

An Elaboration and Analysis of Two Policy Implementation Frameworks to Better
Understand Project Exile

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(ABSTRACT)

In 1997, on average every 40 to 45 hours criminals either shot or killed a victim in the City of Richmond, Virginia. This resulted in 122 firearm homicides in that year alone. This gun-related violent crime epidemic so terrorized law-abiding citizens that many of them became hostages in their own homes. In response to this horrific social problem, Project Exile was developed in late 1997. Project Exile is a multi-level (federal, state, and local) law enforcement effort aimed at the amelioration of Richmond's high per-capita rate of gun violence and gun homicide. Through the Richmond U.S. Attorney's Office, Project Exile takes advantage of stiffer bond rules and sentencing guidelines in federal court, where all cases involving felons with guns, guns and drugs, and guns and domestic violence are prosecuted. Although Project Exile has received extensive television and print media coverage, it has not caught the attention of the academic world. This dissertation begins to fill this research gap by combining Kingdon's (1995) Multiple Streams model with Sabatier's (1999) Advocacy Coalition Framework to develop a "Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" and a "Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" that will be used to analyze the formation and implementation of Project Exile. The three purposes of this research will be:

1. To elaborate and analyze Kingdon's and Sabatier's frameworks as a means for understanding Project Exile

2. To draw on these two frameworks to create both Specific and Generic new “Collins Models” to assist in furthering a deeper understanding of this case study as well as similar policy subsystems.
3. To explain the genesis and development of Project Exile.

The most salient result of this research is that it shows the disparate ways in which variables, taken from the work of Kingdon, Sabatier, and the Project Exile case, fit in Schroeder’s (2001) operationalization of the Political Economic framework. In addition, this research shows how both Kingdon and Sabatier compensate for the respective limitations of the other when the two of them are combined into one model.

Dedication

This doctoral dissertation is dedicated to the life and memory of my grandfather,
Colonel Lloyd E. Wills

Enlisted Soldier, Battlefield Commissioned Officer, Public Administrator,
American Hero

- Born: Hartford, Alabama: 09/22/13
- Oldest of nine children born in to a family of Alabama sharecroppers
- Quit high school to work and to care for his eight younger siblings as a teenager
- Master Sergeant Commander of a United States Army 101st Airborne Parachute Infantry Unit: D-Day 06/06/44
- Battlefield Commissioned Lieutenant: 06/06/44
- Chief of Troop Programming at the United States Pentagon
- Commanding Officer of Special Forces at Fort Bragg, NC
- Retired as a Colonel in 1966; He received the Purple Heart, Bronze Star, and The Distinguished Unit Badge with Oak Leaf Cluster
- Joined the Agency for International Development (AID) in 1966
- Served in Vietnam working for AID for 18 months as a provincial representative advising and the assisting the Vietnamese in civil, administrative, public health, educational, and public works matters.

Colonel Wills was on his second tour of duty, serving as an AID program officer in Nha Trang, at the time of his death.

“But this Sink did not know. He had heard nothing from anyone about anything. So far as he knew, he was fighting alone in Normandy. But he was still better off than Master Sergeant Lloyd E. Wills, who dropped within 300 yards of the assembly orchard, yet did not get to Culoville until noon of the second day. Most of the time Wills wandered around meeting no one, unable to see more than 150 yards in any direction because of the hedgerows. He was never more than two miles from Culoville; still, he couldn’t find it. At last he joined a group of 25 men, mainly from Headquarters Company. The group drew German fire repeatedly but also kept moving in circles. Said Wills, ‘There’s the hell of it. Get with people and you get shot at. If you got to be lost, you’re better off alone’” (Marshall, 1962, p. 278).

Colonel Wills quoted in Marshall’s Night Drop: The American Airborne Invasion of Normandy

Colonel Wills dreamed that his children and grandchildren would be afforded the opportunity to pursue a formal education. This dissertation is the fulfillment of that dream. My grandfather shed a tremendous amount of blood, sustained serious battlefield injuries, and sacrificed himself to allow me the privilege of attending Virginia Tech.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study uses two policy implementation models, Kingdon's Multiple Streams (MS) framework (1995) and Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (1999), to help explain the rise of a policy subsystem. The specific policy subsystem example is Project Exile which is a federal, state, and local law enforcement effort to ameliorate gun-violence in Richmond, VA. Both of these policy implementation models are individually useful theoretical perspectives for explicating policy development. They are often employed and adapted in a variety of ways by policy researchers, and they both seem to be applicable to a wide variety of policy arenas (Sabatier, 1999, p.9). However, neither of the two models by itself is able to show the macro-picture of the formation of the Project Exile policy subsystem. Kingdon's MS goes up to the agenda setting policy window, but not beyond. Sabatier's ACF does mention some pre-window events and actors, but the ACF primarily focuses on the actors and groups that form after a policy creation window has been crossed. Hence, the idea was born to combine these two policy implementation models in an effort to utilize their respective strengths to allow for a view of the larger picture of the formation of the Project Exile policy subsystem.

1.1 The Purposes Of This Research

There are three purposes to this research:

1. To elaborate and analyze Kingdon's and Sabatier's frameworks as a means for understanding Project Exile.
2. To draw on these two frameworks to create both Specific and Generic new "Collins Models" to assist in furthering a deeper understanding of this case study

as well as similar policy subsystems.

3. To explain the genesis and development of Project Exile.

In pursuing these purposes, this study fills two literature gaps. First, there is a dearth of literature on Project Exile in academic journals. Although Project Exile has been covered in newspapers and in popular magazines, the only existing literature on the project comes from the Department of Justice and the United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia. Both of these federal agencies produced reports on the genesis, development, implementation, and impacts of Project Exile. This dissertation begins to fill the Project Exile academic literature gap.

Secondly, this dissertation makes a contribution to the policy subsystem literature by assessing the manner in which two disparate lenses fit into Schroeder's (2001) Political Economic framework. Individually, both Kingdon's Multiple Streams framework and Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework are used to explain the rise and the characteristics of policy subsystems. However, the policy subsystem literature is lacking a study that juxtaposes these two policy implementation frameworks for the purpose of comparative analysis. This research begins to conduct this analysis. This type of research is new and exploratory in nature.

1.2 Why The Project Exile Case Should Be Examined

The umbrella term "Public Administration" can be defined as a study, a process, and / or a vocation that has polymorphic characteristics (Buechner, 1968, p.19). This Public Administration dissertation is a study that focuses on the events, actors, and processes that came together to foment the formation of the Project Exile policy subsystem. The

specific polymorphic characteristics that make the Project Exile case study worthy of examination are as follows:

1. Project Exile was developed in Richmond, VA, and the Project Exile model has diffused to many other American cities including Philadelphia, PA; Oakland, CA; Baton Rouge, LA; and Rochester, NY (Project Exile, p.4, 1999). Given such widespread policy diffusion, it is interesting to understand the beginnings of the original model.
2. From a Public Administration study, process, and even vocational perspective, Project Exile is interesting because it was created and implemented solely by Public Administrators. Studying its origins helps to debunk and expose the falsity of the old politics / administration dichotomy.
3. It was fast in formation. It was developed and implemented using existing legislation in just a few months in 1997.

1.3 Background On Project Exile

As of 1997, armed criminals in Richmond, Virginia have been warned. Television commercials, billboards, the sides of city buses, and thousands of Richmond Police Department business cards all carry the same message: "Project Exile: An Illegal Gun Gets You Five Years In Federal Prison." Project Exile is a result of a federal, state, and local law enforcement partnership among the Richmond United States Attorney's Office, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), the Virginia State Police (VSP), and the City of Richmond Police Department (RPD). The project is aimed at the amelioration of Richmond's high per-capita rate of gun violence and gun homicide.

Through the Richmond U.S. Attorney's Office, Project Exile takes advantage of stiffer bond rules and sentencing guidelines in federal court. In that venue, bond is routinely and successfully opposed. Five year mandatory minimum sentences are often obtained.

Project Exile is not a nationwide program. It has been implemented in selected cities by federal prosecutors. The draconian nature of the project's sentencing guidelines is reflected in the name of the program. The policy is referred to as "Exile" because the project's guidelines call for exiling convicted felons from their home cities to federal prisons that are often many miles away. This precludes convicted felons from continuing to run drug or other illicit operations from state prisons that may be in closer proximity to their respective home cities. Figure 1 shows the number of Richmond Project Exile indictments, seizures, arrests, and convictions as of October 1, 2001.

Figure 1: Project Exile Numbers As Of October 1, 2001

1. 782 individuals have been indicted for federal gun violations;
2. 918 guns have been seized;
3. 604 persons have been arrested or are in state custody;
4. 390 arrestees (approximately 71%) have been held without bond;
5. 602 people have been convicted;
6. 530 people have been sentenced and the average sentence is 55 months" (Project Exile, 2001, p.4).

For the purposes of this research, the Project Exile numbers shown above are provided solely to elucidate the scope of Project Exile for the reader. This dissertation makes no attempt to deem Project Exile a success or failure. The notion of Project Exile's efficacy is a topic of current debate and it is an excellent area for future research. In fact, it could and probably should be the topic of another Public Administration policy dissertation.

1.3.1 Project Exile Legislative Background

Project Exile uses federal legislation referred to as the Gun Control Act of 1968. This act was passed in the wake of riots of the 1960's, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy provided the critical momentum for Congressional action. Under the Gun Control Act of 1968, Title 18 of the United States Code was amended to include:

a series of statutes that can be used against the armed criminal. In summary, felons, drug users, fugitives, illegal aliens, and those convicted of domestic violence are prohibited from possessing firearms. Similarly, carrying a firearm in connection with drug dealing in violation of 18 U.S.C. section 924 (c) carries a mandatory five year jail term (Project Exile Executive Summary, 1999, p. 4).

Through Project Exile this 30 year old federal legislation has been widely enforced. This widespread use of Title 18 makes Project Exile quite innovative because this federal legislation has never been applied so broadly. In the past, federal firearms laws have only been used for the worst individual criminal offenders. However, given Richmond's high per-capita gun homicide rate, the use of this federal legislation became a potential public policy remedy for the city's epidemic of gun violence.

1.3.2 The Problem In Richmond

During the 1990s, Richmond's per capita homicide rate, which was primarily the result of gun violence, was among the highest in the United States for cities with populations exceeding 100,000 residents (Department of Justice, 1999, p.7). In 1997 alone, 140 people were murdered, 122 of them with firearms. The high per capita homicide rate occurred in Richmond notwithstanding the fact that homicide rates actually

decreased in other areas of the country (Project Exile, 1999, p.3). Richmond's homicide rate equaled or exceeded 55 per 100,000 inhabitants throughout the 1990s (i.e., roughly 110 or more murders annually in a city of 200,000 residents). In 1997, Richmond's per capita homicide rate was comparable to those of Washington, D.C., New Orleans, Detroit, and Gary, the other four cities among the "top five" in homicide rates that year. Eighty percent of all of the homicide victims in 1998 were black. In that same year, over half of the homicide victims had no criminal record, which leads one to conjecture that some of those victims were probably not engaging in criminal activities that may have led to their deaths (Project Exile, p.9, 1999).

Looking at this problem in another way, using 1997 statistics, criminals armed with guns shot or killed a victim in the City of Richmond every 40 to 45 hours on average. In consequence, many city residents lived in fear of gun-related crime. According to Major McCoy of the Richmond Police Department, the escalating rate of gun violence was largely attributable to the nearly ubiquitous use of guns by drug dealers, the high incidence of domestic violence-related shootings, and the blatant willingness of many Richmond area criminals to carry firearms with perceived impunity (McCoy, David. Personal interview. 10 Oct. 01). The problem Richmond faced was not just an excessively high murder rate, but an incalculably high level of psychological damage resulting from law-abiding citizens being terrorized by armed drug dealers (Project Exile, p.9, 1999). The accompanying problems that this brought are incalculable and too numerous to mention. What is calculable is the financial toll of these fatal shootings.

Criminal violence also exacts "hidden" charges on the community as a whole. Every person shot incurs substantial fixed and future costs. The leading study on the economic costs of firearm violence calculates that each

fatal shooting results in hard expenditures of \$22,500 in medical, emergency transport, police, and related direct costs. Each fatal shooting also represents a productivity loss of \$196,000. Thus, in 1997 Richmond's 122 homicides by firearm cost Richmond approximately \$2,745,000 in direct costs, and \$11,752,000 in productivity. These direct financial losses can never be recovered and are the "hidden" charges we all pay through taxes, medical care price increases (to cover uninsured costs), and inflated medical care insurance premiums (U.S. Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of VA: Project Exile Executive Summary, 1999 pp. 2-3).

Also, Richmond's gun violence impacted the victim's potential earnings, and caused unnecessary familial and other relationship losses. The homicide statistics for the years after the implementation of Project Exile are intentionally not covered in this work in an effort to remain dispassionate concerning the current debate over the effectiveness/ineffectiveness of Project Exile.

1.3.3 The Administrative Actors Involved In The Development Of Project Exile

Assistant U.S. Attorney, Jim Comey; Richmond Deputy Police Chief, Fred Russell; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (B.A.T.F.) Richmond Director, Bill Dunham; the Assistant United States Attorney and chief federal prosecutor for Project Exile, David Schiller; the U.S. Attorney, Helen Fahey; and the Richmond Police Chief, Jerry Oliver were the primary policy entrepreneurs that played a role in the formation of the Project Exile policy subsystem. These entrepreneurs can be seen as the original Project Exile advocacy coalition. To give an example from the policy literature, the origins of the Project Exile policy formation are like the "Garbage Can" model (Cohen, March, and Olsen, 1972). In this model, policy outcomes are often a function of the mix of garbage

(problems, solutions, participants, and participant's resources) and how the garbage can is processed. In this case, a solution bumped into a problem and a new policy was born.

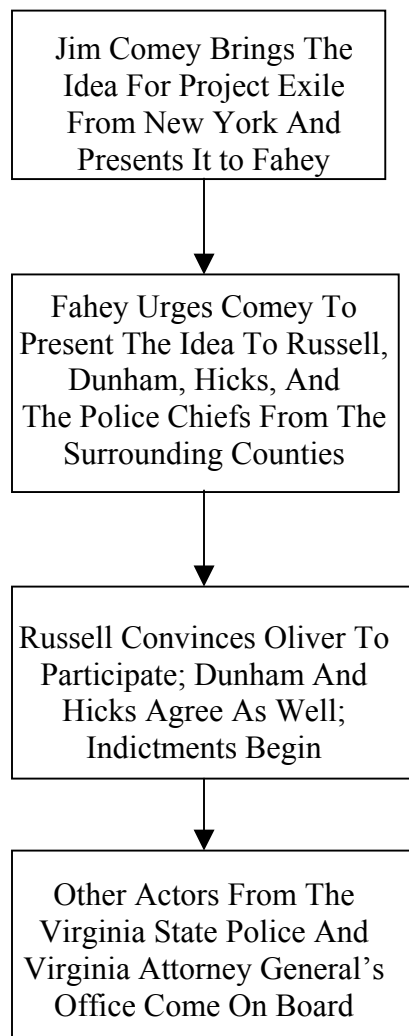
Upon his arrival in Richmond as the Assistant United States Attorney in early 1997, Jim Comey presented the notion of federally prosecuting criminals committing felonies with firearms in the City of Richmond to his boss, U.S. Attorney Helen Fahey. Comey had the idea for Project Exile while in New York, but he did not actively pursue the notion until he was transferred to Richmond. Fahey embraced the idea and encouraged Comey to present it to Chief Oliver and Deputy Chief Russell from the City of Richmond Police Department; the two other police chiefs from the surrounding counties; the BATF Richmond Director, Bill Dunham; and the Richmond Commonwealth Attorney, David Hicks. Russell and Oliver bit on the idea, as did Bill Dunham, and David Hicks. This was the infrastructure that was necessary to launch the project.

Immediately, with just the aforementioned Public Administrators involved, David Schiller began working to implement Project Exile and to indict the first fifty defendants. The result was a program that aggressively sought to target and prosecute Richmond area criminals that use firearms while committing criminal activities that threaten the viability of city neighborhoods and diminish the collective quality of Richmond life.

Why did this policy subsystem come about? Unquestionably, the impetus behind Project Exile was the effort to take serious steps to combat Richmond's epidemic of gun-related violent crime. Project Exile sought to enhance communication among members of the participating networks of actors and to allow inter-organizational collaboration that would lead to expedited federal prosecution efforts. The old way of enforcing Richmond laws, without the Project Exile collaboration, was not working well. With a chief of

police that was open to innovative ideas and a relatively new U.S. Attorney, the time was ripe for change. In addition, Comey and others were particularly good at co-opting support for the program. Figure 2, shown below, illustrates the main sequence of events for the administrative actors involved in the development of Project Exile.

Figure 2: The Administrative Actors Involved In The Development of Project Exile



1.3.4 The Political/Administrative Actor Involved In The Development Of Project Exile

After its implementation, the Project Exile policy community burgeoned to involve many political leaders and interest group actors. Interestingly, there was only one political actor involved in the pre-implementation stages of Project Exile. This elected official was Richmond's Commonwealth's Attorney, David Hicks although it should be noted that he served primarily in an administrative capacity. The political actors that came on board after implementation will be discussed in the next section.

1.3.5 The Actors And Groups That Supported Project Exile After Formation

In its post-implementation stages, Project Exile enlisted the support of Richmond's most powerful politicians. In 1998, Virginia's Governor Gilmore endorsed and lent his support to Project Exile. For example, in September 1998, Gilmore hosted a dinner for Richmond's political and business leaders at the governor's mansion to encourage support for the project. In October 1998, Virginia Attorney General Mark Early announced that an attorney from the criminal division of his office would be detailed to serve in the U.S. Attorney's Office as a full-time prosecutor for Project Exile. In addition, David Hicks, the Richmond Commonwealth's Attorney, provided the U.S. Attorney's Office with a prosecutor from his office to assist with Project Exile cases. Also, many administrative agencies and various interest groups jumped on board once this policy subsystem was implemented (Project Exile, 1999, pp. 9-16).

After the program began attracting attention, other individuals from federal law enforcement agencies, the Virginia State Police, the Richmond business community, and citizens groups became involved. These actors may be seen as members of networks

working within the Project Exile policy subsystem. This is explained well in a report from the U. S. Attorney's Office:

Project Exile is a comprehensive, multi-dimensional program by the United States Attorney's Office, B.A.T.F.(Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms), U.S. Marshal's Service, and F.B.I., in coordination with the Richmond Commonwealth's Attorney's Office, Richmond Police Department, the Virginia Attorney General, the Virginia State Police, and the business community and citizens of Richmond to reduce gun violence and remove armed criminals from Richmond streets....Project Exile is simple and straightforward in its execution, and requires relatively limited prosecution and law enforcement resources. The program's focus and message is clear, concise, easily understood, and most importantly, unequivocal: **AN ILLEGAL GUN GETS YOU FIVE YEARS IN FEDERAL PRISON** (Project Exile Executive Summary, 1999, p.2, original emphasis)

Many other interest groups joined the Project Exile policy subsystem as well. In July 1997, under the direction of prominent Richmond attorney Stanley Joynes, Esq. the Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation was formed to support Project Exile through a variety of public outreach and educational efforts through various media outlets. One of these media outlets is Richmond's local Fox Network television affiliate, Fox-35. That station provided Project Exile with free or discounted television spots, and on September 1, 1998 the station held a corporate invitational golf tournament to support the project. It raised over \$100,000. Furthermore, the Fox, CBS, and ABC networks all highlighted the program on both local and national news broadcasts. Finally, Mr. Wayne LaPierre, Executive Vice President of the National Rifle Association, and Mrs. Sarah Brady, of Handgun Control Incorporated, both publicly supported the project. The National Rifle Association made substantial donations to the Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation.

1.4 Organization Of The Dissertation

The preceding brief description of the dissertation purposes and of Project Exile sets the background for the remainder of this dissertation. The literature review comprises the second chapter. There the term “policy subsystem” is defined. Then the relevant literature is surveyed. The focus will be on the work of Kingdon (1995), Sabatier (1999), Wamsley and Zald (1973), and Schroeder (2001).

Chapter three covers the underlying research methodology. First, the process of the derivation of the Project Exile variables is explicated. Second, the classification of the Project Exile, Kingdon, and Sabatier variables using the Political Economic framework is explained. Finally, there will be discussion concerning the manner in which the “Collins Models” will be developed.

Chapter four presents some of the results of this research methodology. Chapter five covers the remainder. In that chapter, the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier, as viewed through Schroeder’s operationalization of the Political Economic framework, will be shown to complement one another quite well by accounting for the respective limitations of the other framework. In addition, this section of the dissertation research will integrate selected variables from Kingdon and Sabatier into one model (the “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model”). This is done to help researchers and practitioners alike better understand the variables gathered from the Project Exile case study in order to promote a more thoughtful understanding of the genesis of the Project Exile policy subsystem.

Any additional variables in the Project Exile case study not encompassed by one or both of the frameworks are identified and discussed as well. This will help to elucidate

any failings in the use of the operationalization of the Kingdon and Sabatier models as categorized in the Political Economic framework to analyze this particular public policy subsystem.

In that same chapter, a “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” that encompasses all of the Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile variables is developed. This generic model shows the overlap (commonalities), dissimilarities, and the inherent complexity of the language used in the two frameworks.

Chapter six is the conclusion. Findings are summarized and speculation will be made concerning how the Generic and Specific “Collins Models” can be used in the future. A disclaimer will be made that the contribution of this research is narrowly focused and exploratory in nature. Moreover, it is acknowledged that there is a considerable amount of research left to do on the genesis and development of policy subsystems.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON POLICY SUBSYSTEMS

According to Anthony Giddens' theory of the "duality of structure" (1979), organizational analysis of institutional and strategic interaction should involve two regions. The front region should represent the revealed (public) institutional interactions and the back region should represent the concealed (private) interactions. Hypothetically, a juxtaposition of both regions will lead to an enhanced institutional understanding. In the same vein, David John Farmer (1995) tells us that looking at a bureaucracy through contrasting lenses provides a "deeper understanding both of the process of thinking about Public Administration and the practice of bureaucracy" (p.246). Farmer reminds us that language is more than a tool for thinking, for conceiving, and communicating thoughts.

It is also a factory of ideas, approaches, intuitions, assumptions, and urges that make up our world view; it shapes us...public administration theory is, in an important sense, a language (1995, p.1).

Consequently, researchers that are interested in public policy should treat the language, regions, or lenses that are used as the analytical frameworks for describing and understanding public policy quite seriously. One of these lenses, or analytical frameworks, is the policy subsystem perspective.

This researcher is choosing to use the term "policy subsystem" in lieu of many other terms that could have been utilized. First and foremost, this researcher is using this term because it is employed by both Kingdon and Sabatier. More specifically the term "policy subsystem" applies to the Project Exile case in the way that Barke (1993) uses it.

Each issue involves a group of public and private actors who are affected by a policy in question and who therefore provide the demands, political support, economic incentives, and procedural constraints that shape the policy process. These subsystems are divided into coalitions that advocate policies based on their basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions- or belief systems- and on the resources available to them (Barke, 1993, p.30).

In the past twenty-five years, scholars have written on policy subsystems and their conceptions of the term have evolved and differed widely (see e.g., Katzenstein, 1977; Heclo, 1978; Milward and Wamsley, 1984; Wamsley, 1984; Sabatier, 1993; Howlett and Ramesh, 1995; Thurber, 1996; and Anderson, 1997). The policy subsystem conceptual waters in organizational studies, public administration, and political science remain quite muddied. As Wamsley reminds us

greater attention to clarity and care in the language we use to conceptualize policy subsystems is especially important given the variety of disciplines and intellectual traditions brought to bear on the subject (1984, p.71).

Wamsley's admonition seems to have gone unheeded because linguistic confusion abounds. Below is a short history of the term "policy subsystem."

2.1 History Of The Term "Policy Subsystem"

In the United States, the oldest notion of a policy subsystem was developed by the early critics of pluralism. These critics coined the term "iron triangle" to capture the essence of the iron-clad control of interest groups, congressional committees, and governmental agencies over many aspects of the policy process.

In the 1960's and 1970's, further research into the American case revealed that many of these sub-governments (iron triangles) were not all-powerful, and that

in fact their influence on policy-making varied across issues and time (Howlett and Ramish, 1995, p.125).

In 1978, Hugh Hecló published an article outlining his conception of issue networks. His essay did not deny the existence of iron triangles, but he argued that iron triangles were much less stable, much more open, and involved an increased level of participant turnover than previously conceived (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995, p.126). In the same vein, Milward and Wamsley (1984) argued that the policy subsystem conception allows for a more sophisticated understanding of the American political system than the network literature of the organizational theorists. Milward and Wamsley contend that the policy subsystem allows for the operationalization of the larger context in which the network operates.

Sabatier's advocacy coalitions offers an even more complex scheme for studying actors in policy subsystems. According to Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier an:

advocacy coalition consists of actors from a variety of public and private institutions at all levels of government who share a set of basic beliefs (policy goals plus causal and other perceptions) and who seek to manipulate the rules, budgets, and personnel of governmental institutions in order to achieve these goals over time (1993, p.5).

For the purposes of this research Thurber's comprehensive definition of policy subsystems will be used. He defines policy subsystems as being characterized by:

“networks of actors, the substantive policy domain with which they are concerned, and various modes of decision making...Subsystems are decentralized power structures with predictable informal communication patterns among participants who come primarily from interest groups, members and staffs of congressional committees and subcommittees, bureau and agency personnel in the executive branch, and other policy specialists from

universities, state and local governments, and specialized media” (1996, p.82).

In the development of the “Collins Model” for understanding policy subsystems, Kingdon’s agenda setting streams and Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition Framework will be combined to help identify actors involved in the development of the Project Exile policy subsystem. Each of these frameworks will be examined.

