \$350 billion federal budget. He also points out that the number of beneficiaries is over 60 million. In cataloguing the relevant programs, Haveman states that taken together, they -- and the taxes which finance them -- are an important determinant of the shape of disposable income among households in the United States. For instance, they reduce the

¹Frederick L. Golladay and Robert W. Haveman, The Economic Impacts of Tax-Transfer Policy (New York: Academic Press, 1977), p. 4.

incidence of poverty by over forty per cent.

Haveman cites studies of the distributional impact of the income transfer system in order to point out that different socioeconomic groups pay, gain or lose from particular program benefits. He stipulates that "some programs have been found to have high antipoverty effectiveness (Aid to Families with Dependent Children); others have distributed the bulk of their benefits to families of middle or upper middle income (Unemployment Compensation). Some poor groups -- low income male-headed families with children in particular -- receive few benefits even if they are active in the labor force."¹

Haveman cites other studies indicative of a strong correlation between indicators of economic status used to rank families, and benefits received

¹Ibid.

by them. He illustrates how programs that benefit families with low current earnings may be ineffective for meeting needs of families with low earning capacities.

Similarly, in analyzing the Medicare program, Karen Davis focuses upon the equity factor present in the allocation of benefits. Her study analyzes the distribution and the differentials among benefits for the elderly on the basis of demographic data such as geographical location, income, and race. She analyzes variables causing inequitable benefit distribution based upon differences among cost, availability of service, reimbursement policies, and nondiscrimination enforcement procedures.¹

Davis' analysis is illustrative of the economist's preoccupation with who pays and who benefits from a particular program. She concludes that Medicare is a presumably uniform program providing equal care to all persons eligible for social security benefits, but that, in fact, great disparity exists among

¹Karen Davis, "Equal Treatment and Unequal Benefits: The Medicare Program" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1976), General Series Reprint 317.

benefits received. For instance, "higher income elderly persons are more likely to visit physicians and to see physicians charging higher prices than are lower income elderly persons. Elderly blacks, either because of current or past discriminatory practices, receive medical care less often than elderly whites. Elderly persons in areas with a limited availability of medical (person) power receive a less than proportionate share of Medicare benefits."¹

Davis concludes that the Medicare program essentially favors white persons not residing in the South, and that major policy issues are raised by a geographical maldistribution of benefits. Since premiums paying for physician services are set at uniform levels for all beneficiaries, elderly in the South and Northwest pay for those residing in the Northeast and West. Since Medicare reimburses physicians on the basis of prevailing charges and those charges tend to be higher in areas in which more doctors practice. In essence, Davis concludes

¹Ibid., p. 449.

that Medicare reinforces maldistribution of doctors by providing them with an economic incentive to practice in areas that are physician-dense. The voluntary nature of the optional plan coupled with the premium requirement excludes from Medicare benefits a disproportionate number of minorities and poor.

RELATIONSHIP OF BENEFITS TO DEFINITIONS OF INCOME AND FAMILY UNIT

The development of criteria for determining eligibility addresses the issue of how benefits or services are allocated. The standards chosen, in turn, reflect the degree of a program's equity, adequacy, efficiency, and effectiveness. Policies resolve the inherent tension among those principles in the formulae by which determination of benefit level reflects a particular definition of income and/or family unit.

Specifically, the dilemma of treating equally people in like circumstances is the defining of what 'like circumstances' are. That definition theoretically provides incentive for particular categories of people to place themselves into defined situations that will maximize their benefit while minimizing their tax. Elderly single people living together, for instance, may decide not to marry in order to maximize their Social Security benefits; a parent may turn down employment because the income earned would jeopardize the in-kind benefits to which her or his family would otherwise be entitled.

As a way of providing policy options, Orr et al.¹ develop an analytic matrix within which potential behavioral responses to a program's eligibility conditions are explored. They provide projective data to substantiate the point that definitions used determine program cost and equity, and perhaps beneficiaries' behavioral response as well.

They illustrate, for instance, how Nixon's Family Assistance Plan would have created a disincentive

¹Larry L. Orr, Robinson G. Hollister, and Myron J. Lefcowitz, eds., Income Maintenance, Interdisciplinary Approaches to Research (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971).

for low income families to save or invest. By distinguishing earned from unearned income, and taxing the latter at 100%, both individual and institutional behavior could have been affected. For example, Program beneficiaries could not have claimed social security, unemployment compensation, private charity, or rental income to which they might otherwise have been entitled. Hence pension funds or private charities would have an economic incentive to avoid subsidizing low income families.

Orr et al. also analyze the potential relationship of benefit to definition of the family unit. Again, using the example of the Family Assistance Plan, the authors factor out the ways in which it would perpetuate discriminatory categorical distinctions. Because benefits would be restricted to families with children, for instance, young couples would have an annual \$1300 incentive to have their first child earlier than they otherwise may have wanted to. Similarly, parents of illegitimate children would have had an economic incentive to marry and keep the child rather than give it up for adoption. Also, Family Assistance Plan would have continued the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program incentive for marital breakup since only

female-headed households would be eligible for state supplements -- payments that could conceivably have been greater than the Family Assistance Plan payments themselves.

Orr concludes that even a universal income maintenance system covering childless couples and unrelated individuals cannot be neutral with respect to family composition since adverse incentives are inherent regardless of program coverage.

Several other dilemmas are inherent in the relationship between definition of the family and the nature of benefits as well. One is reflected in the complicated status of the college-age student. Some programs, for instance, propose that children ages 18-21 be treated as members of a family. While such a plan provides an economic incentive for continued education, it can also be perceived as inequitable towards poor youth who elect to work at low wages while living away from home, if benefits are limited to families with children. Conversely, given a universal program, students who are independent of their affluent families could be denied benefit because their family's income was too high.

The financial relationship of children to their stepfather poses a similar dilemma with regard to the determination of benefit levels. If the program requires that the stepfather's income be applied against the children's benefits, the marriage -- often a route towards upward mobility -- prospects of female heads of families might theoretically be minimized. The lack of such a stipulation, on the other hand, theoretically poses inequity between intact and non-intact families.¹

In essence, any income-conditioned transfer program potentially carries an incentive for the alteration of family structure. If an individual's earnings reduce the amount of transfer payments to which his/her family is entitled, he/she can increase the family's total income by leaving the family.

¹Ibid., p. 232.

RELATIONSHIP OF BENEFIT TO NEED (ADEQUACY)

Economists also generate policy choices with a series of decision rules concerning the relationship of benefit to need, and the ensuing tensions among equality, equity, adequacy, and efficiency.

In discussing family allowances in Britain as an example, Kaim-Caudle¹ highlights the adequacy-equity tension at the base of all policy options. "The poor and needy," he states, "get inadequate help because of the costly and wasteful spread of higher benefits over all, irrespective of actual requirements; because the butter is spread too thinly to bring real help to those in need and because it would be wasteful of resources to give to parents of over six million children higher family allowances mainly to meet the needs of barely one tenth of them."²

Kaim-Caudle's analysis focuses on the financing of public social services by compulsory taxation: on the influence of the nature and level of taxation upon public expenditure for social services.

¹Peter Kaim-Caudle, "Selectivity in Family Allowances," in Social Services for All (London: Fabian Society, 1968), pp. 16-29.

²Ibid., p. 16.

In analyzing the extent to which the state assists British parents in the rearing of their children, Kaim-Caudle concludes that family allowances comprise no more than four percent of the aggregate assistance received by such a family. Education, accounting for over half, is the item most costly to the public purse. Health services and school lunches comprise the rest.

Kaim-Caudle's analysis indicates that all children do not benefit equally from state assistance. Children in middle-income families benefit most. Higher income groups receive less, on average, in part because some opt for private schooling since their children are subsidized less for higher school education. Lower income groups benefit less since their children tend to leave school at an earlier age and their income is often too small for them to be eligible for sizeable tax rebates. On the basis of his data, Kaim-Caudle concludes that the well-to-do family benefits more from state aid than does the poorer family. This is true because the length of a child's full-time education varies directly with parental income. Because of the eligibility requirements associated with the allocation of family allowances, Kaim-Caudle concludes that the head of a family

with three children is taxed more severely than one with no children.¹

Kaim-Caudle's analysis exemplifies the economist's attention to the tension between equity and efficiency. In summarizing his findings regarding the economic effect of state aid on different family groupings, he concludes that "the higher the level of taxation the greater is the need for the most equitable system of taxation which can be devised. Proponents of high tax levels should be as much concerned with equity within income groups as between them."² Finally, he points out that at the present time, the head of a household with children is overtaxed as compared to married couples without children or unmarried people. Despite frequent recommendations for increasingly progressive child tax levels, he points out that a parent is taxed more severely now than was true during the 1930's.

In analyzing a variety of negative income tax proposals, Kaim-Caudle generates policy options with

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²Ibid.

a series of decision rules concerning the inherent tension between equity and adequacy. For example, in discussing the impact of the notch problem when negative tax levels are superimposed on multiple means tests for in-kind benefits, Kaim-Caudle dissects the impracticability of selectivity in its extreme form:

No adjustment of tax rates can alter the fact that a negative tax is inherently detrimental to effort. Taken to its extreme ... (selectivity) means that people do not pay a price for a service or commodity, but pay for everything a percentage of their income, for example school fees might be 5% of income, housing 20%, and a week's hospital care 15% ... Incomes would widely diverge, but they would tend to yield the same benefit.¹

Conversely, Kaim-Caudle generates a selective policy option by means of analyzing its advantages with regard to adequacy and efficiency. In discussing vouchers, he points out that beneficiaries of free meals or housing paid for by vouchers can be enjoyed in a manner indistinguishable from services paid for in-full in the market place if they are the same services. For instance, parents of some children in a school cafeteria pay in full, others with state-

¹Ibid., p. 25.

provided vouchers. A selective policy can, in other words, enable everyone to enjoy a minimum standard of service, while allowing those who can afford and wish to, purchase a higher quality service in the marketplace. Educational vouchers, for instance, provide choice among schools and also may increase efficiency by promoting competition among educational institutions for vendor payments.

RELATIONSHIP OF BENEFITS TO PAST, PRESENT AND/OR
POTENTIAL LABOR MARKET AFFILIATION

The economist also chooses among policy alternatives by analyzing the relationship between the amount and nature of benefits and conditions of eligibility as a basis for the allocation of goods and services. Explication of that relationship also highlights the tension among principles of efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and adequacy.

Burns' seminal analysis of the social security system¹ provides a classic example of an analysis of

¹Eveline Burns, *Social Security and Public Policy* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1956).

allocation of benefits and its relationship to past, present or potential labor market affiliation. That relationship, as a decision-rule for generating policy options, raises unique concerns regarding the inherent tradeoffs among efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and adequacy as bases of allocation. The emphasis of the Social Security program on the insurance-principles meant that the beneficiary and the employer provided the financing. Philosophically, such an emphasis was deliberate and served a variety of functions. A major one was to reassure the public, including eligible beneficiaries, that the deterrent "Poor Law premise" was not operant; no loss of self-respect was involved in becoming a beneficiary since the concept of earned payment to which the beneficiary was therefore entitled was operant. The insurance premise also reduced the general public's hostility regarding the stereotype that people could conceivably "milk the public purse." The concept of right to a benefit, an entitlement, then, was key to the design of the social security system. Its underlying message to public and beneficiary alike was that the benefits drawn were made up in fact of contributions made from earnings.

During the early phases of the Social Security Program, the issue of equity was handled by an approach

syntonic with the work-ethic. Coverage was limited to workers who, by definition, were most regularly employed. The feared risk of destroying incentive was therefore minimized, if not avoided.

Burns notes that in addition, emphasis on the relationship between contributions paid and benefits received stressed the equity notion. That is, the amount of the benefit reflected the duration of time over which contributions had been made: the more a worker had paid, the higher his or her benefit.

Burns points out,¹ however, that the concept of equity was quickly submerged by the Social Security program. Namely, developmental turns in the design of the program came to be utilized as an instrument for achieving a modicum of adequate income security for eligible beneficiaries. Burns notes that the issue of adequacy was addressed in this way: "If the principle of maintaining an actuarial relationship between contributions and benefits is strictly adhered to for each individual covered, the lowest benefits will be received by the lowest paid who

¹Ibid., p. 31.

typically the most insecure. The usual social insurance formula today weights the payment in favor of the lower paid worker, and the programs usually provide additional payments for persons dependent on the beneficiary."¹

Burns' analysis of the design and development of the Social Security system emphasizes the dilemma confronted between equity and adequacy. Namely, because the program attempted to resolve the need for income by those already elderly, and also to maintain the equity concept, it satisfactorily addressed neither equity nor adequacy. She illustrates the ensuing tension with an example: "If individuals are made eligible after short periods of coverage, but receive lower benefits adjusted to reflect this fact, then, during the first generation of the program the average benefit will be unduly low in relation to assumed needs . . . On the other hand, if it is made high enough to meet the income needs of those qualifying after short periods of coverage, the benefit received by those who have carried more by

¹Ibid.

contributing for an entire work life will be relatively high and for the system as a whole may necessitate a rate of annual contribution much higher than the community thinks it worthwhile to make in order to solve the problem of need in old age."¹

RELATIONSHIP OF EFFECTIVENESS TO AMOUNTS AND
EFFICIENCY: MAKING CHOICES

Another means by which economists generate policy options is to analyze and balance tradeoff and opportunity costs of particular social policies. A major tradeoff, frequently plaguing policy analysts, and increasingly attended to by economists is the one of equity against equality or efficiency or effectiveness.

Okun notes² that the "pervasive and raging tradeoff between equality and efficiency is our

¹Ibid., pp. 32-33.

²Arthur Okun, Equality and Efficiency, The Big Tradeoff (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975).

biggest socioeconomic tradeoff, one that plagues us in dozens of dimensions in social policy. It is operant in debates about the labor supply effects of alternative positive and negative tax rates, as well as policy options concerning wage determination, progressive and means tested transfers."

Equalizing opportunities for future generations by means of public expenditures for health or education, for instance, is another way in which the efficiency/effectiveness tradeoff has been perceived. Rivlin notes that increases in public expenditures underscore the equality-equity tradeoff: "that of balancing the welfare of the taxpayer and the beneficiary and, indeed of trading the resources of this generation for more equal opportunities in the next."¹

At the heart of the tradeoff between equality and efficiency lies often elaborated conflict in values: equal rights on one hand and unequal economic

¹Alice M. Rivlin, "Income Distribution -- Can Economists Help?" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975), General Series Reprint #307, p. 7.

status on the other. Okun has noted in this regard that

contemporary American society has the look of a split level structure. Its political and social institutions distribute rights and privileges universally and proclaim the equality of all citizens. Yet economic institutions, with efficiency as their guiding principle, create disparities ... in living standards and material welfare. This mixture of equal rights and unequal economic status breeds tensions between the political principles of democracy and the economic principles of capitalism.¹

Similarly, Akin,² in focusing on alternative financing methods for public education, notes that the "major basis of choice among possible systems is relative equity and efficiency."

In discussing the merits of the state of assumption of financing of public education, Akin concludes that such a plan reflects horizontal equity in the sense that every student receives equal educational expenditures. It is an efficient plan, however, in the sense that some districts will choose to spend proportionately more on education,

¹Okun, p. vii.

²John S. Akin, "Equal Educational Opportunity: Alternative Financing Methods in Public Education," University of Wisconsin Monograph Series #114-72, pp. 111-172.

and some proportionately less -- unless a decision is made at the state level concerning expenditure level per pupil.¹

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

BOUNDARIES ARE PERMEABLE

With the instruments and perspectives detailed above, economists confront various issues that circumscribe the concerns of social work. One of those

¹Akin, p. 21.

issues is the ways in which resources are utilized.¹ Another is the distributional aspects of both private and public transactions.²

By and large, the economist professes a value-free methodology. Samuelson, for instance, points out that through political processes, the public ultimately decides what its value judgements are. What the economists do is to elucidate feasible alternatives and the costs and benefits and spillover effects of each.

Pechman³ on the other hand notes that "although economists analyze problems with much the same approach

¹See for example, Paul Samuelson, Economics (New York:McGraw Hill, 1970), and Joseph A. Pechman, "Making Economic Policy: The Role of The Economist" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1976, General Series Reprint 311).

²See for example, Alice M. Rivlin, "Income Distribution -- Can Economists Help?" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975, General Series Reprint 307), and Robert Lekachman, Economists At Bay (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976). For a discussion of the resource allocation and distributional issues underlying issues of national concern, see, for example, Karen Davis, National Health Insurance (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975), and Henry J. Aaron, Shelter and Subsidies: Who Benefits from Federal Housing Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975).

³Pechman.

and tend to use the same techniques, there are significant differences among them. Most economists are not nonpartisan. They differ partly because of differences in values and partly because of differences in their evaluations of the relative effectiveness of the market mechanism and of government solutions to social and economic problems."

It is difficult to separate economic from social policy, since the one always has consequences for the other; the boundaries between economic and social policy are vague and intertwined.

The criticism that "in contrast with economic policy, social policy looks like a sticky conglomeration of the ad hoc"¹ may be hyperbole; nevertheless, the points of intersection between the two need to be methodically located if sense is to be made of the boundaries between economic and social policy, and

¹Kenneth Boulding, "Boundaries of Social Policy," Social Work 12 (January 1967):3-12, p. 3.

the relationship between them. Social and economic policy are so heavily intertwined that distinctions may be impracticable. For instance, in considering the goals of economic policy such as growth stabilization and reduction of unemployment, economic decisions cannot be separated from their social consequences. Neither fiscal nor monetary policy can be removed from their effects upon redistribution, inequality, effectiveness or adequacy. All economic programs and policies produce social change, and, therefore, are in effect synonymous with social policies. The allocation of resources to the development of social policy and to an enhancement of civil rights, incomes policy, family policy, health policy and all social service policies illustrate the inextricable intertwining of economic with social policy.

Moreover, the efficient financing and effective development of social programs require economic analysis. For instance, accounting mechanisms, the design and implementation of administrative and eligibility devices, and the policy consequences of social programs contain economic factors.

The social as well as private costs and benefits entailed in the delivery of services by other than market mechanisms require economic consideration. That is, how resources are to be used; who will and will not contribute to production and on what basis; how what is produced will be distributed and to whom are areas of key concern to both economic and social planners.

Because economic policy can significantly affect social behavior, it is not sensible to consider social and economic policies except in tandem. Although economic policy is frequently developed without consideration of social objectives, social policy is affected. Tax, transportation, and manpower policies carry implicit incentives or deterrents for labor market participation by women, workers of retirement age, and potential school dropouts, for instance.

allocation for social services, the financing of social welfare programs, and social concepts that have been translated into economic terms, such as efficiency and social effectiveness.

The growth in government spending for social welfare, particularly since the second world war, has precipitated increased attention to social policy. Government economic decisions have affected the balance between the public and private sector in all areas of public policy. In the social welfare field, the contracting for services to the voluntary sector is one example of the changing relationship of public and private spending. Growing concern with incomes policies -- including the social insurance act of the 1930's, the unemployment act of 1948, the manpower training, antipoverty acts, and recent amendments to the public assistance aspects of the social security act -- is another.

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EFFECTIVENESS IS A CRITERION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Economists consistently give weight to social risks, costs, and uncertainties when calculating the consequences of alternative policy decisions. When planning for personnel needs necessitates relocation, for instance, economists calculate the effects upon family life, upon housing demands, or upon transportation resources. Similarly, they ask what effects the development of community facilities outside an urban area have on reducing cultural isolation on one hand, or encouraging out migration on the other. In concluding that the availability of cash transfers may encourage early retirement and increased leisure time, economists rely upon an analysis of the relationship of costs to benefits. Uncertain effects of education, social insurance and health outlays on productivity, community services, upon poverty or working conditions are all examples of the myriad of consequential

relationships between social and economic costs and benefits.¹

Economists often analyze the options and social consequences of problems or programs: how are problems of target-groups defined and distributed? What needs would be most efficiently or effectively met by what programs? How can the benefits of one program be quantified with respect to the benefits of another? are typical of the questions they ask and answer. In effect, measurement of 1) gains, 2) who loses, 3) who pays under what conditions, and over what period of time are areas of major concern to the economist.²

Economics is also central to the development of social policy in that major long-term commitments and anchoring values of social welfare rely heavily on economic concepts: redistribution; universal access; and provision of services to a) counteract inequities and inequalities, and to b) ensure individual freedom and flexibility.

¹Lampman, p. 152.

²Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking For Social Action (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971).

Issues of concern to social planners and economists also converge when values become translated into policies requiring resource allocation and distribution, rationing and coverage.

ECONOMIC INTERVENTIONS PRODUCE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Government intervention in the economy, by its nature, elicits social as well as economic consequences. The overriding commitment of the social work profession to the development of comprehensive public coverage for individual needs cannot be fulfilled except within the context of economic policy: resource allocation; relationship of market and benefit levels in various programs; choice among public programs, and cost impact regarding the distribution and allocation of resources are factors that determine the quality and effectiveness of social programs and social policy.

Some economic policies, for instance those that express purpose of which is to maintain income, carry with them social goals and produce social consequences. In their intent to prevent financial

disaster, economic programs imply acceptance of public responsibility for family life. Programs enacting fiscal and monetary policy affect redistribution through their taxation, investment or savings stipulations.

In The Future of Social Services,¹ Bernard Crick notes that there cannot be a sensible distribution of resources without a comprehensive redesigning and ordering of social priorities. Economic criteria are necessary, but they are insufficient. They are utilitarian only after political processes have identified public services that are important to people.

In essence, the moral components of social welfare are, to a considerable extent, defined by economics: if the effectiveness of social services can be judged in terms of the equality and equity they promote, society's commitment to egalitarianism

¹Bernard Crick, The Future of Social Services (Middlesex: Penguin, 1970).

is evident in the degree of its intervention in the competitive market. Pinker has noted that, in this regard, the crucial issue is how much economic inequality is compatible with claims of social justice? And how much inequality is compatible with a need for economic efficiency?