2.2 Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Agenda Setting For Policy Subsystems

The Multiple Streams (MS) theoretical perspective deals with policy making under conditions of ambiguity. “Ambiguity refers to a state of having many ways of thinking about the same circumstances or phenomena. These ways may not be reconcilable and thus may create vagueness, confusion, and stress” (Zahariadis, 1999, p.74). To address such ambiguity, at the core of the MS lens is the garbage can model of choice. Kingdon adapted the MS general line of thought from Cohen, March, and Olsen’s 1972 article “A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice” that was developed to better understand agenda setting in the federal government (Kingdon, 1995, p.86). In their article, Cohen, March, and Olsen refer to organizations as “organized anarchies” and they use universities as their empirical example. The three characteristics of organized anarchies are problematic preferences, unclear technology, and fluid participation. As Cohen et al. state, an organization is “a loose collection of ideas rather than a coherent structure; it discovers preferences through action more than it acts of the basis of preference” (1972, p.1). These authors argue that four separate streams that have lives of their own run through an organization. These streams are problems, solutions, participants, and choice opportunities. Cohen, March, and Olsen say that this kind of an organization is

a collection of choices looking for problems; issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired; solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer; and decision makers looking for work (1972, p.2).

Therefore, organizational outcomes are often a function of the mix of garbage (problems, solutions, participants, and participant's resources) and how the garbage can is processed.

Unlike this model, Kingdon's (1995) three streams are easier to envision. He argues that the separate streams of problems, policies, and politics converge at critical times. When this convergence occurs, solutions are joined to problems and both of them are favorably connected with political forces. This convergence is most likely to occur when policy windows are open. According to Kingdon, (1995) policy entrepreneurs play a large role in coupling problems and solutions to politics, and they are also responsible for prompting important actors to pay attention to certain policy issues.

While governmental agendas are set in the problems or political streams, the chances of items rising on a decision agenda- a list of items up for actual action- are enhanced if all three streams are coupled together (Kingdon, 1995, p.20).

Many researchers have adapted Kingdon's multiple streams, policy window, and policy entrepreneur agenda-setting model as a framework for examining important public policy issues and a lot from can be learned from previous applications of the MS framework. In fact, according to Sabatier

although the multiple streams framework is not always clear and internally consistent as one might like, it appears to be applicable to a wide variety of policy arenas and is cited about eighty times annually in the Social Science Citation Index (1999, p.9).

For example, Saint-Germain and Calamia (1996) used Kingdon's full model to provide insight into the policy-making processes that resulted in the 1994 Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act. Using the MS model, they show that despite this act's marketing as an innovative policy, this proviso is really nothing new under the sun. In fact, it is only an incremental addition to previous legislation. These researchers use the MS streams to trace the evolution of a policy's development. Moya (1998) does similar research. She tests Kingdon's MS model to see how well it could explain a case study of growth management activities in Maricopa County, AZ. She holds that "Kingdon's theory appears to be mostly descriptive. It extends understanding of past events well, but it does not lead to strong predictions of the future" (Moya, 1998, p.540). Kingdon's full MS model has also been used in the literature on environmental policy (see, e.g., Nakamura, Church, and Cooper 1992; Scheberle 1994; Simon and Alm 1995; and Solecki and Shelly 1996).

Kingdon's MS model has also been modified to fit the needs of disparate researchers. In "To Sell or Not to Sell? Telecommunications Policy in Britain and France," (1992) Zahariadis broadened Kingdon's agenda setting model to make it applicable to the entire policy formation process (agenda setting and decision making). Zahariadis does this in an effort to explain why the British privatized their telecommunications authority and the French did not. This study also illuminates the usefulness of Kingdon's model in comparative policy research beyond the United States. In "Selling British Rail: An Idea Whose Time Has Come?" (1996) Zahariadis narrowed and refined Kingdon's argument by specifying the conditions in which a policy may be in search of a rationale.

Instead of narrowing, many researchers have chosen to expand by combining Kingdon's MS framework with other theoretical lenses to strengthen the explanatory power of their adapted model. For example, Scheberle (1994) employs Kingdon's model of agenda setting with Stone's notion of causal stories to explain how public concerns about radon and asbestos reached the Congressional level. The author argues that Kingdon's focusing event notion helped the asbestos problem hit the Congressional agenda. However, it was Stone's causal stories that better explained how the radon issue made it to the Congressional agenda. This shows us that different cases can be better explained by disparate ideas and theoretical perspectives. In "Ideas, Networks, and Policy Streams: Privatization in Britain and Germany," (1995) Zahariadis and Allen combined insights gained from Kingdon's multiple streams approach and the literature on policy network theory to examine the evolution of the privatization movement in Britain and Germany. These authors argue that the structure of the networks influences the trajectory of ideas in the policy streams. Another example is the work of Simon and Alm (1995). These authors apply Kingdon's MS model with Bram's dynamic game theory framework to explain the development of acid-rain legislation enacted by the USA in the Clean Air Act of 1990. "Using Kingdon's policy windows framework, we conclude that the legislation was passed in 1990 largely as a result of a political shift....using the theory of moves developed by Bram's we showed why Canada chose to lobby the USA on the acid-rain issue even though it risked international costs" (Simon and Alm, 1995, p.476).

As Zahariadis, among others, has shown Kingdon's Multiple Streams model can be adapted and combined with other theoretical perspectives to undertake policy research. What this research is doing is more of the same. This researcher will combine Kingdon

and Sabatier to form a new model for understanding policy subsystems. Although Kingdon's original Multiple Streams framework referred to the entire national government and a multiplicity of ideas, Zahariadis used the Multiple Streams perspective to model a single issue. Zahariadis was able to shift the unit of analysis by focusing on one issue as a receptacle of problems, solutions, and politics regardless of what was transpiring in the entire system's giant receptacle of problems, solutions, and politics. This dissertation research will use the same approach. This work is focusing on the genesis of Project Exile in Richmond, VA. It is not concerned with the national, or even regional, gun control arena events or actors that existed at that time.

In addition, Zahariadis points out that Kingdon's work "refers to the predecision process in the United States" (Zahariadis, 1999, p.78). This makes Kingdon's work quite compatible with Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) because Kingdon covers the agenda setting process up to the window and Sabatier's ACF primarily covers the post-window actors, events, and occurrences.

2.3 Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework

The initial version of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was developed by Sabatier in the early 1980s. In the mid-1980s, Sabatier began working with Jenkins-Smith who had quite independently developed similar conceptions as Sabatier. The initial version of the ACF had five basic premises and it was based on the literatures of policy implementation and the role of technical information in public policy. According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith these premises are:

1. Theories of the policy process or policy change need to address the role played by technical information concerning the magnitude and facets of the problem, its causes, and the probable impacts of various solutions.

2. Understanding the process of policy change and the role of technical information therein requires a time perspective of a decade or more.
3. The most useful unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern industrial societies is not any specific governmental organization or program, but a policy subsystem (or domain). A subsystem consists of those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue, such as air pollution control, and who regularly seek to influence public policy in that domain.
4. Within a subsystem, the ACF argues that our conception of policy subsystems should be broadened from traditional notions of iron triangles –limited to administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups at a single level of government- to include two new categories of actors: (1) journalists, researchers, and policy analysts, who play important roles in the generation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas, and (2) actors at all levels of government active in policy formation and implementation.
5. Finally, public policies/ programs incorporate implicit theories about how to achieve their objectives and thus can be conceptualized in much the same way as belief systems (1999 p.154).

In addition to these five basic premises, the ACF framework posits that there are two sets of exogenous variables that influence the development of a policy subsystem. The first set is relatively stable, including basic constitutional structure, and the second is more dynamic involving socioeconomic changes. These two sets of variables are part of the constraints and resources of subsystem actors. Within the actual subsystem, the ACF assumes that actors can be aggregated into a number of advocacy coalitions. Each of these advocacy coalitions are composed of

people from various governmental and private organizations the both (1) share a set of normative and causal beliefs and (2) engage in a nontrivial degree of coordinated activity over time (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p. 120).

The belief systems of each of these coalitions are categorized “into a hierarchical tripartite structure, with higher / broader level often constraining more specific beliefs” (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p.120). The highest / broadest level is the deep core. It addresses normative, ontological, and epistemological concerns. The next level is the

policy core. It represents a coalition's basic ideas concerning normative commitments and causal perceptions. Finally, a coalition's secondary belief aspects deals with the coalition's narrower beliefs concerning such issues as the seriousness of a problem, institutional design, and budgetary allocations.

This research is not the first to adopt and adapt Sabatier's work for its own purposes. In addition to the research carried-out by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, the ACF framework has been used to analyze environmental policy (see e.g. Weyent, 1988; Burnett and Davis, 1999; and Lester and Hamilton, 1988). Also, this framework has been used to research nuclear policy as well (see e.g. Duffy, 1997; and Herron et al., 1999). Finally, Burnett and Davis, 1999; Elliot, 1988; and Davis and Davis, 1988 have used the ACF to explore forestry policy.

Mawhinney (1993) used the ACF to examine Canadian educational policy. The methodology that he used to determine who was in the advocacy coalition in his research is very similar to the methodology employed by this researcher. Mawhinney states that his investigation "uses a combination of content analysis of government documents, newspaper accounts, and interest group publications, as well as elite interviews" (Mawhinney, 1993, p. 60). This author's use of the ACF demonstrates the importance of recognizing the interaction between and among opposing advocacy coalitions, recognizing the external factors that help to explain policy formation, and the explication of the belief systems of the opposing advocacy coalitions.

Munro (1993) uses the ACF to juxtapose and contrast two California water politics advocacy coalitions. In this study, the author compares Sabatier's ACF with Kuhn's (1970) notions in the Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Munro argues that these two

authors have striking similarities. Kuhn states that paradigms set limits on what makes sense and determines what phenomena will be studied. Similarly, Sabatier contends that the beliefs of an advocacy coalition largely determine how the members of that coalition view policy issues and search for new information to bolster their positions. To elucidate the different ways that two advocacy coalitions can “see” this particular issue, Munro does an interesting job of creating a chart that juxtaposes the two water politics coalitions and lists their ontological and epistemological core beliefs. In his study, the identification of the two major advocacy coalitions was easy because they were quite evident. They were the development and the protectionist coalitions.

Barke (1993) uses the ACF to examine the history of the Federal Communications Agency. His longitudinal research points out that although belief systems are usually the instigators of policy disputes, external and institutional (statutory and judicial) constraints often impact the degree to which policy makers can act on their core beliefs. In the case of Project Exile, since the policy entrepreneurs that made up the initial advocacy coalition utilized existing legislation and had very few exogenous constraints, they were able to make a decision and implement it. This is what accounts for the fast formation and implementation of the Project Exile policy subsystem.

Much like the aforementioned researchers, this researcher will utilize Sabatier’s framework to explain a solution to a public policy conundrum. Although in the fourth proposition listed above it is stated that journalists, researchers, and policy analysts, who play important roles in the generation, dissemination, formation and implementation of public policy, should be included in the Advocacy Coalition Model, this research will use Sabatier primarily to explain the post-window events in the Project Exile policy

subsystem. This researcher acknowledges that the ACF has the explanatory power to cover some of the pre-window events, but it will be shown that the pre-window and post-window explanatory strength of the combination of the Kingdon and Sabatier models is greater than their individual strengths.

In addition, it is important to note that Sabatier's ACF is generally applied to coalitions that have been together over a long period of time. Even though the Project Exile policy subsystem is in its incipient stages, this researcher believes that the ACF can be used to explain the rise of Project Exile. In fact, Sabatier states that the early versions of the ACF assumed that most new subsystems were spin-offs of mature subsystems that had long histories. However, Sabatier states that nascent subsystems may also occur. "Subsystems may also emerge out of a new issue or a new conceptualization of a situation. In such cases, one might expect an initial situation characterized by great fluidity" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p.136). It is an assumption of this research that Project Exile is one of these nascent policy subsystems and fit to be examined by using the ACF framework.

2.4 Political Economic Framework Of Wamsley And Zald

In Wamsley and Zald's political economy framework, structure and process are categorized as political or economic. The political encompasses the basis for legitimacy, and the distribution of power. In addition, the political also involves the general perception of the propriety of an organization's, or subsystem's, existence, and the relation of the organizational and subsystem goals to the goals of dominant elites.

Economy in the Wamsley and Zald framework refers to the physical arrangement of

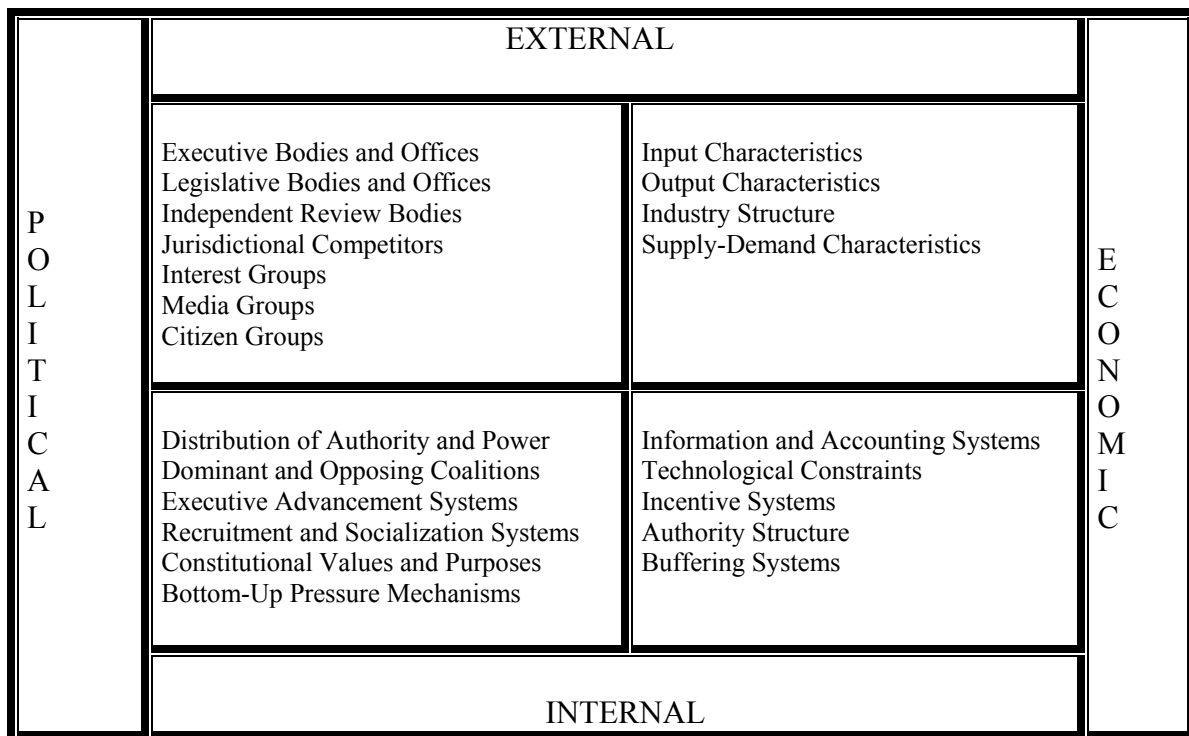
labor, technology, and resources. Task accomplishment, means of production, and output of the organization are included. Both of these factors affect an organization's, or policy subsystem's, functions, goals, and means of work. The relationship between the political and economic aspects of an organization, or subsystem, form the basis for analyzing both the internal and external elements that affect the development and operation of policy subsystems. An organization's, or policy subsystem's, political economy can be conceptualized by dividing the political-economic dimension by a cross-cutting internal-external dimension. Ultimately, four analytical frameworks are created. They are (1) internal political, (2) external political, (3) internal economy, and (4) external economy. The Political Economy Framework of Wamsley and Zald provides a holistic view of the processes and linkages which comprise the entire political system (Schroeder, 2001, p.64).

Originally, the political economy framework of Wamsley and Zald was intended to be a framework for analyzing existing organizations. However, it can be utilized as a normative framework for determining what must exist before any set of relationships can qualify conceptually as an organization. Or, in the case of Project Exile, what must exist for a network of relationships to come into existence and function as a policy subsystem. Specifically, this framework can provide insight into the environmental factors that serve to help and /or hamper the genesis and development of a policy subsystem.

The political economy framework has the potential to allow us to conceptually go from knowing very little, or nothing, to knowing quite a bit about the genesis of the Project Exile policy subsystem. Or, said another way, from only being able to see many unrelated entities to conceptualizing a group of inter-related entities that comprise a

functioning political economy such as the Project Exile policy subsystem (Schroeder, 2001, p.62). The political economy framework seems to be amenable to this process because it “directs attention not merely to the internal workings of the institution but to its environment; and that environment is dealt with not only as an interesting past but as a source and repository of multitudinous transactions” (Goodsell, 1984, 291). The Political Economic Framework of Wamsley and Zald (1973) is illustrated below.

Figure 3: Wamsley And Zald’s (1973) Political Economic Framework



2.5 Schroeder's Translation Of The Political Economic Framework

According to Schroeder (2001), it is helpful to enhance this descriptive analytical framework. To do so, we must develop a tool that tells us, the researchers interested in the formation and development of policy subsystems, what to look for and where to look. When Schroeder (2001) discussed the labels used in the original Political Economic framework with many other researchers who have attempted to apply the framework in practice, it appeared necessary to re-label the dimensions to ensure clarity. Accordingly, for the rest of this dissertation, the dimensional labels will be as follows:

External Polity _ Political Environment

External Economy _ Economic Environment

Internal Polity _ Social (or Organizational) System

Internal Economy _ Technical (or Functional) System

Schroeder (2001) chose the terms “social system” and “technical system” over “internal polity” and “internal economy” respectively: 1) for conceptual clarity, and 2) because the internal polity and economy, taken together, very closely approximates Burns & Stalker’s “Socio-Technical System.” Figure 3 shows the four dimensions in a rewritten format that is helpful in understanding a policy subsystem.

Figure 4: Schroeder's Operationalization Of The Political Economic Framework

<p>Political Environment Primary questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who, in the existing political environment, will have to be involved for implementation to take place? • What is the policy problem? What is the policy solution? <p>Variables to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of surveillance by external actors; • External actors understanding of potential network's goals; • Match between statutory charge and political environment; • Level which external control mechanisms dictate internal resource allocation; • Level of external support & influence available to potential implementation network from larger policy arena, problem, solution 	<p>Economic Environment Primary question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the potential resources of economic support for the implementation network? <p>Variables to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of demand for outputs (products) of a successful implementation; • Availability of resource inputs (personnel, money, technical resources) to the network; • Who are the recipients of outputs (citizens, customers?); • The role that race, class, and gender play in the policy. • Amount received for outputs (money, power, prestige, fuzzy feeling?); • Level of competition.
<p>Social / Organizational System Primary question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the primary social/organizational components of a new policy subsystem that need to be created? <p>Variables to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mission; • Goals; • Dominant norms and values; • Communication System; • Measurement and analysis of job Performance; Recruitment system(s); Incentive System(s) 	<p>Technical / Functional System Primary question:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the primary technical/functional components that must be created for the policy subsystem to operate? <p>Variables to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The "production system"; • Primary system functions; • Required functional positions; • Required functional responsibilities; • Technological requirements; • Budget and budgeting system; Purchasing & accounting

One caveat is that when using Schroeder's (2001) operationalization of the Wamsley and Zald framework it is important to note that the four aspects of the organization are visualized as a two-by-two static box. However, in the dynamic world of policy subsystems, where the relationships between political and economic entities are

constantly changing, a more dynamic approach is warranted. Additionally, if we accept the proposition of the constructivist paradigm of inquiry, that reality is a social construct, then it must follow that any definition of what is political and what is economic is also a social construction being ephemeral at best and arbitrary at worst. This is accepted as a limitation in this research that is representative of the limited ability of human beings to make sense of the world around us without using a static model.

Therefore, it is arguable that we do need a model, such as Schroeder's operationalization, to provide us with the lens to begin to view a series of still frame pictures that will partially tell us the story of how a particular policy subsystem emerged.

According to Matland:

Several recent articles and books have reviewed the policy implementation literature, summarizing what has been learned and identifying obstacles standing in the way of further knowledge. The extent of agreement is surprising; most of these authors paint a similar picture of past work and suggest similar paths for future work. These reviews include the need for closure and coherence in our theoretical models. Perhaps the most telling is O'Toole's (1986) review of more than one hundred implementation studies, in which he finds these studies referring to over three hundred key variables. A literature review with three hundred critical variables doesn't need more variables: It needs *Structure* (Matland, p.114, 1995).

This literature review provided background information on the policy subsystem literature, the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier, the Political Economic Framework. The frameworks of both Kingdon and Sabatier help us to understand the rise of policy subsystems. In the next chapter of this dissertation, the research methodology will be detailed.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Three purposes for this research were described in Chapter 1:

- (1) To elaborate and analyze Kingdon’s and Sabatier’s frameworks as a means for understanding Project Exile
- (2) To draw on these two frameworks to create both Specific and Generic new “Collins Models” to assist in furthering a deeper understanding of this case study as well as similar policy subsystems.
- (3) To explain the genesis and development of Project Exile.

The methodological steps undertaken to accomplish these purposes are summarized below in Table 1, referencing the sections in this chapter where they will be discussed more fully.

Table 1: Summary Of The Research Methodology

3.1 Underlying Methods (Used Throughout The Dissertation)
3.1.1 Revision Of Schroeder’s Framework
3.1.2 Systematic Elaboration And Classification Table (QCQ)
3.2 Field Study To Determine The Derivation Of The Project Exile Variables
3.2.1 Interviews
3.2.2 Analysis of Documents Related To Project Exile
3.3 Project Exile, Kingdon, And Sabatier Variable Identification And Classifications
3.4 Development Of The Specific And Generic “Collins Models”
1.4.1 Development And Use Of The “Specific Collins Classification And Elaboration Model”
1.4.2 Development And Use Of The “Generic Collins Classification And Elaboration Model”
3.5 Summary

This chapter is divided into five sections. First, the underlying methods, which are used throughout the dissertation, are discussed. Second, the process of deriving the Project Exile variables is explicated. Third, the three sets of variables are classified using

the Political Economic framework. This classification allows for a better understanding of how these three sets of variables fit into the Political Economic framework. Moreover, it will give researchers a classification system to compare the language used in the two frameworks for the purpose of looking for commonalities and differences. Next, the “Collins Models” are developed. The “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (SCCEM) is a categorization and listing of relevant factors that will enable researchers to partially map out the Project Exile policy subsystem. The “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (GCCCEM) includes and integrates the variables used in the “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (SCCEM) into the broader implementation frameworks. Finally, a summary of the chapter will be presented.

Before beginning to explain the methodology, it is important to define the term variable as it is utilized in this research. Typically, a variable is something that varies. However, the use of shorthand in this dissertation to compress large ideas into a manageable number of variables makes this dissertation’s use of the term variable to mean an “object of study.”

3.1 Underlying Methods (Used Throughout The Tasks)

The revision of Schroeder’s Political Economic framework and the systematic elaboration and classification using Quantitative CyberQuest (QCQ) are the underlying methods that will be discussed next.

3.1.1 Revision Of Schroeder’s Framework

The use of Schroeder’s operationalization of the Wamsley and Zald (see Figure 4 in the preceding chapter) Political Economic model provides this research with the type of

critical structure that Matland (1995) deemed necessary for better understanding the Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile case study variables. Schroeder's operationalization of the Political Economic framework was chosen for this research because it provides a sensible way to categorize and then compare the variables from the two theoretical frameworks and the case study. It is also a way to organize variables that will allow humans, with bounded rationality, to make retrospective sense of the world around them. No claim is made that the Political Economic operationalization represents an axiomatic or fundamentally immutable truth. Admittedly, Schroeder's approach is only one of many that could have been used to conduct this type of research.

In this analysis, each of the Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile variables will be subsumed under one of the four dimensions in Schroeder's operationalization of the Political Economic framework (Political, Economic, Social / Organizational, and Technical / Functional).

However, in this dissertation, a slightly revised version of Schroeder's work will serve as a classification system. It is important to note that one revision has already been made in the Economic area in conjunction with the "recipients of outputs (citizens, customers)." This addition is the role that "race, class, and gender" may have played in the development of the policy subsystem. The rationale behind placing "race, class, and gender" in the Economic Environment is that this is the only area in the Political Economic framework that includes policy implementation impacts on the citizenry. This variable is not included in the Social / Organizational area because that area is primarily concerned with the theory and behavior of organizations.

3.1.2 Systematic Elaboration And Classification Using Quantitative CyberQuest

The next step in the methodology is to flush out and categorize all the variables both in the case and in the two frameworks. Quantitative CyberQuest (QCQ) will be used to assist in this step. According to Dickey and Relaford 2001, QCQ is an “analytic discovery tool” that can be employed for both conceptual modeling and forecasting. It combines systems analysis, scientific research methodology, “qualitative research,” methods regression (of a new type), and policy analysis. It takes the user through a seven stage process which involves:

1. **SITUATION DESCRIPTION:** Describing the situation/project to be addressed. Identifying the aim to be achieved, client, and available study resources. Specifying goal-related variables.
2. **THEORY SEARCH:** Investigating available theories and identifying possibly relevant variables and their relationships.
3. **THEORY DEVELOPMENT:** Defining and categorizing variables and catalysts specific to the situation at hand. Showing causal links and timing between them. Describing the relevant theories and their assumptions, extreme cases, etc.
4. **DATA SPECIFICATION:** Defining and measuring the variables. Describing their precision, accuracy, statistical properties, etc. Entering, editing, and displaying the relevant quantitative data. Identifying each variable's operational range
5. **INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPMENT:** Identifying variable intercepts and appropriate relationship forms (warrants). Selecting a goodness-of-fit criterion. Automatically developing regression equations for each dependent variable.
6. **RELATIONSHIP EVALUATION:** Assessing each relationship via both quantitative and qualitative criteria.
7. **FORECASTING:** Setting scenarios. Predicting the value of the dependent variables (e.g., goals) under these various scenarios (Dickey and Relaford, 2001, pp.1-3).

This research does not utilize all of the QCQ capabilities. The software program is utilized only to give the Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile variables distinct identification terms and variable roles. It will also be used to describe, define, and exemplify these variables. The complete QCQ outputs are included in Appendices A-D.

3.2 Field Study To Determine The Derivation Of The Project Exile Variables

As aforementioned, Project Exile received extensive television and print media coverage, but it has been given little or no attention in academic research. A few of the media sources that covered Project Exile include: (NBC Nightly News, April 30, 1999); (ABC World News Tonight, November 30, 1999); (U.S. News and World Report March 1, 1999); (Time, August 16, 1999); (Readers Digest November, 1999); (Dallas Morning News October 1, 1999); (Milwaukee Journal Sentinel September 13, 1999); (The Police Chief, 1999). However, none of these popular magazine or newspaper articles addressed the questions concerning the actors, events, and occurrences that combined to form the Project Exile policy subsystem. Therefore, for the purposes of this research both personal interviews and reviews of Department of Justice reports will be crucial for gathering information about Project Exile. This will be done in a case study format.

One definition of a case study is:

Case studies are explorations of a single entity or phenomenon (an event, process, organization, group, or individual...They seek to understand a larger phenomenon through close examination of a specific case and therefore focus on the particular...Case studies are descriptive, holistic, heuristic and inductive (Rossman, 1998, p.70).

Yin (1989) provides another definition. A case study is an empirical inquiry that

investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1989, p.23).

The case study approach has many strengths as well as some limitations. Case studies allow us to investigate what is particular and unique about a specific public policy and to let the case tell its own story (Stake, 1998, pp.90-93). The limitations of the case study include ethical issues that result from possibly biased research, the subjectivity of the researcher and research design, and issues of reliability, validity, and generalizability. (Merriam, 1998, p.40).

To militate against some of these aforementioned problems with the case study approach the data in this case study will be triangulated. The Department of Justice and U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile reports will be juxtaposed and compared with interview transcripts to search for corroborating and / or conflicting notions of how the Project Exile policy community evolved.

3.2.1 The Interview Instrument

The context of the Project Exile policy subsystem will be assessed by using standard qualitative methods, such as snowballing and quota sampling (Babbie, 1998; Wasserman and Faust, 1994) as will be described below. The use of these methodological approaches will result in something that closely equates to a conceptual "mapping" of the Political, Economic, Social / Organizational, and Technical / Functional environments from which one may gain an understanding of the resources, actors, and events that were necessary to build the Project Exile policy subsystem.

To begin, all questions about economics, politics, organization, and function should have relevance to the interviewee's organization in relation to the policy subsystem. The

purpose here will be to determine the environment of the Project Exile policy subsystem in its incipient stages. The interview questions will be developed to elicit information concerning each of the Political Economic dimensions. From the Department of Justice and United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia reports on Project Exile that were mentioned in the introductory chapter, a list of interview questions will be generated. Once this list is created, an approach entailing both quota sampling and snowball sampling will be utilized to determine whom should be interviewed. This will be explained below.

Who will be interviewed for this research? This is the first problem that researchers encounter after the preparation of an interview instrument. The approaches chosen to answer this question in this research will be quota sampling and snowballing. The purpose of the initial quota sample is to make sure that the researcher starts with a set of interviewees that best represent the most obvious set of actors that were involved in the genesis of this case study. This may prove to be rather easy in the case of Project Exile because there were few actors involved in the program's development and the program evolved quite quickly. This approach will be followed by snowballing, which allows original informants to identify other stakeholders.

Although quota sampling is a non-probability method, it is similar to probability sampling. Quota sampling "addresses the issue of representativeness, although the two methods approach the issue quite differently" (Babbie 1998 p.196). Using quota sampling, the researcher begins with a table describing the characteristics of the population that he or she wants to interview. If the researcher needed a national quota sample, for instance, she

would need to know what proportion of the national population is urban, eastern, male, under 25, white, working class, and the like, and all the other permutations of such a matrix (Babbie, 1998, p.196).

After constructing this table, the researcher should collect data from people having all the characteristics, or characteristic, of a given cell. Since only five people were involved in the genesis of Project Exile and they comprised a rather homogenous population, only one characteristic will be needed per cell. The Project Exile Quota Sampling Table Characteristics and Examples are shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5: The Project Exile Quota Sampling Table Characteristics And Examples

<p>Present At The Inception Of Project Exile Jim Comey was first identified from the literature Jerry Oliver was first identified from the literature Bill Dunham was first identified from the literature</p>	<p>Policy Entrepreneur Colonel Jerry Oliver (RPD) was an obvious policy entrepreneur David Hicks was a policy entrepreneur</p>
<p>Knowledgeable About Project Exile Many of the Department of Justice reports were written by David Schiller Major David McCoy was in charge of the project for the Richmond Police Department</p>	<p>Willing To Be Interviewed Jim Comey was extremely cooperative during the first telephone interview; Along with the literature, he led me to the others who were involved</p>

However, quota sampling, especially when done on a large scale, does have some limitations. According to Krathwohl (1993), “unfortunately, despite the appealing logic of the methods, the individuals in any one quota are simply a convenience sample of that group” (p.136). Krathwohl adds that researchers are apt to avoid less desirable areas of a community to fill their quotas and this often leads to under-representation of some groups of people and therefore a non-representative sample.

Snowballing is a popular technique used in network studies (Wasserman and Faust, 1994), particularly in situations where stakeholders or other interested representatives

are not easily identifiable (Goldenberg, 1992). Therefore, this strategy is extremely useful in helping researchers identify relevant individuals at various stages of the genesis and development of the policy subsystem. Snowballing is a simple process of expanding the zone of contacts through initial contacts. The process begins by identifying an initial group of stakeholders. The purpose of snowballing here will be to find, as quickly as possible, the self-limiting reference system of the new policy subsystem. By “self-limiting,” it is meant that after a few iterations of snowballing, the names of suggested new interviewees begin to be repeated.

Using the snowballing technique with the interview instrument created above, an approach can now be specified. First, the research will start with interviews of known, obvious stakeholders who meet a specific set of criteria (quota sampling), then snowballing will be used.

However, like quota sampling, snowball sampling has limitations as well. According to Lee (1993), “the intuitively appealing notion of the ‘snowball’ can be taken too much at face value (Lee, p.66, 1993). The author adds that snowball sampling does not inevitably lead to a large number of contacts. In fact, a number of researchers have found that it

produces a slow and uneven accretion of additional data points...bias is an almost inevitable feature of snowball samples because the social relations which underpin the sampling procedure tend towards reciprocity and transitivity (Lee, 1993, pp.66-67)

3.2.2 Analysis Of Documents Related To Project Exile

This analysis will be conducted to corroborate information solicited in the interview process. It will consist of an examination of the Department of Justice and U.S.

Attorney's reports on Project Exile. As it has been stated, there is a dearth of academic writing on Project Exile. The Department of Justice and U.S. Attorney reports are numbered as follows:

- 1 The Department of Justice Analysis of Project Exile and Homicide in Richmond, VA from March 10, 1999
- 2 The U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile Executive Summary from March 22, 1999
- 3 The U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile Executive Summary from February 15, 1999
- 4 U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile from September 1, 2000
- 5 U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile from October 1, 2001

Each of these reports will be reviewed for significant variables and relationships. Although they were tersely written with an abundance of legalese, they may prove to be a good starting place for the identification of the actors, events, and occurrences that led to the fomentation of Project Exile.

3.3 Identification And Classification Of The Kingdon And Sabatier Variables

In this step, the variables of Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile will be classified using the Political Economic framework. The product of this classification will be a better understanding of how the three sets of variables fit into the Political Economic framework, and it gives researchers a classification system to compare the language used in the two frameworks to look for commonalities and differences. It will also show the relative strengths and limitations of the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier for

explaining the rise of the Project Exile policy subsystem. Figure 6 demonstrates research results with a sample of variables from Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile placed in Schroeder's operationalization of the Political Economic Framework.

Figure 6: Sample Variables From Kingdon, Sabatier, And Project Exile In The Political Economic Framework

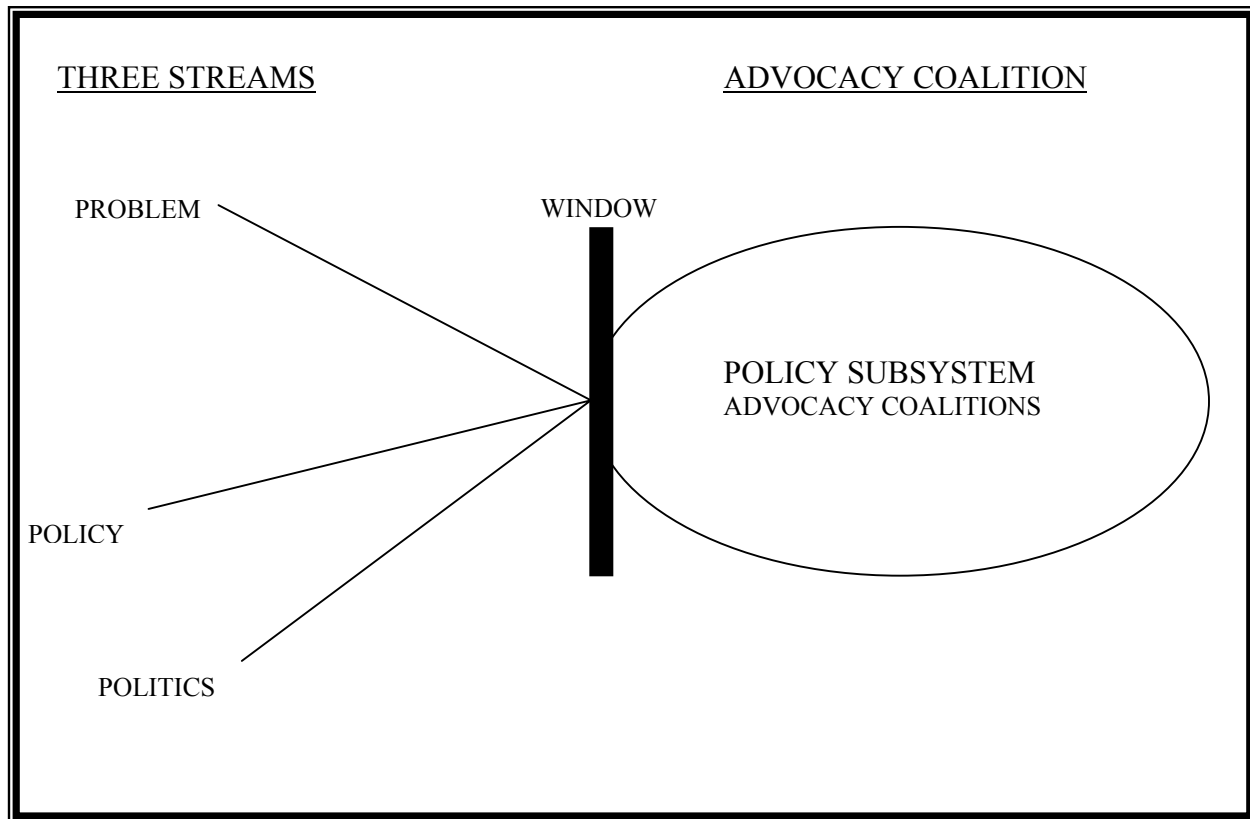
<p>Political Environment</p> <p>Kingdon</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Civil Servants 2. Interest Groups 3. Policy Entrepreneurs <p>Sabatier</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Number of Advocacy Coalitions 2. Agency 3. Level of Government <p>Project Exile</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. U.S. Attorney's Office 2. Richmond Police Department 3. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms 	<p>Economic Environment</p> <p>Kingdon</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bureaucrat's Resources 2. Interest Group Resources 3. Budgets <p>Sabatier</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic Dislocations 2. Governmental Policy Outputs 3. Actor Organization Budget <p>Project Exile</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advertising 2. Race, Class, and Gender 3. Fiscal Impact of Project Exile
<p>Social / Organizational System</p> <p>Kingdon</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Values in Problem Definition 2. Value Acceptability 3. National Mood <p>Sabatier</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Actor Goals 2. Amount of Secrecy Involved 3. Research and Information Exchange <p>Project Exile</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bend Rules 2. Ego Deflation of Actors 3. Turf Battles 	<p>Technical / Functional System</p> <p>Kingdon</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Technical Feasibility 2. Turnover of Key Personnel 3. Questions of Jurisdiction <p>Sabatier</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Personnel Change 2. Technical Resources of Advocacy Coalition 3. Computational Capabilities <p>Project Exile</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Richmond Police Department Rapid Mobilization Team 2. Richmond Police Department Training 3. Administrative Change

3.4 Development Of The Specific And Generic “Collins Models”

O’Toole (1989) admonishes researchers that both the top-down and the bottom-up approaches to research methods in public policy analysis are individually insufficient to explicate the importance of goal multiplicity in the implementation stage of a policy subsystem’s development. According to the author, the top down method “focuses on implementation effects of central government controlled variables and heavily de-emphasizes other factors...the bottom-up response has been to start empirical study with action at the “street level” and to determine through network type analyses just what happens” (O’Toole, 1989, p.2). O’Toole urges people interested in policy subsystem analysis to combine both the top-down and bottom-up insights in our research in order to recognize the multiplicity of the subsystem’s goals. This will hopefully lead to the development of a closer link between theory and practice.

The “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (SCCEM) aims for this type of link between the top-down and bottom-up insights by combining the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier to partially map out the Project Exile policy subsystem. The “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (GCCEM) paints with a much broader brush. It seeks to juxtapose and compare overlaps existing among Kingdon, Sabatier, and the Project Exile case variables. Figure 7 shows a schematic of the “Collins Models.” These combine Kingdon’s Three Stream model with Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition Framework. These models propose that the three streams, perhaps with different “Gallons Per Minute (GPM)” flow rates, converge through the policy window. At that point, a policy subsystem is born and advocacy coalitions begin to flourish.

Figure 7: Schematic Of The “Collins Models”



3.4.1 Development And Use Of The “Specific Collins Classification And Elaboration Model”

The “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (SCCEM) is a listing and categorization of relevant factors that will enable researchers to partially map out the Project Exile policy subsystem. The SCCEM will be developed to be partially generalizable to other policy subsystems. For instance, if another city wanted to assess the applicability for a Project Exile type policy solution in that area their policy researchers may want to use Richmond’s Project Exile as a benchmark. These

researchers could compare variables from Richmond and from their home city to determine if any lessons could be learned from Richmond's Project Exile.

3.4.2 Development And Use Of The Generic Collins Classification And Elaboration Model

The "Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" (GCCEM) is much broader. It will include and integrate the variables that will be used in the SCCEM into the broader implementation frameworks. The GCCEM will be designed to help policy researchers better understand the language used to apply the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier to their work. Attention in the GCCEM will be placed on identifying overlap, or commonalities, between the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier.

3.5 Summary

This research methodology chapter had four constituent parts. First, the underlying methods that will be used throughout the dissertation were explicated. Second, the design of the case study was covered. Third, the Project Exile, Kingdon and Sabatier variable identification and classification procedures that will be used in this research were discussed. Finally, the development and the use of the "Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" and the "Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" were briefly introduced.

This study has many limitations. First, it is a temporal cross-sectional model or a snap-shot of the policy subsystem being studied. It can shift and change. Second, it could be argued that Sabatier's model is being utilized on a subsystem that is less than ten years old. Hence, the belief systems of the actors in the advocacy coalitions may not have coalesced. Third, it is exploratory research and somewhat nebulous.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

In this chapter, the first two purposes of this research will be addressed: (1) The genesis and development of Project Exile will be examined by conducting a case study to determine the derivation of the Project Exile variables. This will involve participant interviewing and a Document Analysis of the Project Exile reports from the U.S. Attorney's Office and the Department of Justice. (2) The Political Economic framework will be used to elaborate and analyze Kingdon's and Sabatier's frameworks.

4.1 Field Study To Determine The Derivation Of The Project Exile Variables

The field study included interviews with the five policy entrepreneurs that were integral to the rise of the Project Exile policy subsystem. It also included a Document Analysis of the United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia reports and the Department of Justice report on Project Exile. The interview questions were listed on page 43.

4.1.1 Interviews

The Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, was the initial and overall best contact for snowballing. This person provided the names of all of the initial actors involved in the genesis of the Project Exile policy subsystem. These people included a second Assistant United States Attorney, the Police Chief from the Richmond Police Department, the Director of the Richmond office of the BATF, and the Richmond Commonwealth Attorney. Each of these people were interviewed. The Richmond Police Chief asked a Major in his Police Department to speak for him.

The first Assistant United States Attorney was interviewed first. Then, using snowballing, the four individuals that this person claimed were present in the beginning

of Project Exile were interviewed. Each of the five interviewees corroborated the names of the other five that were allegedly present during the development of Project Exile. This process was easy because of the relative newness of the project as well as the close proximity and friendships that existed among the primary actors. As was mentioned, these characteristics among interviewees can lead to a weakness of snowball sampling. The following questions, listed in Table 2 below, were used in this interview research.

Table 2: List Of Political Economic Questions For The Interview Instrument

Political Questions

1. Who were the stakeholders / coalitions of actors involved in the development and implementation of Project Exile?
2. What roadblocks were there to the implementation of Project Exile in your organization?
3. How much oversight by people within and outside of your organization did you have to deal with during the development and implementation of Project Exile?

Economic Questions

1. What level of success, impacts, and benefits did you expect from Project Exile?
2. What role did race, class, and gender play in the development and implementation of Project Exile?
3. What difficulties did you encounter when attempting to secure resources (funding, positions, etc.) for Project Exile?

Social / Organizational Questions

1. Did your organization have to change its way of communicating with other agencies to become a partner in the development and implementation of Project Exile?
2. How did / did not supporting Project Exile go along with your organization's mission?
3. Where there any major internal organizational conflicts that took place during the development through the actual implementation of the project?

Technical / Functional Questions

1. Were more positions needed in your organization because of its participation in the development and implementation of Project Exile? What types of position did your organization request or actually add?
2. Did existing positions have to be changed?
3. What new technological requirements did your organization have to learn to perform its role as a Project Exile partner? Did this include data sharing?

An example of how the interviews were coded is shown in Appendix E. Appendix E is a transcript of Richmond Police Department Major's interview. In that transcript, sections are highlighted and italicized where a particular Project Exile variable is mentioned. This researcher accounted for coder reliability by comparing interview transcripts with the documents produced by the U.S. Attorney's Office and the Department of Justice.

The big picture is that the interviews confirmed much of the information contained within the Department of Justice and United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia. (see next section) However, the interviews also provided insights that were not in these reports. Some of the most salient points made by the interviewees were that ego-deflation was absolutely necessary for this project to work. They also stated that a pre-existing rapport among the actors was a necessity, and that the BATF Director's willingness to bend the rules of his organization was essential.

Table 3 shows how the Project Exile variables fit into the Political Economic framework. The interviewees are listed in that table as Assistant United States Attorney one (**A1**), Assistant United States Attorney two (**A2**), BATF Director (**BD**), Richmond Commonwealth Attorney (**CA**), and Richmond Police Department Major (**RM**).

4.1.2 Document Analysis

Table 3 shows which Project Exile variables were found in the review of the Department of Justice and United States Attorney's Office for the Eastern District of Virginia reports and the page number on which each variable was found. The Department of Justice and U.S. Attorney reports are numbered as follows. **(1)** The Department of Justice Analysis of Project Exile and Homicide in Richmond, VA, from

March 10, 1999; (2) The U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile Executive Summary from March 22,1999; (3) The U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile Executive Summary from February 15,1999; (4) U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile from September 1, 2000; (5) U.S. Attorney's Office Project Exile from October 1, 2001.

4.1.3 Analysis Of The Project Exile Variable Classification

An examination of the derivation of the Project Exile variables reveals some interesting findings concerning the overlap existing among the reports, the interviews, and the number of Project Exile variables that fall into the four Political Economic dimensions. Thirty-eight of the Project Exile variables were derived from the interviews alone. Twenty-eight of the variables had overlap between the reports and the interviews. Four of the variables were derived from the reports only. Table 3 shows the Political Economic categories (Political Environment P/E, Technical / Functional T/F, Social / Organizational S/O, and Economic / Environment E/E) from which each variable is categorized.

Table 3: The Project Exile Variable Derivation Literature And Interview Sources

Project Exile Variables	Pol. Econ. Cat.	Reports	Int. Ques. #	A1	A2	BD	CA	RM
Actors Knew Each Other	S/O		Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Administrative Change	T/F		T/F 1				X	X
Advertising	S/O	3, p. 5		X			X	X
ATF Resources	E/E		E. 3			X		
ATF Roadblocks	S/O		Pol. 2			X		
ATF Tracing System Improved	T/F		T/F 2			X		
Bend Rules	S/O		S/O 3	X	X	X		
Black Americans	E/E	4, p.4	E. 2		X		X	X
Breakfast Meetings	S/O		S/O 1	X		X		X
Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Citizens Lived In Fear Of Gun Violence	P/E	5,p.4		X	X			X
City Size	E/E	1,p.7						
Commonwealth Attorney's Office	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Communication	S/O		S/O 1	X	X	X	X	X

Competition In Law Enforcement Agencies	S/O		S/O 1	X				X
Credit	S/O			X			X	
Criminal Culture	P/E	5,p.14		X	X			
Economic Variables	E/E		E. 3		X		X	X
Ego Deflation of Actors	S/O		S/O 1	X			X	
Federal Bureau Of Investigation	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1	X	X	X		X
Federal Judges	P/E		Pol. 1	X	X		X	
Federal Legislation	P/E	2,p.4		X	X		X	
Federalism	P/E			X	X			
Financial Toll Of Gun Violence	E/E	5,p.4	E. 1	X			X	
Fiscal Impact Of Project Exile	E/E		E. 1				X	X
Governor's Office	P/E	3,p.8	Pol. 1	X			X	
Gun Carry Rate	P/E	5,p.4		X	X			X
Gun Homicide Rate	P/E	5,p.4		X	X	X	X	X
Handgun Control Inc.	P/E	5,p.13		X	X			
Homicide Victims	E/E	1,p.2		X	X		X	X
Interest Groups	P/E	5,p.13		X	X			
Media Coverage	P/E	5,p.12					X	X
Mushroom Cases	P/E	5,p.12						
National Rifle Association	P/E	5,p.13		X	X			
New Jobs Created because of Exile	T/F		T/F 1		X		X	X
Partisan Politics	P/E			X			X	
People Involved in the Genesis of Exile	P/E		Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Policy Community	S/O			X	X			
Policy Entrepreneurs	P/E		Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Policy Stream	P/E			X				
Politics Stream	P/E			X				
Problem Perception	P/E	2,p.2						
Problem Stream	P/E	5,p.4						
Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation	P/E			X	X	X	X	
Project Exile Is Not Profiling	E/E		E. 2				X	X
Public Mood	S/O	5,p.2		X			X	
Race, Class, and Gender	E/E	4,p.4	E. 2	X	X	X	X	X
Richmond Business Community	E/E	5,p.7		X			X	
Richmond Commonwealth Attorney is a politician	P/E		Pol. 1				X	
Richmond Comm. Att. Detail 2 Attorneys	T/F	4,p.10		X			X	
Richmond Commonwealth's Attorney's Office	P/E	4,p.10	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
Richmond PD Aggressiveness	S/O		S/O 2					X
Richmond Police Department	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
RPD Detailed 3 Officers To ATF	T/F						X	
RPD Firearms Administrator	T/F		T/F 1	X			X	X
RPD Initial Skepticism of Feds	S/O		S/O 2					X
RPD Oversight From Federal Officials	P/E		Pol. 3					X
RPD Overtime Costs	E/E		E. 3					X
RPD Training (resource issue)	T/F		E. 3	X	X			X
Selling Fear (Advertising)	S/O			X	X		X	
State Police Detailed 2 Officers To ATF	T/F					X		
Talk Reluctance (Among Founders)	S/O			X			X	

Timing of the Inception	P/E			X				
Turf Battles	S/O					X	X	
U.S. Attorney's Office	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X
U.S. Attorney's Paralegal	T/F		T/F 1	X	X			
U.S. Marshal's Office	P/E	1,p.1	Pol. 1			X	X	
VA Att. Gen. Detailed 1 Att. to U.S. Att. Office	T/F	4,p.10		X	X		X	
VA Attorney General's Office	P/E	4,p.10	Pol. 1	X	X		X	
VA State Police	P/E	4,p.10	Pol. 1	X	X	X	X	X

4.1.4 Elaboration Of The Project Exile Variables Using QCO

In total, 70 variables were identified from the Project Exile case study. In the Political Economic framework, thirty-three of them were from the Political area, 16 from the Social / Organizational System area, ten from the Economic Environment area, and eleven from the Technical / Functional area. All of the variables, as well as variable definitions are listed in Appendices C and D. The Project Exile variables are listed in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: Project Exile Political Economic Framework Classification
 (* Indicates That The Variable Is Defined In Appendix G)

Political Environment	Economic Environment
Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms Citizens Lived In Fear Of Gun Violence * City Size * Criminal Culture * Federal Bureau Of Investigation * Federal Judges * Federal Legislation Federalism Governor's Office Gun Carry Rate * Gun Homicide Rate * Handgun Control Inc. Interest Groups Media Coverage * Mushroom Cases * National Rifle Association Partisan Politics People Involved in the Genesis of Exile Policy Entrepreneurs * Policy Stream Politics Stream Problem Perception * Problem Stream Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation Richmond Commonwealth Attorney is a politician * Richmond Commonwealth's Attorney's Office * Richmond Police Department RPD Oversight From Federal Officials * Timing of the Inception U.S. Attorney's Office U.S. Marshal's Office Virginia Attorney General's Office * Virginia State Police	ATF Resources * Black Americans * Economic Variables Financial Toll Of Gun Violence * Fiscal Impact Of Project Exile * Homicide Victims * Project Exile Is Not Profiling * Race, Class, and Gender * Richmond Business Community * RPD Overtime Costs *
Social / Organizational System	Technical / Functional System
Actors Knew Each Other * Advertising * ATF Roadblocks * Bend Rules * Breakfast Meetings * Communication * Competition In Law Enforcement Agencies Credit * Ego Deflation of Actors * Policy Community * Public Mood Richmond PD Aggressiveness * RPD Initial Skepticism of Feds * Selling Fear (Advertising) * Talk Reluctance (Among Founders) * Turf Battles *	Administrative Change ATF Gun Tracing System Improved * New Jobs Created because of Exile * Richmond Comm. Att. detailed 2 Attorneys * Richmond PD Rapid Mobilization Team * RPD Detailed 3 Officers To ATF * RPD Firearms Administrator * RPD Training (resource issue) * State Police Detailed 2 Officers To ATF * U.S. Attorney's Paralegal * Virginia Attorney General Detailed 1 Attorney *

4.2 Kingdon And Sabatier Variable Identification And Classifications

In this section of the research the elaboration and analysis of the variables from Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile is undertaken. At first glance some of the variables, such as “Federal Government” may look strange. The reader may ask what about it? It is a big entity, and it does a lot of things. Large variables such as the aforementioned will be used to avoid the complexity of using many smaller variables. The purpose will be for brevity. For example, Kingdon uses the term “Federal Government” as a chapter heading and in many disparate contexts throughout his work. When applying the term “Federal Government” to the Project Exile case, it could apply to the United States Attorney’s office; the Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms, and Tobacco; the Department of Justice; Federal Courts that has handed down judgments that allow for this type of federal prosecution; the U.S. Congress that passed the legislation used by Project Exile; and other various entities. If this research did attempt to account for every variable subsumed under the heading “Federal Government,” the research would be inundated with too many variables to make the research practicable. Therefore, occasionally large variables will be used in an effort to narrow the variables in this study to a manageable number.