Social justice is concerned not only with the nature of inequality, but with the criteria by which inequality may be deemed to be just or unmet. The problem of reconciling these criteria inevitably leads to some apparent inconsistencies in social welfare legislation which is perhaps another way of describing the social division of welfare.¹

The crucial issue is whether or not social policy will ever be bolstered by the necessary economic, technical and political resources. Can social objectives such as redistribution and universal access to quality service be pursued for their own sake, or will the rule of social policy development always be relegated to the rehabilitation of social destructiveness caused by economic policy and political decisions?

Ultimately, the social worker, like the economist, must confront the limits of rationality in affecting policy development. Recognizing the complexities and

¹Robert Pinker, Preface to Journal of Social Policy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, January 1974), pp. 1-19.

delicate balance between social and economic criteria for policy choice, economists often define their task in two ways. One is to analyze the economic viability of a policy or program by quantifying the relevant social issues, alternative courses of action, and costs and benefits. The second is to suggest other than economic criteria -- specifically, political or social -- upon which decisions can or should be made.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

EconomicsCONCEPTS AND
PROCESSES

1. Resources are limited. Priorities and choices must be made continually by:
 - a. Resource allocation, rationing and redistribution processes
 - b. Tradeoffs, opportunity costs and externalities
2. Quantification -- including
 - a. Varying definitions of poverty
 - b. Description and quantification of target group or problem
 - c. Measuring costs and benefits
 - d. Evaluating program impact
3. Interrelationship of phenomena -- problems, issues, policies and policy consequences defined as they impact one another

TYPES OF STUDIES

1. Analysis of expenditures and delineation of percentages going to different categories of people
2. Analyses of interlocking phenomena
3. Problem specification: quantification and measurement

Economics**TECHNIQUES USED**

1. Counting and measuring, i.e. defining poverty
2. Quantifying and comparing social and economic costs and benefits
 - a. Cost-benefit analysis
 - b. Cost-effectiveness analysis
 - c. Planning-programming-budgeting system
3. Projection of socioeconomic trends
4. Simulation techniques

**UNDERLYING DECISION-
RULES BY WHICH
POLICY OPTIONS ARE
GENERATED AND/OR
ASSESSED**

1. Analysis and/or recommendation of relationship of who benefits and who does not benefit from a given policy or program
2. Analysis of bases of allocation -- specifically regarding relationships among effectiveness, adequacy, equity and efficiency
3. Analysis and recommendation of relationship between amount and nature of benefit and conditions of eligibility
 - a. Relationship of benefit to need
 - b. Relationship of benefit to labor market affiliation
 - c. Relationship of benefit to definition of income
 - d. Relationship of benefit to definitions of family unit

CHAPTER III

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF CHAPTER

The purpose of this chapter is to describe systems analysis as a series of techniques applicable to the development and analysis of social policy. The mechanisms and processes by which alternative policy choices are displayed by systems analysts will be presented, so as to illustrate the capability and promise of the systems approach to analysis of social policy.

Since most social workers are skilled in neither mathematics nor computer technology, their understanding of the nature and techniques of systems analysis is necessarily limited. Nevertheless, acquaintance with the form -- if not the content -- by which systems analysts contribute to the analysis and development of social policy can be useful. Systems analysis provides a rigorous means of searching for the most efficient way of achieving a given goal, and as a form of policy analysis, it can provide alternative program or policy choice.

CONCEPTS AND TASKS

A system, in its most general sense, can be described as a series of phenomena interrelated in a particular way in order to accomplish a specific objective.¹ Usually applied to large problems, the

¹Jack W. LaPatra, Applying The Systems Approach To Urban Development (New York: Dowdens, Hutchinson and Ross, 1973), p. 3.

systems approach assumes that no element or attribute of that problem can be isolated either from any other or from its environment or context. It is not possible to analyze a problem area such as housing or income maintenance, for example, without attending to the economic and political institutions that affect it.

DESCRIPTION

Systems analysis includes a series of technologies, particularly operations research and cost-benefit approaches, that have been applied to the measurement and evaluation of social problems and programs during the past two decades. It is an application of scientific principles and methodology to the study of socio-economic phenomena.

Operations research, cost-benefit, budgeting techniques and systems analysis are "characterized by specification of goals; careful attempts at quantification; specification of alternatives available; clear definition of criteria; and the

employment of either the best buy for a given expenditure unit or 'cheaper price' for a given desired effect as the decision-making base."¹

A systems analyst may perform one of two functions. He/she describes, usually in minute detail, what a system is. In the social welfare field such a system could be a mental health program, manpower utilization patterns, or a network of child welfare services. And, he/she evaluates the benefits, costs, and consequences of changing a given system in a variety of alternative ways.

A systems analysis is the quantitative and qualitative analysis of information. Either as a longitudinal or accounting study, a systems analysis is a description of policies or programs; an evaluation of current needs; the forecasting of upcoming needs; and the recommendation of changes in the service-content mechanisms of service delivery and program structure.

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Social Policy and Social Services (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 126.

PROCESSES

The processes with which systems analysts function can be compartmentalized, for purposes of discussion, into four discrete categories: problem formulation; modeling; analysis and optimization; and implementation. In actuality, the process is cyclical so that all four steps take place or are providing feedback to the other steps simultaneously.

Problem formulation, the first step in a systems analysis, is the quantification of all relevant elements including available program alternatives. The consequences of each alternative are described within the context of decisionmakers' goals and values; political and economic factors are also measured as part of the problem formulation stage.

The second step -- modeling -- is the abstracting of the problem in such a way that the total system is represented. Modeling is a creative process reflecting the perception of the analyst and the data available, as well as existing theoretical tools and computation time.

The analysis and optimization phase of a systems approach is, in effect, utilization of the model

to develop the best means of resolving the research problem.

The implementation phase is the development of recommendations for change, based upon the data provided.

Systems analysis procedures are used for a variety of interrelated purposes. One is to quantify interrelated phenomena. Another is to design and choose among alternative structures; and a third is to assist evaluation researchers determine what should be studied.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEMS APPROACH

The concept of organization, applied to systems analysis, reflects its holistic effort in devising common language, sets of procedures, and processes by which multidisciplined approaches can be made to the development or analysis of complex policy phenomena. Systems analysis is based on the assumption that policy cannot be viably developed or analyzed except by collaboration among professionals from different disciplines. Recognizing differences in value biases

and styles, the systems approach strives for consensus and commonality of purpose among them.

"Creativity" is a major element of the systems approach because solutions are sought in the face of uncertainty -- incomplete, ambiguous and unavailable data bases. Also, subdivision of complex phenomena often takes place along unfamiliar conceptual or organizational boundaries. Given these constraints, the systems approach provides structures within which innovative options can be designed.

Major emphasis upon the collection, quantification, and manipulation of data make the systems approach highly "empirical" as well as creative. Specific analytic strategies provide differential rules for how data is utilized and organized. The selection and application of a suitable data base is one of two ingredients critical to the execution of a systems analysis.

The other is a reliance upon theoretical support for the subject matter being considered. Relevant theory includes concepts from a variety of disciplines, including economics, psychology, planning, architecture, engineering, political science and anthropology.

In consonance with other forms of policy analysis, systems analysis has as its primary objective impact upon the development of public policy. In essence, systems analysis is the application of scientific method to decision problems. It has as its purpose the efficient prediction of the consequences of action, and the discovery of models describing the patterns of social, economic and political phenomena.

PURPOSES

What systems analysis accomplishes is three-fold: a) the detailed description of a system and its economic, political and social properties, b) a provision of the characteristics and cost and consequence of projected changes; and c) a projection of possible alternative systems as well as the identification of what data is necessary to accomplish proposed changes.¹ Systems Analysis is evaluative in

¹Philip M. Morse and Laura W. Bacon, eds., Operations Research For Public Systems (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1971, Third printing), p. 160.

that it assesses progress towards a specific policy goal; it provides the data necessary to the analysis of a social trend.

The purpose of a systems approach, like that of any policy analysis, is increased insight regarding extant conditions: alternative means for improving the current status of those conditions; and the selection and development of some of those means.

One unique feature of the systems approach to policy analysis is that it dissects complex, seemingly unmanageable problems into discrete component parts. After each component is analyzed individually, all are reassembled and improved in relation to one another.

Systems analysis does not contribute to choices among programs with different objectives; choices among priorities, such as between day care programs or programs for handicapped adults, are obviously made politically rather than quantitatively.¹

¹Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking For Social Action (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1971).

But systems theory does contribute to programming decisions by highlighting relevant data, and by specifying choice among alternatives:

the systems analyst cannot help one decide between more education support or more investment in manpower programs. After a selection is made, he can help choose among programs or specify details within a selected field. The efficiency approach may shed light on the consequences of choosing decentralization or centralization, vouchers or benefits in kind or cash; universal benefits or funding voluntary programs as opposed to public operations.¹

¹Kahn, p. 127.

TYPES OF STUDIES: MAJOR TRENDS

HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Systems analysis was first utilized in 1937¹ when a team of Royal Air Force Officers began working with various means of processing data in order to ascertain how to best utilize radar to intercept enemy aircraft. The team named itself "Operations Research Section" to distinguish itself from the other Air Force research teams. Its first project was to evaluate the performance of different types of weapons; subsequent projects included the analysis of other operations as well.

Systems analysis evolved as a series of tools and techniques broader in scope than operations research. It was further developed in non-military arenas as it became clear that the on-going work of systems engineers, microeconomists, of efficiency

¹Grace Kelleher, Chapter III, The Challenge to Systems Analysis: Public Policy and Social Change (New York: John J. Wiley, 1970).

experts and management consultants could contribute to fields other than what had traditionally been considered their own, in a "unified and unifying" field of research.¹ Since its inception, systems analysis has contributed to program development and the evaluation of policy in diverse fields.

The most well known, initial attempt at applying the techniques of systems analysis to a significant bureaucracy in this country was Macnamara's reorganization of the Department of Defense during the Kennedy administration. He adopted a programming system based on principles of systems analysis to parallel the budgeting process in non-economic matters.

Use of systems analysis was successful to the extent that industry and government applied the technology to non-military problems after the war.² During the 1950's, the introduction of computers with large data-processing potential provided a catalyst to a data-oriented systems approach. LaPatra notes that "the marriage of the computer

¹Ibid.

²Virginia Held, "PPBS Comes to Washington," The Public Interest 4 (1966), p. 102.

and systems methodology mark the beginning of contemporary problem-solving."¹ For instance, MacNamara's adoption of a programming system for the Kennedy administration was based upon the principles of systems analysis. He called for the development of

a revolutionary new system, one which demands the departments and agencies to define clearly the major objectives or programs they chose to pursue, that they apply systems analysis to alternative ways in which these objectives are going -- or may be -- sought and that they plan their spending in long-range as well as in one year ahead terms.²

At the state levels systems analysis was looked on favorably as well. Governor Brown of California called for systems analysts to study and propose one among alternative transportation networks; networks of services for the mentally ill; and the development of planning mechanisms for the state in general.

Utilization of systems analysis techniques was further developed as part of the overall space program -- particularly as a device to manage, plan and direct large, complicated programs.

¹LaPatra, p. 10.

²Held, p. 102.

Use of the systems analysis family of techniques has represented, since the 1940's, an increase in collaboration between scientists and government officials. For two decades, the National Institute of Health as well as the Atomic Energy Commission, utilizing these techniques, have grown in scope and significance as a planning arm of government.

DESCRIBING AND QUANTIFYING URBAN CONDITIONS

The first type of study for which systems analysis has been used is to describe and quantify urban conditions. Coupled with the realization that urban problems are interconnected with national, and private with public ones, has been an awareness of the gap between complex problems and available political and administrative tools for resolving them. In the absence of definite social science knowledge that can be applied to social problems, systematic administrative mechanisms have been devised, allowing multi-faceted approaches to urban problems.

In approaching either the depiction or resolution of welfare-related problems a set of interrelated phenomena, the systems analyst analyzes component parts of problem areas. For instance, he/she may break down costs of a particular service in order to determine: a) how an agency's resources are being mobilized in order to provide that service and b) how various elements of that service interface with regard to a given service objective. Or, he/she will analyze relevant systems in tandem with one another, in order to assure appropriate integration and non-duplication -- as, for instance, among cost-information, program statistics, and personnel information.

INVESTIGATING COMPLEX AND INTERDEPENDENT PHENOMENA
UNDERLYING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

A second type of study for which systems analysis is utilized is the investigation of the complex, interdependent phenomena that underly political, economic, and social systems. This provides a

research overview of available data; of the sequencing of events and multiple objectives; and of the impacts and consequences of particular policies or programs.

Systems analysis, by relating system effectiveness to benefits, costs, and objectives, provides policy-makers with the models with which to make rational choices which will ensure maximum efficiency in several areas: 1) the choice of program design, 2) the provision of supplemental judgement among various alternative proposed studies, 3) as a legislative tool, and 4) as a mechanism for evaluation. By linking and analyzing the consequences of extant and proposed policy, systems analysis can determine its benefits and costs.

For instance, systems analysis has been used to describe the interactions and effects of one component of an urban area on others. Wolfe and Ernst¹ described the consequences of residential housing on 1) public policies programs, and actions, 2) investment behavior of the private market, and 3) the location decisions of households.

¹Harry B. Wolfe and Martin L. Ernst, "Simulation Models and Urban Planning," in Morse and Bacon, pp. 95-125.

Similarly, in the income maintenance field, systems analysis can substitute projections for guesswork in choosing among alternatives. By simulating a model of people and funds involved in different income-transfer programs, the impact of a given policy or program on a select group of people can be determined.

EVALUATING PROGRAMS AND RECOMMENDING CHANGES

A third way in which systems analysis is utilized is for evaluating programs and recommending changes. In 1968, the Child Welfare Services Program of the Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare utilized systems analysis in this way.¹ Some of the questions and answers it provided included the following:

1. What is the universe of AFDC parents who are employable?

¹Arthur Spindler, "Systems Analysis in Public Welfare," Public Welfare, July 1968: 227-231, p. 229.

2. What are the handicaps which prevent their employment?
3. What governmental measures can be taken to eliminate or reduce the effect of these handicaps to permit them to undergo education and training to become fully employable?
4. What programs are now authorized or which can be devised to have them become employed and self-supporting?
5. What is the most economical and effective mix of programs which can achieve these goals for the maximum number of this group?
6. What are the costs of the alternative program mixes?
7. What expectations can be reasonably forecast to the success of these programs?
8. What impact will these programs have upon the reduction in AFDC caseloads?
9. How will this affect the Federal program and grants to states for public assistance and state and local public welfare agencies for the next five years?
10. How effective is the child-welfare service program in promoting the normal growth and development of children and youth and in strengthening family life?
11. What are the most valid output indicators in measuring program effectiveness and benefits?
12. What is the most cost-effective mix of present and alternative child-welfare services for the different problems of children and youth?

13. What is the optimum size and cost of the child-welfare services program at Fed, state, and local levels relative to the services available in the private sector considering such factors as child-population trends, their socio-economic characteristic, current and potential incidence of problems of children, existing patterns of manpower shortages, and availability of child-care facilities?

Such questions and answers are based on information also provided by Systems Analysis regarding:

1. The child population at risk (potentially in need of child-welfare services).
2. The incidence of social and health dysfunction of the child and family (dependence, delinquency, neglect, abuse, retardation, and physical, mental and social and cultural handicaps).
3. The governmental child-welfare services program, its goals, resources and services covered.
4. The response ratio of children and families to available services (measure of their use of available services).
5. The quality and effectiveness of the services in remedying the conditions and handicaps of children and their families¹

¹Ibid.

TECHNIQUES USED BY SYSTEMS ANALYSTS

Many of the specific techniques utilized in systems analyses have been part of the armentarium of professionals in social science disciplines. Economists have long utilized econometric and cost-effectiveness tools; and engineers have used operations research and simulation techniques.

NETWORK ANALYSIS

Network analysis is an application of the systems approach to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the means when goals are fixed. It is a symbolic representation by graph of the diverse activities required to complete a given task; of the sequence and timing of those activities required to complete a task.

Network analysis is an antidote to a sequencing problem. It is the determination of the order in which a set of tasks can be most

efficiently performed, given goals of minimizing costs and delays in completing it.¹

Graphing a program network requires conceptualization of internal logic, order and timing of a given operation. The imperative events and their sequencing is known as the 'critical path.'² Differences between the critical path and alternative means of achieving an operation are known as 'slack' times.³

In completing a network analysis, the relative 'criticality'⁴ of events and the inherent slack is depicted. The computation of slacks isolates the group of activities which have an excess of resources, personnel, and or materials and ranks them in order of these excesses. The magnitude of slack associated with an event determines how critical that event may become. The one (event) which is more 'critical' than all becomes the critical path⁵ and becomes a priority for analysis and attention.

¹Russel Ackoff, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Free Press, 1968), Vol. 12, pp. 290-294, p. 294.

²Jagjit Singh, Operations Research (New York: Dover Press, 1968), p. 93.

³Ibid., p. 94.

⁴Ibid., p. 96.

⁵Ibid., p. 98.

Network analysis is a way of utilizing the computer to assist in the choice among alternative methods for achieving a goal. It is the computation of slack times vis a vis the events of a system or network, and results in priorities among choices with regard to how efficient they are. Network analysis can be used either in planning a project or in communicating a plan to others. It is the stating of steps, times, and resources necessary to achieving a given goal.

Network Analysis has been used to design more flexible, viable, and accountable public welfare systems than previously existed in several states. Network analysis has been applied both to isolated problems and to the re-designing of the system as a whole -- "discrete and continuous as well as total approach problem-solving."¹ Bloedorn has dissected the various separate steps involved:

1. Identification of causes and effects of a problem at a level at which solutions are feasible.

¹Jack Bloedorn, "Application of Systems Analysis Approach to Social Welfare Problems and Organizations," Public Welfare (July 1970), pp. 280-281.

2. Sighting of objectives.
3. Determining criteria for success.
4. Researching the ramifications and impacts of various activities throughout an entire organization. Projecting solution constraints, resources that are imperative.
5. Testing alternatives against previously established criteria of success.
6. Selecting, planning, and monitoring the results of the best alternative.

Network analysis has also been used¹ as an evaluative and forecasting tool for the organizing and planning of a service-delivery structure. The approach is particularly applicable, given the complexity and diversity of the public welfare system.² The management information and control system collects and analyzes information concerning: "client indicators about the problems, feasible objectives towards problem solution, and the specification of services the agency will deliver toward reaching the agreed-upon objective. It further collects information about needs which cannot be met for lack of agency capacity. The

¹Ibid.

²Genevieve Carter, "Applying a Systems Analysis to Consultation in Public Welfare," Public Welfare (September 1971):316-390.

product is a comprehensive statistical summary report of agency activity, an unmet needs analysis report, and a services rendered report."¹ The resulting information system provides an ongoing report of caseload, types of problems, objectives, and services involved.

Another form of network analysis is Impact Analysis -- a summary of consumer evaluation of quantity, quality and types of services rendered; methods of service delivery and structures for service delivery. Effectiveness is measured against agency objectives and boundaries and capability. If employability is a program objective, for instance, impact analysis is used to determine whether or not a client succeeds in finding employment, what the reasons are if he fails, and how future employment counseling can be made more effective.²

Three other network analysis techniques that have been applied to an analysis of public welfare systems included outreach reports, community need

¹Bloedorn, p. 283.

²Ibid.

studies, and community profiles. They provide indicators of needs; projection of trends; and of services that might be needed in the future.

Network analysis was successfully applied to the options for improving the care of neglected and dependent children in Nashville.¹ In order to develop programs to improve the quality of life for neglected and dependent children, the effectiveness and weaknesses of the existing system were determined. Options for ameliorating the system were determined and analyzed in terms of cost effectiveness and in the flow of children through the juvenile court system. The flow of children through the system during one calendar year was charted. Then alternatives for improving the system were charted on the basis of costs and numbers of children served.²

¹Marvin R. Burt and Louis H. Blair, Options For Improving The Care of Neglected and Dependent Children (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1971).

²Burt and Blair, p. 37.

QUEUING THEORY

Queuing or Bottleneck Theory is another systems analysis technique used to inform the development of social policy:

A queuing problem arises when the service rate of a facility falls short of the flow rate of its clients or calls. An obvious remedy is duplication of the facility. But equally obvious it is one to be adopted only as a last resort when a more judicious deployment of existing units cannot meet the demand.¹

Queuing theory is an analysis of ways in which the relationships between service demand and delivery can be made most efficient with regard to client time, and that of agency personnel. It confronts the problems of random and irregular flow in clients through a system, that often results in congestion. Bottleneck problems are resolved mathematically as they relate to the functioning of the system in which they occur. The solution of a bottleneck problem is an improvement in the rate of service delivery either by technological or organizational means.

¹Singh, p. 152.

Mathematical formulae are applied to arrival patterns of those asking for service, and of service mechanisms. The probability of a client's finding service when he asks for it, and the average size of a bottleneck, can be computed, as can cost-benefit ratios that balance expected gains in service improvements against additional costs incurred in changing the structure of service delivery patterns.

Bloedorn refers to the solution of bottleneck problems as Operating Analysis. He describes Queuing Theory as a means by which the efficiency of agency activity is measured, by which management indicators¹ are sought:

Operations analysis looks at bottlenecks (queue-ups) in the flow of people and paper through the agency. Did it take Mrs. Jones three hours of sitting in the waiting room before she could see a case worker? How long does it take to pull a client file in order to respond to a phone call? How long does Mr. Smith have to wait for his assistance check after clearing the eligibility hurdle? How long did it take to establish eligibility?²

¹Bloedorn, p. 284.

²Ibid.

SIMULATION

Simulation is "the systematic abstraction and partial duplication of a phenomenon to effect 1) the design of a system under particular conditions for a specific purpose, 2) the analysis of the phenomenon, or 3) the transfer of training from a synthetic to a real environment."¹

Simulation involves several steps. The first, defining a problem and planning a research study, requires concise description of the phenomenon at hand. The second step involves the formulation of a mathematical model. As part of this step, data are collected to provide model parameters and a structure for a model is developed to attain required performance measures.