4.2.1 Elaboration Of The Kingdon Variables Using QCQ

Out of the 101 variables identified from the Kingdon multiple streams model, 76 were from the Political area, nine from the Social / Organizational System area, eleven from the Economic Environment area, and five from the Technical / Functional area. All of the Kingdon variables are listed in Appendix A. The variables are categorized in the Political Economic framework as shown in Figure 9 below.

In Kingdon's work, the overwhelming majority of the variables identified and fit in to Schroeder's operationalization of the Political Economic framework were in the Political Environment. This makes sense because Kingdon's focus is primarily on the agenda setting processes and Schroeder's primary question in the Political Environment asks who in the existing political environment had to be involved for implementation to occur. Kingdon's multiple stream model briefly covers the Economic Environment, but it hardly addresses the Social / Organizational System and the Technical / Functional System areas at all. This is an understandable shortcoming since Kingdon's model does not take us past the agenda setting window, and therefore it makes sense that he has little to say about Social / Organizational and Technical / Functional areas of a policy's development and implementation. However, this should clearly be seen as a limitation in Kingdon's work if a researcher is seeking to understand the macro policy subsystem picture through the lens of his framework alone.

Figure 9: Kingdon's Political Economic Framework Classification

Political Environment	Economic Environment
3 Stream Model Academics, Researchers, and Consultants Administration Agenda Setting Alternative Choice Authoritative Choice Campaigners Capitol Hill Case Studies Civil Servants Combinations and Fertile Soil Comparisons and Problem Definition Competition for Agenda Place Comprehensive Rational Decision Making Congressional Staff Consensus Building in the Political Stream Coupling Criteria for Survival Decision Agendas	1981 Regan Budget 1986 Tax Reform Act 1993 Clinton Health Care Reform Act Anticipation of Future Constraints Budgets Bureaucrat's Resources Congressional Incentives Congressional Resources Importance of an Available Alternative Interest Group Resources Spillovers

<p>Elections Related Participants Emerging Consensus Bandwagons and Tipping Entrepreneur Qualities Entrepreneurs and Coupling Federal Government Focusing Event Accompaniment Focusing Event's Crisis and Symbols Garbage Can Model Government in the Political Stream Hidden Participants Idea Origins Idea's Time Come Ideas Not Pressure Importance of Institutions Incrementalism Independence of Streams Indicators Interest Group Types Interest Groups Interpretation of Indicators Media Modeling Occurrence of Windows Organized Political Forces Origins, Mutations, and Recombinations Participants Inside Government Participants Outside Government Pervasive Necessary and Powerful Indicators Policy Communities Policy Entrepreneurs Policy Formation Policy Primeval Soup Policy Stream Policy Window and Joining Streams Political Appointees Political Parties Political Stream Political Window Predictable Windows President Presidential Staff Problem Definition Problem Recognition Problem Stream Problem Windows Problems Problems Fade Seizing Opportunities Setting Agenda Short List of Ideas Softening Up Specification of Alternatives Sudden Sharp Change Unpredictable Windows Variations on Focusing Event</p>	
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Visible Participants Windows Open and Close	
Social / Organizational System Establishing a Principle Feedback Fragmentation National Mood Perceptions, Estimations, and Mis-estimations Public Opinion Top Down Model Value Acceptability Values in Problem Definition	Technical / Functional System Decision Implementation Elements of Structure Questions of Jurisdiction Technical Feasibility Turnover of Key Personnel

4.2.2 Elaboration Of The Sabatier Variables Using QCO

Out of the 183 variables identified from the Sabatier Advocacy Coalition Framework, ten of them were from the Technical / Functional System area, 89 of them were from the Political area, 61 were from the Social / Organizational System area, and 23 were from the Economic Environment area. This is shown in Figure 10 below. All of the Sabatier variables are listed in Appendix B.

In Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework many of the variables identified were categorized into the Political Environment. This makes sense because Sabatier is dealing with advocacy coalitions. However, unlike Kingdon's primarily singular actor political variables, Sabatier is more often writing of political groups of actors. An arguable failing on the Sabatier side of the Political Environment is that he does not give enough coverage to individual actors or policy entrepreneurs. However, this is understandable since Sabatier is dealing with advocacy coalitions that form after the policy window has been passed. His framework most certainly does a better job than Kingdon in covering Social / Organizational, Economic, and Technical / Functional variables and factors.

Figure 10: Sabatier's Political Economic Framework Classification

Political Environment	Economic Environment
<p>Actor Dissatisfaction: Neglect of a Problem Actor's Ability to Pursue Actor Org's Goals Actors Specialize in Their Understanding Agency Antagonizes Important Sovereigns Amount of Political Conflict Attach bill as waiver to other legislation Available Time to Process/Analyze Info Bribes Bring / Support Court Cases Campaign Contributions to Legislators Campaigning to Change Incumbents Clarification of underlying conflicts Coalescence of Actors into Coalitions Coalition is in Minority Competitive Policy Escalation by Politicos Complexity of Policymaking Creation / Enhancement of Government Programs Creation of a Substantial Advocacy Coalition Degree of Consensus required to change policy Degree of Dispute over Problem / Causes Develop short-term coalition of convenience Difficulty- Find Policies for All PS Actors Difficulty of Overturning Existing Law Discretion of Subnational Implementors Domination of 1 Program at Operational Level Espousal of "Motherhood" Ideals Forum only if stalemate unacceptable to all Higher Gov. Level changes the policy of lower Implementation Time Span Interest Group Ally is a Government Agency Legal Autonomy of Each Subsystem Level Nature of Statutory Mandate of Agency Manipulate Problem Dimensions for Constits Maturity of Policy Subsystem Moderation of Position- Interest Group Ally Nesting of Policy Subsystem in Larger PS New Issue or Conceptualization Develops New AC Leaders Committed to Consensus Number of Levels of Government Involved Number of Programs Involved Mass Media Campaigning for Public Opinion Understanding Concerned Individuals/Orgs Legislature Knowledge of Problem Severity Likely Cause of Problem Identified Long-Term Coordination among PS Actors Magnitude of Impacts Identified / Forecast Major Impacts from Other Subsystem Policies Material Self-Interest of Actor in a PS Number Agency Sovereigns Number of Actors Involved</p>	<p>Actor Organization Budget Actor Organizational Competition for Finance Agency need –benefit dominant coalition Amount of Costs Born by Impacted Advocacy Benefits of a Policy Solution Forecast Cost if Policy Subsystem Not "Victorious" Cost to Pol. Sub. to Alter a Guidance Instrument Economic Dislocations Efficient Use of Coalition Resources Fairness Benefit Distribution to all Ad. Coalitions Governmental Policy Outputs Impacts on Targeted Populations Interest Group Funded- Member Contributions Method of Financing Programs Pol. Sub. Beneficiaries are in the Pol. Sub. Coalition Policy Subsystem Actors Distribute PS cost fairly Policy Subsystem Beneficiaries clearly identified Policy Subsystem Benefits Relate Proper Forum Funding Target Group Demonstrations or Boycotts Total Costs of the Policy Solution Forecast Transaction Cost for Common Understanding Weight Actors Assign to Benefits v. Costs</p>

<p> Number of Advocacy Coalitions Offer Pork Barrel Benefits to Constituents Overlapping of Two Policy Subsystems Participation Mix- Public/Experts/Politicos Perceived Power and Evil of Opponents Perceived Questionable Motives of Opp ACs Perception of Important Causal Relations Perceptions of Efficacy – Policy Instruments Petition Agencies and Regulatory Bodies Policy Agents Develop / Use Implicit Theories Policy Decisions/Impacts- Other Subsystems Policy Solution Gets Implemented Policy Solution Identified by PS Policy Stalemate Pol. Sub. development of a common plan of action Policy Sympathy- Main Responsible Official Power- Advocacy Coalition Spec Jurisdiction Power of Important Public Official Probable Impacts of Solution Identified Problem Involves Natural System (vs Pol/Soc Program Domination PS Members Monitor Actions for Compliance Replacement of the Dominant Coalition Rise of a Social Movement Shift in Position of Interest Group Ally Short-Term Coordination among PS Actors Size of Controversy in Policy Subsystem Stability- Attributes of Problem Area Stability- Lineup of PS Allies/Opponents Stability- Natural Resources Distribution Stability of Constitutional Structure and Rules Strength of PS Coordination (Weak v Strong) Testimony to Legislative Groups Type of Government Undertake Negotiations Venue Shopping Venue's of Appeal for Dissatisfied PS's Watershed Event Occurs Years of Time </p>	
<p>Social / Organizational System</p> <p> Actor Goals Actor Integration Across PS Levels Actor Organization “Credit” Received Actor Organization Competition for Members Actor Organization Membership Actor Organization's Own Viability Actors believe that Pol. Sub. Policies treat them fair Actors in a Policy Subsystem Act in Concert Actor's Pre Normative/Perceptual Beliefs Agency Adheres to its Traditional Mission Amount of Secrecy Involved Behavior of Government Authorities </p>	<p>Technical / Functional System</p> <p> Accepted Quant Data/Theories Available Actor Ability Process Analyze Information Computational Capabilities Guidance Instruments Agency Budgets Guidance Instruments Legal Authority, Rules Personnel Change- Death, Retire, RIF, Promo Personnel Turnover Technical Complexity of Situation Technical Resources of Advocacy Coalition Understanding of Laws and Regulations </p>

<p> Belief System of Policymakers Conflict Mediation by Policy Brokers Change in System Governing Coalition Coalition Members Seek Understanding Communication of Common Plan to Members Competitive / Symbiotic Interdependency – 2PSs Conflict Between Two PS Advocacy Coalitions Conflict has Empirical Q's to Alter Beliefs Conflict is NOT Purely Normative Conflict Points of Uncertainty Congruence / Divergence Beliefs of Two Actors Cultural Norms Deep Core of Advocacy Col. Shared Belief System Degree of Agreement on Policy Core Beliefs Domination of Forums by Professional Norms Enduring Change- Policy-Oriented Learning Extent of Norms of Secrecy Free Riding by Actors in the Policy Subsystem Heterogeneity of Organizations in Policy Subsystem Implemented Policy Decision Deemed Good Information Comes from others in the Same PS Institutional Rules Applying to Members Interact Frequency: Two Policy Subsystems Learning Between Coalitions Learning by Policy Brokers Level of Government (local, reg, state, Fed) Nature of Mission of Administrative Agency Participation of Coalitions in Forum Perception of Value Priorities Perception of World State (incl Problem) Policy Core of AC Belief System Policy Subsystem members alter behavior Power Sharing Among Coalitions Prestigiousness of a Professional Forum Professional Affiliation Agency Personnel Proper Forum Duration PS Imposition of Sanctions- Plan Compliance Public Concern for a particular problem Public Opinion Reluctance of Coalition to Compromise Resistance to Change Remembrance of Defeats over Victories Research and Information Exchange Secondary Aspects of AC Belief Systems Stability- Fundamental Soc Structure/Values Successful Professional Forum Trust by PS Members in Each Other Trust in People in Other Coalitions Use of Policy Analysis to Buttress Beliefs </p>	
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4.3 Analysis And Comparisons

The primary product of the first goal of this research, which was to explain the genesis and development of Project Exile, was undertaken in the introductory chapter of this work. However, it is important to note that the information presented there was collected through the case study carried out to determine the derivation of the Project Exile variables. As was shown in this chapter, the majority of the Project Exile variables were derived from the interviews. These were quite helpful due to the dearth of writing on the Project Exile policy subsystem.

In meeting the second goal of this research this chapter has shown us much about the way that the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier fit in to Schroeder's operationalization of the political economic framework. In Kingdon's work, the overwhelming majority of the variables identified were from the Political Environment. This is most likely due to the fact that Kingdon's focus is primarily on the agenda setting processes and Schroeder's primary question in the Political Environment asks who in the existing political environment had to be involved for implementation to take place. Kingdon's multiple stream model does not sufficiently cover the Economic Environment, Social / Organizational System, and the Technical / Functional System areas. Therefore, it makes perfect sense that this researcher had so many problems trying to understand the rise of the Project Exile subsystem using Kingdon alone.

Similarly, with Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework, much like Kingdon, the majority of the variables identified were from the Political Environment. However, unlike Kingdon's primarily singular actor political variables, Sabatier writes more often about groups of actors. An arguable limitation on the Sabatier side of the Political

Environment is that he does not give enough coverage to individual actors. This explains why this researcher could not fully grasp the importance of the policy entrepreneurs by solely using Sabatier's model on its own. However, Sabatier's framework most certainly does a better job than Kingdon's in covering Social / Organizational, Economic, and Technical / Functional variables and factors. The notion of combining these two frameworks in an effort to militate against their respective failings will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE “SPECIFIC” AND “GENERIC COLLINS MODELS”

This chapter considers the value of the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier for viewing the Project Exile policy subsystem. This is done to fulfill the third and final purpose of the research by drawing on the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier to create a new model, the SCCEM, that will be used to explain the Project Exile variables. In addition, a cross-tabulation of Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile variables with each other will be undertaken to identify the final set of (354) variables in the GCCEM.

As was mentioned in chapter four, in the “Collins Models” the Kingdon and Sabatier frameworks, as viewed through Schroeder’s operationalization of the Political Economic model, complement one another and compensate for the respective limitations of the other framework. The purpose here will be to integrate the Kingdon and Sabatier variables in to two models (the “Collins Models”) in order to promote a better understanding of the genesis of the Project Exile policy subsystem and a better conception of how the language of Kingdon and Sabatier overlaps. Also, variables found in the Project Exile case study that are not encompassed by one or both of the frameworks will be identified and discussed. This will help in the recognition of any failings that may occur when the Kingdon and Sabatier models are operationalized using the Political Economic framework to analyze this particular public policy subsystem.

By combining the Kingdon and the Sabatier models, the “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” makes use of the best of both the top-down and bottom-up insights to identify the goals of individual actors in the advocacy coalition. In the case of Project Exile, the policy entrepreneurs of the Kingdon policy stream, such as Fayhey, Comey, Oliver, Hicks, Russell, and Dunham, are identifiable. They represent

the goal espoused by multiple levels of law enforcement (Federal, State, and Local) to reduce the high per-capita level of homicide in the City of Richmond. “Homicides in 1998 were approximately thirty-three percent below 1997 for the lowest numbers since 1987” (Project Exile, 1999, p.4). This statistic is cited by proponents of Project Exile, however the purpose of this work is not to pursue the effectiveness / ineffectiveness of the policy debate. In fact, many exogenous factors could have accounted for the lower per-capita rate of homicide, but it is important to recognize that the effectiveness of the project is at the core of the belief systems of many of the policy entrepreneurs of Project Exile. Furthermore, O’Toole states, that the top-down insights are not the total picture (O’Toole, 1989, p.2).

Bottom-up insights are also quite salient. To give one example, bottom-up insights can be used to see the goals that the Richmond Business Community has attained. Therefore, it is not surprising that members of this community were the partial financiers of the program. According to Richmond Police Department’s Major McCoy, since the violent crime rate in Richmond has diminished, work has begun on a \$180 million convention center that is currently under construction, and as of October, 2001 over a billion dollars in economic development is being spent in an effort to revitalize downtown Richmond (McCoy, David. Personal interview. 10 Oct. 01). These activities certainly benefit the goals of retail merchants and downtown business owners. Another bottom-up example has to do with the safety of Richmond police officers. These are the street-level bureaucrats. When RPD officers signed on to participate in Project Exile, they expected that an effect of taking guns off the street would be to make their jobs safer. This goal has been achieved, and it is evidenced by the anecdotal descriptions that

officers give of criminals throwing down their firearms to avoid being apprehended with them (McCoy, David. Personal interview. 10 Oct. 01).

5.1 Cross-Tabulation Of Project Exile Variables For The “Specific Collins Classification And Elaboration Model” (SCCEM)

When the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier are combined in the SCCEM, the Project Exile variables can be arranged in a way that will help researchers understand the rise of the Project Exile policy subsystem. The SCCEM allows researchers to “map out” the variables that have been identified in the Project Exile case study. This “mapping out” process is one method of making retrospective sense of a very complicated policy subsystem.

However, the SCCEM itself is actually quite simplistic. Each of the Project Exile variables has merely been subsumed under one of the following headings that serve as conceptual streams that flow into the body of water that represents the Project Exile policy subsystem. They are (1) Kingdon’s Policy Stream, (2) Kingdon’s Politics Stream (Wave 1 pre-implementation of Project Exile and Wave 2 post-implementation of Project Exile), (3) Kingdon’s Problem Stream, (4) Sabatier’s Social Organizational System, (5) Sabatier’s Economic Environment, and (6) Sabatier’s Technical Functional System (see figures 11 and 12). The simplicity of this model allows for researchers to view the Project Exile policy subsystem from its incipient stages through its development. Thus this is a very important tool.

Figure 11: “Specific Collins Classification And Elaboration Model” For The Project Exile Political Economy

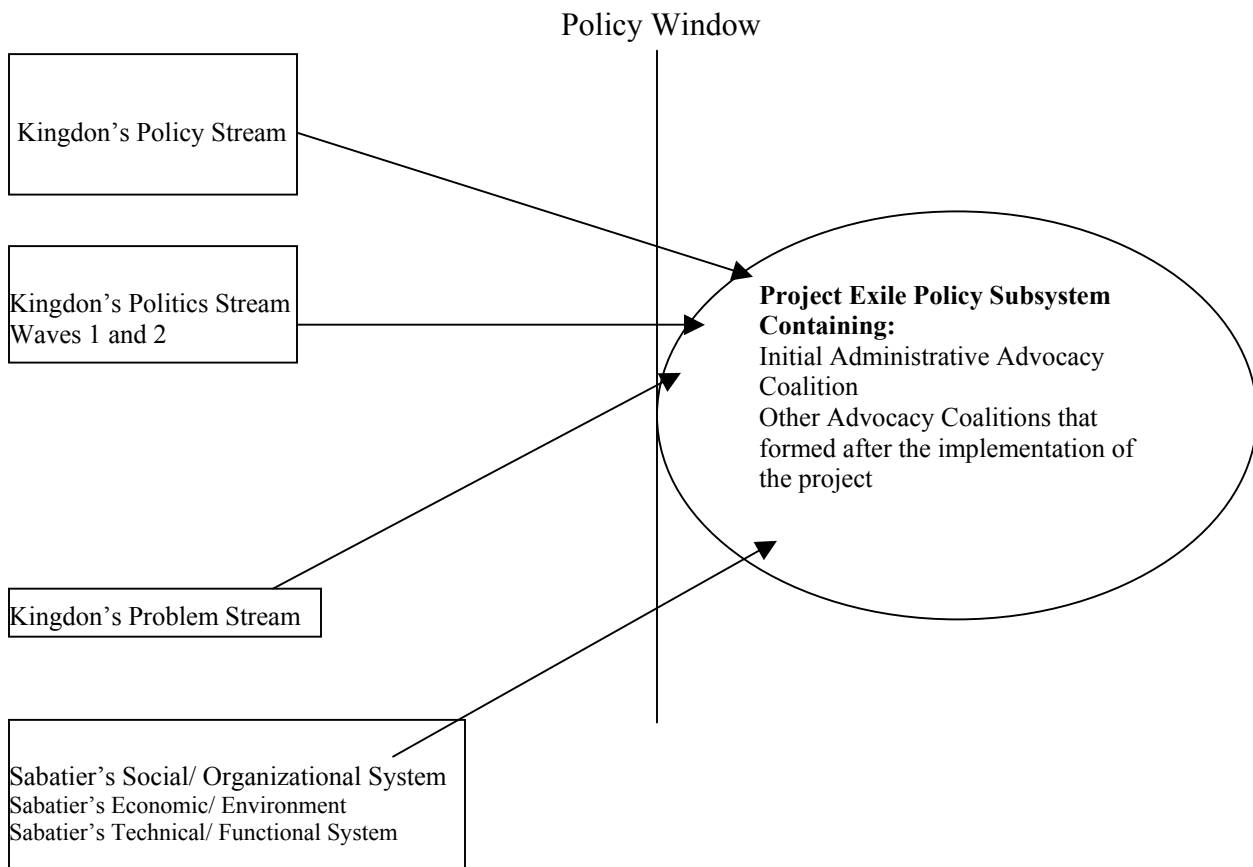


Figure 12: Listing Of The Project Exile Variables In The “Specific Collins Classification And Elaboration Model”

<p>Kingdon’s Policy Stream BATF FBI Federalism Federal Judges Federal Legislation Media Coverage People involved in the Genesis of Project Exile Policy Community Policy Entrepreneurs Policy Stream Richmond Police Department Timing of the Inception U.S. Marshal’s Service U.S. Attorney’s Office Virginia Attorney General’s Office Virginia State Police Richmond Police Department Oversight from Feds</p> <p>Kingdon’s Politics Stream (First Wave) Richmond Commonwealth Attorney’s Office Richmond Commonwealth Attorney is a politician Politics Stream</p> <p>Kingdon’s Politics Stream (Second Wave) Governor’s Office Handgun Control Inc. Interest Groups National Rifle Association Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation Mushroom Cases Partisan Politics</p> <p>Kingdon’s Problem Stream Citizens Lived In Fear of Gun Violence Criminal Culture Gun Carry Rate Gun Homicide Rate Problem Perception Problem Stream</p> <p>Sabatier’s Social/Organizational System Actors Knew Each Other ATF Roadblocks Black Americans Breakfast Meetings Competition In Law Enforcement Agencies Communication Credit Economic Variables Public Mood Richmond PD Aggressiveness</p>

RPD Initial Skepticism of Feds
Talk Reluctance
Turf Battles

Sabatier's Economic/Environment

ATF Resources
Financial Toll of Gun Violence
Fiscal Impact Of Project Exile
Homicide Victims
Project Exile Is Not Profiling
Richmond Business Community
Race, Class, and Gender
RPD Overtime Costs

Sabatier's Technical/Functional System

Administrative Change
ATF Gun Tracing System Improved
New Jobs Created because of Exile
Richmond PD Rapid Mobilization Team
RPD Detailed 3 Officers To ATF
RPD Firearms Administrator
RPD Training
State Police Detailed 2 Officers to ATF
U.S. Attorney's Paralegal
U.S. Attorney General Detailed 1 Attorney to the U.S. Attorney's Office
Richmond Commonwealth Attorney's Office Detailed 2 Attorney To The U.S. Attorney's Office

Figure 13: Coverage Of The Project Exile Case Variables

Project Exile Factors	Kingdon	Sabatier	Case	Factors not covered by Kingdon or Sabatier
Political Factors				
Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms	X		X	
Citizen Fear	X	X	X	
City Size			X	X
Criminal Culture	X		X	
FBI	X		X	
Federal Judges	X		X	
Federal Legislation	X		X	
Federalism	X		X	
Governor's Office	X		X	
Gun Carry Rate	X		X	
Gun Homicide Rate	X		X	
Handgun Control Inc.	X		X	
Interest Groups	X		X	
Media Coverage	X		X	
Mushroom Cases	X		X	
NRA	X		X	
Partisan Politics	X		X	
People Involved in the Genesis of Project Exile	X		X	
Policy Community	X		X	
Policy Entrepreneurs	X		X	
Policy Stream	X		X	
Politics Stream	X		X	
Problem Perception	X		X	
Problem Stream	X		X	
Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation	X		X	
Richmond Commonwealth Attorney is a Politician	X		X	
Richmond Commonwealth Attorney's Office	X		X	
Richmond Police Department	X		X	
RPD Oversight from Feds	X		X	
Timing of the Inception	X		X	
U.S. Attorney's Office	X		X	
U.S. Marshal's	X		X	
Virginia Attorney General's Office	X		X	
Virginia State Police	X		X	
Economic Environment				
ATF Resources	X	X	X	
Black Americans		X	X	

Economic Variables	X	X	X	
Financial Toll of Gun Violence		X	X	
Fiscal Impact of Project Exile		X	X	
Homicide Victims		X	X	
Project Exile is not Profiling		X	X	
Richmond Business Community		X	X	
Race, Class, and Gender		X	X	
RPD Overtime Costs		X	X	
Social / Organizational System				
Actors knew each other		X	X	
Advertising			X	X
Advocacy Coalition		X	X	
ATF Roadblocks		X	X	
Bend Rules			X	X
Breakfast Meetings		X	X	
Competition in Law Enforcement		X	X	
Communication		X	X	
Credit		X	X	
Ego Deflation of Actors			X	X
Public Mood	X	X	X	
Richmond PD Aggressiveness		X	X	
RPD initial skepticism of Feds		X	X	
Selling Fear (advertising)			X	X
Talk Reluctance (Among founders)		X	X	
Turf Battles		X	X	
Technical / Functional System		X	X	
Administrative Change		X	X	
ATF Gun Tracing System Improved		X	X	
New Jobs Created Because of Exile		X	X	
Richmond Commonwealth Attorney Detailed 2 Attorneys to the U.S. Attorneys Office		X	X	
Richmond PD Rapid Mobilization Team		X	X	
RPD detailed 3 officers to ATF		X	X	
RPD Firearms Administrator		X	X	
RPD Training		X	X	
VSP detailed 2 officers to ATF		X	X	
U.S. Attorney's Paralegal		X	X	
Virginia Attorney General Detailed 1 Attorney to the U.S. Attorney's Office		X	X	

Figure 14: Analysis Of The Project Exile Variables

	Kingdon and Sabatier	Kingdon not Sabatier	Sabatier not Kingdon	Not Kingdon not Sabatier
Case	4	32	29	5

As the analysis of the Project Exile variables has shown, the frameworks of both Kingdon and Sabatier jointly cover four of the variables. Kingdon covers 32. Sabatier covers 29. In addition, five Project Exile variables were not covered by either Kingdon or Sabatier.

What variables did these two frameworks combined in the SCCM fail to explain? Kingdon covered the Political side thoroughly. On the Economic side, “race, class, and gender” is a variable, and that area was covered by Sabatier’s impacts on targeted populations. The Technical / Functional area was covered by the Sabatier as well. In the case of Project Exile, the largest gaps of converge in the “Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” are in the Social / Organizational area. In the Project Exile policy entrepreneur circle, the importance of the actors knowing each other well and the small size of the city can not be emphasized enough. Each of the main actors spoke of having breakfast meetings at the River City Diner in the Shockhoe Bottom area of downtown Richmond and of the importance of ego deflation. The very specific notions of the “ego deflation of actors” and small “city size” are not addressed in either the Kingdon or Sabatier literature. Both of these were essential to the success of Project Exile. Also, the BATF Director’s ability and willingness to “bend rules” given to him from his headquarters was absolutely necessary. Again, bending the rules is not in either of the Kingdon or Sabatier variable lists. The other variables that were not covered by

either of the frameworks are “selling fear” and “advertising.” With only five notable exceptions, the malleability of the SCCEM for Project Exile allowed it to cover the overall development and the implementation of the Project Exile subsystem quite well.

Because of its simplicity, however, the SCCEM is vulnerable to attack. First and foremost, it may be questioned why all of the variables are subsumed under headings that are on the stream side of the model. A critic may ask what if a variable came into the policy subsystem once the streams were stagnant, or empty, and therefore no longer flowing? One drawback of this model is that it does not account for variables that may be generated within the policy subsystem. Therefore, it makes sense to say that this model better explains the incipient stages, or the genesis, of a policy subsystem.

Secondly, it is arguable that Sabatier’s Political Environment could have been used instead of Kingdon’s. A response to that criticism is that this is just one configuration of this model out of many that could have been devised. This researcher believes that this model best helps to explicate the Project Exile case variables. Other mutations of the model could be used to explain disparate cases. Overall, this researcher believes that the benefits of the model outweigh the drawbacks because of the model’s ability to compress a large amount of complex information into an understandable format.

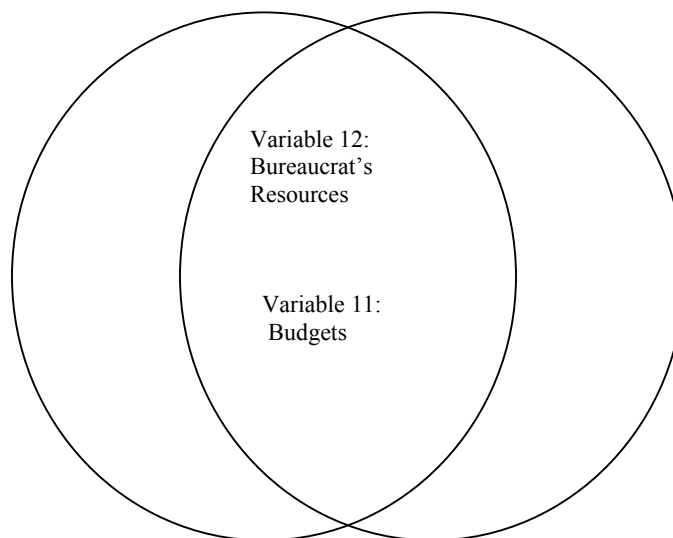
5.2 Cross-Tabulation Of The Kingdon, Sabatier, And Project Exile Variables For The “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model” (GCCEM)

There are many different models that could have been created to explain the rise of Project Exile and other policy subsystems. To illustrate the potential complexity as well as the overlap existing among Kingdon, Sabatier, and the case factors, all 354 of the combined 101 Kingdon, 183 Sabatier, and 70 Project Exile variables are listed in Figure 16 in that order. The overlap between Kingdon and Sabatier will be examined separately

from the overlap among Kingdon, Sabatier, and the Case. To the right of the variables, a “K” for Kingdon, an “S” for Sabatier, or a “C” for the Project Exile case will be placed to indicate the framework or case from which the variable will be taken.

To help in the indication of variable overlap or similarity between the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier, all of the variables will be numbered. The Kingdon variables are listed first followed by Sabatier and then the Case. For instance, (K,S 107) indicates that the variable will be found in the Kingdon framework and Sabatier’s variable numbered 107 in this chart is similar to it. In addition, the far right hand column lists the Political Economic area in which the variable on that line has been categorized. So (K,S 107 PE) means the variable on that line will be from Kingdon’s framework in the political environment as categorized in the Political Economic framework and Sabatier’s variable numbered 107 in this chart corresponds to the original Kingdon variable. The Political Environment is labeled PE; Social / Organizational SO; Economic Environment EE; and the Technical / Functional area TF. Also, this chart shows the reader how many of the Kingdon and Sabatier variables that Project Exile case does not cover.

There is one caveat. It is important to note that the overlap that occurs between Kingdon, Sabatier, and the Project Exile case variables will not be exact. By this it is meant that the variables do not necessarily have the exact same wording. However, they represent the same concept and this researcher considers them to be substantially similar in the way that the two circles overlap below.

Figure 15: An Example Of Overlap**Figure 16: The “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model”: A Listing Of The Kingdon (K), Sabatier (S), And Project Exile Variables (C) To Demonstrate Overlap**

VARIABLES	Kingdon, Sabatier, Case	P/E area
1. 1981RB 1981 Regan Budget	K	EE
2. 1986TRA 1986 Tax Reform Act	K	EE
3. 1993CHC 1993 Clinton Health Care Reform Act	K	EE
4. 3STREAM 3 Stream Model	K	PE
5. ACRECON Academics, Researchers, Consultants	K	PE
6. ADMIN Administration	K	PE
7. AGENSET Agenda Setting	K	PE
8. ALTCHOI Alternative Choice	K	PE
9. ANTFCON Anticipation of Future Constraints	K	EE
10. AUTHCHO Authoritative Choice	K	PE
11. BUDGETS Budgets	K, S 107, S 130	EE
12. BURRES Bureaucrat's Resources	K, S 107, S 130	EE
13. CAMPAIG Campaigners	K, S 143, S 188	PE
14. CAPHILL Capital Hill	K	PE
15. CASESTU Case Studies	K	PE
16. CIVILSE Civil Servants	K, S 112	PE

17. COMAGPL	Competition for Agenda Place	K	PE
18. COMFS	Combinations and Fertile Soil	K	PE
19. COMPD	Comparisons and Problem Definition	K, S 157	PE
20. COMRDM	Comprehensive Rational Decision Making	K	PE
21. CONBUPS	Consensus Building in the Political Stream	K	PE
22. CONGRES	Congressional Resources	K	EE
23. CONINCE	Congressional Incentives	K	EE
24. CONSTAF	Congressional Staff	K	PE
25. COUPLIN	Coupling	K	PE
26. CRITSUR	Criteria for Survival	K	PE
27. DECAGEN	Decision Agendas	K	PE
28. DECIMP	Decision Implementation	K, S 185	TF
29. ELEMSTR	Elements of Structure	K	TF
30. ELREPAR	Elections Related Participants	K	PE
31. EMCONBT	Emerging Consensus Bandwagons, Tipping	K	PE
32. ENTCOUP	Entrepreneurs and Coupling	K	PE
33. ENTQUAL	Entrepreneur Qualities	K	PE
34. ESTPRIN	Establishing a Principle	K	SO
35. FEACC	Focusing Event Accompaniment	K, S 162	PE
36. FECSY	Focusing Events Crises and Symbols	K, S 162	PE
37. FED	Federal Government	K	PE
38. FEEDBAC	Feedback	K	SO
39. FRAG	Fragmentation	K	SO
40. GARCAN	Garbage Can Model	K	PE
41. GOVPOLS	Government in the Political Stream	K	PE
42. HIDPAR	Hidden Participants	K	PE
43. IDEAORG	Idea Origins	K	PE
44. IDEASNP	Ideas Not Pressure	K	PE
45. IDEATC	Idea's Time Come	K	PE
46. IMAA	Importance of the Available Alternative	K	EE
47. IMINSTI	Importance of Institutions	K	PE
48. INCREM	Incrementalism	K	PE
49. INDICAT	Indicators	K	PE
50. INDSTRE	Independence of Streams	K	PE
51. INGRRES	Interest Group Resources	K, S 209	EE
52. INGRTYP	Interest Group Types	K, S 113	PE
53. INTER	Interest Groups	K, S 113	PE
54. INTINDI	Interpretation of Indicators	K	PE
55. MEDIA	Media	K, S 226	PE

56. MODELIN	Modeling	K	PE
57. NATMOOD	National Mood	K, S 248, S 139	SO
58. OCCWIN	Occurrence of Windows	K	PE
59. ORMURE	Origins Mutations Recombinations	K	PE
60. ORPOLFO	Organized Political Forces	K	PE
61. PARINGO	Participants Inside Government	K	PE
62. PAROG	Participants Outside of Government	K	PE
63. PERESMI	Perceptions Estimations and Misestimations	K	SO
64. PNPIND	Pervasive Necessary and Powerful Indicators	K	PE
65. POLAPPO	Political Appointees	K	PE
66. POLCOM	Policy Communities	K	PE
67. POLENTR	Policy Entrepreneurs	K	PE
68. POLFORM	Policy Formation	K	PE
69. POLISTR	Policy Stream	K	PE
70. POLIWIN	Political Window	K	PE
71. POLPAR	Political Parties	K	PE
72. POLPS	Policy Primeval Soup	K	PE
73. POLSTRE	Political Stream	K	PE
74. PREDWIN	Predictable Windows	K	PE
75. PRES	President	K	PE
76. PRESSTA	Presidential Staff	K	PE
77. PROBFAD	Problems Fade	K	PE
78. PROBLEM	Problems	K, S 217	PE
79. PROBREC	Problem Recognition	K, S 132	PE
80. PROBSTR	Problem Stream	K	PE
81. PROBWIN	Problem Windows	K	PE
82. PRODEF	Problem Definition	K	PE
83. PUBOP	Public Opinion	K, S 248	SO
84. PW&JS	Policy Window and Joining Steams	K	PE
85. QUESJUR	Questions of Jurisdiction	K	TF
86. SEIZOPP	Seizing Opportunities	K	PE
87. SETAGEN	Setting Agenda	K	PE
88. SHLISTI	Short List of Ideas	K	PE
89. SOFTEN	Softening Up	K	PE
90. SPECALT	Specification of Alternatives	K	PE
91. SPILLOV	Spillovers	K	EE
92. SUDSHCH	Sudden Sharp Change	K	PE
93. TECHFEA	Technical Feasibility	K, S 270	TF
94. TOPDOWN	Top Down Model	K	SO

95. TURNKP	Turnover of Key Personnel	K, S 234, S 276	TF
96. UNWINDO	Unpredictable Windows	K	PE
97. VALACC	Value Acceptability	K, S 121	SO
98. VALPD	Values in Problem Definition	K, S 121	SO
99. VARFE	Variations on Focusing Event	K, S 162	PE
100. VISPAR	Visible Participants	K	PE
101. WINOPCL	Windows Open and Close	K	PE
102.#COALS	Number of Advocacy Coalitions	S	PE
103.#SOVS	Number- Agency Sovereigns (Funds, Legal)	S	PE
104.1PRGDOM	Domination: 1 Program at Operational Level	S	PE
105.ACTCMMN	Actors in a Policy Subsystem Act in Concert	S	SO
106.ACTGOAL	Actor Goals (Objective Functions)	S	SO
107.ACTORBG	Actor Organization Budget	S, K 11, K 12	EE
108.ACTORMB	Actor Organization Membership	S	SO
109.ACTORS	Number of Actors Involved	S	PE
110.ADHHERE	Agency Adheres to Traditional Mission	S	SO
111.ADVCOAL	Creation of Substantial Advocacy Coalition	S	PE
112.AFFILPR	Professional Affiliation- Agency Personnel	S, K 16	SO
113.AGENCY	Interest Group Ally is a Government Agency	S, K 52, K 53	PE
114.AGREEE	Degree of Agreement on Policy Core Beliefs	S	SO
115.ALTERBV	PS Members Alter Behavior to Complement	S	SO
116.ANALINF	Actor Ability- Process/Analyze Information	S	TF
117.ANTAGON	Agency Antagonizes Important Sovereigns	S	PE
118.APPEAL	Venues of Appeal for Dissatisfied PS's	S	PE
119.ATTACH	Attach Bill as Waiver to Other Legislation	S	PE
120.BELEFCD	Congruence/Divergence- Beliefs of 2 Actors	S	SO
121.BELIEF	Belief System of Policymakers	S, K 97, K 98	SO
122.BENCLER	PS Beneficiaries Are Clearly Identified	S	EE
123.BENEFIT	Benefits of Policy Solution Forecast	S	EE
124.BENMAIT	PS Benefits Relate: Member Maintain Costs	S	EE
125.BENMEM	PS Beneficiaries are Part of PS Coalition	S	EE
126.BENNEED	Agency Need- Benefit Dominant Coalition	S	EE
127.BENVCST	Weight Actors Assign to Benefits vs Costs	S	EE
128.BRIBE	Give Bribes	S	PE
129.BROKERS	Conflict Mediation by Policy Brokers	S	SO
130.BUDGET	Guidance Instruments- Agency Budgets	S, K 11, K 12	TF
131.CAUSALP	Perception of Important Causal Relations	S	PE
132.CAUSE	Likely Causes of Problem Identified	S, K 79	PE
133.CLARIFY	Clarification of Underlying Conflicts	S	PE

134.COALDOM	Replacement of the Dominant Coalition	S	PE
135.COALSCE	Coalescence of Actors into Coalitions	S	PE
136.COMPCON	Computational Capabilities	S	TF
137.COMPLAN	PS Development of Common Plan of Action	S	PE
138.COMPLXP	Complexity of Policymaking	S	PE
139.CONCERN	Public Concern for a Particular Problem	S, K 57	SO
140.CONFLCT	Amount of Political Conflict	S	PE
141.CONSENS	Degree of Consensus Req'd to Change Policy	S	PE
142.CONSTIT	Stability- Constitutional Structure/Rules	S	PE
143.CONTRIB	Campaign Contributions to Legislators	S, K 13	PE
144.CONTROV	Size of a Controversy in Policy Subsystem	S	PE
145.CONVEN	Develop Short Term Coalition of Convenience	S	PE
146.COORDLT	Long-Term Coordination Among PS Actors	S	PE
147.COORDST	Short-Term Coordination Among PS Actors	S	PE
148.COSTS	Total Costs of Policy Solution Forecast	S	EE
149.COSTTRN	Transaction Cost for Common Understanding	S	EE
150.CREDIT	Actor Organization "Credit" Received	S	SO
151.CRTCASE	Bring/Support Court Cases	S	PE
152.CULTNRM	Cultural Norms	S	SO
153.DEEPCOR	Deep Core of AC Shared Belief System	S	SO
154.DEFEAT	Remembrance of Defeats Over Victories	S	SO
155.DEMON	Target Group Demonstrations or Boycotts	S	EE
156.DISCRET	Discretion of Subnational Implementers	S	PE
157.DISPUTE	Degree of Dispute Over Problem/Causes	S, K 19	PE
158.ECONOMY	Economic Dislocations	S	EE
159.EFICACY	Perception of Efficacy- Policy Instruments	S	PE
160.EMPIRQS	Conflict Has Empirical Q's to Alter Beliefs	S	SO
161.ESCALTE	Competitive Policy Escalation by Politicos	S	PE
162.EVENT	Watershed Event Occurs	S, K 35, K 36, K 99	PE
163.FAIRBAC	Fairness- Benefit Distribution to all AC's	S	EE
164.FAIRDIS	PS Actors Distribute PS Costs Fairly	S	EE
165.FAIRPOL	Actors Believe PS Policies Treat Them Fair	S	SO
166.FINANAO	Actor Organization Competition for Finance	S	EE
167.FINANCE	Method of Financing Programs	S	EE
168.FORUM	Prestigiousness of a Professional Forum	S	SO
169.FORUMDR	Proper Forum Duration	S	SO
170.FORUMFD	Proper Forum Funding	S	EE
171.FORUMSC	Successful Professional Forum	S	SO
172.FRERIDE	Free-Riding by Actors in Policy Subsystem	S	SO

173.GIMPACT	Impacts on Targeted Populations	S	EE
174.GOOD	Implemented Policy Solution Deemed "Good"	S	SO
175.GOVBEH	Behavior of Government Authorities	S	SO
176.GOVCOAL	Change in System Governing Coalition	S	SO
177.GOVLEV	Level of Government- Local, Reg, State, Fed	S	PE
178.GOVPOL	Governmental Policy Outputs (eg, Permits)	S	PE
179.GOVPROG	Creation/Enhancement of Gov Programs	S	PE
180.GOVSUPR	Higher Gov Level Changes Policy of Lower	S	PE
181.GOVTYPE	Type of Government	S	PE
182.GUIDEL	Guidance Instruments- Legal Authority, Rules	S	TF
183.HETERO	Heterogeneity of Organizations in PS	S	SO
184.IMPACTS	Probable Impacts of Solution Identified	S	PE
185.IMPLEMT	Policy Solution Gets Implemented	S, K 28	PE
186.IMPLTHY	Policy Agents Develop/Use Implicit Theories	S	PE
187.IMPMAG	Magnitude of Impacts Identified/Forecast	S	PE
188.INCUMCG	Campaigning to Change Incumbents	S, K 13	PE
189.INDEPCS	Competitive/Symbiotic Interdependency- 2PSs	S	SO
190.ININFO	Information Comes From Others in Same PS	S	SO
191.INSTCST	Cost to PS to Alter a Guidance Instrument	S	EE
192.INSTRLE	Institutional Rules Applying to Members	S	SO
193.INTEGRA	Actor Integration Across PS Levels	S	SO
194.INTERST	Coalition Members Seek Understanding	S	SO
195.INTRACT	Interact Frequency: Two Policy Subsystems	S	SO
196.I-TIME	Implementation Time Span	S	PE
197.KNOWSEV	Legislator Knowledge of Problem Severity	S	PE
198.LAWOVER	Difficulty of Overturning an Existing Law	S	PE
199.LEGALAU	Legal Autonomy of Each Subsystem Level	S	PE
200.LINEUP	Stability- Lineup of PS Allies/Opponents	S	PE
201.LOSSCST	"Cost" if PS Not "Victorious"	S	EE
202.LRNBETW	Learning Between Coalitions	S	SO
203.LRNBKER	Learning by Policy Brokers	S	SO
204.LRNPOL	Enduring Change- Policy-Oriented Learning	S	SO
205.MANDATE	Nature of Statutory Mandate of Agency	S	PE
206.MANIPD	Manipulate Problem Dimensions for Constits	S	PE
207.MATURE	Maturity of Policy Subsystem	S	PE
208.MEMBERS	Actor Organization Competition for Members	S	SO
209.MEMCONT	Interest Group Funded- Member Contributions	S, K 51	EE
210.MINORCO	Coalition is in Minority	S	PE
211.MISSION	Nature of Mission of Administrative Agency	S	SO

212.MODERA	Moderation of Position- Interest Group Ally	S	PE
213.MONITOR	PS Members Monitor Actions for Compliance	S	PE
214.MOTHERH	Espousal of "Motherhood" Ideals	S	PE
215.MOTIVES	Perceived Questionable Motives of Opp ACs	S	SO
216.NATDIST	Stability- Natural Resources Distribution	S	PE
217.NATURAL	Problem Involves Natural System (vs Pol/Soc	S, K 78	PE
218.NEGLECT	Actor Dissatisfaction: Neglect of a Problem	S	PE
219.NEGOTI	Undertake Negotiations	S	PE
220.NESTING	Nesting of Policy Subsystem in Larger PS	S	PE
221.NEWISUE	New Issue or Conceptualization Develops	S	PE
222.NEWLDR	New AC Leaders Committed to Consensus	S	PE
223.NUMLEVS	Number of Levels of Government Involved	S	PE
224.NUMPROG	Number of Programs Involved	S	PE
225.OFFPWR	Power of Important Public Official	S	PE
226.OPINION	Mass Media Campaigning for Public Opinion	S, K 55	PE
227.OPPPOWR	Perceived Power and Evil of Opponents	S	PE
228.ORGs	Understanding Concerned Individuals/Orgs	S	PE
229.OTHRPOL	Policy Decisions/Impacts- Other Subsystems	S	SO
230.OTHSUB	Major Impacts from Other Subsystem Policies	S	SO
231.OVERLAP	Overlapping of Two Policy Subsystems	S	SO
232.PARTIC	Participation Mix- Public/Experts/Politicos	S	PE
233.PARTICF	Participation of Coalitions in Forum	S	SO
234.PERSCHG	Personnel Change- Death, Retire, RIF, Promo	S, K 95	TF
235.PETITON	Petition Agencies and Regulatory Bodies	S	PE
236.PLNCOMM	Communication of Common Plan to Members	S	SO
237.POLANAL	Use of Policy Analysis to Buttress Beliefs	S	SO
238.POLICYD	Difficulty- Find Policies for All PS Actors	S	PE
239.POLPRED	Policy Sympathy- Main Responsible Official	S	PE
240.POLYCOR	Policy Core of AC Belief System	S	SO
241.PORK	Offer Pork Barrel Benefits to Constituents	S	PE
242.POWER	Power- Advocacy Coalition Spec Jurisdiction	S	PE
243.PRAREA	Stability- Attributes of Problem Area	S	PE
244.PREEXST	Actor's Pre Normative/Perceptual Beliefs	S	SO
245.PROFDOM	Domination of Forums by Professional Norms	S	SO
246.PROGDOM	Program Domination	S	PE
247.PSCONFL	Conflict Between Two PS Advocacy Coalitions	S	SO
248.PUBOPIN	Public Opinion	S, K 57, K 83	SO
249.PURENRM	Conflict is NOT Purely Normative	S	SO
250.PURSUEG	Actor's Ability to Pursue Actor Org's Goals	S	PE

251.PWRSHRE	Power Sharing Among Coalitions	S	SO
252.QUANTDT	Accepted Quant Data/Theories Available	S	TF
253.REGS	Understanding of Laws and Regulations	S	TF
254.RELUCT	Reluctance of Coalition to Compromise	S	SO
255.RESEFFC	Efficient Use of Coalition Resources	S	EE
256.RESINFO	Research and Information Exchange	S	SO
257.RESIST	Resistance to Change	S	SO
258.SANCTON	PS Imposition of Sanctions- Plan Compliance	S	SO
259.SECOND	Secondary Aspects of AC Belief Systems	S	SO
260.SECRECY	Extent of Norms of Secrecy	S	SO
261.SECRET	Amount of Secrecy Involved	S	SO
262.SELFINT	Material Self-Interest of Actor in a PS	S	PE
263.SHIFT	Shift in Position of Interest Group Ally	S	PE
264.SOCCULT	Stability- Fundamental Soc Structure/Values	S	PE
265.SOCMOV	Rise of a Social Movement	S	PE
266.SOLIDNT	Policy Solution Identified by PS	S	PE
267.SPECLZE	Actors Specialize in Their Understanding	S	PE
268.STALEMT	Policy Stalemate	S	PE
269.STRCORD	Strength of PS Coordination (Weak v Strong)	S	PE
270.TECHCOM	Technical Complexity of Situation	S, K 93	TF
271.TECHRES	Technical Resources of Advocacy Coalition	S	TF
272.TESTIMY	Testimony to Legislative Groups	S	PE
273.TIMEAVL	Available Time to Process/Analyze Info	S	PE
274.TRUST	Trust in People in Other Coalitions	S	SO
275.TRUSTIN	Trust by PS Members in Each Other	S	SO
276.TURNOVR	Personnel Turnover	S, K 95	TF
277.UNCERT	Conflict Points of Uncertainty	S	SO
278.UNPOLST	Forum only if stalemate unacceptable to all	S	PE
279.VALUE-P	Perception of Value Priorities	S	SO
280.VENUE	Venue Shopping	S	PE
281.VIABLE	Actor Organization's Own Viability	S	SO
282.WHOPAYS	Amount of Costs Born by Impacted AC's	S	EE
283.WORLD-P	Perception of World State (incl Problem)	S	SO
284.YEARS	Years of Time	S	PE
285.ACTORKE	Actors Knew Each Other	C,S 193	SO
286.ADCHANG	Administrative change	C,S 276	TF
287.ADVERT	Advertising	C	SO
288.ATFRB	ATF Roadblocks	C,S 110	SO
289.ATFRES	ATF Resources	C,S 107, S130, K 11, K 12	EE