The third step of a simulation is the introduction and construction of an appropriate computer program for the model. It is validated through the simulation process to insure that it can be operationalized in a manner syntonetic with its design.

¹LaPatra, p. 35.

Once the model is developed and validated, experiments are designed to meet the objectives of the simulation study. Questions are posed; relevant information is secured; and data made evident by the computer run are analyzed.

Forrester et al. developed an "industrial dynamics study" model to determine how the organization of an institution affects performance. Simulation is used to display a) ongoing organizational processes, b) attributes and characteristics, and c) alternative policies that might be applied to that system.

The "industrial dynamics study" has been applied to the rate of sales for the manufacturers of air conditioners to the new house market.¹ The interaction among relevant factors, such as the relationship between numbers of potential homeowners, and rates of sales of air conditioners,

¹LaPatra, p. 39.

is described in mathematical terms. The sales of air conditioners as a function of time is then determined. A computer simulation then tests a variety of models and rates by which sales can best be improved under particular circumstances. Finally, simulation includes a validation of the mathematical model by observation of extant and added inputs and outputs leading to predictions concerning the consequences of particular inputs.

The Urban Institute's Transfer Income Model (TRIM)¹ illustrates the application of simulation techniques to income maintenance problems. TRIM is a simulated transfer program that projects consequences of various program designs. It provides data for the analysis of technical problems and program options, for budget cost and distributional impact of various programs. It is, in effect, a tool for the evaluation of alternative programs.

TRIM projections are based on explicit data about the economic criteria, demographic characteristics, and interpersonal relationships relevant to eligibility criteria for income maintenance programs. TRIM applies the eligibility

¹"Search" (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, Spring 1976), Vol. 6, no. 1-2, p.6.

and the benefit criteria to sample families to determine numbers of eligibles and the amount of program transfers received, if any, by each family. These individual family amounts are weighted and summed to calculate the total amount of transfers for the population as a whole. Finally, these totals are classified to show the impacts on various economic and demographic subgroups of alternative programs.

OPERATIONS RESEARCH

Operations Research is a systems technique the purpose of which is to ascertain the most efficient means or operation for accomplishing a particular programmatic objective.

Operations Research procedures confront all interactions and complexities of a given system at one time. Their use offers a comparison of various proposed policies with regard to how, to what extent, and in what ways they differ from existing policies. For instance, regarding income

maintenance programs, the issues addressed include:

1. The cost of a particular program.
2. The numbers of additional families that would benefit given change in eligibility requirements or payment levels.
3. The net effect of a given, innovative transfer program on families below a given poverty line.
4. The distribution patterns of differing benefits on different population groups.
5. The incentive to work implicit in certain combinations of transfer programs.¹

Simulations rely on available information concerning the behavior of recipients under various conditions. With regard to the "take up" issue, for instance, for the model to allow for the consequent 'non-participation,' it would be necessary to know data including: "how many (who are eligible) do not apply for benefits of present programs? In what type of aid program is nonparticipation more evident? What psychological or other costs of establishing or maintaining eligibility can be used to explain this phenomenon?"²

¹"Search."

²Ibid.

Simulation can also be used to identify the underlying processes and judgements that lead to decisionmaking. Modeling is used to simulate, in a controlled-laboratory situation, innovative laws and programs. Forrester examined four common urban problem-solving programs utilizing a simulation approach.¹ These programs included:

1. Creating jobs in the public sector or by providing bussing for the unemployed to the suburbs
2. Creating a training program to increase the skills of the unemployed
3. Providing federal subsidies to the inner city
4. Construction of low-income housing.

With the use of computer simulation, Forrester concluded that these programs range from ineffectual to deleterious, both with regard to the long-range effect on the low income population of a city, as well as the effect upon the economic mobility of the relevant geographic area.

Forrester applies his conclusions inductively towards the development of theories of urban behavior. In the case of low-income housing construction, for instance, he concludes:

¹Jay Forrester et al., Urban Dynamics (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969).

1. Social systems are essentially insensitive to most policy changes that people choose in an effort to alter the behavior of the system ... (for example) in an attempt to relieve (depression caused by) inadequate housing, more housing is built and an increase of population traps more people in a depressed social system.
2. There are a few sensitive influence points through which the behavior of the system can be changed. Their location is usually unexpected, and a further complication is that even when identified, a person guided by intuition and judgement is likely to alter the system in the wrong direction. For example ... it appears that low income housing must be reduced rather than increased in order to revive the economy of a city and make it a better place to live.
3. There is usually a fundamental conflict between the short and long-term consequences of a policy change. Short-run improvements usually degrade the system in the long run. And a program designed to produce long-run improvements often depresses the system at the outset.¹

"Gaming" is a form of operations research that has been frequently used by policymakers and their technical advisors to simulate the outcomes of a decision. The "game" is a vehicle through which realistic interaction occurs in a simulated environment. For teaching purposes, for instance, a management game can be utilized in which relevant features of an organization and its environment are simulated so that management students can experience in one class period what might normally take place

¹Ibid., p. 192.

over several years. Gaming has been used as a "dress rehearsal," or for purposes of planning and exploration.¹

Games have been most notably utilized in the fields of psychology and economics. The use of a digital computer has become increasingly common in gaming. Computers provide an opportunity to efficiently handle large masses of resource-related and administrative data, time delays, relationships between inputs and outputs, and issues of mobility of personnel.

Gaming techniques are often used to analyze program choice. They can provide specification and a mathematical summary of favorable and unfavorable consequences of alternative courses of action and the formulation of criteria by which an optimal course of action is chosen. Gaming has most frequently been applied to problems in which conflicts of interest interfere with effectiveness of efficiency, and in which outcomes under various circumstances are uncertain. Game theory is a normative, statistical

¹LaPatra, p. 50.

decision theory¹, an analysis of "the relationships among valued consequences, events and alternative choices and an explicit statement of subjective attitudes concerning the uncertainties that characterize these relationships."²

Singh notes that because criteria for selection of an optimal alternative are subjective, approximations must be used. Mathematical estimates are compromised figures representing the least objectionable of worst possible contingencies ("maximin") and the best option available ("maximax") and options in between. The theory of games is based on the assumption that, having made a balance sheet of the advantages and limitations of available courses of action, the consequences of each alternative can be expressed as a "pay-off number."³

Very often the consequence of each available alternative can be reduced to a single pay-off number, such as the dollar profit on consumption of some value or utility per unit output. Mathematicians have devised a neat way of summarizing such pay-off numbers, measuring the consequences of various alternatives.⁴

¹Joseph L. Bower, "Descriptive Decision Theory from the Administrative Viewpoint," in Raymond A. Bauer and Kenneth J. Gergen, The Study of Policy Formation (New York: Free Press, 1971), pp. 103-147.

²Ibid.

³Singh, p. 120.

⁴Ibid.

While game theory is by its nature somewhat of an oversimplification of conflicts of interest within which decisions are made, it nevertheless has utility.

The techniques used in game theory include the display of all possible moves of the parties involved, of the maximization of satisfaction under various conditions. Such conditions include, for example, unalterable schemes of distribution, bargain between a single buyer and seller, total or partial clashes of interest¹. The 'rules of the game' also prescribe payoffs to be made by each player as a result of the other players' moves².

Game theory translates the structure of a problem into that of a game:

There is a set of mutually exclusive actions or moves, $A_1, A_2 \dots A_i \dots A_N$, of which one and only one must be taken. One examines each possible action and determines its consequence, C_i , taking into account the reactions and countermoves of his competitors, if any, as well as other possible states of nature that are likely to arise. The consequences (C_i) of these various actions are described in one common unit such as dollar profit, cost or some other efficacy index to make them mutually comparable like the pay-off numbers of the game theory. The efficacy number of

¹Ibid., p. 127.

²Ibid., Chapter 8.

the consequences of available actions or moves are the exact counterparts of the payoff numbers. Having thus described the consequences of each action the problem is simply to make a clear and quantitative comparison of their merits in order to pick the optimal alternative.¹

The goal of a "game" is to define a rational basis for the choice among alternatives. Game theory also enhances understanding of the relationships between assumptions and conclusions concerning social behavior that follow.

UNDERLYING DECISION RULES BY WHICH SYSTEMS
ANALYSTS GENERATE POLICY OPTIONS

To recapitulate, systems analysis is the application of quantitative methodologies to complex phenomena. It has been applied most successfully to fields in which technical, as opposed to emotional

¹Ibid., p. 149.

or psychological content, is readily available. The decision rules of systems analysis can be applied to various types of problems.¹

- 1) Systemic: for example, the design of improved forms of public transportation
- 2) Preventive: for example, the design of compulsory treatment programs for convicted drunk drivers
- 3) Ameliorative: for example, the improvement of automobile design to decrease extant number and reasons for car crashes
- 4) Compensatory: for example the design of self-insurance programs to reduce delay in payments to accident victims.

INTERRELATIONSHIP AMONG PHENOMENA

The major underlying perspective to which systems analysis subscribes is that phenomena are interrelated. The underlying decision rule indicates that systems to be analyzed are collections of objects in a hierarchy.

The core characteristic of problems to be analyzed is that they are studied within the context of the political and economic environment within which they exist. While the form solutions take can vary,

¹LaPatra, p. 261.

the underlying decision-rule stipulates that increased insight will result from sophisticated analysis of interrelated phenomena.

LaPatra's analysis of welfare provides an example of the system analyst's approach to interrelated phenomena. His definition of problem parameters, or factors contributing to the problem, includes broad societal conditions such as population growth, lack of reduction of urban poverty, and increased access to entitlements of eligible recipients. He also examines structural difficulties such as variation of benefit levels among states, work disincentive, discretionary standards of eligibility and increased caseloads.

In his description and analysis of basic defects, LaPatra balances welfare-related objectives against budgetary and other constraints. He concludes that national thrusts toward welfare reform have been unsuccessful because extant policies and programs do not resolve all basic interrelated problems: in this case benefit levels and distribution of welfare populations.

Widely employed definitions of poverty frequently exclude the urban poor and it is difficult to fault the idea that first priority should go to those who are farthest below any standard. In any case it appears that the short-run returns to the city from national welfare reform will be slight. But over the long run ... cities could experience returns in the form of lessened dependency and a lower concentration of welfare families in the cities.¹

In exploring interrelated phenomena, systems analysts often rely upon a set of eight criteria by which they measure program effectiveness against cost. These criteria include social need; program effectiveness and efficiency; and availability of resources including person power and technical knowhow. Additional, relevant criteria include harmony among extant programs, conformity of a program with prevailing societal beliefs and practices, and compatibility with constitutional provisions and principles.

Essential to the system analyst's approach to interrelated phenomena is his/her intense concern with explicit depiction of objectives and the institutional arrangements with which they can be

¹Ibid., p. 239.

provided. For instance, in the area of social services, given a definition "non-cash resources made available under public financing for the furtherance of societal goals,"¹ the following objectives become relevant:

1. The protection of incompetents
2. The improvement of consumer choice
3. The enhancement of social functioning
4. The advancement of equal opportunity
5. The establishment of minimum material adequacy²

Institutional arrangements with which objectives can be carried out may be varied. A systems analyst in considering the implementation of the above-stated objectives, might examine government or contract provision of services; in-kind, cash, or voucher services.

¹Ibid., p. 242.

²Ibid.

RATIONALITY CAN INFORM DECISIONS GIVEN POLITICAL
CONSENSUS ON ESSENTIAL CRITERIA

Another underlying perspective with which the systems analyst generates options is that rationality can affect policy choice given political consensus on essential criteria. Rational solutions can take the form of a set of recommendations to a decision-maker on objectives or strategies, or a plan for more effective utilization of extant resources.

For instance, the development of a computer-based model¹ for a community-based social service center has been utilized to evaluate the extent to which its stated objectives of "improvement in client adjustment," and a "movement out of dependency status." The model was applied to a random sample of a welfare center's caseload and was developed to measure the extent to which provision of service resolved particular problems. With the use of data, subjective scales to evaluate client progress, and computer time, areas of service weakness based on the

¹Ibid., p. 249.

client movement scale were identified. Suggestions for improvement of service delivery strategies were made accordingly.

PREDICTING AND INFLUENCING THE FUTURE

Systems analysis can be used to improve the efficiency of any system within the constraints of existing budget and space.

Decisions regarding the flow of people through the library and their use of old and current data can be informed by systems analysis. For example, given the book circulation rate, an analyst can determine the demand rate. If an imbalance exists between the two, changes can be suggested. A systems analyst can also estimate in-library use of a book from its recorded circulation, as well as future circulation based on the past.

A queuing model can be used because the library is a system in which inventory is used. The model would include the relationship between the demand circulation and return rates for a particular book.

Systems analysis could also be used to classify books so that a browser could narrow his search area. Books with a frequent commonality of interest to readers could be grouped in proximity to one another. Oversized sections could be reduced, and out-of-date books could be removed based upon low circulation or age.

RESOURCE ALLOCATION CAN BE MADE EFFICIENT BY IMPROVING ACCESS TO AND EFFICIENCY OF SERVICES

Systems Analysis can be used to improve access and efficiency. Using a community's system of blood banks as an example of its utility, the number and reasons for deaths can be potentially

reduced if scarce supplies of blood are more readily available at emergency times and places.¹

Many blood banks are organized by politically-defined boundaries such as cities or states. Ensuing problems include high operating costs, scarcity coupled with high stock loss due to outdating, and unpredicted demand at given locations.

Control of blood inventory could minimize cost, delay in response to crisis, and inadequate quality. Systems analysis -- simulation -- has been used to improve both efficiency and quality of blood available in a region. Information concerning the policy for ordering blood from a central bank, the age of blood received, and the rate at which blood is requested can be used to determine an efficient, interdependent, region-wide blood bank.

Inventory policies have been studied² to determine

1. The relationship between shortage and/or dating performance for systems of various sizes
2. The nature of support system capabilities that need to be provided

¹Ibid., p. 263.

²Ibid., p. 265.

3. The fact that cooperating blood banks can be established.

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS, SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WORK

Systems Analysis can be utilized for various purposes. It can be used to evaluate existing information in order to project the most efficient means of achieving a desired objective. It can offer alternative means of achieving a given objective. It can provide the criteria by which objectives or policy decisions can be made.

Systems Analysis is directed towards the improvement of organized human activity by means of scientific method and inquiry. It is a practice-based discipline that focuses on the solutions of concrete problems as opposed to the development of theory, concept, or method. It relies upon empirical techniques, and embodies a recognition of the interdependence of environmental problems, and of the need for boundary maintenance in seeking solutions.

Both systems analysis and social work emphasize the complex, rapidly changing nature of social phenomena. To varying degrees, and in different ways, both systems analysts and social workers are preoccupied with how to alleviate the difficulties associated with social change, with how to provide minimum security to all citizens as a matter of right, and how to improve social institutions to better meet the needs of individuals.

Similarly, both are concerned with planned change -- with balancing long and short-term objectives, and with deciding among alternative programs or policies.

The problems of specificity faced by the systems analyst is similar to those relevant to the social scientist's study of social indicators; the study of both social indicators and computer simulations require the presentation of a series

of categories with which to identify component parts of functional systems and social changes. These categories may be demographic; but they are more often qualitative. For instance, those indicating how society produces goods, organizations, knowledge, and technology.

Descriptive categories used may be distributive, that is, descriptive of the access routes to services; or they may be structural, a description of what the services are. Both structural and distributive categories are attempts to measure precisely what changes have occurred in the past, and what change is likely to occur in the future.

Systems analysis, like the study of social indicators, is a form of measuring antecedent consequences, as well as a way of predicting the consequences of

alternative policies and programs, given particular variables. Both calculate a means of reducing social costs by suggesting the most efficient means of achieving a given objective.

The problem of precision-in-measurement that plagues the scholars of social indicators plagues operations researchers also. The quantity of comprehensive, longitudinal and continuous data available is limited, and there has never been a high priority for developing data merely for research purposes. Relevant data has not been collected.

OBSTACLES TO COLLABORATION BETWEEN SYSTEMS ANALYSTS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Various obstacles prevent extensive collaboration between social scientists and systems analysts. Some of these problems are technical. Satisfactory systematic information on social conditions is not available. The design of an effective management

and control system requires more information than is currently available about the qualitative components of a given operating system. More precise quantification of social factors and value judgments, and more extensive use of demographic data¹ are needed.

For systems analysis to be accurate as a tool of analysis, evaluation, or forecasting, the qualitative material with which it deals must be quantifiable in all its variations. Adequate data includes complete and accurate information, as well as an observation of the extent to which one indicator deviates as the repercussion of another.

Some of the problems confronted by the systems analyst are political and social. If it is the role of the systems analyst to assist the decisionmaker in designing and understanding the policy options open to him, and also to provide an analytic base for the design of national or urban policy,² then his first task is to expose the tacit political

¹Olaf Helmer, Social Technology (New York: Basic Books, 1964), p. 4.

²Robert Levine, "San Jose, The Urban Crisis, and the Feds," Rand #P4389 5.72.

assumptions of an operating system. Who are the various decisionmakers on economic, administrative, or political levels? How much freedom to choose among alternative programs is available to a given policymaker in a given situation? What are the political constraints operating at a given time? What are the tacit assumptions that influence the policy and program decisions of an institution? Can political factors be quantified?

A problem confronting both the systems analyst and social scientist is that most political decisions are made on an incremental basis; consequently policy changes have often been inconclusive, inadequate, and inefficient. In a world of limited resources, administrators seek efficiency in the short run; they often ignore the difficult value-laden contradictions that underlie the choice of policy or program. It is more politically viable to recognize problems than to identify causes.¹

¹Peter L Szanton, "Systems Problems in The City," Rand #P4821 4.72, p. 7.

OPTIONS FOR COLLABORATION BETWEEN SYSTEMS ANALYSTS,
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

In view of these technical, administrative, and societal difficulties, Morse suggests some guidelines for collaboration between operations research and social sciences:

1. All initial efforts should seek to utilize a relatively simple model. Such complexity as is established should be in the structural relationships contained within the model, rather than in the data base which is being employed to operate it.
2. Whenever time or funding imposes severe limits, fairly rigid and careful plans should be employed to ensure that a working model is available when no more than two thirds of the time and budget have been spent. If this rule cannot be enforced, one will find that inadequate resources are available to test and use the model properly.
3. The model must be developed with a clear understanding of the political possibilities and limitations that will be imposed by its users. Too much effort ... has been devoted to the development of plans that are politically and socially unfeasible and unacceptable. Proper development of large models implies a close and continuing coordination between users and developers.¹

¹Morse and Bacon, p. 80.

A major criticism of systems analysis has been that it is "a 'quantomania' that replaces and makes professional conceptualization in favor of simplistic, self-justifying models that violate real-life problems."¹

A second criticism is that since values are unquantifiable, and since those of the analyst are built into his simulations, his/her analyses represent only a partial understanding of a problem. Such a partial perspective reflects the fact that no problem can be thoroughly quantified; and that the boundaries of the problem as well as the elements studied reflect the biases of the researcher.

Systems analysis has been successfully applied to the improvement of the mechanical operations of many urban service systems. Its applicability to political decisionmaking has

¹Ida R. Hoos, "Systems Analysis in Social Policy, A Critical Review," Research Monograph #19, Institute of Economic Affairs, Westminster, 1969.

been questionable: despite optimistic expectations, there have been technical and structural obstacles to its successful use. Savas¹ has noted, in this regard, that systems analysis, a quantitative and comprehensive tradition, is antithetical to extant diffuse and incremental decisionmaking processes.²

"The analyst sees his role as presenting to the decisionmaker the consequences of alternative decisions, after which decisionmaking occurs. But governmental decisionmaking is rarely a neat, crisp act. Instead, it is usually a vague, prolonged, diffuse, and pluralistic activity."³

Hence, systems analysis, like all policy analysis, is necessarily a political as well as a substantive process. The analyst is often under bureaucratic pressure by the consultee organization to suggest the less controversial measure when reality is politically unacceptable -- and it often is since the analyst functions, by definition, as a change agent.

¹E.S. Savas, "New Directions For Urban Analysis," Interfaces vol 6, no. 1, 11.75, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Ibid.

The analyst is often vulnerable to the criticism that he/she has ignored relevant issues in the next larger system. Savas notes "the analyst is confronted with conflicting demands -- both to expand his horizons, thereby increasing the risk of failure, and to narrow his scope, thereby increasing the risk of being ignored in the face of larger, more pressing issues. In the final analysis, he must define a problem area large enough to be meaningful, but small enough to be tractable."

In essence, solutions offered by technical systems analyses are rational, and therein juxtaposed to the political settings in which decisions are ultimately made. Technical solutions are often infeasible in a world in which optimizing is -- at best -- the determination of which constraints and political costs can be minimized and to what end.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

	<u>Systems Analysis</u>
CONCEPTS AND PROCESSES	<p>Goal specification</p> <p>Quantification</p> <p>Projection of consequences of alternative means to a given objective</p> <p>System</p> <p>Modeling</p>
TYPES OF STUDIES	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Definition of a system within a quantitative model: an information organizer which describes interrelated conditions 2. Generation of alternative explanations for phenomena or programs 3. Evaluation of impact of phenomena or programs by calculating or projecting changes and their consequences

Systems Analysis

TECHNIQUES USED	<p>Network and impact analysis</p> <p>Queuing (Bottleneck theory)</p> <p>Simulation and gaming</p>
UNDERLYING DECISION- RULES WITH WHICH POLICY OPTIONS ARE GENERATED	<p>Analysis of interrelationship of phenomena</p> <p>Political and economic environment</p> <p>Program effectiveness and cost</p> <p>Program objectives and rele- vant institutional arrangements</p> <p>Rationality can inform decisions given political consensus on relevant criteria</p> <p>Future circumstances can be predicted based upon data from past</p> <p>Resource allocation can be made efficient by improving access to quality service</p>

CHAPTER IV

APPLIED POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

How does a political scientist function as either policy developer or policy analyst? When generating options for a decisionmaker, does he/she rely on the same concepts as variables utilized to explain why a policy came into being? By what vehicles or processes do political scientists illuminate alternative choices?