290.ATFTRAC	ATF tracing system improved	C,S 271	TF
291.BATF	Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms	C,K 37	PE
292.BENDRUL	Bend Rules	C	SO
293.BLACKS	Black Americans	C,S 173	EE
294.BREAMEE	Breakfast Meetings	C,S 236	SO
295.CITFEAR	Citizens lived in fear of gun violence	C,K 79, S132	PE
296.CITYSIZ	City Size	C	PE
297.COMLE	Competition in law enforcement agencies	C,S 247	SO
298.COMMATT	Commonwealth Attorney's Office	C,K 61	PE
299.COMMUN	Communication	C,S 236	SO
300.CREDIT	Credit	C,S 150	SO
301.CRIMCUL	Criminal Culture	C,K 78	PE
302.ECONVAR	Economic Variables	C,S 107, S 130, K 11, K 12	EE
303.EGODEF	Ego deflation of actors	C	SO
304.FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation	C,K 37	PE
305.FEDERAL	Federalism	C,K 37	PE
306.FEDJUDG	Federal Judges	C,K 37	PE
307.FEDLEG	Federal Legislation	C,K 37	PE
308.FINTOLL	Financial Toll of Gun Violence	C,S 201	EE
309.FISIMP	Fiscal Impact of Project Exile	C,S 123	EE
310.GOVOFF	Governor's Office	C,K 61	PE
311.GUNCR	Gun Carry Rate	C,K 78	PE
312.GUNHOM	Gun Homicide Rate	C,K 78	PE
313.HGCINC	Handgun Control Inc.	C,K 53	PE
314.HOMIVIC	Homicide Victims	C,K 78	PE
315.INGROUP	Interest Groups	C,K 53	PE
316.MEDIA	Media Coverage	C,K 55	PE
317.MUSCASE	Mushroom Cases	C,K 59	PE
318.NEWJOBS	New Jobs Created Because of Exile	C,S 234	TF
319.NRA	National Rifle Association	C,K 53	PE
320.PARTISN	Partisan Politics	C,K 71	PE
321.PECSF	Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation	C,K 53	PE
322.PENOTPR	Project Exile is not Profiling	C,S 173	EE
323.PEOPLE	People Involved in the genesis and impl.	C,K 67	PE
324.POLCOM	Policy Community	C,K 66	PE
325.POLENT	Policy Entrepreneurs	C,K 67	PE
326.POLISTR	Politics Stream	C,K 73	PE
327.POLSTR	Policy Stream	C,K 69	PE
328.PROBSTR	Problem Stream	C,K 80	PE

329.PROPERC	Problem Perception	C,K 79	PE
330.PUBMOOD	Public Mood	C,S 248, S 139, K 57, K 83	PE
331.RBUSCOM	Richmond Business Community	C,S 167	EE
332.RCAD	Richmond Commonwealth Attorney Detail	C,S 271	TF
333.RCANDG	Race Class and Gender	C,S 173	EE
334.RCAPOL	Richmond Commonwealth Attorney political	C,K 61	PE
335.RMT	RPD's Rapid Mobilization Team	C,S 271	TF
336.RPD	Richmond Police Department	C,K 61	PE
337.RPDAGG	RPD Aggressiveness	C,S 175	SO
338.RPDDETA	Richmond Police Dept. detailed 3 to ATF	C,S 271	TF
339.RPDFA	RPD Firearms Administrator	C,S 234	TF
340.RPDVCO	RPD Overtime Costs	C,S 282	EE
341.RPDOWER	RPD Oversight From Feds	C,K 37	PE
342.RPDSKEP	Richmond PD Skepticism of a Federal Program	C,S 274	SO
343.RPDTRAI	RPD Training was a Resource Issue	C,S 282	EE
344.SELLFEA	Selling Fear	C	SO
345.SPDETAI	State Police Detailed 2 Officers To ATF	C,S 271	TF
346.TALKREL	Talk Reluctance	C,S 261	SO
347.TIMING	Timing of The Inception	C,K 101	PE
348.TURFBAT	Turf Battles	C,S 247	SO
349.US MAR	U.S. Marshal's Office	C,K 37	PE
350.USAOPL	U.S. Attorney's Office Paralegal	C,S 234	TF
351.USATT	United States Attorney's office	C,K 37	PE
352.VAATG	Virginia Attorney General's Office	C,K 61	PE
353.VAGD	Virginia Attorney General Detail	C,S 271	TF
354.VSP	Virginia State Police	C,K 61	PE

Figure 17: Summary Of Overlap For The Case (Project Exile) Variables And Kingdon And Sabatier (K and S) Variables

	Kingdon and Sabatier	Kingdon not Sabatier	Sabatier not Kingdon	Not Kingdon not Sabatier	Totals
Case	4	32	29	5	70
K and S	40 (21 K,19 S)	80	164	0	284
Totals	44	112	193	5	354

Figure 17 summarizes the overlaps in Figure 16. The first line covers the Project Exile case variables only, and this line shows the variables Kingdon and Sabatier cover in the “Generic Collins Classification and Elaboration Model.” They total 70. The second line covers the Kingdon and Sabatier variables only. They total 284. It is important to note that of the 40 variables that are covered by both Kingdon and Sabatier. Twenty-one are Kingdon’s and 19 are Sabatier’s. This is due to the fact that Kingdon has three variables that deal with focusing events. They are numbers 35, 36, and 99. Sabatier has only one variable that corresponds to all three of these focusing event variables. It is number 162 entitled “Watershed Event Occurs.” Hence, Kingdon has two additional overlap variables. The third line contains the totals for the case variables and the Kingdon and Sabatier variables. The total of both the bottom row and the far right column is 354. This is the total number of the Kingdon, Sabatier, and Project Exile variables combined. The diagrams below further explicate this.

Figure 18 below shows how the 70 Project Exile variables are covered by Kingdon and Sabatier. Four were covered by both. 32 were covered by Kingdon alone. 29 were covered by Sabatier alone, and five were not covered by either Kingdon or Sabatier.

Figure 18: Project Exile Case Variables (70 TOTAL)

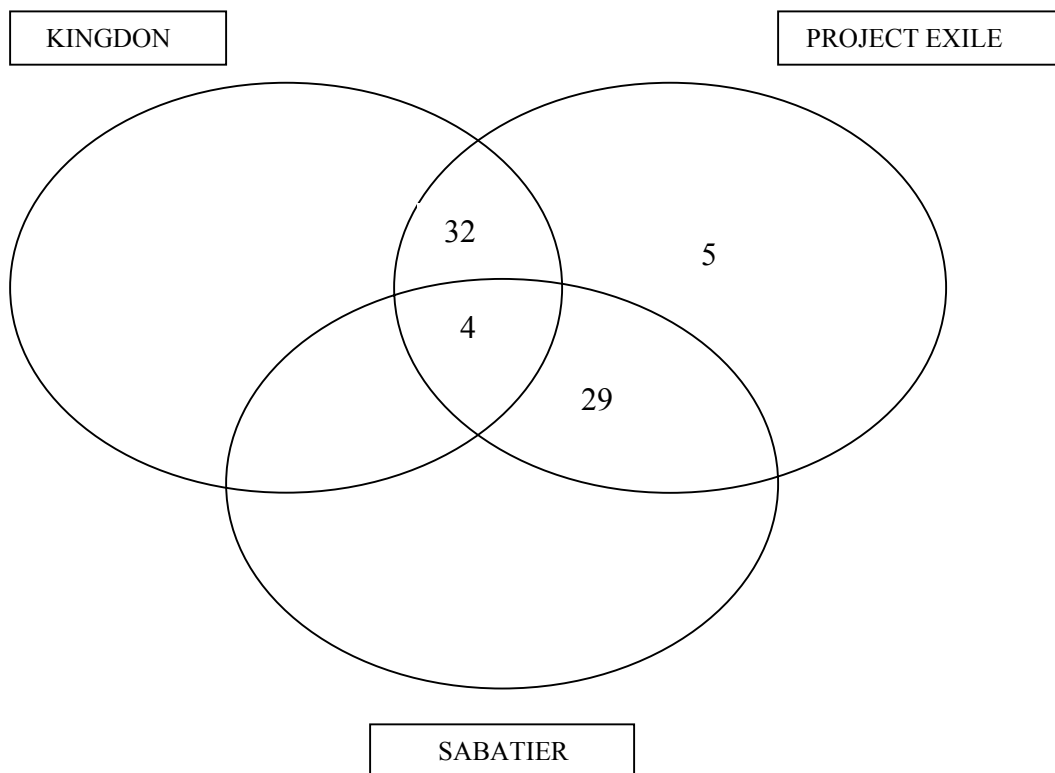
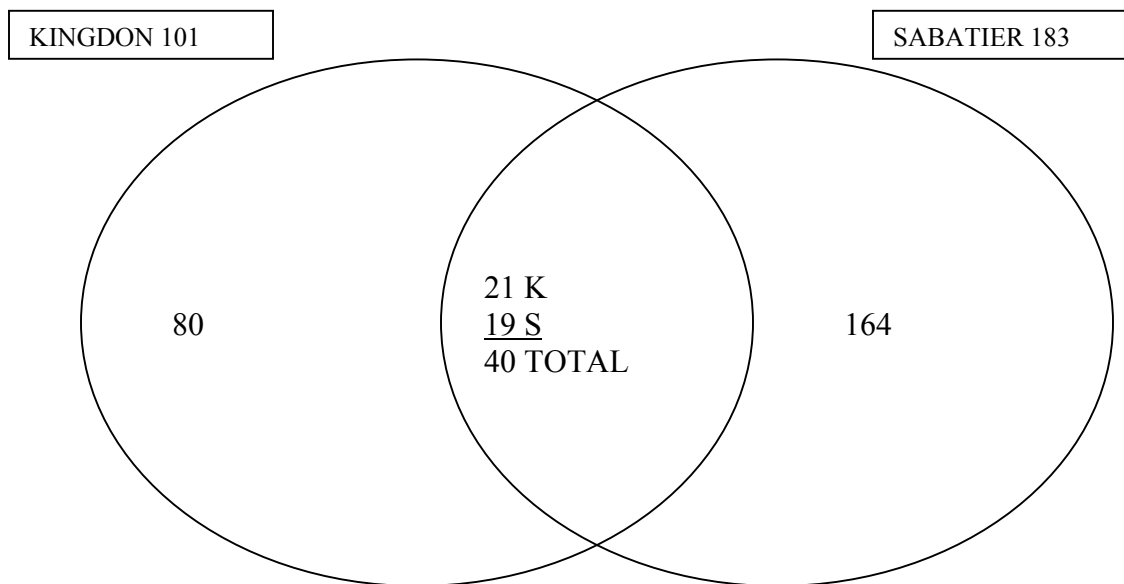


Figure 19 illustrates the overlap between the Kingdon and Sabatier variables. This information is important because it shows that out of a total of 284 combined Kingdon and Sabatier variables only forty of them showed any degree of commonality or overlap. This should lead future researchers to surmise that Kingdon and Sabatier are talking about different ideas. Hence, using the language of only one of their frameworks may steer the direction of the researcher's ideas to a limited view.

Figure 19: Overlap Between Kingdon And Sabatier Case Variables (284 TOTAL)



The Political Economic overlap of the Kingdon and Sabatier variables in the Project Exile case also has been charted. Out of the four variables with complete overlap, two were from the Political Environment and two were from the Economic Environment. Figure 20 below shows this.

Figure 20: Political Economic Overlap Of Kingdon And Sabatier In The Project Exile Case (4 Total)

POLITICAL	ECONOMIC
2	2
SOCIAL / ORGANIZATIONAL	TECHNICAL / FUNCTIONAL
0	0

Figure 21 shows the Political Economic overlap of the Kingdon and Sabatier variables excluding the Project Exile variables.

Figure 21: Political Economic Overlap Of Kingdon And Sabatier On Their Own (40 Total: 21 Kingdon and 19 Sabatier)

POLITICAL 20	ECONOMIC 6
SOCIAL / ORGANIZATIONAL 7	TECHNICAL / FUNCTIONAL 7

5.3 Summary Of The Information Presented

This research has presented the existing variable overlap among Kingdon, Sabatier, and the Project Exile case both in and outside of the case study. In the Project Exile situation Kingdon and Sabatier cover four of the variables together; Kingdon covers 32 on his own; Sabatier covers 29 on his own, and five are not covered by either framework. This means that both Kingdon and Sabatier cover less than 50% of the Project Exile case variables individually. Together, when the two frameworks are combined, Kingdon and Sabatier cover 93% of the Project Exile case variables. Therefore, it can be argued that combining the two frameworks allows for a fuller picture of the development of the Project Exile policy subsystem to be seen.

Between the Kingdon and Sabatier frameworks (excluding the case variables), 40 variables are covered by both frameworks, 80 are covered by Kingdon alone, and 164 are covered by Sabatier alone. This means out of the total 349 variables (excluding the five

case variables that Kingdon and Sabatier did not cover) that these two frameworks overlap in only 44. This tells us that Kingdon and Sabatier are using different languages and thus probably talking about different concepts. This is most likely because Kingdon is addressing issues, concepts, and problems that exist before the policy window opens, and Sabatier is primarily dealing with issues, concepts, and problems that come about after the window has been passed.

This conclusion is further exemplified by the Political Economic framework overlap comparison. Although it has been mentioned that all but five of the case variables matched up with a variable (s) from one or both of the Kingdon and Sabatier frameworks, it is important to notice the Political Economic framework of the case variables that were covered by both Kingdon and Sabatier. In the case variables, two of the variables from the Political area and two of the variables from the Economic area overlap with both Kingdon and Sabatier. Looking at the Kingdon and Sabatier variables on their own, 20 of the variables from the political area, six from the economic area, seven from the social / organizational area, and seven from the technical / functional area were covered by both frameworks. This shows us the limitations as well as disparate nature of each theory by illustrating how little overlap exists among the different framework variables.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

There were three purposes to this research:

1. To elaborate and analyze Kingdon's and Sabatier's frameworks as a means for understanding Project Exile.
2. To draw on these two frameworks to create both Specific and Generic new "Collins Models" to assist in furthering a deeper understanding of this case study as well as similar policy subsystems.
3. To explain the genesis and development of Project Exile.

This chapter will discuss the three purposes of the dissertation and the theoretical limitations of this type of research. It will also offer a conclusion and a departing question for future research.

6.1 Purpose One

As David John Farmer (1995) has stated, language does shape research. By this he means that the analytical perspective utilized by researchers molds the outcome of their research. This work has sought to juxtapose and compare / contrast the languages of two disparate analytical perspectives as they fit into the Political Economic framework.

Analysis related to the second purpose of this research has shown much about the way in which the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier fit into Schroeder's operationalization of the Political Economic framework and their value for viewing Project Exile. Kingdon and Sabatier use different terms and or "languages" to analyze policy development. Kingdon's language is mostly subsumed in the Political Environment and it is primarily focused on pre-window agenda-setting actors, events, and occurrences. On the other

hand, Sabatier's language is primarily post-window oriented and concerned with advocacy coalition formation.

6.2 Purpose Two

Analysis related to the second purpose of this research has shown that by combining the Kingdon and Sabatier frameworks a larger picture of the development and implementation of a policy subsystem can be seen. This area of the dissertation research has combined Kingdon and Sabatier into a new model in a way that helps to explain the rise and development of the Project Exile policy subsystem. It has also juxtaposed Kingdon and Sabatier's frameworks and it has shown how they differ and where they overlap. This will be helpful for future researchers that are interested in combining the two frameworks to explain the rise of other programs and policies. This researcher's initial notion that a linear progression from Kingdon to Sabatier would be sufficient to explain Project Exile turned out to be erroneous. The changes made to the "Specific Collins Classification and Elaboration Model" in Figure 11 reflect this.

It is also important to note that the model is extremely malleable, and its configuration for Project Exile may not work for other disparate policy subsystems. This makes plenty of sense. The Project Exile policy subsystem was predicated on existing legislation, as well as a tight network of actors. Project Exile was also brought about in less than six months, and most of its political actors and all of its interest groups jumped on the Project Exile train well after it had departed the implementation station. A different policy subsystem, which could have taken many years or decades to build, would definitely need a different configuration of the "Collins Models" to explain its development and implementation.

In the future, the malleability of the “Collins Models” may prove to be its greatest strength. As far as is known, no other researcher has undertaken the task of juxtaposing and examining in detail the overlap between the frameworks of Kingdon and Sabatier. This will better enable policy researchers to understand the languages that each of the frameworks utilize.

6.3 Purpose Three

In the first chapter, the genesis and development of the Project Exile policy subsystem was explained. The information presented was derived from the policy entrepreneur interviews and a review of the Department of Justice and U.S. Attorney’s Office Project Exile reports. As it has been stated, there is little or no existing literature on this topic area. This part of the dissertation research was an attempt to begin to fill that large research gap.

6.4 Theoretical Issues

The preceding analyses, to the best of this researcher’s knowledge, are much more comprehensive than anything of like nature done before. Yet these analyses still have significant and substantial limitations. Another research area, referred to as the P. A. (Public Administration) Genome Project (Dickey, 2002), has similar problems. Dickey (2002) makes the following points about the shortcomings of the P.A. Genome Project and these points are equally applicable to this dissertation research as well. Therefore, a succinct listing of these points to illustrate the limitations of this dissertation research is warranted.

Point 1: The frequency of occurrence of concepts, and their corresponding semantic weights, are not taken into account from the perspective of this research. Semantic weight is being utilized to mean the frequency of occurrence of words in the context of other frequently used words. Certainly, not all concepts have been created equal in any of the three sets of variables. To better understand the richness of meaning among the variables, a way of differentiation must be developed. Hence, future research in this area should focus on developing a means of gauging semantic weight.

Point 2: Synonyms for concepts are not used in the variable matching process. To illustrate, the word “budget” comes up frequently in all three sets of variables. But the word “resources” might be used with the same meaning. A good matching system should employ synonyms for concepts so that a likely overlap is not overlooked because a similar but not equivalent word is used. Note, though, that such a practice could create its own problems. If the word “budget” is in one of the case’s variables lists along with the word “resources,” then use of the former in the case list would lead to a separate match, which may not have been the intent of the researcher.

Point 3: Individual words may not be meaningful except as in combinations. One phrase used in the Project Exile case, for instance, was “An Illegal Gun Gets You Five Years.” This whole phrase could be as a variable, but according to the present practice, it would have to be individually parsed into the variables of “illegal gun,” “criminal,” “mandatory minimum,” and “five years.” Right now, as noted, this analysis focuses mostly on individual words, but this researcher has also inevitably had to accept a good number

of phrases. In other words, as it stands there is no completely accepted set of formal rules – just “best judgment” -- for determining if a word or phrase should be employed.

Point 4: A proper level of generality or abstraction has not necessarily been established. So far this researcher has taken the concepts at the level at which they have been expressed, either in written form (e.g., the publications reviewed in this research) or verbally (e.g., from interviews). But different people may have differing needs for generality. For example, lawyers may have had much experience and given extensive thought to the concept of “criminal culture” so when this variable is mentioned they would be prepared to talk at that level. Newly minted police officers with little experience may be completely unfamiliar with the concept, however. So they may need to start at the level of, say, their ability to recognize individual criminal behaviors as opposed to the culture of a collectivity of criminals. This example highlights the thought that there may need to be several levels of generality.

Point 5: No relationships have been considered. Some variables obviously are important because of how they influence others – for instance if they play a major role in “activating” another one. Taking into account such relationships is an arduous task, especially since there are likely to be many more connections than variables themselves.

Point 6: Specific people, legislation, projects, etc. are used as variables. Taking “people” first, most of us strive to be unique, to stand out in some way, to “make a difference.” Obviously, many of us are successful in this vein, so it can be said that the project or

program or legislation “could not have been done without a person.” So the question is whether to include these unique people as individual concepts or variables – for example, the “presence of Jim Comey” was essential for the rise of the Project Exile policy subsystem.

An interesting parallel question is whether to include the use of a specific theory as a variable. Academicians like to think that their theories represent reality and can be employed to make beneficial changes. However, a theory itself can be a causal factor in a larger theory, a rather unsettling idea at first glance.

Point 7: There may not be different levels of agreement among people (particularly P. A. researchers and practitioners) about the nature of different case studies and theoretical frameworks. In fact, as yet, no other people have participated in this process, although more will take part as this research burgeons into a better framework – one to which people can react more readily (Dickey, 2002).

6.5 Conclusion

Since this research has mapped out the Kingdon and Sabatier variables and operationalized them using Schroeder’s (2001) Political Economic framework, future researchers will only have to fill in their case study variables and then will be ready to map out another policy subsystem. This research has categorized all of the Kingdon and Sabatier variables, shown where they overlapped, and shown in what area of the Political Economic framework they overlap. This will certainly be of assistance to future researchers who are interested in building new models using these two frameworks. In addition, since the “Collins Models” are malleable future researchers will be able to place

new streams where they need them and for instance include multiple advocacy coalitions if the policy subsystem being analyzed requires them. No two policy subsystem stories are going to be exactly alike, and there is little hope in creating a ubiquitous model that will fit them all. That is why the “Collins Models” were developed to be configured in different ways to make retrospective sense of policy subsystem stories.

In conclusion, the author acknowledges the limitations inherent within this research. Many of these are elaborated on in the aforementioned points. The most apparent limitation may be the subjective construction of the Kingdon and Project Exile variables by Matthew Lloyd Collins and the Sabatier variables by Dr. John Dickey. It is clear that other researchers may have chosen different variables for disparate reasons. That is why research is cumulative and ongoing. Consequently, this research should be seen as an attempt to close the gap between theory and practice in public administration. According to Wamsley (1996),

Public administration has had difficulty with theory for several reasons. First, because we have tended to see theory and practice as dichotomous or even antithetical; of course they are not. One cannot exist without the other; one has no meaning without the other. Obviously this is true of praxis, which involves reflexivity between theory and practice and vice versa” (Wamsley, 1996, p. 354).

This research has compared and contrasted two theoretical frameworks in an effort to combine them in a pragmatic fashion in order to help the public administration community better understand the rise of a particular policy subsystem. In this research, the use of these variables as operationalized in the Political Economic framework has provided a means of mapping out the actors, events, and convergences that comprised the genesis and implementation of the Project Exile policy subsystem. However, a different

policy subsystem (with different historical, political, and administrative attributes) may need to be analyzed using more of the Sabatier and less of the Kingdon variables (or vice versa) than the Project Exile case study. There does not as yet appear to be any ubiquitous, or general, formula for understanding the rise of disparate policy subsystems.

6.6 Departing Question For Future Research: Does Project Exile Exploit A Target Population?

The purpose of this work has been to provide an analysis of the genesis of Project Exile policy subsystem. Since there has been no writing in academic journals about Project Exile, this dissertation should be seen as exploratory; it is admittedly incomplete. Specifically, it fails to fully address every aspect of the genesis Project Exile. For example, it does not explicate its jurisprudential aspects in a comprehensive manner. This is an excellent topic for future work.

In addition, it should be stated that this analysis does not examine the racial component of Project Exile. Since this research has mapped out the policy subsystem already, it would be a next logical step to investigate Project Exile in greater detail and to amplify its voices of dissent. A good place to start would be for a researcher to build on this dissertation by beginning to explore the notion of whether or not the Project Exile defendants are a target population (Schneider and Ingram, 1997). As it is shown in Appendix F to this dissertation, history, especially American history, is replete with instances where weapons and gun control have been used as a means of social repression. Historically, there is no question that dangerous groups of people have been selectively disarmed by various governmental regimes (Halbrook, 1994). It would be interesting for a researcher to tackle the question of whether or not Project Exile is another example of

this type of selective disarmament, or if this project is something that is equitable, needed, and necessary.

Interestingly, in the 2002 the first wave of Project Exile defendants will be returning to their homes in Richmond after the completion of their five-year mandatory federal prison sentences. It would also be of interest to track the rate of violent crime / gun-related recidivism among this returning population. Furthermore, if these defendants are deemed to be a target population it would be of interest to ascertain what, if any, prospective measures may be taken to militate against prospective illicit behaviors. For more information a historical analysis of the disarmament of target populations is provided in Appendix F. This appendix covers the racist history of firearms control in the United States, as well as contemporary objections to Project Exile.

This dissertation analysis is merely the beginning of an innovative twenty-first century perspective for viewing and understanding public policy subsystems in light of their historical influences. Researchers have learned quite a bit from the post-structuralist philosophers about the social construction of reality, deconstruction, and the impact of language on our social interactions. Twenty-first century policy researchers should begin to incorporate these ideas in to their analysis. As it is shown in Appendix F, a strong understanding of the manner in which weapons control has been historically used as a means of social repression can help us to better understand the foundations of contemporary public policies. This could lead to a heightened awareness of what we policy makers and researchers are doing and the impacts that our decisions have of the lives of the citizenry.