PURPOSE OF CHAPTER

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the political scientist's approach to the development and analysis of social policy. Concepts and techniques utilized by political scientists will be presented. Specific studies will be utilized to illustrate the ways in which political scientists function as policy analysts.

CONCEPTS AND PROCESSES WITH WHICH POLITICAL SCIENTISTS FUNCTION AS POLICY ANALYSTS AND DEVELOPERS

Particular concepts, while referred to or applied by analysts of other disciplines, are basic to the political scientist's approach to the analysis of social policy. In general, it is based on three internally consistent assumptions about policy

development. Each generates concepts of major concern to the political scientist either as policy analyst or policy developer or both.

The first assumption, that policy is a deliberate exercise of power, connotes three major premises to be discussed in this chapter. One is that policy choices are essentially political choices fashioned by compromise and mutual accommodation. Another is that major determinants of policy choice are mediated through the political system and that, therefore, concepts of influence, power and purpose are integral to their analysis. And the third is that policy expresses ideological intent and/or ideological ambiguity.

In The Children's Cause,¹ for example, Steiner explores the divisiveness in all aspects of childrens policy. He illustrates how the political system is and is not organized to respond to the needs of children; how childrens policy originates; and why some child advocates are more successful than others in promoting their policies.² He explains policy

¹Gilbert Y. Steiner, The Children's Cause (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1976).

²Ibid., p. viii.

outcome essentially as the consequence of the loci of power and political feasibility.

Steiner concludes that in the absence of comprehensive child care legislation, an inevitable 'disarray characteristic' describes child health policy. He highlights the fact that there is no mechanism by which overall policy can be formulated: "In its absence, neither a review of the way Congress usually reaches important decisions on child health legislation nor a review of the way the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare responds to congressional decisions inspires confidence. Congress acts in episodic fashion and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare seems unwilling or unable to participate in aggressive new forms of child health work."¹

Steiner concludes that child health has been shaped, and can only be revised politically, by bringing pressure to bear on policymakers. He suggests that relevant programs reflect the financial resources available to a particular advocacy

¹Ibid., p. 239.

group, rather than a comprehensive consideration of tradeoffs. He suggests that an efficient network of child health services demands innovative political viability: "High priority should be assigned to locating and reeducating political leaders who would be willing to keep a watchful eye on how the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare implements child health programs; who will maintain contact with the interest groups that propose and develop program ideas; and who will actively try to attract more political interest in a rational restructuring of congressional committee responsibility."¹ Steiner also recommends the strengthening of coalitions among lobbyists in favor of programs for specific categories of children, such as the poor, handicapped, or homeless.

A second assumption shared by political scientists and related to the first is that political processes impede policy development. Concepts describing and explaining this assumption include: power and its relationship to purpose; influence and its relationship to leadership; and hierarchy and its relation to backlash.

¹Ibid.

Piven and Cloward's analysis of the politics of welfare, for example, focuses upon political processes and structures as they culminate in specific policy. They conclude that "The key to an understanding of relief giving is in the functions it serves for the larger economic and political order, for relief is a secondary and supportive institution. Historical evidence suggests that relief arrangements are initiated or expanded during the occasional outbreaks of civil disorder produced by mass unemployment, and are then abolished or contracted when political stability is restored."¹ Piven and Cloward's study analyzes the power of relevant interest groups; clashes among purposes and goals; and the compromises achieved by mutually advantageous coalescence.

The third assumption reflective of political science concepts is that political forces produce policy. For example, how and why political processes operate in a given manner, or culminate in a particular legal structure or administrative decision

¹Frances F. Piven and Richard Cloward, Regulating The Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare (New York: Pantheon Press, 1971).

are frequently the foci for political science analysts. Such studies interpret the relationship of power and conflict to political processes; the impact of electoral behavior upon the selection of leaders; and the nature and impact of consensus with regard to decisionmaking processes.

The study of consensus and purpose as foci for content analysis is aptly illustrated in Steiner's Social Insecurity: The Politics of Welfare.¹ In this study, Steiner describes policy making as the result of either political conflict or political consensus among publically acceptable stereotypes. He notes that "the low tax cause rarely wins when the image is that of a respectable, aged, white, literate citizen in his 'Golden Years.' A rigorous eligibility line designed to restrict admission to relief rolls is more common when the image of the recipient changes to that of an uneducated, unmarried negro mother and her offspring."²

¹Gilbert V. Steiner, Social Insecurity: The Politics of Welfare (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

²Ibid., p. 3.

TYPES OF STUDIES: MAJOR TRENDS

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Until the late nineteenth century, political science was no more than an amalgam of knowledge and methodologies borrowed from other disciplines, primarily history and law, and applied to the study of political institutions. Also at that time, the moral/philosophical approach to political life, which had hitherto been popular, gave way to a legalistic framework for study; combined, then, with objective, formal descriptions of legal provisions or judicial and administrative procedures, philosophical inquiry into the ends and means of government continued to be the mainstay of the political science discipline.

From the turn of the century until the 1960's, the legalistic-philosophical approach was augmented to include a concern with the political processes

underlying the legal phenomena:

In the discovery of groups as the major vehicle ... of research ... politics came to be interpreted as a process through which group activities outside the formal political structure but acting upon and through it, managed to influence all phases of government activity.¹

Attention to how and why political processes and structures operate in a given manner represented a historic shift in perspective from a study of institutions and structures to a concern with the causes and consequences of political behavior. Known as "behaviorism," this approach was testimony to the marriage in the social sciences generally between theory and empiricism. Political researchers committed both to theory and to analysis and verification, began to be concerned with political behavior in general.²

Researchers began to identify specific variables, influential individuals and processes that culminated in particular legal structures or

¹David Easton, "Political Science," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York: Free Press, 1968), vol. 12, pp. 289-297.

²Ibid.

decisions. A continued prevalence of studies that analyze the selection of leaders, the nature of impacts upon decision-making processes, and the relevance of power and conflict to political life testify to the continued influence of behaviorism upon political scientists.

By the 1960's, scientific methodology -- relying primarily upon systems theory and variants thereof -- had been accepted as integral to political science. The study of political behavior came to include a plethora of quantifiable data describing the inputs and outputs of political processes and the distribution and utilization of political resources. Consequently, the general focus of political science inquiry moved away from the immediate political problems of the day to a more general concern with the nature of political processes and dilemmas.

During the 1960's, a focus upon the maintenance of political structures and processes prevailed. Stressing relationships among variables, political scientists began to adopt techniques of systems

analysis and economics while at the same time focusing upon the maintenance of political systems¹.

At the same time, political scientists became increasingly interested in particular substantive areas. Concern with a given content area -- be it child welfare, city government, or health policy -- became a vehicle with which to interpret policy processes. Political scientists moved to combine their long-standing interest in political processes with one in process plus content in a particular field of interest.

The general evolution in the field away from a problem orientation and towards the development of an empirically-based theoretical matrix has increased the need for research. Issues yet to be explored include both political aspects of decisionmaking and long range issues such as the interaction of values with facts and prescriptions.

With a change in focus away from theory and prescription towards a search for explanations

¹Ibid.

concerning political processes, and with an enhanced awareness of the social and economic determinants of political behavior, political science contributes a unique perspective to the development of social policy. Particularly the recent efforts focusing on the content rather than the political processes culminating in particular policies¹ are indicative of attention to how political structures and processes are utilized by political scientists.

Explanations of political processes and structures, studies of the determinants and consequences of political behavior, and analyses of political processes in particular substantive areas, then, characterize major foci of political science inquiry. Three types of studies exemplify these trends. One is the explanatory model, using case studies to describe why particular decisions came into being. In this kind of study, the analyst picks a substantive issue, such as child welfare, an income maintenance program, or federalism, and

¹See for example, Ira Sharkansky, Policy Analysis in Political Science (Chicago: Markham Press, 1971). See also, Austin Ranney, Political Science and Public Policy (Chicago: Markham Press, 1968).

analyzes the political underpinnings that led to one set of decisions or policies over another. A second is a "prior analysis" model,¹ an advisory mechanism with which the political scientist offers projections to a decisionmaker. A third is a content-focused model in which germane political processes or issues are analyzed. This model is more theoretical than the other two. The contents of a specific policy are analyzed from the perspective of the political processes that underlie or culminate in a specific policy decision. Often the purpose of such studies is to elucidate crucial variables such as the power of a political leader that potentially might be weighted with respect to future policy outcomes.

EXPLANATORY MODEL (CASE STUDY)

The political scientist's "case-study" approach is conceptualized by Hofferbert.² This type of study

¹J. Jones, "Why Can't Congress Do Policy Analysis," Policy Analysis 2:2(Spring 1976).

²Richard Hofferbert, The Study of Public Policy (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1974).

Several eminent case examples illustrate and reinforce Hofferbert's analytic framework. One is Stephen Bailey's Congress Makes A Law.¹ Beginning with the introduction of the Full Employment Act of 1945, Bailey interprets and describes the political obstacles leading to its implementation, noting that policy in 1945 responded not only to the occurrences of that year but to the drastic changes in public policy that had taken place over the course of two previous decades. Such changes included the unprecedented rates in unemployment that precipitated the previously unthinkable New Deal legislation. "The ideology of limited government and the primacy of private enterprise had been tested and found wanting."²

Changing attitudes and changing expectations framed the political scenario in which the concept of the Full Employment Act was conceived, debated, and finally implemented. Profound ideological

¹Stephen Bailey, Congress Makes A Law (New York: Columbia Press, 1950).

²Hofferbert, p. 98.

begins with a definition of standards for the quantity and quality of information needed to fulfill an explanatory function. That function is a determination of why a given policy outcome occurred and how the processes that produced it worked. The explanatory approach isolates and defines the common format utilized by political scientists to analyze processes that culminate in specific policy formulations.

That format as conceptualized by Hofferbert includes seven crucial elements: A) the isolation for investigative purposes of a single or several interrelated policy decisions, B) the history of policy development in the given area, C) the political and economic variables of the given policies, D) the ideological givens, E) description and analysis of the relevant issues, F) the evident options and constraints, and G) the actions taken and reactions by various factions to those actions. Reactions by individual decision-makers to his or her environment include projected effects on target groups and symbolic gains or losses.

influence -- with Keynes as a major architect -- as well as the advent of second world war affected the passage of the bill as well.

The options and constraints symbolized by congressional battles constituted another set of influences. The essence of Bailey's study, in fact, is his assessment of the action on the floor of Congress, in lobbies and in committee rooms. He also explores the function of opposing groups, such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Bailey cautions against expecting "direct and measurable effects from overt efforts to form Congressional opinion or to influence behavior with regard to particular issues." Instead, he advocates in favor of searching for overall, indirect influences upon participants in policymaking processes.

Bailey explores the symbolic as well as the substantive conflicts that influenced the development

of the Full Employment Act. He documents, for instance, the battles over ideology implicit in the official definitions of such terms as "right to work" or "full employment." He notes that ultimately such conflicts resulted in a version of the bill less liberal than its architects had planned.

Marmor's Politics of Medicare¹ is another example of the political scientist's use of an explanatory model. In tracing the congressional and executive political contests that sculpted medicare, Marmor accounts for the timing and character of Medicare as well as for political conflicts engendered by it.

Piven and Cloward's The Politics of Turmoil² contains several examples of explanatory case studies. One is "The Professional Bureaucracies: Benefit Systems as Influence Systems." In this study the authors analyze the given policy outcome as well as the political processes that produced it.

¹Theodore R. Marmor, The Politics of Medicare (Chicago: Aldine, 1973), second edition.

²Frances F. Piven and Richard Cloward, The Politics of Turmoil (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), paperback edition.

Utilizing Hofferbert's analytic framework, Piven and Cloward isolate for analysis the growth of the bureaucracies of the welfare state. They then analyze its consequence: the diminished influence of low-income people in public spheres.

Piven and Cloward describe and analyze historic, economic and ideological givens. They point out that economically the bureaucracies are vulnerable to direct control by broad constituencies during election time, budget hearings, or during public referenda on appropriations. They note that, during such times, client attention-seeking devices can jeopardize economic support. They conclude that bureaucracies therefore attempt to control disruptive behavior: "Governmental benefit systems have become a powerful source of control over low income people used to ensure the conforming client behaviors required both for internal stability and in order to maintain electoral support."¹

In describing key relevant issues, Piven and Cloward rely upon a central proposition: that public bureaucracies have as a core purpose the maintenance

¹Ibid., p. 8.

of conditions necessary to their own stability and expansion. They are value-neutral, aligned with no political party or socioeconomic class except insofar as availability of resources can be assured them.

PRIOR ANALYSIS

Political scientists sometimes analyze a set of alternative policy decisions prior to the time a choice is made. This is a policy oriented approach that synthesizes available research and seeks participation in decision-making processes.

Jones provides an example of prior analysis.¹ It is a comprehensive approach to the promulgation of one plan over another, and to the analysis of presumed causal relationships inherent in a policy choice. It may be applied to the passage of laws,

¹Jones.

to the rendering of judicial decisions or to the making of administrative decisions on either governmental or private levels.

Marmor's "Rethinking National Health Insurance"¹ provides an example of prior analysis; it is a synthesis of available information concerning issues and data relevant to the future choice of a national health insurance proposal. In this study, Marmor catalogues data concerning extant programs according to cost, access, and quality of care. Marmor concludes that individual cost, or the financing of existing insurance plans, is often manageable for individual families; but most insurance plans provide inadequate assistance for financial catastrophes. Marmor notes that the proportion of the Gross National Product, social cost, spent for medical care increased by 80% during the past quarter of a century. The rising expenditures for hospital care, currently eight times greater per person than in 1950, are similarly enormous. The heavy increase in

¹Theodore Marmor, "Rethinking National Health Insurance," Public Interest 46 (Winter 1977):73-95.

hospital costs currently accounts for 40% of current health expenditures.

Marmor's study synthesizes available information about access to quality medical service. He points out that medical care in this country is notorious for its maldistribution and disorganization of service. But he also illustrates that we have no clear data indicating that quality suffers from decentralization. He also cites physician shortages: "The shortage of doctors in the countryside and in the inner cities is a serious problem. So is the dearth of general practitioners. Only approximately 70,000 of the 295,000 practicing doctors in this country are pediatricians or general practitioners."

Marmor's analysis not only synthesizes information concerning health care; he also analyzes presumed causal relationships inherent in given policy choices. For instance, in discussing competing proposals for health insurance plans, Marmor notes that the more comprehensive plans assuring equal access are expensive. Therefore, they are probably not politically viable. On the other hand, the catastrophic insurance plans are effective and cheap

because the goals are limited. He illustrates, for instance, that the Long-Ribicoff proposal leaves intact current health plans, except for financing medical catastrophes. Marmor concludes that if the plan were fully implemented, it would not resolve the current dilemma of financial barriers that many health-insurance proponents advocate against in the first place.

As another way of exploring the presumed causal relationships inherent in particular policy choices, Marmor concludes that National Health Insurance will probably not improve the quality of care. It can probably neither check malpractice nor control inefficiency. Marmor notes: "The quality of medical care depends much more on professional self-regulation and consumer awareness than on any conceivable health-insurance plan. Adequate financing cannot insure that the care we get is good."¹

Marmor combines his analysis of competing proposals for health insurance with the promulgation

¹Ibid., p. 84.

of his point of view. Taking into account factors of cost as well as political feasibility, Marmor recommends a children's health insurance plan as a means of extending financial access to medical services through government action. Marmor concludes that the nature of the benefits must meet children's needs, but must also be coupled with a catastrophic protection plan for all citizens. He views his plan as politically appealing, progressively redistributive, and accountable.

Laurence Lynn's "Study of the Public Policy Process" contains another example of prior analysis. Its purpose is to contribute to an understanding of how, given increasingly stringent controls, states can be expected to organize and administer human services. His analysis is three-fold. It is a teasing out of factors influencing the ways in which relevant policy decisions are reached; it is a contribution towards the development of a

¹Laurence Lynn, "Study of the Public Policy Process," Evaluation 3:1-2(1976):59-78.

predictive capacity; and it is an a-priori evaluation of how different forms of human services organization might serve different objectives.¹

Lynn describes Florida's plan to reorganize human service providers, and its implementation. His analysis takes into account the mental health community, the legislature, and the governor's office. For each, he depicts goals, accomplishments, and constraints. For instance, Lynn describes the steps taken to enhance executive control over human services policy and delivery. He illustrates how measures were influenced by the legislature's active interest in regionalization and integration of service delivery as well as by financial support from the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Lynn also studies the factors that constrained the implementation of the governor's agenda. A major constraint was a state constitution that limited executive resources. The governor was

¹Ibid., pp. 59-60.

caught, Lynn notes, between "legislatively initiated pressures for regionalization, integration and decategorization on the one hand, and the strong preference for voluntary cooperation and coordination among the separate service divisions in the Human Resources Administration on the other."¹

Lynn's analysis of Florida's reorganization accounts for the causal relationships that he presumes to be inherent in the policy choices made. He notes, for example, that the governor's increased intervention into the design of Florida's human services network led to several changes: One was that once program planners on his staff realized that fiscal accountability was being increased, the process of mutual accommodation between fiscal and program planners became more marked. Another was that the governor began to develop his own knowledge-base and priorities, augmenting the effectiveness of

¹Ibid., p. 62.

his leadership. Finally, the morale of the program planners was lifted by regular access to the governor.

Lynn's analysis stresses the political processes that ultimately dictate outcome. He notes, for instance, that in opting for reorganization of human services, a state will consider political as well as substantive options. Political choices could reflect the need to exert control over an existing agency or to challenge existing vested interests. On the other hand, Lynn concludes that they could reflect an intention to increase the visibility and apparent priority of an agency mission or program.

Lynn's analysis of the political bases for options for reorganization as well as for expected reactions to it illustrates the substance and contributions of prior analysis:

Viewing reorganization in this context has three important and related implications. The first is that different parties to the issue can be expected to react to reorganization depending in large measure on whether they believe they stand to gain or lose by it. The second is that the actual resolution of the issue can be expected to depend on the relative political power of the actors involved in the decision. The third, related to the above two, is that a reorganization proposal is unlikely to become a serious issue at all

unless a relatively powerful political actor sees sufficient advantage in it to warrant sustained advocacy.¹

CONTENT VERSUS PROCESS MODELS

In recent years, the dichotomy between policy process and policy content has become popular among political scientists as analysts of social policy.² Van Dyke³ has noted that one can only study political processes by studying the conflict implicit in the content of an actual or proposed policy; by analyzing the types of issues that are likely to precipitate conflicts; or by examining alternative means of resolving conflict so as to maximize or realize desired policy consequences. Van Dyke⁴ describes historically and substantively why the analysis of political processes cannot be extricated from a study of policy content. He concludes that political process cannot be analyzed except as it affects or culminates in policy content. In order to develop knowledge concerning the formulation and implementation of policy content and political

¹Lynn, p. 62.

²See for example, Sharkansky, and Ranney.

³Vernon Van Dyke, "Process and Policy as Focal Concepts in Political Research," in Ranney, pp. 23-41.

⁴Ibid.

process,¹ Van Dyke suggests that policy analysts reflect specific problem areas, such as transportation, communication, the family, social security, or housing.

Van Dyke concludes that by elucidating the political processes that culminate in a given policy decision, a criteria for predictability might be devised. For instance, the degree of consensus or power needed to effect a policy change could be weighted. Conversely, the degree of conflict threatening a proposed policy outcome might also be calculated. Or, variables likely to precipitate conflict might be elucidated -- e.g. proposals dependent upon redistribution as a source for resource allocation. Finally, alternative means of handling conflict explicit in a given content analysis might also be categorized to further theoretical understanding of their important viz policy outcome.

Van Dyke also stresses the importance of identifying variables inherent in specific social policies that contribute to or enhance the maintenance of an existing political system. He recommends that political scientists also analyze the constitutional underpinnings for social policies,

¹Ibid., p. 30.

the characteristics of political systems or elements of political processes that culminate in social policies,¹ he also calls for methodical analysis of policy content and of underlying issues reflective of issues that engender conflict of opinion such as the distribution of wealth, the effect upon policies of mass media, or the consequence of societal attitudes upon policy development.² Van Dyke's work suggests that only by eliciting the nature of specific policy contents can the political facets of multiple issues of purpose, interest, and values be understood -- problems vital to political behavior.

¹Ibid., p. 37.

²Ibid., p. 38.

TECHNIQUES | USED

Political scientists contribute to decisionmaking processes in one of two ways. They often become experts in a substantive field. And they analyze, explain and predict the political phenomena by which policies are formulated, designed, and implemented. In both cases, political scientists explore policy options by attending to particular phenomena. Essentially, these all cluster around one key concept and point of view: that is that policies are effected largely as a matter of feasibility and power, and the outcome of strategies that ensue.

In this context, there are two major ways in which political scientists function as technicians, although they may rely on economic, systems, and other forms of analysis. One is by attending to output variables. A second is by analyzing the implementation phase of policy development.

ATTENDING TO OUTPUT VARIABLES |

Policy outputs, as opposed to policy outcomes, are the impacts of public policies on the political system.¹ Political scientists have recently been exploring ways of calculating outputs. Ranney, for instance, suggests that: "we should be able to calculate what a particular policy costs not only in dollars but also in terms of other policies forgone or truncated, increases in internal social hostility and instability, increases in demands on and decreases in supports for the system, narrowing the range of future policy options."²

In order to be able to project the consequences of a policy output, it is necessary to define the specific inputs generated. For instance, electoral studies can illuminate selection processes. These in turn can affect the public's choice of a policymaker; similarly, studies of economic or political development in a given locale can provide information concerning forces altering policy choice.

¹Ranney, p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 18.

Huitt's study¹ of impacts illuminates the pragmatic calculations about how people will behave given certain constant institutional factors and resources.² In his study of policymaking, Huitt analyzes the specific "conditions of political feasibility which seem operative in the making of national policy."³ He concludes, for example, that "nothing is better than an amendment. A once hated housing law becomes an annual invitation to try to get something else under a respected umbrella, where it may take shelter forever more. A higher education bill that was killed in conference in 1962 and passed with great exertion in 1963 was renewed and extended by the House of Representatives in 1966 under suspension of the rules without a recorded vote. No one fears the familiar. In politics, the bromides are the best guides."⁴

Sharkansky's Policy Analysis in Political Science presents various authors' attempts to elicit economic, political and individual or institutional determinants

¹Ralph Huitt, "Political Feasibility," in Sharkansky, pp. 399-413.

²Ibid., p. 398.

³Ibid., p. 401.

⁴Ibid., p. 411.

of public policy. Dye's "Income Inequality and American State Politics,"¹ for instance, explores the relationship between the impact of inequal distribution of income upon policy outcomes on the state level. By applying the Lorenz curve² to express the extent of income inequality, and other measures to describe the relationship between income distribution and public policy, Dye illustrates his hypothesis that the distribution of social and economic resources within a state may be more important to the content of policy output than the level of social and economic resources. He also explores the relationship between income inequality and the level of public expenditures in the areas of taxation, transfer payments, and health.

Similarly, Hofferbert's exploratory model³ of the relationship between political variables and policy outcomes illustrates the political scientist's emergent concern with policy content. He compares ecological and policy variables with such correlates

¹Thomas R. Dye, "Income Inequality and American State Politics," in Sharkansky, pp. 139-149.

²Ibid., p. 140.

³Richard J. Hofferbert, "Ecological Development and Policy Change in The American States," in Sharkansky, pp. 149-169.

as urbanization, education, income level to policy decisions concerning issues such as public health, police protection, social security and transfer payments. In exploring the political processes germane to Nixon's Family Assistance Plan, he challenges the utility of the incrementalist model for predicting policy outcomes. Hoffebert concludes that "it may be that incrementalism is worse than useless for explicating the most significant decisions government makes; the blinders it entails exaggerate the barriers to basic policy change and distort the degree to which 'big' decisions are possible in the American system."¹ In dissecting the political forces that counteracted the passage of the Family Assistance Plan, Moynihan² makes a case for defining politics as an expression of value preferences. He notes that the ideological distaste for a policy defying the work ethic was probably a primary motive for its defeat -- the

¹Ibid., p. 151.

²Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of A Guaranteed Income (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

shift from a "welfare policy based on disability-related deprivation and need and aimed at those who cannot help themselves towards a policy of income maintenance, welfare as a master of right."¹ Moynihan notes also that the Family Assistance Plan challenged the psychosocial theories concerning the effects of guaranteed income upon family structure, upon the work incentive and upon the laboring classes whose incomes were above those of FAP recipients. Moreover, he notes, labor unions and other groups were opposed to the concept of a guaranteed income because they "feared that a guaranteed income would render them superfluous."² Public opinion polls, Moynihan points out, showed a large majority of the population opposed to the concept.³

Moynihan notes that scholarly research did nothing to mobilize political processes in favor of the Family Assistance Plan. In fact, in its

¹Ibid., p. 9.

²Ibid., p. 182.

³Ibid., p. 11.

inability to predict such consequences as the effect upon social and economic variables such as those mentioned above, the academic community may have lost an important opportunity to have an impact upon policy.

No extant model of policy adequately formulates the relationship between development, analytic and political process. Moynihan has suggested that what is needed is a model of abnormal decision-making to clarify and augment our theoretical understanding of the relationship of political processes (inputs) to policy development.

ATTENDING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Political scientists have begun to emphasize the implementation phase of policy as a locus for

analysis.¹ In seeking to determine what kinds of political factors culminate in a particular policy decision, political scientists are beginning to construct explanatory causal models that include such variables as a) traits of administrative agencies, b) socioeconomic class of clientele, c) crucial lines of influence in the development of a policy, -- including individual actors and government institutions, and d) decisionmaking processes as they are affected by political structures and processes.

Analysis of implementation occurs in three types of studies. The first emphasizes the executing of program as opposed to its design and legitimization. A second type of implementation study includes the development of a methodology by means of which analyses can make 'implementation estimates' of the institutional and political consequences of structuring programs in given ways. And a third study is that of implementation as a series of administrative processes to be analyzed and improved.²

¹Geoffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, Implementation (Berkeley:University of Berkly Press, 1973).
See also Policy Studies Journal 5:1 (Autumn 1976).

²Erwin C. Hargrove, "Implementation," Policy Studies Journal 5:1 (Autumn 1976):9-15, p. 9.

While assuming on the one hand that a policy output is an independent variable upon which societal conditions are dependent, political scientists are also beginning to distinguish policy outcome from policy output. Ranney notes¹ that we no longer assume that once we pass a law, establish a bureaucracy and spend money that the purpose of these acts will be achieved and the results will be what we expect them to be. The national experiences with public housing, urban renewal, public assistance and many other public programs indulate the need for careful appraisals of the need impact of a public policy.

'Implementation' refers specifically to the operationalizing of a law, to what happens to the original policy when it materializes in a program.² Analysis of the implementing of a policy must address two issues: a) what the consequences will be of organizing a program a particular way, and b) how can a given policy be most effectively implemented.³

¹Ranney, p. 95.

²Erwin C. Hargrove, "The Missing Link, The Study of the Implementation of Social Policy" (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1975), p.1.

³Ibid., p. 3.

The implementation phase of policy development has been of particular interest to political scientists as they study policy as the outcome of a political process. They analyze a policy as it was initially shaped by the politics of reaching agreement and then chart the continuing politics of program administration in which politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups and publics vie for control over the direction of the program.¹

Analysis of implementation may also include a second process -- comparison of alternative implementation strategies both with regard to desirability and feasibility. Hargrove, for example, refers to an "implementation estimate" in which "the analyst estimates for the policymaker the varying degrees of ease or difficulty likely to be involved in implementation alternatives."²

Because the analysis of implementation is, in effect, the study of program impact as an expression of policy, more research is indicated regarding "how institutions actually work in implementation

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 4.

processes (as means of) improving the design of initial program strategies and enhance the successful administrative operation of programs."¹ Research knowledge, relevant to implementation analysis, is linked to policy and program development, rather than to program management.² Specific information is needed, for instance, concerning kinds of knowledge lending predictability of consequences for choosing one implementation strategy over another. This knowledge could be applied to either a case study or to a prior analysis -- e.g. "estimating the desirability and feasibility of different strategies of policy implementation."³

In presenting some examples of analysis of implementation as prior analysis, Hargrove notes that there may be several different ways to organize the administrative side of a housing allowance, involving varying responsibilities by different

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 9.

levels of government. He suggests that factual information is required about the way particular institutions are presently working or are likely to work. He points out that a choice between public housing and a housing allowance involves not only economic costs and benefits, but gains and losses from the actual strategy of implementation in each case.

Hargroves' catalogue of obstacles to the analysis of implementation parallel the difficulties of policy analysis as prior analysis generally: a) the splintering of the system of political representation giving legislators a strong constituency orientation, b) the search for visibility and support among politicians causing an emphasis upon dramatic achievement, c) the importance of interest groups and the denigration of powerless groups which may be intended program beneficiaries, and d) the fragmentation of American bureaucracies often leading to overemphasis upon means often to the sacrifice of goal achievement.

Derthick's Uncontrollable Spending for Social Service Grants¹ is an illustration of the major impact that implementation can exert upon policy outcome. An inquiry into federal control over state expenditures, her analysis of grants-in-aid focuses on why a sudden outburst of spending occurred and how it was brought under control. She illustrates how the states, given a legal loophole, were unable to exploit federal funds and immobilize confrontation by the executive branch. Analyzing a program in which control was conspicuously lacking for several years,² Derthick illustrates the importance of implementation both as an expression of policy and a generator of policy options: "In general the huge increase in federal expenditures did not increase the volume of (social service) activities. State governments substituted the federal funds for their own funds. Had the federal government exercised more control, presumably the money ... might have been used to expand social services or federal policymakers

¹Martha Derthick, Uncontrollable Spending for Social Service Grants (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975).

²Ibid., p. 1.

might have chosen a different use of the money altogether, such as increasing the cash incomes of the poor." ¹

Derthick notes that what made the social service grants program noteworthy was not its size or exceptionally rapid rate of growth, but that it was unintended by both the legislature and the Chief executive.²

Derthick concludes that spending got out of control primarily not because the character of the law was open-ended or contained a loophole, but because the sponsoring bureaucracy lost organizational control of the program.³ "The law created huge financial stakes but then it was necessary to change the character of federal administration and of federal-state administrative relations to enable the states to capture the stakes."

In analyzing the interplay between policy development and program implementation, Derthick

¹Ibid., p. 2.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 13.

notes that professionals essentially inspired the legislation: "It was the professionals' recommendation that social services through public welfare programs be strengthened and extended and be readily accessible as a matter of right at all times to all those who need them."¹ She notes also that they neither predicted nor intended that social service grants become a back door revenue sharing "the purpose for which no one in Washington knew and for which the states could offer no accounting."² The transformation of social services into fiscal relief for the states then according to Derthick's analysis is an example of implementation as a perversion of policy intent, and a generator of policy option.

Wildawsky and Pressman³ point out that the more specifically a policy is directed at an objective or target, the fewer decisions will be involved in its realization, and the greater the likelihood of

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²Ibid.

³Pressman and Wildawsky, Chapter 7.

its implementation.¹ They suggest that deficiencies need to be assessed and predicted during each phase of implementation, beginning with choice of target and ending with mechanisms for interventions. They note that policy ambiguities often exacerbate bureaucratic problems.

In analyzing the failure of an employment program, for instance, Wildawsky and Pressman highlight the deleterious effects of divorcing policy from outcome.² Noting the crucial importance of incorporating the difficulties of implementation as part of the initial formulation of policy,³ they describe the defects of ignoring the relationship: "From the outset the emphasis was on designing the program, obtaining initial agreement at the local level and committing the funds. The later steps of implementation were felt to be 'technical questions' that would resolve themselves. But

¹Ibid., p. 147.

²Ibid., p. 143.

³Ibid.

the years have shown how those seemingly routine questions of implementation were the rocks on which the program eventually foundered."¹ Wildawsky and Pressman suggest actions by which the gap between policy design and implementation might be filled! The first is the pulling together of the most direct possible means for accomplishing a desired end, in this case, the avoidance of needing excess approvals. "The fact that the considered having program required approval by nine separate organizations made unlikely that the program would move along as quickly as its sponsors would have liked."²

The second action suggested by Wildawsky and Pressman as a means of closing the policy-implementation gap is to fashion the organizational machinery for executing a program as carefully as that for launching.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 146.

UNDERLYING DECISION RULES BY WHICH POLITICAL
SCIENTISTS GENERATE POLICY OPTIONS

Political Scientists often select policy alternatives utilizing two underlying decision-rules. One is that policies result from power and purpose as mediated through the political system. The other is that policies, both in design and implementation, express tension among disparate values.

In attending to the inherent tension among values expressed in policy making, political scientists suggest alternative approaches to analysis. One is the choosing of preferences from a series of alternative objectives and the other is a "strategic" approach, choosing the most politically efficient means toward a given end.

POWER AND PURPOSE AS MEDIATED THROUGH THE POLITICAL
SYSTEM

Political Scientists frequently focus upon power and purpose as an expression of value-conflicts among choices. These are analyzed with reference to the political processes that culminate in specific policies. In their study of New York City's government, for instance, Sayre and Kaufman illustrate that consensus and feasibility are the independent variables upon which policy outcomes rely. They note that "if there is any single feature of the system of government and politics in New York City that may be called ubiquitous and invariant, it would seem to be the prevalence of mutual accommodation. Every program and policy represents a compromise among the interested participants."¹ McGeorge Bundy, in this regard, refers to the locus of political science inquiry as "power and purpose, a technical, an economic or a strategic problem that will, in the end, become a problem of purpose. A recommended policy must have an object, and that object must be justified by standards of value and conviction. Behind all technical consent, there will be intent, there is

¹Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, Governing New York City (New York: Russel Sage, 1960), p. 714.

no escape from the problem of purpose."¹ Banfield's study of government as patterns of influence reflects a similar perspective: "where knowledge, wealth, social position, access to offices and other resources are unequally distributed, who actually governs?"² Analysis of political structures and processes also account for much of Banfield and Wilson's explorations.³ Their one major avenue of exploration concerns the distribution of authority and its effects. And the second concerns the means by which power is accumulated and influence established.⁴

Smith's analysis of political pluralism is another illustration of the political scientist's concern with purpose and power as it affects policy formulation.⁵ He probes the gap between theories of

¹McGeorge Bundy, "The Battlefields of Power and the Searchlights of the Academy," in E.A. Johnson, ed., Dimensions of Diplomacy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), pp. 5-6, in Ranney.

²Robert Dahl, Who Governs (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Press, 1961), p. 1.

³Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Vintage Press, 1966), paperback edition.

⁴Ibid., p. 329.

⁵Mike Smith, ed., Politics in America: Studies in Policy Analysis (New York: Random House, 1974).

democracy and how policy is actually operationlized, the impact of "unequal political resources and biased access to recognized channels of political communication and decisions." He explores how representative government and interest group elites actually are, and the extent to which such groups account for policy development.¹

Diverse case illustrations in this volume reflect a common purpose: to display the rational determinants of policy choice as they are affected by political processes. In the manpower field, for instance, the author concludes that the veto of legislation that would have coordinated federal and state efforts was, in essence, a political and ideological act:

The president's sharpest language was directed toward the public service employment provision which he labeled "dead end" jobs. Though conceding the usefulness of transitional, short-term government job programs, his message asserted that "WPA-type jobs" were not the answer for government, the taxpayer or the unemployed. The message angered congressional Democrats and dismayed policy-makers in the Labor Department ... but such messages are designed for persuasion rather than analysis. Many people who were unaware of what was in the act were frightened off simply by the phrase "WPA-type jobs."²

¹Ibid., p. v.

²Ibid., pp. 103-104.

Political scientists often stress the rational determinants of policy choice as they are mediated in the political system. Sayre and Kaufman's study dramatizes the juxtaposition between political tendencies toward stasis on one hand, and the need for innovation on the other. Radical plans, they note, seldom survive due to demographic changes, economic cycles, innovative uses of technology and consequent political coalitions, and new centers of influence. They also question the hypothesis that impetus for change -- specific goals -- are frequently imposed from outside the governing structure. Sayre and Kaufman explore the role of professional change agents in the development of social policy -- on forcing accountability, and in acting as 'advocates of change.'¹

The characteristics of a political system, the structures and processes with which political

¹ Sayre and Kaufman.

scientists are concerned, are sometimes structural and sometimes informal, e.g. related to behavior of particular, influential individuals; the development of social policy is perceived as a political process in which decisionmaking and policy formulation are synonymous.

Zald's¹ study of organizations as polities illustrates the relevance of power, decisionmaking processes, and conflicts of values and interests as they are expressed in a political arena to social work's "quasi-political" functions:

(Social work) agencies are among a class of organizations in which goals are often in flux, in which the patterns of influence ebb and flow but are central to understanding the problems of that organization; in which organizations are in unstable relationship to their environment. Thus it seems warranted to give explicit attention to problems of power and the modes of binding people together for collective action. Community Organization agencies can be analyzed as miniature polities.²

¹Meyer Zald, "Organizations as Polities: An Analysis of Community Organization Agencies," in Ralph B. Kramer and Harry Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975), pp. 143-154.

²Ibid., p. 44.

EXPRESSION OF TENSION AMONG DISPARATE VALUES

Tension among disparate values is frequently analyzed by political scientists. The Program Planning Budgeting System analyzed as an incremental process is an example of the political scientist attending value tension among choices.

Schultze notes that there is¹ "political values with respect to income distribution and political power structures, enter ... heavily into the detailed design of most civilian programs."²

A specific criticism directed at Program Planning Budgeting System by political scientists, in this regard, is that it was an apolitical technique in an environment in which decisions ultimately accommodated to political realities. In its quantification of inputs and output, Program Planning Budgeting System did not consider prior decisions or future commitments that have been politically arrived at, and that may have affected the decision under consideration.

¹Charles Schultze, The Politics and Economics of Public Spending (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 28.

²Ibid., p. 16.

Input and output variables to be measured are determined by the analyst. They may or may not be representative of other components of the program. Even budget allocations, it is noted can be led astray by information that appears sophisticated, but deals with only a small portion of the relevant picture. The practitioners of PPBS may base their recommendations on a routine that is no more comprehensive in its rationality than is incremental budgeting.¹

It has been frequently noted, by political scientists, that the process of appropriations and budget making is in direct opposition to the Program Planning Budgeting System approach to policy formulation.

The chief argument revolves around the question of whether or not the process of budget making -- which is indistinguishable, by assumption, from policymaking since it concerns in concrete terms the authoritative allocation of resources to implement values -- can be "rational" in the sense that the new techniques of program budgeting and systems analysis suggest.²

Indicative of a hypersensitivity to political constraints, the budgetary process is an example of incrementalism and satisficing³ at its most dramatic.

¹Sharkansky, p. 74.

²Enid Bok Schoettle, "The State of the Art in Policymaking," in Raymond A. Bauer and Kenneth J. Gergen, The Study of Policy Formulation (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 149-181.

³Richard Zickhauser and Elmer Shaefer, "Public Policy and Normative Economic Theory," in Bauer and Gergen, pp. 27-103, pp. 2-6.

Because of the reverberating effects of its consequences, the budgetmaking process also illuminates the conflicts of values, and the competition for scarce resources among both participants and beneficiaries.

It can be said that the study of the social, economic and political conditions impinging on increases or decreases in budgetary items reflects the method of inquiry as well as the issues of concern to the political scientist. To provide differently would presumably underscore political conflicts that had been previously accommodated through processes of routine, ambiguous goals and satisficing. Incrementalism is a means of avoiding controversy concerning each and every budgetary item; it is an instrument of efficiency that prevents making each item controversial and subject to power plays among relevant interest groups. The effect on the status quo of the process of incrementalism in budgeting (and policymaking?) is obvious; incrementalism represents a lack of

innovative reappraisal of both goals and means. By avoiding controversy and by minimizing the risk of a legislative or an administrative (executive) veto, the incremental approach assures homeostasis. Bok has noted that the nature of the budgetary process and its effects upon the distribution of resources is illustrative of "the view of the policymaking process as a succession of strategies of disjointed incrementalism (and) as a failure to account for new policy departures."¹

The concept that "ultimately competition for limited resources plays itself out in a political arena," that conflicts among values constitute a major influence upon policymaking processes is central to the political scientist's analysis of policy: It is the policymaker's role to allocate limited resources and to mediate among conflicting sets of interests. In this context, the political analyst's task is to clarify the value bases, the

¹Bok Schoettle, p. 179.

policy making institutions, and the complexity of problems inherent in "the normative issues of high policy."

ALTERNATIVE RESOLUTIONS TO TENSION AMONG VALUES

Sometimes analysts find that policies do not resolve politically expressed tensions among disparate value bases. Rather they express ideological ambiguity.

Holden's analysis, "Politics of Poor Relief, A Study in Ambiguities"¹ is a case in point. Noting that "policies ... do not begin with economic choices but with a deliberate exercise of power, he emphasizes the political basis by which policy choices express ambiguity.

Interpretations of poor relief programs is extremely complex because they are affected with certain profound ambiguities inherent in the society and in the political process: ambiguity about loci of decision, programs, purposes, beneficiaries and ultimately the meaning of citizenship and the very nature of government itself.²

¹Matthew Holden Jr., "The Politics of Poor Relief: A Study in Ambiguities" (London: Sage Publications, 1973).

²Ibid., p. 7.

Holden correlates ambiguous loci of decision-making with the fact that the details of welfare administration remain in most states with local agencies that operate under general federal and state guidelines. He attributes constant deviance from federal and state standards by local officials to ignorance, lack of adequate staff time, or conflict of priorities among levels of government.

Holden attributes ambiguity of policy to what he calls "illustory consensus" among liberal, conservative and technocratic purpose. The liberal doctrine emphasizes minimizing the indignities of the poor as a major objective; the conservative perspective is concerned primarily with reducing dollar costs and inefficiency as well as disincentives to work. The technocratic purpose is to reduce administrative inequities -- for example between classes of recipients or among different programs to which the same beneficiary is entitled.

Holden's analysis of the inversion of welfare reform that has taken place since the 1960's exemplifies the political scientist's approach to content. Tracing a changing attitude towards recipients, he analyzes the unfolding politics of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program and of social service programs generally from 1962 to 1967 and again during the mid 1970's.

Holden points out that mandated provision of services were included in the 1962 amendments to the Social Security Act for conflicting reasons: "The official rationale was that they would strengthen family life, and social and economic capacities of individual family members. The underlying concept is that people are on public relief not merely because of shortages in labor but because they lack appropriate training or personal competencies."¹

Holden analyzes the conservation of principles of public relief in the form of the Work Incentive Program. Providing work training for welfare mothers of young children, he notes, was to develop a coercive program presumably intended to reduce welfare rolls. By 1971, he points out, the Talmadge Amendment had ossified the conservative intent of the Work Incentive Program. The imposition of rigid conditions by which mothers could turn down work options, and the shift from the welfare to the state employment office, made clear a federal conservative impulse: social services had become entirely a mechanism by which recipient behavior could be controlled.

¹Ibid.

Holden illustrates how poor relief politics differs from other domestic policies. Consumers are inactive, the constituency is weak and lacks political capacity. In defining social ambiguity towards citizenship and government, he notes that recipients of the Aid for Dependent Children program are not civil citizens in the sense that they are not capable of taking legal action; exercising power; or receiving necessary services. Ambiguity, Holden concludes, is at the root of poor relief policy and welfare programs, particularly the Aid for Dependent Children program.