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23. Appendix A: Quantitative CyberQuest Variable Outputs: Kingdon

Appendix A: Quantitative CyberQuest Outputs: Kingdon
VARIABLES AND THEIR STATUS CONDITION

CASE: Kingdon

DATE: 02/01/02

1981RB 1981 Regan Budget
 1986TRA 1986 Tax Reform Act
 1993CHC 1993 Clinton Health Care Reform Act
 3STREAM 3 Stream Model
 ACRECON Academics, Researchers, Consultants
 ADMIN Administration
 AGENSET Agenda Setting
 ALTCHOI Alternative Choice
 ANTFCON Anticipation of Future Constraints
 AUTHCHO Authoritative Choice
 BUDGETS Budgets
 BURRES Bureaucrat's Resources
 CAMPAIG Campaigners
 CAPHILL Capital Hill
 CASESTU Case Studies
 CIVILSE Civil Servants
 COMAGPL Competition for Agenda Place
 COMFS Combinations and Fertile Soil
 COMPD Comparisons and Problem Definition
 COMRDM Comprehensive Rational Decision Making
 CONBUPS Consensus Building in the Political Stream
 CONGRES Congressional Resources
 CONINCE Congressional Incentives
 CONSTAF Congressional Staff
 COUPLIN Coupling
 CRITSUR Criteria for Survival
 DECAGEN Decision Agendas
 DECIMP Decision Implementation
 ELEMSTR Elements of Structure
 ELREPAR Elections Related Participants
 EMCONBT Emerging Consensus Bandwagons and Tipping
 ENTCOUP Entrepreneurs and Coupling
 ENTQUAL Entrepreneur Qualities
 ESTPRIN Establishing a Principle
 FEACC Focusing Event Accompaniment
 FECSY Focusing Events Crises and Symbols
 FED Federal Government
 FEEDBAC Feedback
 FRAG Fragmentation
 GARCAN Garbage Can Model
 GOVPOLS Government in the Political Stream

HIDPAR Hidden Participants
IDEAORG Idea Origins
IDEASNP Ideas Not Pressure
IDEATC Idea's Time Come
IMAA Importance of the Available Alternative
IMINSTI Importance of Institutions
INCREM Incrementalism
INDICAT Indicators
INDSTRE Independence of Streams
INGRRES Interest Group Resources
INGRTYP Interest Group Types
INTER Interest Groups
INTINDI Interpretation of Indicators
MEDIA Media
MODELIN Modeling
NATMOOD National Mood
OCCWIN Occurance of Windows
ORMURE Origins Mutations Recombinations
ORPOLFO Organized Political Forces
PARINGO Participants Inside Government
PAROG Participants Outside of Government
PERESMI Perceptions Estimations and Misestimations
PNPIND Pervasive Necessary and Powerful Indicators
POLAPPO Political Appointees
POLCOM Policy Communities
POLENTRE Policy Entrepreneurs
POLFORM Policy Formation
POLISTR Policy Stream
POLIWIN Political Window
POLPAR Political Parties
POLPS Policy Primeval Soup
POLSTRE Political Stream
PREDWIN Predictable Windows
PRES President
PRESSTA Presidential Staff
PROBFAD Problems Fade
PROBLEM Problems
PROBREC Problem Recognition
PROBSTR Problem Stream
PROBWIN Problem Windows
PRODEF Problem Definition
PUBOP Public Opinion
PW&JS Policy Window and Joining Steams
QUESJUR Questions of Jurisdiction
SEIZOPP Seizing Opportunities
SETAGEN Setting Agenda

SHLISTI Short List of Ideas
SOFTEN Softening Up
SPECALT Specification of Alternatives
SPILLOV Spillovers
SUDSHCH Sudden Sharp Change
TECHFEA Technical Feasibility
TOPDOWN Top Down Model
TURNKP Turnover of Key Personnel
UNWINDO Unpredictable Windows
VALACC Value Acceptability
VALPD Values in Problem Definition
VARFE Variations on Focusing Event
VISPAR Visible Participants
WINOPCL Windows Open and Close

Appendix B: Quantitative CyberQuest Outputs: Sabatier VARIABLES AND THEIR STATUS CONDITION

CASE: Sabatier

DATE: 02/01/02

#COALS Number of Advocacy Coalitions
 #SOVS Number- Agency Sovereigns (Funds, Legal)
 IPRGDOM Domination: 1 Program at Operational Level
 ACTCMMN Actors in a Policy Subsystem Act in Concert
 ACTGOAL Actor Goals (Objective Functions)
 ACTORBG Actor Organization Budget
 ACTORMB Actor Organization Membership
 ACTORS Number of Actors Involved
 ADHERE Agency Adheres to Traditional Mission
 ADVCOAL Creation of Substantial Advocacy Coalition
 AFFILPR Professional Affiliation- Agency Personnel
 AGENCY Interest Group Ally is a Government Agency
 AGREE Degree of Agreement on Policy Core Beliefs
 ALTERBV PS Members Alter Behavior to Complement
 ANALINF Actor Ability- Process/Analyse Information
 ANTAGON Agency Antagonizes Important Sovereigns
 APPEAL Venues of Appeal for Dissatisfied PS's
 ATTACH Attach Bill as Waiver to Other Legislation
 BELEFCD Congruence/Divergence- Beliefs of 2 Actors
 BELIEF Belief System of Policymakers
 BENCLER PS Beneficiaries Are Clearly Identified
 BENEFIT Benefits of Policy Solution Forecast
 BENMAIT PS Benefits Relate: Member Maintain Costs
 BENMEM PS Beneficiaries are Part of PS Coalition
 BENNEED Agency Need- Benefit Dominant Coalition
 BENV CST Weight Actors Assign to Benefits vs Costs
 BRIBE Give Bribes
 BROKERS Conflict Mediation by Policy Brokers
 BUDGET Guidance Instruments- Agency Budgets
 CAUSALP Perception of Important Causal Relations
 CAUSE Likely Causes of Problem Identified
 CLARIFY Clarification of Underlying Conflicts
 COALDOM Replacement of the Dominant Coalition
 COALSCE Coalescence of Actors into Coalitions
 COMPCON Computational Capabilities
 COMPLAN PS Development of Common Plan of Action
 COMPLXP Complexity of Policymaking
 CONCERN Public Concern for a Particular Problem
 CONFLCT Amount of Political Conflict
 CONSENS Degree of Consensus Req'd to Change Policy
 CONSTIT Stability- Constitutional Structure/Rules

CONTRIB Campaign Contributions to Legislators
 CONTROV Size of a Controversy in Policy Subsystem
 CONVEN Develop Short Term Coalition of Convenience
 COORDLT Long-Term Coordination Among PS Actors
 COORDST Short-Term Coordination Among PS Actors
 COSTS Total Costs of Policy Solution Forecast
 COSTTRN Transaction Cost for Common Understanding
 CREDIT Actor Organization "Credit" Received
 CRTCASE Bring/Support Court Cases
 CULTNRM Cultural Norms
 DEEPCOR Deep Core of AC Shared Belief System
 DEFEAT Remembrance of Defeats Over Victories
 DEMON Target Group Demonstrations or Boycotts
 DISCRET Discretion of Subnational Implementors
 DISPUTE Degree of Dispute Over Problem/Causes
 ECONOMY Economic Dislocations
 EFICACY Perception of Efficacy- Policy Instruments
 EMPIRQS Conflict Has Empirical Q's to Alter Beliefs
 ESCALTE Competitive Policy Escalation by Politicos
 EVENT Watershed Event Occurs
 FAIRBAC Fairness- Benefit Distribution to all AC's
 FAIRDIS PS Actors Distribute PS Costs Fairly
 FAIRPOL Actors Believe PS Policies Treat Them Fair
 FINANAO Actor Organization Competition for Finance
 FINANCE Method of Financing Programs
 FORUM Prestigiousness of a Professional Forum
 FORUMDR Proper Forum Duration
 FORUMFD Proper Forum Funding
 FORUMSC Successful Professional Forum
 FRERIDE Free-Riding by Actors in Policy Subsystem
 GIMPACT Impacts on Targeted Populations
 GOOD Implemented Policy Solution Deemed "Good"
 GOVBEH Behavior of Government Authorities
 GOVCOAL Change in System Governing Coalition
 GOVLEV Level of Government- Local, Reg, State, Fed
 GOVPOL Governmental Policy Outputs (eg, Permits)
 GOVPROG Creation/Enhancement of Gov Programs
 GOVSUPR Higher Gov Level Changes Policy of Lower
 GOVTYPE Type of Government
 GUIDEL Guidance Instruments- Legal Authority, Rules
 HETERO Heterogeneity of Organizations in PS
 IMPACTS Probable Impacts of Solution Identified
 IMPLEMT Policy Solution Gets Implemented
 IMPLTHY Policy Agents Develop/Use Implicit Theories
 IMPMAG Magnitude of Impacts Identified/Forecast
 INCUMCG Campaigning to Change Incumbents

INDEPCS Competitive/Symbiotic Interdependency- 2PSs
 ININFO Information Comes From Others in Same PS
 INSTCST Cost to PS to Alter a Guidance Instrument
 INSTRLE Institutional Rules Applying to Members
 INTEGRA Actor Integration Across PS Levels
 INTERST Coalition Members Seek Understanding
 INTRACT Interact Frequency: Two Policy Subsystems
 I-TIME Implementation Time Span
 KNOWSEV Legislator Knowledge of Problem Severity
 LAWOVER Difficulty of Overturning an Existing Law
 LEGALAU Legal Autonomy of Each Subsystem Level
 LINEUP Stability- Lineup of PS Allies/Opponents
 LOSSCST "Cost" if PS Not "Victorious"
 LRNBETW Learning Between Coalitions
 LRNBKER Learning by Policy Brokers
 LRNPOL Enduring Change- Policy-Oriented Learning
 MANDATE Nature of Statutory Mandate of Agency
 MANIPD Manipulate Problem Dimensions for Constits
 MATURE Maturity of Policy Subsystem
 MEMBERS Actor Organization Competition for Members
 MEMCONT Interest Group Funded- Member Contributions
 MINORCO Coalition is in Minority
 MISSION Nature of Mission of Administrative Agency
 MODERA Moderation of Position- Interest Group Ally
 MONITOR PS Members Monitor Actions for Compliance
 MOTHERH Expousal of "Motherhood" Ideals
 MOTIVES Perceived Questionable Motives of Opp ACs
 NATDIST Stability- Natural Resources Distribution
 NATURAL Problem Involves Natural System (vs Pol/Soc
 NEGLECT Actor Dissatisfaction: Neglect of a Problem
 NEGOTI Undertake Negotiations
 NESTING Nesting of Policy Subsystem in Larger PS
 NEWISUE New Issue or Conceptualization Develops
 NEWLDR New AC Leaders Committed to Consensus
 NUMLEVS Number of Levels of Government Involved
 NUMPROG Number of Programs Involved
 OFFPWR Power of Important Public Official
 OPINION Mass Media Campaigning for Public Opinion
 OPPPOWR Percieved Power and Evil of Opponents
 ORGS Understanding Concerned Individuals/Orgs
 OTHRPOL Policy Decisions/Impacts- Other Subsystems
 OTHSUB Major Impacts from Other Subsystem Policies
 OVERLAP Overlapping of Two Policy Subsystems
 PARTIC Participation Mix- Public/Experts/Politicos
 PARTICF Participation of Coalitions in Forum
 PERSCHG Personnel Change- Death, Retire, RIF, Promo

PETITON Petition Agencies and Regulatory Bodies
 PLNCOMM Communication of Common Plan to Members
 POLANAL Use of Policy Analysis to Buttress Beliefs
 POLICYD Difficulty- Find Policies for All PS Actors
 POLPRED Policy Sympathy- Main Responsible Official
 POLYCOR Policy Core of AC Belief System
 PORK Offer Pork Barrel Benefits to Constituents
 POWER Power- Advocacy Coalition Spec Jurisdiction
 PRBAREA Stability- Attributes of Problem Area
 PREEXST Actor's Pre Normative/Perceptual Beliefs
 PROFDOM Domination of Forums by Professional Norms
 PROGDOM Program Domination
 PSCONFL Conflict Between Two PS Advocacy Coalitions
 PUBOPIN Public Opinion
 PURENRM Conflict is NOT Purely Normative
 PURSUEG Actor's Ability to Pursue Actor Org's Goals
 PWRSHRE Power Sharing Among Coalitions
 QUANTDT Accepted Quant Data/Theories Available
 REGS Understanding of Laws and Regulations
 RELUCT Reluctance of Coalition to Compromise
 RESEFFC Efficient Use of Coalition Resources
 RESINFO Research and Information Exchange
 RESIST Resistance to Change
 SANCTON PS Imposition of Sanctions- Plan Compliance
 SECOND Secondary Aspects of AC Belief Systems
 SECRECY Extent of Norms of Secrecy
 SECRET Amount of Secrecy Involved
 SELFINT Material Self-Interest of Actor in a PS
 SHIFT Shift in Position of Interest Group Ally
 SOCCULT Stability- Fundamental Soc Structure/Values
 SOCMOV Rise of a Social Movement
 SOLIDNT Policy Solution Identified by PS
 SPECLZE Actors Specialize in Their Understanding
 STALEMT Policy Stalemate
 STRCORD Strength of PS Coordination (Weak v Strong)
 TECHCOM Technical Complexity of Situation
 TECHRES Technical Resources of Advocacy Coalition
 TESTIMY Testimony to Legislative Groups
 TIMEAVL Available Time to Process/Analyse Info
 TRUST Trust in People in Other Coalitions
 TRUSTIN Trust by PS Members in Each Other
 TURNOVR Personnel Turnover
 UNCERT Conflict Points of Uncertainty
 UNPOLST Forum only if stalemate unacceptable to all
 VALUE-P Perception of Value Priorities
 VENUE Venue Shopping

VIABLE Actor Organization's Own Viability
WHOPAYS Amount of Costs Born by Impacted AC's
WORLD-P Perception of World State (incl Problem)
YEARS Years of Time

Appendix C: Quantitative CyberQuest Outputs: Project Exile
VARIABLES AND THEIR STATUS CONDITION

CASE: Project Exile file

DATE: 02/01/02

ACTORKE Actors Knew Each Other
 ADCHANG administrative change
 ADVERT advertising
 ADVOCC advocacy coalition
 ATFRB ATF Roadblocks
 ATFRES ATF Resources
 ATFTRAC ATF tracing system improved
 BATF Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms
 BENDRUL Bend Rules
 BLACKS black americans
 BREAMEE Breakfast Meetings
 CITFEAR citizens lived in fear of gun violence
 CITYSIZ City Size
 COMLE competition in law enforcement agencies
 COMMATT Commonwealth Attorney's Office
 COMMUN Communication
 CREDIT Credit
 CRIMCUL Criminal Culture
 ECONVAR Economic Variables
 EGODEF ego defalation of actors
 FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation
 FEDERAL federalism
 FEDJUDG Federal Judges
 FEDLEG federal legislation
 FINTOLL financial toll of gun violence
 FISIMP Fiscal Impact of Project Exile
 GOVOFF governor's office
 GUNCR Gun Carry Rate
 GUNHOM gun homicide rate
 HGCINC Handgun Control Inc.
 HOMIVIC homicide victims
 INGROUP interest groups
 MEDIA media coverage
 MUSCASE Mushroom Cases
 NEWJOBS New Jobs Created Because of Exile
 NRA National Rifle Association
 PARTISN partisan politics
 PECSF Project Exile Citizen Support Foundation
 PENOTPR Project Exile is not Profiling
 PEOPLE people involved in the genesis and impl.
 POLCOM policy community

POLENT policy entrepreneurs
POLISTR politics stream
POLSTR policy stream
PROBSTR problem stream
PROPERC problem perception
PUBMOOD public mood
RBUSCOM Richmond Business Community
RCAD Richmond Commonwealth Attorney Detail
RCANDG Race Class and Gender
RCAPOL Richmond Commonwealth Attorney political
RMT RPD's Rapid Mobilization Team
RPD Richmond Police Department
RPDAGG RPD Aggressiveness
RPDDETA Richmond Police Dept. detailed 3 to ATF
RPDFA RPD Firearms Administrator
RPDOVCO RPD Overtime Costs
RPDOVER RPD Oversight From Feds
RPDSKEP Richmond PD Sketicism of a Federal Program
RPDTRAI RPD Training was a Resource Issue
SELLFEA Selling Fear
SPDETAI State Police detailed 2 officers to ATF
TALKREL Talk Reluctance
TIMING timing of the inception
TURFBAT Turf battles
US MAR U.S. Marshal's Office
USAOPL U.S. Attorney's Office Paralegal
USATT United States Attorney's office
VAATG Virginia Attorney General's Office
VAGD Virginia Attorney General Detail
VSP Virginia State Police

Appendix D: Quantitative CyberQuest Outputs: Project Exile Variable Definitions

VARIABLE: EXFACC exogenous factors changable

DEFINITION: From Sabatier's Model

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: EXFACNC exogenous factors non-changable

DEFINITION: From Sabatier's Model

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: PROBSTR problem stream

DEFINITION: Kingdon

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: POLSTR policy stream

DEFINITION: Kingdon

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: POLISTR politics stream

DEFINITION: Kingdon

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: ADVOCC advocacy coalition

DEFINITION: Sabatier

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: EGODEF ego deflation of actors

DEFINITION: Comey, Russell and others interviewees have stated that ego deflation was key to the exile success

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: TIMING timing of the inception

DEFINITION: (Not Entered Yet)
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: PEOPLE people involved in the genesis and impl.
DEFINITION: (Not Entered Yet)
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: ADVERT advertising
DEFINITION: Comey, Russell, and others have stated that this was the first time that law enforcement has attempted to sell deterrence. Shiller was in charge of advertising.
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: FEDERAL federalism
DEFINITION: The federal system of shared governmental powers
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: FEDLEG federal legislation
DEFINITION: Gun Control Act of 1968
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: GUNHOM gun homicide rate
DEFINITION: 1997 122 firearm homicides in Richmond
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: MEDIA media coverage
DEFINITION: Project Exile has recieved extensive television and print media coverage.
SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)
FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: PROPERC problem perception

DEFINITION: Gun violence existed in Richmond for many years before it was considered to be a problem.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: HOMIVIC homicide victims

DEFINITION: high per-capita 1990-1997

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: BLACKS black americans

DEFINITION: 80% of all 1998 homicide victims in Richmond were black

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: CITFEAR citizens lived in fear of gun violence

DEFINITION: Many were captives in their homes after dark.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: FINTOLL financial toll of gun violence

DEFINITION: The financial toll of gun violence was high.

\$2,745,00 in direct costs to the City of Richmond

\$11,752,000 in lost productivity

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: POLCOM policy community

DEFINITION: Kingdon argues that the policy stream involves policy communities and policy entrepreneurs.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: POLENT policy entrepreneurs

DEFINITION: Kingdon argues that the policy stream involves policy communities and policy entrepreneurs.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

DEFINITION: Comey, Hicks, Dunham, Russell, and Schiller all attribute the success of Project Exile to the actors knowing each other.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: RCAD Richmond Commonwealth Attorney Detail

DEFINITION: Richmond Commonwealth Attorney detailed an attorney to work for the U.S. attorney's office.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: VAGD Virginia Attorney General Detail

DEFINITION: Virginia Attorney General detailed an attorney to work with the U.S. Attorney's Office.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: NEWJOBS New Jobs Created Because of Exile

DEFINITION: New positions and realignment of positions because of Exile.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: USAOPL U.S. Attorney's Office Paralegal

DEFINITION: This was a new job created because of Exile.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: CITYSIZ City Size

DEFINITION: The size of the City of Richmond was essential for the development and implementation of Project Exile.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: ATFRB ATF Roadblocks

DEFINITION: The ATF faced many roadblocks to participate in Project Exile. Mainly they were from Headquarters who wanted the field agents to work on long-term multi-defendant cases not Project Exile Cases.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

DEFINITION: He felt the most political pressure since he was the sole elected official in the group of originators.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: FEDJUDG Federal Judges

DEFINITION: Several were vehemently opposed to Exile.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: RPDOVCO RPD Overtime Costs

DEFINITION: Resource issue for RPD to participate in the project.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: RPDAGG RPD Aggressiveness

DEFINITION: The project made RPD more aggressive.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: RPDOVER RPD Oversight From Feds

DEFINITION: The Federal oversight improved the way that RPD officers wrote reports etc.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: FISIMP Fiscal Impact of Project Exile

DEFINITION: 180 million dollar convention center; 1 billion dollars of downtown economic development; AAA bond rating

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: PENOTPR Project Exile is not Profiling

DEFINITION: Major McCoy said that profiling is based on innocent people not on people that you know are carrying drugs and guns.

SHORT MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

FULL MEASURE: (Not Entered Yet)

VARIABLE: RPDTRAI RPD Training was a Resource Issue

Appendix E: Richmond Police Major's Interview Transcript (an example of how the data was coded)

The Project Exile variables are highlighted, italicized, and in parentheses below. Following the variable, the section of the interview that deals with that variable is underlined.

I. Major's Richmond Police Department Interview 10/08/01

MLC I am going to ask you a few questions concerning the political, economic, social, and technical functional areas of the Richmond Police Department that were affected by the department's decision to become a Project Exile Partner. I am interested in the actors and events that occurred during the development and implementation of Project Exile.

MM OK

II. Political Questions

MLC Who were the stakeholders / coalitions of actors involved in the development and implementation of Project Exile?

MM *(Actors Knew Each Other) and (United States Attorney's Office) and (People involved in the Genesis of Exile)* Chief of Police (Jerry Oliver), U.S. Attorney (Helen Fayhey), the actual foundation that was charged with raising the funds is a private foundation that was charged specifically for this, of course the *(Advertising) and (Media coverage)* Martin agency is the marketing firm. It worked we got the word out. That was vital. They handled the media and advertising. I tell you who a big stakeholder was although sometimes they are not thrilled with participating in this is the federal judges. Their docket load increased tremendously. There is still the contention that they are dabbling in state issues.

MLC The issue of federalism.

MM The bottom line is you have a program that did what it was designed to do and it made an impact on the City of Richmond. Some of the stakeholders were dragged in to this other times they came in running.

MLC In the very beginning, I am really focusing on the genesis.

MM *(Actors Knew Each Other) and (Breakfast Meetings) and (Policy Entrepreneurs) and (People involved in the Genesis of Exile)* Jim Comey and Jerry Oliver had a discussion had breakfast. You have two brilliant people there. One came from New York (JC) the other from Pasadena (JO) come to Richmond traditionally a city with violence gun related problems gun carry rate so how do we get rid of it?

MLC What year did Oliver come?

MM 1995

MLC Exile started in 1997.

MM He and Comey were both relatively new. *(Policy Entrepreneurs)* Two bright bright individuals got a taste of what Richmond is like and batted this idea around and brought in some other people that could make things happen and got it done.

MLC Does Bill Dunham's name ring a bell with you?

MM Yeah, *(Actors Knew Each Other) and (BATF)* Bill was brought in with Jim he is the ATF they are valuable because they are the agent they bring the cases forward. It could not have been done without them. In exchange to assisting Bill we supplied staff to their field office.

MLC So the ATF brings the cases to the Federal Court.

MM Yeah, because a local agency has no standing in Federal Court. You need an agent what is called an adoption. So between the Commonwealth Attorney and a federal agency. It could have been (**FBI**) the FBI, IRS, or ATF. In this case, the ATF has been tremendous.

MLC As I have read, a Richmond police officer if he suspects a Project Exile case to be occurring he pages an ATF agent and the ATF agent reports to the scene.

MM (**Administrative Change**) Our officers we have two assigned to the Project Exile Task Force which are ATF agents which are Richmond Police officers. Now the RPD pages the Commonwealth Attorney they are made aware now at the preliminary hearing that this will be an Exile case. At this point the person is held without bond. Then the case goes to a task force which is a couple officers from Richmond, the U.S. Attorney, the Commonwealth Attorney, and the ATF. They look at these cases every couple of weeks and determine is this going to go federal or is this going to go state. That group determines who gets the greatest punishment and that is where the case goes.

MLC Where there any roadblocks to the implementation of Project Exile in your organization?

MM No within our organization would have been an issue but that was handled outside. (**RPD training**) Training that was a little bit of an issue. Because we had to train every single person in this but this was logistics. Some overtime costs in training and we continue to do this. But as far as going out and having officer go out and make arrests there are no roadblocks there. It is better because now the same people can go forth and say now I have the same case prior to Project Exile that would have been a plea bargain. It got rid of that frustration. Now you know that federal courts are more stringent about what comes before the case that you have a conviction.

MLC And raise morale among the troops.

MM Yeah it made people more aggressive. (**Gun carry rate**) Richmond has always had a high gun carry rate. The high rate of gun violence was due to the use of guns by each and every drug dealer, domestic violence-related shootings, and the blatant willingness of many Richmond area criminals to carry firearms as if it were their right. When this came out, we were going to attack we were on the assault. It was obvious that we were going to hit places and hit them hard.

MLC How much oversight by people within and outside of your organization did you have to deal with during the development and implementation of Project Exile?

MM (**RPD oversight from federal officials**) The development a lot, because the documentation is more specific because the standards I believe are higher in a federal court than they are in a state court. The laws are similar but the standards are higher. The level of proficiency of reports varies significantly between federal and state levels. A case just strung together by an officer might fly in lower court is not going to fly. In that essence it helped our organization. (**RPD initial skepticism of feds**) Initially, many officers were skeptical of just another federal program but that soon ended.

MLC It enhanced professionalism?

MM Yes that was an oversight from the feds that improved our organization. If we had gone in there with sloppy work Exile would have lasted probably a month and just been slammed because we know how important the federal judges are in this process.

MLC It made your officers tighter with their paperwork.

MM Yes and we did that through the ATF and the U.S. Attorney's Office. There is a different standard in the federal courts and the volume of cases that a Commonwealth Attorney handles in the lower court is unbelievable so there is not the opportunity for review that there is in the federal case.

MLC The penalties are much more stringent so they look at the paper work seriously.

MM Oversight is good even our partnership with the Martin Agency improved our organization. To them time is dollars we had to become better at what we did.

MLC In the beginning, what level of success, impacts, and benefits did you expect from Project Exile?

MM *(Citizens lived in fear of gun violence)* Protection of the citizens and reduction of citizen fear. Reduction in the use of firearms. *(Economic Variables)* On a fiscal tree lower firearms violence results in lower costs to the city and to the families. If a person had lived for their whole life it would have been a lot of money. Impact we have a lower crime rate. *(Fiscal Impact of Project Exile)* We probably have been on the last 5 years the most aggressive development projects in the City of Richmond. Dare say without Exile we probably would not have had a 180 million dollar convention center being built downtown right now.

MLC It benefits the business community as well.

MM When the visitors convention bureaus we asked them this one the first questions they get fielded by potential is what is your crime rate like not just what is your hotel space like? I have spoken to numerous groups that are interested in setting up conventions in the City of Richmond about that particular topic. Are folks going to be safe? It is hard to do that when you have the number 1 or number 2 homicide rate in the country. That is an uphill battle. I dare say that the billion dollars of economic development in downtown Richmond right now had the homicide rate been the same that it was in 94 and 95 right now that would not be happening. Fiscal impact is astronomical and it is all related to crime rates. The reduction in crime has brought our bond rating up to AAA.

MLC What role did race, class, and gender play in the development and implementation of Project Exile.

MM Obviously *(Race, Class, and Gender)* race class and gender we have a specific target audience in mind that of people carrying guns that would be able to use them for sudden impact quick reaction type of violence. We targeted those people specifically drug related that would carry guns and carry drugs. *(Black Americans)* Richmond is a majority minority population. We targeted people that dealt drugs and carried weapons. 5 standard things also domestic violence, narcotics, felons, and two others. We had something that worked. We targeted illegal activity. We did not care if you were white. If your were white and doing it you were going to get locked up. If you were black and doing it your were going to get locked up. We the police department has some influence over what laws are created. We don't create the laws but we are darn sure that if it is violence related because of drugs and that common sense is going to dictate that then that is what we are targeting in this case. We are not targeting Billy Smith we are targeting Billy Smith's lifestyle. If it was in the suburbs it might be more white males doing it indoors. Doing it indoors we would not have the *(Gun homicide rate) and (Homicide victims)* horrible homicide rate that we have suffered through. *(Project Exile is not profiling)* I don't see this as profiling. If profiling an illegal activity is wrong then maybe

that is what we are doing. Profiling is based on an innocent person not people who are known to be selling drugs.