The problems of "mobilizing support and community consensus"¹ for social policy development implies the necessity for political goals and strategies. The concept of the "perimeters of the possible"² -- the potential for success in changing agency policy offers a political role to the social work practitioner. His goals of "improving the delivery of social services," or "removing organizational conditions that are harmful to clients" and "securing Institutional supports" for clients and workers define him as an "internal advocate."³

¹Zald.

²George Brager, in George Brager and Harry Specht, Community Organizing (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

³Rino J. Patti, "Limitations and Prospects of Internal Advocacy," Social Casework (November 1974): 537-545, p. 545.

Internal advocacy is an activity engaged in by social work practitioners in their roles as professional employees, which is undertaken for the purpose of changing the formal policies, programs or procedures of the agencies that employ them.¹

The administrator of a social agency also has a political function since "executives are not as free to act on matters involving policy and program change as it is commonly assumed. Administrators must be sensitive and responsive to external constituencies, which are frequently in a position to affect the flow of inputs -- for example, money, legitimacy and influence -- upon which the agency relies for maintenance and survival, can and often do constrain the decisionmaking discretion that can be exercised by an administrator."²

Political constraints emanate from inevitably irreconcilable differences between expectations from staff and external pressure groups. Patti notes that when such things as program support, job security or agency reputation are at stake, the executive will often find it necessary to give priority to the interests of external groups, to

¹Joseph Paull, "Social Action For a Different Decade," Social Service Review 45 (March 1971):30-36.

²Ibid.

narrow the range of issues in which staff participation is solicited to those which are not likely to pose conflicts.

Rivlin,¹ in suggesting strategies -- as opposed to objectives or choice -- by which federal social policy can be enacted, notes that one approach social policy analysts may benefit from is the anticipation of and participation in the "vociferous political debates centering not on competing objectives, but on competing alternative views of the appropriate role of the federal government that cut across objectives and functional arenas such as health and housing. Policy analysts may find themselves more relevant if they focus their thoughts around the advantages and disadvantages of these major strategies and their implications for movement towards social goals."²

¹Alice Rivlin, "Social Policy: Alternative Strategies for the Federal Government" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974).

²Ibid., p. 3.

The strategic approach -- anticipating the political and substantive consequences of an effort to alter existing programs in order that they dovetail with innovative efforts, acknowledges that rational policy development is hampered by a need for consensus and feasibility. A consensus of values, as expressed by electoral behavior, for instance, has a commanding effect upon policy outcome:

Such a wholesale dismemberment of popular existing programs in favor of unknown new ones hardly seems likely to appeal to politicians or to voters ... it is so hard to explain how a negative income tax would work ... and ... the strength of the work ethic coupled with the widespread belief on the part of the non-poor that the poor do not share this ethic and that any income "guarantee," even a very low one, would cause substantial numbers of people to drop out of the labor force ... a third obstacle is the mounting intransigence of the left and its unwillingness to accept any compromise short of a fully adequate income for everyone.¹

Volkart's commentary² on the problem of executing rational policy choice in the light of tensions among competing values, and the political processes by which they are symbolized, reflect a different approach, but one also syntonic with the political

¹ Ibid., p. 19.

² Edward Volkart, "Reactions to Coleman on Policy Research," Footnotes, American Sociological Association, August 1973, pp. 1-4.

scientist's approach to policy development. In synthesizing the scholar's dilemma when conducting policy research, he cites the political impediments to neutral research, as evinced in policy study. He describes the ways in which "the political response of both the community and the funding agency" result in blurring of the lines between problem definition and disciplinary procedures for conducting research. He describes how investigators are faced with three difficult alternatives: to discard the project as scientifically unworkable; to run the risk of seeing their disciplined procedures corrupted; or to work out a series of political tradeoffs by which community people can gain some benefits in return for granting research people the right to conduct the investigation without interference."¹ He concludes that:

¹Ibid.

A basic question for the discipline ... is not just whether neutrality of investigation can be protected, but under what conditions political research on extremely sensitive issues should be encouraged or discouraged. What are the ethical and political as well as disciplinary issues that must be considered by scientists? Also, what impediments to research should be protested, and in what manner and to whom?¹

A political science perspective includes the strategies for instituting policy changes and the methods of conducting policy-oriented research; the enveloping of rational decisions in a political context, and the ways in which conflicting ideologies are expressed by political processes.

The political scientist's contribution to social policy is a broadbased perspective on strategies for analyzing conflicting ideologies. Knowledge of the behavioral and analytic structures and political processes which function to make policy is the basis upon which political science contributes to the analysis and development of social policy. Volkart concludes that when such things as program support, job security or agency reputation are at

¹Ibid.

stake, the executive will often find it necessary to give priority to the interests of external groups, to narrow the range of issues in which staff participation is solicited to those which are not likely to pose conflicts. In practice, the result is usually an avoidance of those issues that concern substantive policy or program changes."¹

¹Ibid.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Political scientists contribute a unique combination of concepts, models for analysis and interventions germane to the generating of social policy options. Processes and concepts relied upon by political scientists include consensus and feasibility; power and purpose and influence; hierarchy, and leadership.

In analyzing choices for policy development, political scientists exercise flexible analytic approaches ranging from explanatory models or after-the-fact case studies, to prior analyses intended as an advisory mechanism for decision-makers. Some analysts describe substantive fields of practice such as child welfare or personpower programs in terms of germane political inputs that affect them. These often highlight issues of power, consensus and feasibility as independent variables having major impact either policy upon outcome or program implementation.

Decision-rules most commonly identified and referred to by political scientists stress political variables. Major emphasis is accorded to preference among options on the basis of either power-based strategies, or incrementally derived, hence often ambiguous policies.

In their preoccupation with both policy development and implementation, political scientists appear to be moving towards the development of means by which policy outcomes (i.e. programs) in fact reflect the original policy decisions from which they emanate. They are also striving towards the development of a methodology to improve their predictive capacity regarding choice among policy options. Political scientists studies often seem to explain or predict policy decisions on the basis of political variables. Political concepts are also utilized to describe policies, generate options, or analyze the value-bases inherent in policy options.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Political Science

CONCEPTS AND

PROCESSES

1. Consensus and feasibility
2. Power and purpose
3. Influence, hierarchy,
backlash, leadership

TYPES OF STUDIES

1. Explanatory study (case study)
2. Prior analysis
 - a. analysis and evaluation of policies
 - b. analyses of presumed causal relationships inherent in a given policy choice
 - c. comparative approach to promulgation of one plan over another
3. Analysis of substance
4. Analysis of political process

Political Science

TECHNIQUES USED

1. Analysis of output variables
2. Analysis of implementation phase of policy development
3. Analysis of political processes culminating in particular policy content

UNDERLYING DECISION-
 RULES WITH WHICH
 POLICY OPTIONS ARE
 GENERATED

1. Feasibility
2. Resolution of tension among competing values
 - a. choosing political preferences from a set of alternatives
 - b. advocating one value over another
3. Strategic approach, e.g. incrementalism

CHAPTER V

POLICY SCIENCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT AND ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF CHAPTER

As an analogm of macro sciences, the policy sciences have as one function the development of policy. It is, in this regard, a multidisciplined approach to policy making, drawing upon the concepts and techniques of economists, political scientists and systems theorists.

The policy sciences have developed a second function: to analyze how policies are made, and to critique policymaking processes.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the two functions of the policy scientist, and the potential tension between them, as well as to describe the concepts upon which he/she relies. The similarities and differences between the social planner and the policy scientist will also be detailed.

CONCEPTS AND PROCESSES WITH WHICH POLICY SCIENTISTS FUNCTION AS ANALYSTS AND POLICY DEVELOPERS

Recent developments in the policy sciences area reflect the gradual melding of heretofore discrete methods and theories. Political and social events have precipitated the need for a broad-based, problem-oriented identification of individual social issues as components of urban processes that can be confronted coherently, and on a long-range basis.

Rivlin has noted, in this regard, that the goals of social programs are often difficult to

define, and that spending decisions are often fragmented and incremental. She notes that "there seems to be little point in arguing about alternative social strategies, because there is no obvious mechanism for translating general principles into budgetary and legislative decisions."¹

An increasing trend towards a rational, problem-solving approach for treating the environment analytically, depressing its irregularities and eccentricities as rational systems to be planned, has resulted from acute ecological and social problems and the demand for innovative, complex solutions. The suggested solutions have prompted an increased emphasis upon the planning process, including the stimulation of fields such as social reporting, social indicators, policy-oriented, evaluative research, and value oriented analysis. A general perspective about the importance of analyzing social policy has been dramatized by a concomitant emphasis upon advocacy and by public

¹Alice M. Rivlin, "Social Policy: Alternative Strategies For the Federal Government" (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974), p. 4.

studies of particular problems such as violence, public education, segregation and poverty.

The policy sciences are, in effect, a prescription for innovative interplay among disciplines, a systems approach. Individual disciplines maintain spheres of relevant knowledge and expertise, but the policy science approach offers a common frame of reference based upon and combining various elements of individual policy sciences: economics, sociology and political science.

In essence, the concept of a policy science is a response to the plea for what Kahn and Weiner refer to as "the creation of heuristic expositions, methodologies, paradigms and frameworks."¹ These models interpret social problems as components of larger processes -- some individual and continually self-adjusting; others changing in response to external forces that may be self-correcting or

¹Herman Kahn and Anthony Weiner, The Year 2000 (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 399.

mutually reinforcing. Problem areas are perceived as complex social system in which each aspect lies in a reciprocal-cause relationship to all others, such that each is defined by and has meaning only with respect to all others. Laswell states

We can think of policy science as the disciplines concerned with explaining the policy-making executing process and with locating data and providing interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period.¹

Guidance or amelioration of social processes, an effective theory and method of urban policy-making, requires knowledge about urbanism that is "currently without operational unity in standard writings of academic fields." It is in part this vacuum that the policy sciences purport to fulfill: informed compromise among polarized ideals and distinct methodologies, and among preconceptions and substantive conclusions from different disciplines. A policy science is an interdisciplinary

¹Harold D. Laswell, A Preview of The Policy Sciences (New York: Elsevier Press, 1971), p. 14.

perspective on problems of social policy, a "synthesis of organization and law with the new technologies of decision sciences, concerned with knowledge of the decision process and of the processes of policy formulation and execution: A contextual, problem-oriented, multi-method move away from fragmentation."¹

TYPES OF STUDIES: MAJOR TRENDS

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The past two decades have been characterized by a convergence of the macro-social sciences into a unified, broad-based perspective about dilemmas of social reform. - A steady increase in training centers

¹Ibid., p. xiii.

for policy science, the proliferation of policy oriented literature, and the increase in both public and private support for policy-related activity indicate growing strength in the field.¹

Although the study of policy formulation has been familiar since Aristotle's time, the concept of a policy science was not elaborated upon until 1951. The publication of Lerner and Laswell's Policy Science² introduced a continuing scholarly inquiry into the potential application of analytic methodologies. These techniques had previously been developed and utilized in the behavioral, management and social sciences, and applied to the study of policy formulation.

TWO DISTINCT FUNCTIONS: ONE COMMON FOCUS

Policy scientists generate policy options in one of two capacities. They participate in policymaking

¹Editorial, "The Policy Sciences Emerge: To Nurture and Structure a Discipline," Policy Sciences 5:3(September 1974):239-244, p. 240.

²Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Laswell, Policy Science (New York: Russel Sage, 1951).

processes as advisors to decisionmakers. Or they critique extant policy-making processes. To pursue either task demands handling the differences that often exist between academician and decisionmaker -- differences in objectives, skill, and perspectives.

In their analyses of social policy, policy scientists often exhibit acute sensitivity to the tension resulting from these differences. One such tension can be summarized by the relationship between incremental and comprehensive planning. The pragmatist, usually the politician, must plan within the framework of feasibility, limited resources and public opinion; his central concern is the accrual of public support and approval necessary to reelection. The scholar can afford to be an idealist, on the other hand; he can afford to project the needs of the future without concern for intervening, politically-motivated variables.

The increased appropriations that have been made by government to the scientific community, the increased number of scientific advisors to government have further complicated the relationship between scholars and politicians in this regard.

Ginzberg has illustrated the accomplishments of scientific advisors in accruing massive funds for research purposes; he also has noted their myopia in not fully appraising the political factors affecting the continuation of large appropriations:

These (financial) successes were bought at the cost of problems deferred. For instance, the scientific fraternity has been unsuccessful in persuading Congress to act in accordance with its expressed intent to give the national science community primary responsibility for ... shaping scientific policy on a federal level ... their efforts were thwarted by stronger opponents.¹

Ginzburg underscored the fact that the failure of scientific advisors to policymakers were the lack of forecasting and long-range planning, as well as the premature discounting of crucial factors such as:

1. The principal sources of research funding were vulnerable to changes in defense appropriations.
2. The heavy reliance on "project support" elicited restiveness in a Congress unwilling to relinquish a multibillion dollar budget without supervision of rationales for spending.

¹Eli Ginzburg, The Pluralistic Economy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965).

3. The implications of establishing close relations between the scientific leadership and the president to the substantial neglect of relations between scientists and Congress and of broad citizen support were ignored.
4. The need for improved decision-making machinery within the federal government to establish guidelines for selection among competing objectives was minimized.
5. The inner group of scientists limited its number and holding multiple responsibilities managed most of the operations informally, but at the cost of ignoring the value of allies.¹

Ginzburg's analysis of the need for a policy science asks for vision and scope about every facet of the policymaking process, from implementation to planning; from the economic aspects of planning to the political arena in which competition for limited resources exists. What is needed is an awareness that institutional structures are required for a continuous broad-based scientific approach to policy.²

¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²Ibid.

Froman and other policy scientists believe that "the solution of value questions is, in effect, a major function" of a policy scientist. Laswell, However, assumes that values are homogeneous and that the obstacles to comprehensive policy considerations are purely technical, and can be resolved by methodology.

Other policy scientists¹, on the other hand, distinguish the scholar from the practitioner on the basis of the normative stance taken. Reynolds, for example, suggests that the policy scientist or consultant-practitioner must assume a value framework specified in advance by his/her consultee and implicit in the task assignment: to help implement a given plan as efficiently as possible, for instance, or to evaluate a particular program.

Conversely, Reynolds notes, the policy scientist as scholar is free to choose any set of values as his/her object of policy concern. The burden is different, therefore: to justify the normative framework either by analytic persuasion or as vindicated by political actions taken.

A concomitant distinction ensues between the policy scientist qua practitioner/consultant versus that of scholar/analyst. The former is paid to analyze a concrete problem or program. The latter is more likely to address general policy issues such as "poverty," or "the urban environment."

¹James F. Reynolds, "Policy Science: A Conceptual and Methodological Analysis," Policy Sciences 6 (1975): 1-27.

TECHNIQUES USED

Analytic processes required for the formulation and criticism as well as for the implementation and evaluation of policy choice are utilized by policy scientists. Laswell considers five skills to be essential to the policy scientist; the ability to clarify goals, to describe trends, to analyze antecedent conditions, to project future developments, and to select among possible means of achieving a given goal.¹ To Laswell's list of essential skills, Vickers adds several. He points out that some elements of policymaking are unsuited to scientific study and, consequently, often ignored because examples of policy-making can be studies in which these difficulties are minimal and in which, thereby, scientists are able to use their skills more confidently in theoretical analysis, and policymakers are likely to hire experts and get value for their money."² Despite

¹Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Policy Science Movement," Policy Science 6:3 (September 1975): 211-223, pp. 211-212.

²Geoffrey Vickers, "Commonly Ignored Elements in Policymaking," Policy Sciences 3:2 (1972):265-266, p. 265.

these pragmatic drawbacks, Vickers considers certain processes paramount: They include the maintenance of continuing, standard norms that supersede lesser goals, such as for the institution and maintenance of public services; the management of conflict; the adjustment of public threshold of acceptable changes given societal norms; the regulation of historical processes, and the irregulation of planned intervention into historical processes.

Zwolenik¹ augments the discussion about what the tasks of the policy scientists should include; scholarly attention to the benefits and distributions that do (or do not) result from the application of science and technology to the problems of policy-making; the readjustment and rearrangement of priorities that is necessary to an egalitarian society; attention to transitions among goals as yet unspecified by future social demands; and, adaptation of the present social structure to future structures by means of creative mechanisms that preserve values. In short, both the lesser and the major characteristics that are distinctive

¹James T. Zwolenik, Book Review of Science, Growth and Society, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD, Policy Science Vol. 6, pp. 457-465.

to policy science include the fact that it is

problem oriented and integrative ... it seeks to draw together disparate elements in an effort to shed light upon real-world problems. Normally subsumed by it are such activities as forecasting, planning and strategic operational decisionmaking. Its lexicon includes considerations of values, goals, attainments and societal indicators.¹

The overall goal towards which the skills of the policy scientist are directed is the increased visibility of choices to be made in the future.² Such visibility must be the consequences of what Dror calls future studies, or the linkages of present to future, attention to alternative futures and social institutions, and the identification of variables that shape the future -- political, economic, social and technical variables.

¹Roy C. Amara, "Toward a Framework For National Goals and Policy Research," Policy Sciences 3(March 1972):59-69, p. 59.

²Yzekiel Dror, Ventures in Policy Science (New York: Elsevier Press, 1971).

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

Integral to the formulation of a comprehensive policy science is the development of applicable research methodology. Clarification and specification of parameters for policy-oriented research have been suggested by policy scientists, but have yet to be developed.

It is frequently suggested, for instance, that an interface between the principal processes of policymaking and analysis of policy, on one hand, and the research methodologies of the social sciences on the other, is essential to the development of the policy sciences. That is, the development of a knowledge base is needed to encompass both empirical and theoretical facts of policy problems.

Some attempts to merge empiricism with theory have been made. For instance, Berry¹ attempts to operationalize the concept of rationality in health planning. He proposes the detailing of four attributes intrinsic to health planning: 1) health

¹David Berry, "Health Planning Rationality," Policy Sciences 4:1 (March 1973):13-21.

planning is limited in problem solving effectiveness by multiple factors, 2) these factors include technical, social, legal, political and economic issues, 3) these dimensions may be complementary or substitutive, and 4) health planning may be subject to change on the basis of cognitive processes.¹ These processes may include gathering data or requiring consistent behavior on the part of key administrators. Berry suggests that health planners might accept the task of defining various states or conditions under which various cognitive processes are or are not functional.

Similarly, Bernstein et al. catalogue technical, administrative and societal factors impeding or encouraging the use of quantitative methods in urban analysis.² Examples of technical factors include parameter selection, social costs, social momentum, time series. Administrative factors include devising techniques for implementation, selection of pilot programs, and sensitivity to

¹Ibid., p. 13.

²Samuel J. Bernstein et al., "Problems and Pitfalls of Quantitative Methods in Urban Analysis," Policy Sciences 4 (1974):29-34.

relevant political realities. Societal factors include the expressed desires of the relevant community, and the implications of the status quo. Based on the development of a framework reflecting technical, administrative and societal factors, Bernstein recommends means by which policy scientists can contribute to empirical and theoretical bases for policy problems.

It has also been noted that the perfecting of models to choose among policy alternatives are needed. Such models would be used for inquiries into methodological problems, structural and institutional problems, and policy processes including analytical work within social agencies.¹

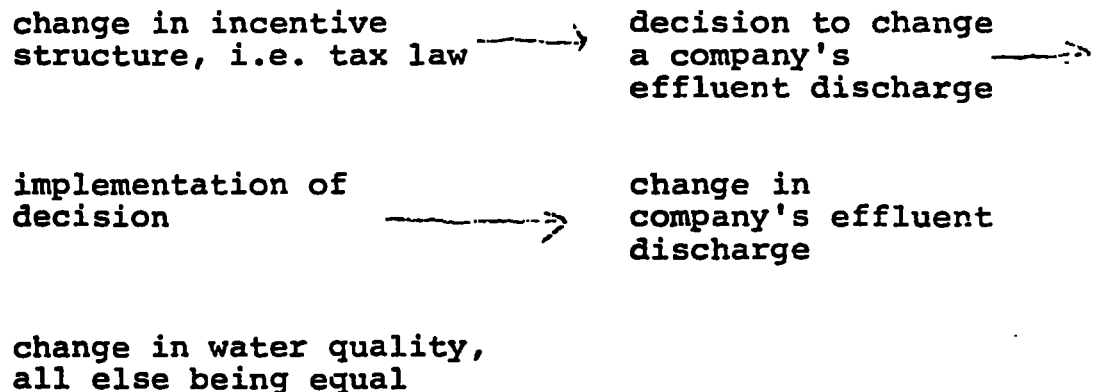
Roos has developed a series of rudimentary experiments in this regard.² She notes that although values obviously play a critical role in policy choice, research can significantly clarify available options and evaluate consequences of past decisions. She uses as an example her analysis of alternative

¹Walter W. Williams, Social Policy Research and Analysis (New York: Elsevier, 1971).

²Leslie L. Roos, "Quasi Experiments and Environmental Policy," Policy Sciences 6 (1975):249-265.

environmental policy. The effects of interventive efforts to improve the environment were characterized by the interpretation of data concerning a) the nature of treatment efforts, b) the length of time during which they were operant, and c) the units to which the treatment was applied.

In her research, Roos characterized significant events as "Macro Variables" -- stimuli which must act through a complex chain of behaviors in order to bring about a change in the dependent variable. She describes a plausible causal chain with regard to water quality:¹



Similarly, Ugalde² develops the concept of "series of decisions" relevant to attainment of

¹Ibid., pp. 250-251.

²Antonio Ugalde, "A Design Model For the Study of Public Burocracies," Policy Sciences 4:1 (March 1973):75-84, p. 83.

specific objectives. He presents the example of a State Health Environment Unit's study of the influences to which input decisions respond, and of the factors affecting intervening decisions. His results are graphed as follows:

Programs	Prof Int of Actors	Technical	Political Int	Other Nat. Pub.Agencies
Water Qual Control	X	X		
Floridation	X	X		
Milk Control	X	X		
Radiation Control	X		X	X

Investigations as to what types of studies are needed and as to what the implications are of extant information are also lacking. Hitherto, research in the social sciences has tended to concentrate upon what is wrong with programs rather than upon the development of their strengths. More studies about both positive and negative features of programs have been called for by policy scientists.¹

¹Williams, p. 15.

Another limitation in current policy-oriented research processes that have been applied to social programs is the measurement of policy outputs by means of the dollar expenditures for a given program. The utilization of expenditure levels to represent effective delivery of social services is debateable. As inexact measures of output, dollar expenditures cannot indicate the wide range of quality in the delivery and implementation of social service programs. Cook and Scoli note:

Factors such as program personnel, extent of need for social services, receptivity to social services and contextual characteristics of target areas may interact with expenditure levels to affect outcomes of social policies. The concept of policy output is therefore a multiple-dimensional phenomena, the complexity of which goes beyond a summated expenditure level.¹

Goldfarb² suggests that one solution is to continuously design marginally better programs. Once the output of existing programs is quantified, a means for translating information collected to future programs must be implemented. Poor programs can be remodelled and new programs developed on that basis.

¹Thomas Cook and Roger Scoli, "Policy Analysis in Political Science: Trends and Issues in Empirical Research," Policy Analysis 2:2 (Spring 1976), p. 7.

²Robert S. Goldfarb, "Learning in Government Programs and the Usefulness of Cost Benefit Analysis Lessons from Manpower and Urban Renewal History," Policy Sciences 6:3 (September 1975):281-299.

Another type of research techniques called for by policy scientists is the development of an analytic framework for the evaluation of policy impacts relative to policy objectives.¹ Pilot programs or social experimentation are needed, as are new institutional frameworks for working on policy problems, for developing policy-relevant knowledge and for educating practitioners for policy-relevant research. This involves interdisciplinary teams, access to real issues, clinical teaching methods and academic recognition for policy consultative studies.²

Fanshel³ offers one such study. He applies systems analysis techniques to analyze, for policy purposes, services offered to the elderly. He defines the "best" policy as that which maximizes benefits to the elderly given specified budgetary and program constraints. To measure benefits, he develops a scale consisting of a series of states

¹Cook and Scoli.

²Ibid.

³Sol Fanshel, "The Welfare of the Elderly: A Systems Analyst's Viewpoint," Policy Science 6:3 (September 1975):343-357.

describing degrees of dependency among elderly people. These include "mobile-outdoors," "house-bound," "chairfast" and "bedfast." He then assigns weights to those states reflective of social value judgements made by administrators. Over time, he measured changes in those weights as induced by services rendered.

Finally, a prescriptive method for measuring the decision sequences from ideological commitment to preferred policy alternative is also needed. Clarification and conceptualization of values influencing policy outputs does not yet exist.

The solutions to many of the problems of research in policy analysis are parallel to the development of the policy science profession. That is, an interdisciplinary research team would enjoy the same advantages that a policy scientist would: the benefit of multi-disciplined perspectives about the phenomena with which they are working. A more immediate solution to the problems of research in the policy sciences might be the division of research according to training so that, for instance, the political scientist would study that facet of policy impact relating to political behavior, and the economist would evaluate the dollar expenditure

effect upon policy implementation. Given the complexity of policy science phenomena, the results could not be completely reliable.

Harman¹ suggests a future-oriented research based upon a systems approach, and reflecting integration of diverse means of identifying alternative futures. Such research would be distinguishable by its utility-function -- to guide present action and to avoid or resolve anticipated problems.

Adelman et al.² provide a case example of futures research involving choice of objectives and structure for a policy-studies center. The research had three phases. During the first, a clustering was secured picturing the homogeneity and differences among thirty respondings. Participants made judgements on thirty hypothetical evaluation centers. Each center was described by different combinations of activities. These activities included developing instruments, collecting data, processing data, reacting to results, and writing

¹Willis W. Harman, "On Normative Futures Research," Policy Sciences 6 (1975):125-135.

²Leonard Adelman, Thomas R. Stewart, and Kenneth R. Hammond, "A Case History of The Application of Social Judgement Theory to Policy Formulation," Policy Sciences 6:2 (June 1975):137-159.

reports. The level of each activity was presented and rated by each respondent on a scale of 0 to 10. Clustering of priorities and differences among respondents was then graphed by the researchers.

During the second phase, compromise was sought with the assistance of computer graphics technology. Participants in pairs made joint ratings which were then refined into joint emergent policy.

The final phase of the research was oriented toward the achieving of an acceptable compromise policy with the use of input-output analyses. This analysis permuted a consideration of goal-priorities independently with regard to output goals, inputs required to achieve each goal, and the suggested proportion of each input to be spent in achieving each output.

The authors report that their research concluded in a compromise policy. This ultimately reflected tradeoffs among priorities concerning goals as well as use of resources. By externalizing cognitive differences among participants' priorities, it was feasible to obtain agreement on a compromise policy as well as its means for implementation.

UNDERLYING DECISION RULES WITH WHICH
POLICY SCIENTISTS GENERATE POLICY OPTIONS

The policy scientist generates policy options utilizing three major decision rules. One is the exploration of linkages between immediate political realities and a projection of long-range issues. The second is the formulation of projected policy problems and the creation of rules to resolve them. And the third is the development of means by which political, ideological and scientific values can be integrated.

Essentially, the role of the policy scientist is that of liason between immediate needs on one hand, and projection for long-range needs on the other. His/her task is to formulate policy problems and, through technological means, to help create rules for solving them. The relevant function is that of conduit between the scholar and the policymaker. As an academician, the policy scientist seeks explicit formulation of alternative futures and of the values and variables that will shape the future:

he/she explores choices among competing needs and resources. At the same time, as a decisionmaker, the policy scientist acts with the awareness that making choices may endanger delicate political coalitions. Planning for the short range requires a different perception of time and need from that required for long-term planning. The policy scientist faces a constant dilemma:

good policy-making, good policy-oriented future studies constitute a desire for better policy-making ... the danger is that the better and more convincing the future studies are, the more they will establish dangers to policymaking patterns and the less desired they will be ... correction of this state of affairs requires de nova design of significant parts of the policymaking system.¹

The policy science approach continuously considers both actual and potential changes in institutional infrastructures as well as the specific nature of rapid, societal change -- particularly as it affects and is affected by political processes.² The policy scientist relies upon a general systems

¹Dror, p. 27.

²Ibid., Chapter 9.

approach as a means of both analyzing and improving the policy making processes.

The establishment of a 'policy science' is a cooperative multidisciplinary effort among social scientists concerned with the same problems -- policy formulation, program implementation and evaluation. The standard of the policy science approach is the improvement of the policy making process in general as well as of specific policies.

Policy science has as a fundamental decision rule the integration of political and scientific values. Acknowledging the rapidly growing interdependence among policies and the multiplying varieties of specialized knowledge required, policy scientists tend to adopt the role of ombudspeople in every facet of the policy making process -- from deciding which issues should be considered legislatively to the provision of information to the public and the evaluation of programs to the voting public.

SOCIAL PLANNING AND THE POLICY SCIENCES:
A CONVERGENT APPROACH TO POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The development of both the policy sciences and the social planning approaches reflect recognition of planning processes as essential to the effective, efficient delivery of public services. The formulation of a comprehensive methodology has emerged from a recognition that much has been said about politics, participation, community decisionmaking and the development of a consensus and very little about how to think about relevant planning issues.¹

Particularly as elaborated in Theory and Practice of Social Planning,² and in Design for Policy Sciences,³ the planning processes suggested by the two fields are similar. For instance, the rational problem-solving approach elaborated in the policy science literature, is similar to the emphasis upon

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning (New York: Russel Sage, 1969).

²Ibid.

³Yzekiel Dror, Design For The Policy Sciences (New York: Elsevier Press, 1971).

consequences and implications of policy development and implementation familiar to social planners: both fields recognize planning and policy development as continuous process interrelated by the quest for a coordinated, multi-disciplinary and contextual approach to social problems. Dror refers for instance, to "a heuristic method" for identification of preferable alternatives, between alternative policymaking system designs and between alternative realization strategies. Policy analysis constitutes the main prescriptive methods of policy sciences for improving complex decisions.¹ Similarly, Kahn defines the planning process as "(the projection of) consequences of different choices ... concerned with monitoring and feedback because it is a continuous process and the process of making rational decisions about future goals and future courses of action which require explicit evaluation and choice among alternative policy and program choice in the light facts, projections and the applications of values."²

¹Ibid., p. 62.

²Kahn, p. 51.

Comprehension of the complex nature of social problems and proposed solutions to them is not the only common link between social planning and the policy sciences. Analytic processes are also similar. Theoretical frameworks for both begin with an appraisal of existing policy, including the effects of both formal and informal processes.¹ Both fields consider particular policy goals to be realized given the specific problem at hand, as well as the ideological considerations affecting them. Both consider alternative strategies for optimizing value goals and shared objectives. Dror describes the process succinctly: "we must be constantly aware of the dependency of policies on the characteristics of policymaking systems. (We must be) concern(ed) with effectiveness and improvement of policymaking as distinguished from locating preferences among discrete policies."²

¹Dror, Design, pp. 52-61.

²Ibid., p. 61.

Planning and policy development is coupled, in both fields, with a pragmatic acknowledgement that an agenda for policy reformulation must emerge from the concrete task at hand, and flow in the direction of related problems. Laswell describes a spiralling agenda or "contextual mapping requiring a comprehensive, schematic view of the entire social process, and of the role of the decision process within it."¹ Kahn, from a similar perspective, suggests that "the imagery of a series of intersecting circles or spirals is proposed, although it is not readily depicted on a readable chart."² Essentially, then, both policy science and social planning include "an examining of present conjuncture of events, giving full weight to the axis of time (in order to) expand parameters of complexity," to propose "an orderly manner of revealing the significant contours of reality."³

¹Laswell, p. 65.

²A.J. Kahn, p. 191.

³Dror, Design, p. 49.

The major planning construct common to both social planning and the policy sciences concentrates upon the fundamental features of the total context within which a social problem surfaces;¹ the ideal and the feasible are compromised so that ideal solutions yield to the concrete circumstances in which power arrangements are established.

While the similarity of goals and techniques utilized in the planning and policy analysis models of social planners and policy scientists is striking, differences between them are also noteworthy. The preoccupation of the policy scientist with the amalgamation of different social sciences -- that is, with the development of a technical infrastructure that will solve social problems, is paramount. It has been tempered, however, with a concern about value clarification germane to the armentarium of the social planner.

A major analytic focus for the social planner is to display the array of complex ideological

¹A.J. Kahn, p. 330.

conflicts, constraints and obstacles that inhibit the development of a given policy or program. Whereas the policy scientists often assumes homogeneous values, the social planner seeks arenas of potential compromise to problems defined by ideological conflicts and constraints. Kahn notes: "If one accepts Kenneth Arrow's conclusion that a social welfare function is not the solution because logically it is not possible to achieve social choice which amalgamates discordant individual preferences, one faces the ultimate need to make some decisions politically. ... A subtle but important problem is found in the fact that even under very congenial circumstances, where planners seek to help laymen make the value decisions by translating technical issues into value terms, the task is difficult. The truth is that planners and technicians may find such translation as difficult as would the layman attempting to reverse the process."¹

¹A.J. Kahn, p. 110.

The policy scientist seeks economic, political and computer-based tools to solve complex problems when functioning as analyst; the policy scientist often relies on techniques developed by the economist or systems analyst. When studying the policymaking process, on the other hand, the policy scientists relies on political concepts and processes more frequently associated with the political scientist.

Conversely, the social planner seeks compromise among economic, political and ideological conflicts.

The policy science perspective is different:

application of science requires more than the advocacy of predetermined positions with the help of scientific terminology ... the least that is required for the application of political science to policy problems is an explicit methodology for identifying preferable policies on the basis of scientific knowledge; that is, a prescriptive methodology.¹

¹Dror, Design, p. 4.

The approaches of the social planner and the policy scientist can also be distinguished by the fact that the components of the planning process are the sine qua non for the former; the latter is concerned primarily with a specific phase of the planning process, namely the analysis and implementation of policy. Moreover, the policy scientist is acutely concerned with what Dror refers to as "metapolicy" or "policy on how to make policy":

to invent novel megapolicies, to identify alternative, preferable metapolicies, and to help in the realization in concrete policy-making systems -- these are among the tasks of policy sciences ... Its main concern is with societal direction systems and, in particular, the public policymaking system. The main interest of policy scientists is better policymaking which produces better policies ... policy science as such is not directly concerned with the substantive contents of discrete policy problems (which should be dealt with by the relevant normal sciences) but rather with improved methods, knowledge, and systems for better policymaking.¹

¹Ibid., p. 51.

The social planner is primarily concerned with the "substantive content of discrete policy problems," particularly with regard to "the planning of social aspects of overall balanced economic and physical development." His focus is social considerations or the planning of what are specifically recognized as social sectors and the relationship among such sectors. He seeks equilibrium among policy issues ultimately defined by social rather than economic or political parameters. How redistributive is a program? Will its design favor universal or selective implementation? By what criteria will effectiveness supersede efficiency as a primary consideration in policy formulation? These parameters are of the essence to the social planner and distinguish his perspective from that of the policy scientist. The translation of social goals into effective programs characterizes the problem-solving approach of the social planner. Policy Science is more contemplative

than action-oriented:

Policy Science tries to be self-conscious and to consider its own paradigms, assumptions, tacit theories, infrastructures and applications as subjects for explicit study and conscious shaping. The constant study, monitoring, and redesign of policy sciences itself are the main subject matters of policy sciences.¹

To some extent, the complex, interdependent and multi-dimensional history of social problems, as well as the limitations upon resources available for problem-solving, seems to culminate in a convergence between two approaches. Like policy scientists, social planners are concerned with the development of a predictive model that can contribute to effective, efficient choices among policy alternatives. If technical solutions developed by decisionmakers can be coupled with an emphasis upon the exploration of value conflicts, the parameters for practice can be reformulated to deal with ideological and technical impediments to the formulation of effective social policy.

¹Dror, Design, p. 53.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Policy SciencesCONCEPTS AND
PROCESSES

1. Convergence of Social Sciences into a heuristic, broad-based perspective on social reform
2. Problem-oriented identification of social issues as components of urban processes that can be confronted coherently and on a long-range basis
3. Informed compromise among polarized ideals and distinct methodologies

TYPES OF STUDIES

1. Study of policymaking processes
2. Critique of extant or projected policy -- including increasing visibility of future choices
3. Scholarly attention to benefits and distributions that do and do not result from application of technology to problems of policymaking

Policy Sciences

TECHNIQUES USED

1. Goal clarification
2. Description of trends --
contextual mapping
3. Analysis of antecedent
conditions
4. Projection of future
developments
5. Selection of goals from
among alternatives

UNDERLYING DECISION-
RULES WITH WHICH
POLICY OPTIONS ARE
GENERATED

1. Exploration of linkages
between immediate political
realities and projection of
long-range issues
2. Formulation of projected policy
problems and creation of rules
to resolve them
3. Development of means by which
democratic and scientific
values can be integrated

CHAPTER VI**SOCIAL WORK AND THE POLICY SCIENCES****PART I SUMMARY STATEMENT****INTRODUCTION**

Each of the macrosociences described offers concepts and perspectives that enhance the study of social policy. This section will summarize the strengths and limitations of economics, systems analysis, political science and the policy sciences as they inform the social worker in the role of policy analyst.

Economics and systems analysis provide similar contexts for policy study. Both offer quantitative

techniques for the analysis of policy. Both are primarily concerned with the costs, benefits and tradeoffs inherent in policy choice.

Likewise, political science and the policy sciences offer a comparable approach to policy study. Both disciplines are concerned with the development of political models that can be applied to the predicting of policy determinants. Both analyze policy outcome within the context of political processes, consensus, and feasibility.

There are of course other ways to compare the macro sciences. Economists and political scientists both rely on cost-benefit techniques, for example. The economist seeks cost-efficiency; the political scientist an effective political strategy. The variables differ, but the techniques for analysis are the same.

ECONOMICS AND SYSTEMS ANALYSIS: APPROACHES TO POLICY
ANALYSIS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL WORK

Economists address two issues that, in essence, define social policy. One is how resources are utilized;

the second is how the fruits of economic activity are distributed. These two foci provide a context for policy analysis that is useful to the social worker in the role of policy analyst.

As a study of limited resources and competing claims, economics provides a framework within which the analysis of social policy can take place. And, as a focus on the relationships between the individual citizen -- what he produces and receives -- economics contributes a variety of concepts that can be applied by social workers to the analysis of social policy.

Analysis of the benefits and costs entailed in the delivery of services by other than market mechanisms is of crucial concern to social workers. In this regard, also, economic concepts are applicable. How resources are utilized, who pays and who benefits from a particular policy, and how benefits are allocated and provided are examples of economic concepts that the social worker as policy analyst can utilize.

The issues of resource utilization and resource distribution define and intertwine economic and social

policy at a variety of levels. With regard to time, for example, short-range economic decisions carry long-range social consequences as well as the other way around. Similarly, with regard to market processes and incentives, social policy decisions are often evaluated in pronounced accordance with market criteria. Attention to the work incentive inherent in transfer plans exemplifies such preoccupation.

Consideration of the indirect macro effects of policies is another contribution that economics offers the social worker. For instance, transportation and manpower policies carry implicit incentives or deterrents for labor market participation by women or workers of retirement age. Similarly, incomes policy may affect wage policy and employment policy.

Another contribution economists make to the social worker as analyst of social policy is an emphasis upon bases of allocation. In attending to effectiveness as a criterion for the analysis of policy, economists attend to costs, risks, and uncertainties when calculating the consequences of alternative policy decisions. In analyzing the options and consequences of problems or programs the following economic concerns would be

relevant: how are needs quantified and distributed for a given target population? What problems can be resolved by a particular program? Can the benefits of one program be quantified with respect to the benefits of another?

Economists also focus upon particular issues applicable by the social worker to the analysis of social policy. Attention to who gains and who loses, who pays, under what conditions and over what period of time are illustrative.

The major long-term commitments and anchoring values of the social worker are economic in nature: redistribution, the reduction of inequality and public provision of quality service to all citizens. These commitments become policies by means of economic instruments -- resource allocation, distribution, and rationing.

In essence, while social workers do not have unique skills and may not be in full control of the use of economic techniques such as cost benefit analysis, or projection of socioeconomic trends, they can utilize economic concepts to examine a social policy. The relationship of cost to effectiveness; the bases of allocation inherent in a given policy; and the relationship between the amount and nature

of a benefit and conditions of eligibility are all examples of economic concepts that can be applied by social workers to the analysis of social policy.

Like economics, systems analysis offers a perspective and a series of concepts useful to the social worker in the role of policy analyst. Also, understanding the utility and limitations of systems techniques allows for effective use of consultation.

Systems analysis provides techniques for efficiency of means as well as other criteria for choosing among alternative programs or policy objectives. Both contributions reflect a common perspective -- that attributes of a problem or phenomenon cannot be isolated, for purposes of analysis from their economic, political, and social context.

Two functions performed by the systems analyst inform the social worker as policy analyst. Quantitative description of a program or a network of services provides an array of detail from which informed programmatic decisions or evaluation can be made. And a display of cost and benefits of alternative decisions allows rationality and extant data to inform recommended changes in service delivery or program structure.

Another means by which systems techniques inform the social worker in the role of policy analyst is the

dissecting of complex problems into discrete component parts. For instance, a systems analysis of a social service program breaks down costs and benefits in order to determine a) how the agency's resources are being mobilized to provide service, b) how elements of service interface with regard to program objectives, and c) how relevant systems coordinate, integrate and harmonize.

Similarly, systems techniques can provide the social worker with an analysis of the complex of interdependent phenomena that underlie political, economic, and social systems. Such studies provide a quantitative overview of extant data, and of the sequencing patterns of objectives, impact, and consequences of relevant policies and programs.

Aside from the system analyst's value as technical consultant, he/she contributes to the social worker a relevant analytic perspective: a holistic approach to phenomena as interrelated by hierarchical objectives: an analysis of the welfare system, thus, includes an account of relevant demographic factors, eligibility requirements and benefit levels, as well as of resource constraints.

The systems analyst's approach to policy study reflects criteria by which the social worker can balance

program effectiveness with cost. They include social need; efficiency; availability of resources; harmony among programs; and, compatibility of a program with prevailing societal beliefs, principles, and practices.

The concepts and perspectives utilized by systems analysts are not uniformly relevant to the social worker in the role of policy analyst. For instance, technical problems often inhibit the quantification of social phenomena, or of ideological bases for decisions.

Adequate data concerning the extent to which one phenomena deviates as the repercussion of another is equally scarce.

A related limitation of systems analysis as a tool for the social worker is that the problems confronted tend to be political and social rather than technical. The systems analyst can expose the tacit political assumptions that underlie a given situation. However, consequent changes are impossible to quantify. The applicability of quantification to political decisionmaking is limited; it is, in fact, antithetical to what are usually diffuse and incremental decision making processes.

In essence, solutions offered by systems analysts are rational and therefore, by definition, somewhat antithetical to the political settings in which decisions are ultimately made. Technical solutions are often not feasible in a process in which the optimum expected

outcome may be the determination of which constraints and political costs can be minimized and to what end.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POLICY SCIENCES

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL POLICY: CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL WORK

The political scientist and the policy scientist analyze policy as a political choice fashioned by compromise, mutual accommodation, and mediation through political systems. This viewpoint is sensitizing both to the import of feasibility and consensus, and to the lack of coherence that often characterizes policy. Such a perspective also suggests that policy is ultimately an expression of ambiguous ideology and political forces.