MLC What difficulties did you encounter when attempting to secure resources (funding, positions, etc.) for Project Exile.

MM None in the beginning. In the end we received massive donations from groups and the business community.

MLC In the beginning you worked Project Exile into your existing budget?

MM **(Richmond Police Department) and (RPD overtime costs) and (RPD Training)** Yes, it just required a little more overtime for court and training. It was process training mostly paperwork issues. Frontline troops are the only way the Exile will be successful. (RPD aggressiveness) We were going to be aggressive. We were going to get guns off the street and people bought in to that was the focus of training. This was the focus of the training. Mostly process changes.

MLC Did your organization have to change its way of communicating with other agencies to become a partner in the development and implementation of Project Exile?

MM Yeah, we had to be real careful with the **(Commonwealth Attorney's Office) and (Communication)** Commonwealth's Attorney's office because obviously in the beginning of Project Exile we were taking something away from them (cases). (Competition in law enforcement agencies) There was a lot of accusations about how come you are not capable of handling this or doing that and that was a sensitive issue that had to be handled appropriately. A lot of discussions between Jim and David and Jerry.

One thing about Richmond is that these guys know each other know each other well and the actual communications is vital in everything that we do. Even in recent light of the terrorist incidents you get to know who you are working with if you don't you are 6 months behind the 8 ball. That is one of the good things about Richmond. Anybody here can just call another person Richmond is not so big as to have those roadblocks. Project Exile is our mission. Our mission is to engage our community. The citizens play the role of following these cases through to identify problem areas and follow through and attend court so that people get punishment.

MLC Did supporting Project Exile go along with you agency's mission?

MM Certainly

MLC Where there any major internal organizational conflicts that took place during the development through the actual development of the project?

MM No, a lot of the issues were process issues. Mostly the reports. The other side of this is the firearms coordinator John Brooks he tracks the firearms and that was something new for the officers there awareness on reports everything gets examined.

MLC Were more positions needed in your organization because of its participation in the development and implementation of Project Exile? What types of positions did your organization request or actually add?

MM **(New Jobs because of Exile)** We created a unit that we could free up from responding to calls for service. We need a group that could go out and get these things. We came up with our RMT rapid mobilization team. One of their focuses was to respond to different areas. There was some retooling of the organization at that time of the implementation. Each precinct has Community response teams CRTs they are uniformed drug units and they are charged among other things with going out and hitting these corners and finding the guns. We needed to have a group a people to just do this all the

time. A lot of search warrants. The Swat Team is only used for real threatening situations.

MLC What new technological requirements did your organization have to learn to perform its role as a Project Exile partner? Did this include data sharing?

MM None yet. (***RPD firearms administrator***) Except for the firearms administrator on board. The firearms report is a new data sharing system developed by the ATF that was use.

IACP International association chiefs of police Weber Seavy award and Project Exile won that award in 2000

Appendix F: The Philosophical Foundations of Weapons Control (Insight Into the Historical Complexity and Racial Issues of this Policy Area)

In the spirit of James March, who beseeched public administration scholars to include more political philosophy in their research, this dissertation will provide an examination of the political philosophical foundations of weapons control. Doing so provides a historical context that will serve to facilitate a more thoughtful understanding of contemporary gun control policy subsystems such as Project Exile. Also, this endeavor assists in elucidating Project Exile's philosophical complexity and deep historical roots. This opening chapter will illustrate that the philosophic foundations, underlying the state utilization of weapons control, has ancient origins. In fact, intellectual debate on this topic has been ongoing for at least 2000 years. To delve into this topic, this section examines the Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions of the Greek citizenry's right to keep and bear arms, Cicero and Caesar's Roman philosophies of armed and disarmed populaces, the Machiavellian notion of freedom and the popular militia, seventeenth century absolutism versus republicanism, and eighteenth century liberal thought on weapons control. It should be noted that the historical overview section of this appendix was largely taken from the work of Stephen P. Halbrook. His insightful historical analysis of weapons control is the quintessential source for this information.

Historical Overview

The Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions of the Greek citizenry's arms bearing is strikingly different. In the Laws as in the Republic Plato advocates an authoritarian state with strict divisions among rulers, warriors, and workers in which the people's bearing of arms would function solely as a tool to perpetuate the status quo of the ruling elite. Plato

envisioned a polity that would use arms only to carry out the directives of the state regime. Conversely, Aristotle sharply criticized Plato's idea of an authoritarian regime and promoted the notion of a polity that included a large middle class that would allow each citizen to fulfill the duties of legislation, arms bearing, and working. In the Athenian Constitution, Aristotle wrote of the manner in which Peisistratus seized power through the disarmament of the Athenian citizenry. Aristotle also writes of the Thirty Tyrants who decided to disarm Theramenes and the citizenry to give themselves absolute power. However, the Thirty were eventually overthrown by armed refugees. Where Plato saw a stringent class division based upon three societal functions, Aristotle envisaged each citizen keeping and bearing arms and undertaking these three disparate functions as individuals (Halbrook, 1994, pp. 9-15).

Roman philosophy embodied significant lessons concerning the arming and disarming of their citizenry. Marcus Tullius Cicero, a lawyer, senator, and philosopher, was the great defender of the republican tradition of the citizenry's right to keep and bear arms for the provision of self-defense and to militate against governmental oppression and tyranny. Oppositely, Julius Caesar wrote of the disarmament of domestic and foreign people. Caesar was known for disarming his enemies in the Gallic wars, and during the Roman civil war Caesar promoted the levy and seizure of the private Roman arms. The use of the art of deception as a means of disarming the populace was a lesson that the Roman aggressors learned well from the Greek tyrants. Tullus Hostilius, the third Roman king, was able to raze the city of Alba after deceiving the Alban troops to lay down arms.

In Discourses on the first ten books of Titus Livy (1531), Niccolo Machiavelli draws heavily upon the Roman experience to illustrate the intricate relationship between arms and politics. Machiavelli states that a disarmed populace is subject to the precarious whims of *fortuna*, yet the armed citizenry possesses *virtu*. In his opinion, Princes have a propensity to degenerate into tyrants and the citizenry should have the right to take up arms against such demagogues. According to Machiavelli, Caesar's disarmament of the citizenry and development of a standing army served to impose slavery abroad and it also reaped slavery at home. Under Caesar, without the right to keep and bear arms the Roman citizenry lost their ability to check the empire's power, and this meant the end of civic virtue. Machiavelli writes of the evils of disarming a citizenry. In particular he mentions the Florentines, Venetians, and French as peoples that are despoiled by their rulers (Halbrook, 1994. pp. 14-20).

“This all comes from depriving the people of arms.....Such are the inconveniences, then, that arise from depriving your people of arms...for he who lives in the aforesaid way treats ill the subjects who reside within his domain” (Discourses, 1970, p.353, 354).

Seventeenth century absolutism versus republicanism pitted absolutists, such as Jean Bodin, Sir Robert Filmore, and Thomas Hobbes, against republicans such as Hugo Grotis, Algeron Sidney, and John Locke. Bodin and the absolutists saw the deprivation of arms among the lower classes as essential to maintaining the feudal status quo. The absolutists trusted the only the rulers with arms, and according to Bodin and his followers the absolute ruler must be ready to deprive the citizenry of arms to prevent insurrection and societal disruption. Conversely, Grotis relied heavily on the writings of Aristotle to support his proposition that everyone should be able to use arms to defend themselves

and to come to the aid of others in need of protection. Of great historical importance, John Locke held that ultimate sovereignty resides within the individual and his most significant contribution to the hearts and minds of Englishmen in 1688 and Americans in 1776 was that governmental tyranny should rightfully be opposed with arms in the same manner as illicit private aggression.

The question of arms possession by the citizenry was also prominent in eighteenth century political thought. Those advocating an armed populace and the dangers inherent in a standing army included John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, Jean Jacques Rousseau, James Burgh, and Adam Smith. Two of the American founding fathers, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, were heavily influenced by the anti-standing army writings of Trenchard and Gordon. Moreover, in The Social Contract (1762) Rousseau upheld Machiavellian republicanism and reflected upon the deleterious impact of standing armies upon the liberty of the Roman citizenry. In addition, in the Wealth of Nations Adam Smith rails against the standing army of Caesar and his disarmament of his subjects as precipitating the fall of the Roman republic.

In Britain, the tension between ancient customs and judicial decisions, which embodied English common law, and the statutes and royal proclamations that were the instruments of monarchial absolutism were representative of the conflict between the English commoners and the king. The issue over whether the commoner possessed any right to protect his property and person by the use of arms figured prominently into this conflict. One early instance of the deprivation of arms can be found in Henry the second's twelfth century Assize of Arms. It read "let no Jew keep in his possession a hauberk or an 'aubergel,' but let him sell or give them away or otherwise dispose of them

that they may remain in the king's service" (II English Historical Documents, p. 416). This action allowed a riotous mob to virtually annihilate a Jewish community at York. After the death of Henry II, King John attempted to disarm commoners and nobles alike and this led to the revolt of 1215 and the Magna Charta. Later, Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Charles II all sought to disarm the bourgeois and peasant classes, and British colonial policy in Ireland, Scotland, America was predicated upon disarming the indigenous populations. These three monarchs utilized game laws and monetary ownership requirements to selectively disarm certain "dangerous" segments of the population. In 1670, for the first time in English history, Charles II sought to deprive all peasant classes of firearms through legislation, and James II continued along this same path. This eventually led to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Englishman's Bill of Rights. This Bill of Rights contained one individual right provision and that was the right of protestants to petition and to carry arms in their defense. This notion of the individual's right to keep and bear arms was passed from English common law and the Englishman's Bill of Rights to the English settlers in North America. However, British legislation prohibiting the possession of arms by the Scottish and Irish continued to be passed well into the eighteenth century.

American Gun Control History and Important Supreme Court Cases

America's Founding Fathers understood well the importance of guns for the preservation of freedom, and there is strong agreement among constitutional scholars that the Second Amendment was intended to protect liberty, meaning life and property, for posterity. However, there has been exponential change since the ratification of the first ten amendments in 1791, and contemporaneously there is acrimonious debate over the

intent of the Second Amendment, as well as its twenty-first century relevance. This debate's main axiomatic point of contention is whether the right to keep and bear arms and organize militias is a collective right bequeathed to the states, or an individual right belonging to the people? Largely, this dichotomy has truncated the American discourse about weapons control, and it limits the conceptualization of alternative ways of "seeing" the gun control issue. An examination of the militia interpretation of the Second Amendment juxtaposed with state statutory action, and federal judicial interpretation is required to effect a better understanding of how this argument has limited the American gun control discourse.

As early as 1875, in *United States v. Cruikshank*, the Supreme Court held that the Second Amendment only restricts the power of the federal government to regulate militias, but it is silent on the power of the states.¹ Moreover in 1886, in *Presser v. Illinois*, the highest court of the land upheld the constitutionality of the enactment of state statutes involving the prohibiting of private paramilitary training.² The plaintiff, Presser, marched with an armed group and claimed to be independent of the organized state militia, and he was subsequently charged with violating a state statute prohibiting such activity. In this case, the Supreme Court held that the states have the power to regulate military associations in the interest of promoting public peace, safety, and order; and the Presser decision has proven to be the historical judicial precedent affirming that the power to regulate the militia is conferred upon state governments, and that individuals gathering in military association in contravention to state statutes can be constitutionally prosecuted.

¹ 92 U.S. 542, 553 (1875).

² 116 U.S. 252 (1886).

Moreover, *Hamilton v. Regents of the Univ. of Cal. (1934)* reinforces the *Presser* decision by proclaiming that every state has the authority to train, as well as, to determine the standards of fitness for their militia, and that the states are the sole judge of determining the means to be employed to effect this end.³

It is clear, therefore that the state has the power to regulate private militia. Thus, private individuals banding together under the guise of forming a militia and legally co-existing with the state regulated militia can be lawfully proscribed. It would be logical to conclude, therefore, that today's paramilitary organizations, which maintain no absolutely no affiliation with the state, can be constitutionally regulated. Paramilitary organizations will certainly assert, however, that their right to exist as a militia independent of the "state" militia, and free from government regulation, stems from their general right to bear arms granted by the Second Amendment. The Court has ruled otherwise, however, proclaiming that with regard to the militia, the state maintains the power to regulate the possession of arms" (Polesky, 1996, 1633-1634).

Notwithstanding the clear constitutional authority, of the states, to regulate militias, some private militia members still contend that their right to engage in weapons training is derived from their "individual rights" interpretation, of the Second Amendment, regardless of whether the states have the power to maintain a militia or not. This position, however, also fails to pass judicial scrutiny. In *United States v. Miller*, the Supreme Court held that unless an individual's possession of a gun has some "reasonable relationship" with the operation of a "well regulated" militia, the Second Amendment does not guarantee the right to keep and bear arms.⁴

Since it has already been established in *Presser v. Illinois* that the states, not individual citizens, are endowed with the power to establish militias, the members of private militias can not argue under the "reasonable relationship" standard that they have the right to keep and bear arms. For instance, in *United States v. Oakes*, the Tenth Circuit

³ 293 U.S. 245, 260 (1934).

⁴ 307 U.S. 174 (1939).

held that an individual's membership in the "Posse Comitatus," a private paramilitary militia group, did not constitute membership in the state militia, and therefore did not ensure one the right to "keep and bear arms". The Oakes court applied the Miller "reasonable relationship" standard, and held that despite the fact that a person is a militia member, by virtue of being a male of a certain age, this status does not confer Second Amendment rights upon that individual.⁵

The American gun control debate has been historically mired in this dichotomous individual versus state organized militia right to keep and bear arms, and this strong dichotomy limits the conceptualization of alternative ways of "seeing" the weapons policy issue. In both of these dichotomous forks the extreme picture of an armed citizenry overthrowing an illegitimate tyrannical government is painted, and without question this notion was fresh on the minds of the founders after their experience with King George III. However, with the advent of the twenty-first century and with the advent of social problems involving gun violence we as a nation must reexamine the notion of the right to keep and bear arms and determine what public policy options are Constitutional and morally appropriate. Before we are able to really examine Project Exile, we must be cognizant of America's historical public policy statutes, judicial decisions, and administrative decrees regarding gun control. Many of these have been blatantly racist.

Racism in American Gun Control Policies

The British settlers that populated North America were the heirs of over five centuries of English tradition concerning the control of weapons along class lines. Given the harshly brutal frontier conditions that faced the American colonial settlers, the English

⁵ 564 F.2d 384 (10th Cir. 1977), cert. denied, 435 U.S. 926 (1978).

class distinctions for the bearing of arms were jettisoned, and almost universally white men were required to keep and bear arms and perform militia related duties. However, there was another reason for white male armament: race.

“Britain’s American colonies were home to three often antagonistic races: red, white, and black. For the settlers of British North America, an armed and universally deputized white population was necessary not only to ward off dangers from the armies of other European powers, but also to ward off attacks from the indigenous population which feared the encroachment of English settlers on their lands. An armed white population was also essential to maintain social control over blacks and Indians who toiled unwillingly as slaves and servants in English settlements” (Cottrol, 1991, p. 6).

One example is the Virginia (1860) statute that prohibited slave and free blacks from carrying weapons including clubs. Another rather ironic example is that the colony of South Carolina, which happened to be the colony with the harshest slave codes and one of the only majority black populations, had among the most liberal black freedman weapons laws. These laws were adopted largely in an effort to secure the help of free blacks in the controlling of slaves. However, these South Carolinian freedman rights were eventually curtailed as the eighteenth century unfolded. Overall, colonial weapons control laws sought to maintain white supremacy and control, and the class distinctions that had existed in English weapon control policies were replaced by racial differentiation on the new continent.

Nearly one year after the ratification of the Second Amendment and the Bill of Rights, Congress passed the Uniform Militia Act that called for the enrollment of every *white* male citizen, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, into the militia. Some of the southern, as well as northern, states used this as precedent to forbid militia, and arms

bearing activities to blacks. However, racial distinctions and the use of arms became much sharper during the nineteenth century.

In the early nineteenth century, many of the southern states used the disarmament free blacks as a means of controlling slave rebellion and preserving the status quo. Presumably, the slave-owners had the ability to arm only the slaves that they trusted and this was not a substantive issue. One example of freedman disarmament is section eight of Florida's "An Act to Govern Patrols" (1825) that provided for the authority of white citizen patrols to "enter the into all Negro houses and suspected places, and search for arms and other offensive and improper weapons" (1825 Acts of Florida, pp. 52, 55). Furthermore, in December of 1831 the Virginia and Maryland legislatures entirely forbid free blacks from carrying arms.

In the north, racial tensions and riots, such as the Providence Snowtown riot of 1831, Providence Hardscrabble riot of 1824, and the Philadelphia riot of 1849, precipitated blacks to form independent militias for their own protection. However, after the Cincinnati riot of 1841 the northern authorities chose to disarm the black population and this left them vulnerable to attack without any recourse.

During the postbellum social order, the southern states enacted slave codes that either totally prohibited the possession of firearms by blacks or subjected them to stringent firearm licensing requirements. The adoption of the fourteenth amendment was aimed at ameliorating these black codes by ensuring that the Bill of Rights was applicable to the states, yet several Supreme Court decisions served to preserve the power structure of pre-war federalism. Most saliently, in *United States v. Cruikshank*, the Supreme Court held that the Federal government had no power to protect citizens against private action that

deprived them of their constitutional rights. The defendant, Cruikshank, was charged with the disarmament of two black men, and the Court's refusal to expand the role of the federal government in *Cruikshank* forced Blacks to look for state protection against violations of their rights. Undoubtedly, this gave a green light to private forces that sought to subjugate former slaves and their descendents. The rest of the story is well known, and this case helped to give rise to the Jim Crow era.

In the early twentieth century, states such as Alabama and Texas attempted to price handguns out of reach of poor whites and blacks by placing extremely heavy business and other transactional taxes on firearms. However, the most prominent race based firearm control legislation of the twentieth century was the Gun Control Act of 1968.

“The Gun Control Act of 1968 was black control rather than gun control. According to Sherrill, Congress was so panicked by the ghetto riots of 1967 and 1968 that it passed the act to shut off weapons access to blacks, and since they (Congress) probably associated cheap guns with ghetto blacks and thought that cheapness was particularly the characteristic of imported military surplus and the mail-order traffic, they decided to cut those off while leaving over-the-counter purchases open to the affluent” (Tonso, 1985, p. 23).

There is continued interest in this area of research among contemporary scholars interested in the use of weapons control as a means of social repression. Although Richmond, Virginia's Project Exile has received overwhelming support from numerous sources, including the diametrically opposed National Rifle Association and Sarah Brady's Handgun Control Incorporated, some voices of dissent have been marginalized and are being drowned out in this policy arena. Some of these voices argue that gun control policies such as Project Exile have a disparate impact on black defendants (e.g. Tonso, 1985; Cottrol and Dimond, 1991; and Kopel, 1992).

For example, racism and selective gun control prosecution is an issue that Project Exile has brought to the surface in Richmond. An African American attorney named David P. Bough, who represented a Project Exile defendant named Chad Ramon Jones, claimed that authorities use Project Exile to avoid trying black defendants before mostly black Richmond juries because in the Federal system the majority of jurors, who are summoned from all over central Virginia, are overwhelmingly white. Bough argued that his client has been denied due process because his case was moved from the Richmond Circuit Court to Federal Court. However, another leading African American attorney, who happens to be the Commonwealth Attorney for the City of Richmond, named David Hicks, has stated that “no purpose either express or otherwise of Project Exile is to either disproportionately prosecute minorities or to avoid Richmond Juries for the prosecution of those offenders ...the purpose is to reduce the number of people who carry guns on city streets” (Cambell, p. A17, 1999). In this particular case, three U.S. Judges found that Project Exile did not violate Jone’s right to equal protection. This does not mean that the challenges to Project Exile are over however. This is just another twist on the first top-down goal insight that was offered in the body of the dissertation. Instead of being seen as the benevolent public administrators striving for a laudable goals, this perspective paints the program as malevolent and discriminatory. It seems as whether the top-down or bottom up goals are sensible depends on with whom researchers are talking and where the researcher himself is sitting. O’Toole’s admonition is yet another example of the social construction of reality.

In an attempt to deconstruct the current overwhelmingly laudatory discourse concerning Project Exile and to amplify the voices of dissent, future research could make

use of the Collins Model and Anne Schneider and Helen Ingram's notion of "target populations." According to Schneider and Ingram:

Targeting people for punishment is much more prevalent in public policy than is often acknowledged...Political leaders have much to gain from punishing those who lack power and who are constructed as deviant...Such powerless groups offer easy scapegoats for societal problems, and policies directing punishment at such groups offer straightforward evidence of government control and power. The political opportunities offered by powerless people with negative images who are constructed as deviants are surprisingly similar to those of advantaged groups, except that deviants receive punishment whereas advantaged people receive subsidies and favorable regulations...the highly predictable popularity of tough criminal justice statutes is a vivid illustration of the political attractiveness of punishment directed at powerless, negatively viewed groups...Federal criminal justice policy in the United States has expanded over the past century to cover a wide range of offenses, especially drug offenses, justifying an enormous increase in federal expenditures for law enforcement. Federal mandatory sentencing has resulted in sentences so harsh that virtually all federal and state judges are opposed to them (1997, p. 121).

Future research should strive to determine if the black City of Richmond residents are in fact a "target population." The equal prosecution component of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution, reinforced by the Fourteenth Amendment protection clause, forbids the selective or discriminatory prosecution of defendants based upon arbitrary classifications such as race. Federal prosecutors from the Eastern District of Virginia have implemented Project Exile to aggressively enforce federal firearms statutes in Richmond with an urban population consisting substantially of black citizens.

These same statutes, however, are rarely enforced in more rural areas of the Eastern District of Virginia. This geographic variance means that defendants charged with firearms offenses in the outlying areas of the Eastern

district of Virginia, who are more likely to be Caucasian, evade federal prosecution under identical and equally applicable statutes for identical conduct. Additionally, the record is that approximately ninety percent of the Project Exile defendants are African-American. Accordingly, there is little doubt that Project Exile has a disparate impact on African-American defendants (United States of America v. Chad Ramon Jones Memorandum Opinion, 1999).

It is important to realize that there are alternative voices addressing this public policy issue that deserve to be heard. Andrew Hacker's book, Two Nations: Black and White Separate, Hostile, and Unequal, contains a chapter on "Crime: the role race plays," and it is a good starting point for investigating the concept of selective law enforcement. Another controversial and disparate view is promoted by William R. Tonso. He states that "blacks and minorities, who would be prevented from defending themselves are likely to be harmed most by legislation proposed by Handgun Control Inc. and other proponents of strict handgun controls" (1985, p. 25). Kopel states that "as the federal district court in Washington D.C. noted, 'Saturday Night Special' laws selectively disarm minorities, who, because of their poverty, must live in crime-ridden areas" (1992, p.123). Finally, Cottrol and Diamond (1991) contend that a "case can be made that a society with a dismal record of protecting people has a dubious claim on the right to disarm them...self-defense is also a civil right" (p. 22). Perhaps, future researchers will be able to use the Collins Model to better understand the Project Exile policy subsystem. Then they could combine the Collins Model with the lens of Schneider and Ingram's "target populations" and allow this lens to serve as a corrective to bring these blurry and unrecognized alternative perspectives into focus.

This political philosophical overview, albeit extremely limited, should assist in facilitating a more thoughtful understanding of contemporary gun control policies such as Project Exile. As history has shown, there are often dominant and marginal voices in weapons control debates, and a historical overview is necessary to understand contemporary efforts to control firearms. It would have been extremely interesting to analyze the policy subsystems that arose during the Hellenistic era, the Medieval period, and even those in the American colonies. Perhaps of even more interest to a scholar in American Public Administration would be the ability to study the subsystems that arose during the colonial period of American history. To scholars interested in race and social policy, those subsystems that coagulated after the Civil War that sought to deliberately disarm and disenfranchise African Americans would surely be of interest.

Appendix G: Quotes that have inspired the writing of this dissertation:

Policy subsystems can be characterized by networks of actors, the substantive policy domain with which they are concerned, and various modes of decision making...Subsystems are decentralized power structures with predictable informal communication patterns among participants who come primarily from interest groups, members and staffs of congressional committees and subcommittees, bureau and agency personnel in the executive branch, and other policy specialists from universities, state and local governments, and specialized media.

James A. Thurber, "Political Power and Policy Subsystems in American Politics"

The night of the broken glass (Kristallnacht)—the infamous Nazi rampage against Germany's Jews—took place in November, 1938. It was preceded by the confiscation of firearms from the Jewish victims. "The Berlin Police President, Count Wolf Heinrich von Helldorf, announced that as a result of a police activity in the last few weeks the entire Jewish population of Berlin been 'disarmed' with the confiscation of 2,569 hand weapons, 1,702 firearms, and 20,000 rounds of ammunition. Any Jews still found in possession of weapons without valid licenses are threatened with the severest of punishment."

"The New York Times", November 9, 1938, 24.

"Then to be sure, the people will learn what sort of creature it has bred and nursed to greatness in its bosom, until now the child is too strong for the parent to drive it out. Do you mean that the despot will dare to lay hands on this father of his and beat him if he resists? Yes, when once he has disarmed him.

Plato, The Republic

As the federal district court in Washington D.C., noted, "Saturday Night Special" laws selectively disarm minorities, who, because of their poverty, must live in crime-ridden areas.

Kopel, The Samurai, the Mountie, and the Cowboy

The people's right to have their own arms was based on the philosophical writings of the greatest intellectuals of the past two thousand years.

Stephen P. Halbrook, That Every Man Be Armed

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