Political scientists and policy scientists typically focus upon power and purpose as an expression of value-conflicts among choices. These are analyzed with reference to the political processes that culminate in specific policies. Sayre and Kaufman, for instance,

conclude that mutual accommodation is the sine qua non of policy development.¹ Similarly, McGeorge Bundy notes that policy objectives are ultimately justified by conflicting ideological intent and conviction.²

Particularly the political scientist's analysis³ of policy illustrates ways in which political systems are organized not to respond to the needs of a target population, but to the power base of relevant constituencies.

Such a perspective is applicable to the social worker in that understanding power, decision making processes, and conflicts among values as they are expressed in policy outcomes elucidates policy content. Zald's analysis of organizations as polities is exemplary. He illustrates that policy goals in social work agencies

¹Wallace Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, Governing New York City (New York: Russel Sage, 1960).

²McGeorge Bundy, "The Battlefields of Power and the Searchlights of the Academy," in E.A. Johnson, ed., Dimensions of Diplomacy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964).

³See for example, Y. Gilbert, The Children's Cause (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1976); and Ira Sharkansky, Policy Analysis in Political Science (Chicago: Markham Press, 1971).

are often in flux and that the patterns of influence are central to understanding them.¹

The assumptions that characterize a political perspective on policy can be dysfunctional to the social worker in the role of policy analyst. For instance, in assuming that policy is a deliberate exercise of power, the political scientist perceives policy only as political choice, fashioned by compromise and mutual accommodation. Political scientists imply or state that there is no mechanism by which policy outcome can be rationally influenced.

The implication of such a perspective is that amelioration of policy can occur only by political process. In essence, then, the only course of action available to the policy developer is the strengthening of advocacy groups and coalitions in favor of programs that meet specific needs.

For example, Steiner's analysis of welfare² indicates that welfare policy results from a combination

¹Mayer Zald, "Organization as Politics: An Analysis of Community Organization Agencies," in Ralph B. Kramer and Harry Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975), pp. 143-154.

²Gilbert Y. Steiner, Social Insecurity: The Politics of Welfare (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

of political conflict and political consensus among publically acceptable stereotypes. Such an interpretation, while valid to a degree, minimizes the import of economic considerations such as the relationship of program expenditure to tax and benefit structures are of minimal import. Steiner notes that "the low tax cause rarely wins when the image of a recipient is that of a white, older literate citizen." He concludes that a stringent eligibility line designed to restrict eligibility is more common when the image of the recipient changes to that of an uneducated, unmarried black and her children.¹

Such a perspective might weaken the import of economic or social analysis. That is, if policy is interpreted primarily as a political act of accommodation, economic or social bases become relevant only if they have powerful allies.

As an amalgm of macrosciences, the policy science approach to policy making draws primarily upon the concepts and techniques of political scientists, but also on those of the economists and systems theorists.

¹Ibid., p. 3.

The concept of innovative interplay among disciplines defines the policy science approach to analysis. It is useful to the social worker in that, as analyst, he/she is concerned with the economic, social, and political aspects of social policies and programs. That is, the policy scientist perceives problems as complex social systems in which each aspect is defined within a reciprocal-cause relationship to all others.

Similarly, the policy science perspective stresses a search for an effective theory and method of policy-making that would be useful to all policy analysts. The policy sciences is, in fact, a heuristic approach to policy that cuts across the boundaries of a particular discipline.

In essence, the broad-based, future-oriented perspective that the policy sciences bring to analysis is utilitarian. The policy scientist provides a procedure for analysis. He/she stresses the application of quantitative techniques to particular substantive areas. That is, systems analysis or operations research or cost benefit analysis are utilized to analyze policy related phenomena.

PART II ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK IN POLICY ANALYSIS:
AN INTERPRETATION

The central focus of this study has been an exploration of the methodological contributions of economists, systems analysts, political scientists and policy scientists to the analysis and development of social policy. In this section, the social work profession's repertoire of tasks and value commitments are displayed such that emphasis is placed upon those concepts and methods of inquiry that are potentially valuable to the social worker in the role of policy analyst.

That role is integral to the process of planning: "policy choice and programming in the light of facts, projection and applications of values."¹ It is characterized by "attention to the choice among alternatives in light of specified criteria; the analysis of alternative policies designed to achieve certain

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 17.

objectives."¹ The choice among alternatives is, in effect, the development of social policy:

social policy is all about multiple, vague and conflicting goals ... the study of social purposes and how they can be achieved ... (about) the abiding issues of choice among conflicting but desirable objectives ... the clarification and explanation of submerged and conflicting goals.²

¹Ibid., pp. 15-16.

²Martin Rein, Social Policy: Issues of Choice and Change (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. x-xi.

CHOOSING AMONG OPTIONS: ATTENDING TO IDEOLOGY

Based upon professional value commitments, the social worker has two major obligations as policy analyst. The first is attending to ideology rather than technology as the pivotal obstacle to social change and the second is exposing the complex value dilemmas inherent in policy options.

With regard to the first, Mencher has noted that: "with no fixed or deterministic means, our society is exposed to more ideological conflict than societies that, by established preconditions for the maintenance of values, avoid an elaborate range of conflict position over ends."¹

The pivotal issue from which ideological conflicts arise is the multiple and contradictory definitions of inequality that lead to disparate analyses of social problems.²

An indication that attention to problems of inequality is stymied by ideological conflicts rather than lack of technical expertise is the

¹Samuel Mencher, "Ideology and The Welfare Society," Social Work 12:3 (July 1967):3-11, pp. 4-5.

²See for example, Pamela Roby and S.M. Miller, The Future of Inequality (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

continuing controversies about the form and content of social policy in America. These controversies have been waged on a variety of levels, and such questions as what the size of the public sector should be; how it should dovetail with the private sector; which choices can be individually made and which must be publically or socially decided; how social wealth should be accrued and for what purposes it should be utilized; and on what basis and in what form transfers should be made, are profoundly rooted in historical debate.

These important questions have been raised and argued about throughout our history. The Federalist Papers,¹ compiled between 1787 and 1788, document how early in our history we were struggling with the same problems we continue to face with respect to the complex of economic, political and social relationships between the individual and society. Hofstadter notes that "however much at odds on specific issues the major political traditions have shared a belief in the rights of property, the

¹Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: Mentor Books, 1961).

philosophy of individualism, and the value of competition -- they have accepted the economic virtues of capitalist culture as necessary qualities of man." He concludes that "American traditions show a strong bias in favor of equalitarian democracy, but it has been a democracy of cupidity rather than a democracy of fraternity."¹

ARTICULATING VALUE DILEMMAS INHERENT IN POLICY OPTIONS

Exposing the value dilemmas inherent in policy choice is a second crucial task for the social worker as policy analyst. For instance, an analysis of the tension between the public and private sectors as it affects the delivery of service exemplifies the value dilemmas that color policy options.

In his unpolished, but impressive, attempt to trace the growth of individual-state relations,

¹Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition (New York: Vintage Press, 1949), p. viii.

Mencher¹ provides insight into the changing quality of the relevant debates over time. He ascribes the underlying tensions to a cultural compulsion to perpetuate the myth of free will and individual responsibility on the one hand, and attempt to dispel the myth and replace it with a theory of social causation on the other. In accord with Hofstadter, he finds that throughout American history, the issue of public responsibility for the able-bodied -- presumed potentially productive -- has been vehemently disputed.² He argues that society as a whole and the welfare of individuals cannot be separated, that the whole relies on the health of all its elements,³ and that the individual is not solely accountable for his destiny. He concludes that despite the continuous movement towards the provision of social protection for the individual, "the belief that generosity of treatment

¹Samuel Mencher, Poor Law To Poverty Program (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967).

²Ibid., p. xvi.

³Ibid., p. 322.

was encouragement to antisocial behaviour continues to be a major source of conflict."¹

Mencher's perspective is that since the Depression the conflict between the expansion of social responsibility and the rights of the individual have been resolved "in favor of acceptance of the social foundation of individual action."² He documents the increased attention to such issues as the ongoing re-examination of the nature of individualism and its relationship to social responsibility as manifest in social security programs: a changing emphasis from private to public planning; and the rapid growth of the public sector.³

If joint governmental and voluntary planning efforts can be viewed as testimony to the existence of a participatory democracy, it can also be construed as evidence that pluralism is a myth. Reich expresses

¹Ibid., p. 326.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

such a point of view.¹ He suggests that, "At the very least, it is time to reconsider the theories under which new forms of wealth are regulated, and by which governmental power over them is measured. It is time to recognize that 'The Public Interest' is all too often a reassuring platitude that covers up sharp clashes of conflicting values, and hides fundamental choices. It is time to see that the 'privilege' or 'gratuity' concept, as applied to wealth dispensed by government is not much different from the absolute right of ownership that private capitalism once invoked to justify arbitrary power."

Marcuse states that "the prospects of the containment of social change offered by the technical rationality that governs society depends on the prospects of the welfare state."² These prospects, or the lack thereof, depending upon one's point of view, also reflect the ideological conflicts and

¹Charles Reich, Property in a Planned Society (New Haven, Connecticut: New Haven Press, 1969).

²Herbert Marcuse, One Dimensional Man (New York: Beacon Press, 1964), p. xii.

debates that impede the development of a welfare society.

Marsh states that widespread belief in a series of myths about American society abet the containment of a welfare state. False stereotypes are perpetuated by our persistence "in acting on unproven assumption, ill-defined standards and values, half-truths and myths about the nature, purpose and functions of the state and its citizens."¹

For instance, even if an increasingly vehement anti-planning stance has been coupled with an increase in economic planning,² economic planning is not necessarily synonymous with increased economic protection, particularly for the poor. Even Mencher, despite his optimism, acknowledges that: "the evolution of economic security from a private to a public responsibility and from a local to a federal function has been considerably slow ... personal responsibility is still considered the foundation of

¹David Marsh, The Welfare State (London: Longman Press, 1970), p. 57.

²Gunnar Myrdahl, Beyond The Welfare State (New York: Bantam Books, 1967), 2nd Printing, p. 11.

economic security and only when it fails, are appropriate alternatives sought."¹

One of the debates that has grown out of faulty information is that we live in necessary conditions of scarcity. Reordering national priorities, planning budgetary changes, and choosing among alternative goals and alternative means of achieving those goals, are constantly swayed by reallocation of limited resources among competing needs. Titmuss states the point clearly when he points out that social security and social services are not dominated by a single objective. They express multiple goals, some of which are harmonious, others of which are in conflict, either administratively, or financially, or ideologically.²

Until recently, it has been argued that technological sophistication has rendered the concept of scarcity obsolete. Bazelon, for instance, has argued that:

¹Mencher, p. 383.

²Richard M. Titmuss, "Social Administration: Teaching and Research," in Commitment To Welfare (New York: Pantheon, 1968), pp. 25-55, p. 54.

... the whole point about the new freedom, the new technology, is that it has made scarcity absurd ... scarcity of money ... no longer reflects a reality in order to preserve the illusion of the absent condition ... a Paper Economy that is nothing but a destructive perpetuation of existing power relations beyond their period of historical utility.¹

On the other hand, the Club of Rome Report argues

that:

With world population doubling time a little more than thirty years, and decreasing, society will be hard put to meet the needs and expectations of so many people in so short a period. We all are likely to try to satisfy these demands by over-exploiting our natural environment and further impairing the like-supporting capacity of the earth. Hence, on both sides of the man-environment equation, the situation will tend to worsen dangerously. We cannot expect technological solutions alone to get us out of this vicious cycle.²

Just as scarcity can be defined alternatively as a problem or a smokescreen concept of growth as a panacea to the problems of poverty has been a moot point among analysts. Those who view growth as a self-contained solution identify it with increased economic security, increased employment opportunities

¹David Bazelon, The Paper Economy (New York: Vintage Press, 1963), p. 17.

²Dennis Meadows et al., Limits to Growth (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Associates, 1972), p.192.

and increased general prosperity. Henry Wallich represents this point of view:

If growth came to a halt, it is obvious that every last penny of public and private income would be drawn upon to provide minimal consumer satisfactions. There would be very little left for the job that needs to be done ... Growth is the source from which our task must be financed ... to stop growing would be to commit suicide for fear of remote death.¹

Those less enchanted with growth as a synonym for economic well-being see -- not growth -- but the values represented by growth as the germaine issue. From this point of view, the concept of growth in the abstract is rendered meaningless as a way of resolving welfare problems; rather, the decisions as to how growth will occur, who will benefit and who will pay for its spillover effects is of central concern:

If we considered what we meant by, higher well-being and made it our object, capacity for growth would fall into its proper place as a means, not an end. Growth is not a value in itself. It can be the servant of values it can also be their jailor.²

¹Henry Wallich, Op Ed, New York Times, February 12, 1972, p. 29.

²H.V. Hodson, Diseconomies of Growth (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), p. 8.

If the goal were resolution of poverty, then

first claim on the products of growth should be to repair the ravages of the growth process. If, as by-product in our quest for growth, we destroy the purity of air and water, generate ugliness and social disorder, displace workers and their skills, gobble up our natural resources chew up the amenities in and around our cities, the repair of threat damage would have first claim on the process of growth.¹

If scarcity and growth can be arenas of ideological debate, so too can redistribution. A hallmark of the redistributive process in America is that it has never occurred solely as ideological ground; when it has taken place, it has not contradicted either the American predilection for redemption through work, or the personal/pathology explanation of poverty.

Some analysts argue that neither the distribution of revenue nor services has significantly altered over time.² Plotnick and Skidmore elucidate the effect of different standards of measurement on the debate concerning how much redistribution occurs in our society:

¹Walter Heller, New Dimensions of Political Economy (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 111.

²For example, Joseph Pechman, Federal Tax Reform (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975).

Rising average real incomes do not affect the absolute measure of poverty. However, the relative poverty lines increase at about the same rate as average incomes. A society can reduce the problem of poverty in an absolute sense by moving people about a given poverty threshold. The same society may simultaneously become less egalitarian as measured by the distance of its poorest citizens from the typical standard of living. The absolute measure would show progress; the relative measure would not.¹

That is, whether or in what ways redistribution has occurred remains debateable, according to: what statistics are referred to (Miller), whether benefits and expenditures are balanced against tax revenues (Lampman, Pechman) in measuring the extent to which distribution has occurred; and, which benefits and which taxes are included in the computation.²

Others argue that the balance between redistribution and growth is the crux of all social policy debate. Bell³ notes that "the distribution of income influences the rate of growth of an economy as the rate of growth influences distribution."

¹Robert Plotnick and Felicity Skidmore, Progress Against Poverty (New York: Academic Press, 1975), p. 170.

²Martin Rein, "Welfare Planning," International Encyclopedia (New York: Free Press, 1968), Vol. 12, pp. 142-153.

³Daniel Bell, Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 272.

Redistribution implies the deliberate use of organized power in order to mollify market forces by guaranteeing a minimum income, social protection against sickness, old age and unemployment insurance, and universal access to a range of high-quality social services.¹ Implied is redistribution of income, services and, ultimately, decision-making power.

Mencher's rationale for a belief that redistribution has not occurred is that the myriad of existing social policies is characterized by ideological looseness:

It may be loosely defined as falling somewhere between liberalism and socialism, but it is difficult to find any clearly recognizable or conscious school of social and economic thought providing the foundation of welfare thinking.²

In another context, Hofstadter has illustrated what he terms the "coexistence of illiberalism and reform" which has produced a tenacious status quo:

¹Asa Briggs, "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective," in Charles Schottland, ed., The Welfare State (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967), pp. 25-46, p. 43.

²Mencher, "Ideology," p. 3.

Some men and indeed some political movements seem to live close to that line and to swim back and forth across it more than once in their lives. The impulses behind yesterday's reform may be put to the service of reform today, but they may also be enlisted in the service of reaction.¹

Whatever the genesis or rationale, it is clear that ideological debates and conflicts emerge at every level of the planning process with regard to social welfare -- from the formulation of policy to the execution of programs and the analysis of programs. In a context of ideological conflict and contradiction, the social welfare profession has as its caveat the clarification of value choices explicit in policy decisions. It has as its long-term commitment the achievement of a welfare state in which the central implications would be:

redistribution of income from the middle majority to the minority poor; the financing and manning of a vast apparatus of social agencies in the fields of education, health and welfare; the need to study the actual operation of such agencies; the necessity of welfare planning and a rational delineation of welfare priorities so that the total effort moves us towards widely shared goals.²

¹Richard Hofstadter, Age of Reform (New York: Vintage Press, 1955), p. 41.

²Harold C. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Free Press, 1965), p. v.

Defined by the tension between anti-planning stance, and the increasing amount of planning taking place, the social policy task is wedded to its ideological commitment: by extension of its belief in a welfare state, it seeks a reversal of our duplex society or of:

the social policy error of choosing to devise separate programs for the poor ... in each major policy area ... this is a duplex society in which the poor live in the same house as the rest of us, but divided ... as for welfare, in a rich country it becomes a steadily expanding program beset with dilemmas about how to pay enough without paying too generously to some and how to avoid seeming to encourage idleness and separation.¹

Assuming that our society will remain ideologically committed to a mix between a regulated and privately controlled means of distribution and production, and to the primacy of economic incentive and reward for productivity, the major task of the social policy analyst is to expose the complex value dilemmas relevant to feasible policy options and to develop criteria for choosing among them.

¹Alvin Schorr, Op Ed, New York Times, June 5, 1972, p. 15.

DEVELOPING CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING AMONG POLICY OPTIONS

The development of criteria for choosing among policy options reflects the analyst's decision-rules. For the social worker, decision-rules reflect professional value commitments. One of these value commitments is to the fostering of human growth and development.¹ Another is to the reduction of inequality.²

The critical task for the social worker in the role of policy analyst or policy developer is predicated on these two value commitments. Substantively, that task is the determination of the most efficient and feasible means for meeting those commitments, as well as ambiguous ideological conflict, choices, or constraints upon action.

Ideological conflicts, choices, and constraints upon action can be articulated in a variety of forms.

¹Alfred J. Kahn, Social Policy and Social Services (New York: Random House, 1974).

²See, for example Richard M. Titmuss, "Issues of Redistribution in Social Policy" and "Social Administration: Teaching and Research," in Commitment To Welfare (New York: Pantheon, 1969).

One is the hidden or implicit social and economic costs of choice. A decision to burn coal instead of oil reduces dependence on imports, but risks polluting the environment.

Another expression of implicit conflict or policy constraint is the disparity between policy and implementation. Operationalization of the Social Service Grants of 1972 are an example of the discrepancy between policy as it is legislated and as it is implemented.

A third variant of ambiguity, or conflict within a policy, is the holding of a target population to standards higher than those applied to the general community. Restrictions upon commodities for which food stamps can be used, or the eligibility standards for mothers receiving Aid for Dependent Children payments, exemplify such conflict.

Another kind of constraint upon action is the confluence of political pressures that dictate policy outcomes. Head Starts legislation, for instance, turned out to be inadequate in fiscal allocation and ambiguous in its promise.

The lack of authority with which to challenge established order is another impediment to social

action to which the social worker can attend in the capacity of analyst or policy developer. Consumer boards of Community Action Programs were victim of such constraint; on the assumption that self help was the most effective route to escape from poverty, the poor were presumably involved in the design and administration of programs. But their power to influence resource allocation or utilization was so severely cramped as to render their participation ineffective.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Policy analysts, regardless of discipline, concern themselves with the economic, social and political contexts in which policy is developed. All utilize means by which analysis can inform or study policy choice. For instance, costs and benefits can be calculated on economic efficiency criteria alone. Or they can be measured with regard to effectiveness, or social costs and benefits. Implementing a particular policy may carry political costs and benefits. Policies have consequences, spillover effects, and tradeoffs which are interrelated, and which can be either economic or social or political.

Particular skills are essential to all policy analysts also. They include the ability to clarify goals; to describe trends; to analyze antecedent conditions; to project future developments; and to select among possible means of achieving a goal. In addition, on the implementation level, all analysts focus upon the eligibility criteria and channelling mechanisms that prescribe who benefits from a given policy.

All analysts attend to the criteria by which choices are made. Efficiency, equity, and adequacy are examples of relevant criteria. So is a consideration of feasibility.

Finally, all analysts attend to the syntonicity among interrelated choices, policies and consequences. Positive and adverse impacts of policies are calculated by all analysts, regardless of discipline and whether they are doing prior or post hoc analysis.

No analyst claims that decisions are made exclusively or even to a considerable extent based upon rational analysis. Rivlin notes, in this regard, that "there is little point in arguing about alternative social strate-

gies, because there is no obvious mechanism for translating general principles into budgetary and legislative decisions."¹ Political, economic, and ideological forces obviously converge to shape specific policy outputs.

Nevertheless, in certain domains, at particular periods of time, rational consideration of alternative policies can be influential.

For instance, decision makers want and need analytic input before deciding to support particular policies. Carter's welfare reform package could not have emerged on the federal docket without a prior, rational analysis of options.

Rationality can also affect policy choice given political consensus on essential criteria. Rational solutions can take the form of a set of recommendations to a decisionmaker concerning objectives or strategies; or they can offer a plan for more effective utilization of extant resources. Cost effectiveness studies, and computer based models for measuring the extent to which provision of services resolves particular problems

¹Alice M. Rivlin, Social Policy: Alternative Strategies For the Federal Government (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974), p. 4.

provide examples of how rational analysis can inform policy development and implementation.

Essentially the social worker draws upon the concepts and perspectives of the macrosciences as a synthesizer. Like all policy analysts, he/she assumes that the study of social policy cannot be isolated from the study of the social, economic and political aspects of society as a whole. Essential to the analysis of any social policy is an understanding of demographic trends including changes in the family as an institution, and the position of women. Analysis of policy must also reflect the relevance of social stratification, the work ethic, and racism.

Obviously, any effective policy confronts the difficult, inherent dilemmas of choice. To understand policy, to distinguish between objectives and means, the analyst studies policy within its historical, social, and ideological context. That context is defined by political and economic circumstances.

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