

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

"The Meaning of Life is to See"

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As stated previously, Giddens Theory of Structuration assumes that all organizations are social constructs or systems, composed of social agents, operating within values and principles, which are defined by social interactions. (Giddens, 1982) It is also assumed that social agents are knowledgeable about their environment, and able to articulate, on a conscious level, the reasons why they are choosing to act in a certain way. (Giddens, 1979) Based on the above assumptions, it is concluded that an understanding of the processes of creation, maintenance, and transformation within a policy subsystem, using Giddens theory, can only be obtained through an analysis of the social agents perspectives on the process.

But perspective on a process is also related to where the social agent is located within the field of interaction. (Giddens, 1984) Thus a policy subsystem which involves the interaction between both the public administrative sector and the private administrative sector presents two distinctly different perspectives from which issues are observed. In addition, membership in organizations, and location within those organizations, also affects the perspective of both the issues and the proposed solutions that are advanced by either side of the policy subsystem.

Conventional policy analysis techniques, which rely almost exclusively on quantitative econometric models that measure the distribution of benefits across a policy subsystem, would be of little or no value in measuring change and transformation of both beliefs and perspectives of the social agents involved in the policy subsystem. Analysis of values requires, instead, the application of models which are qualitative in nature rather than quantitative.

In developing a qualitative method for analysis, though, researchers must first define what are the elements and variables that will reveal the interactions which compose the nature of the system's dynamics, and then relate these variables to an analytical model that connects elements and variables to process. Fortunately, Giddens has carefully outlined these elements, and their possible interconnection to process. I will first list what these elements are, and then discuss possible methods which may be employed to reveal both beliefs and process.

<p>ELEMENTS OF AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR A STRUCTURATIONAL ANALYSIS OF A POLICY SUBSYSTEM</p>
<p>FOCUS OF ANALYSIS</p> <p>Institutional Analysis Elements of Structuration TO Principles of Structure Front Region - Public Aspects</p> <p>Strategic Analysis Reflexive Monitoring of Actions TO Principles of Structures Back Region TO Private Aspects</p>
<p>TRANSFORMATION</p> <p>Social Agents - Search Strategy</p> <p>Tools</p> <p>Resources - Authoritative/Human : Allocative/Non-Human</p> <p>Knowledge - Discursive : Practical</p> <p>Power</p> <p>Intended Consequences - Unintended Consequences</p>
<p>LEVELS OF CONSCIOUSNESS</p> <p>Discursive - Normative/Rules & Procedures</p> <p>Practical - Daily Routinization</p>
<p>UNITS OF ANALYSIS</p> <p>Structural Principles</p> <p>Structures</p> <p>Elements of Structures</p>
<p>ELEMENTS OF ANALYSIS</p> <p>Historical Principles</p> <p>Current Value Orientations</p> <p>Structural Practices</p> <p>Rationalizations</p>

(Giddens, 1984)

The first step in this process is defining what it is we are looking for, in other words what is the end result we are seeking of this research process. Structurational analysis is primarily interested in discovering how beliefs and formal structures, in any system of human interaction, create and reify each other, and, ultimately, are transformed over time. (Giddens, 1984) It seeks to achieve this end by locating and examining three primary units of analysis. The first is Structural Principles, and refers to the collective understanding shared between the members of the policy subsystem as to how and why the system exists. The second unit of analysis is referred to as Structures, and outlines both the basis for legitimacy and authority within the subsystem, and the distribution of resources and power across the subsystem. The final unit of analysis is the Elements of Structures, which refers to the institutional features which compose the organizational structure of the policy subsystem.

Located within these three primary units of analysis are two levels of individual and collective consciousness. (Giddens, 1984) The first level of consciousness is Discursive, and refers to the normative foundations that shape both the rules and procedures used within the policy subsystem. The second level of consciousness is Practical, and is concerned with the patterns and techniques of the daily routinization of individual and collective practice.

By determining what are the Structural Principles within the policy subsystem, and the levels of Discursive and Practical Knowledge that is applied within the subsystem, one is able to locate the processes of reification between the collective individual beliefs within the policy subsystem, and the formal structures that are created to sustain and oversee the policy subsystem - what Giddens refers to as the Duality of Structure.

When one examines the policy analysis literature for existing methodologies that might be applied to a case model seeking to reveal Giddens primary units of analysis, a researcher quickly discovers that the majority of proposed methodologies avoid the issue of underlying value orientations manifested within a policy debate. (Soloman, 1989: Wilson, 1985: Lowi, 1964: Hofferbert, 1974)

To a great extent, this avoidance of value assumptions reflects a desire, on the part of policy analysts and researchers, to legitimate policy sciences as a "science" grounded in mathematically based rational models, which are touted as having the capacity to achieve accuracy in predicting future outcomes. This "instrumental" approach to assessing future results is a fundamental legitimating principle within the field of policy sciences. The principle serves two functional purposes. The first purpose relates to the actual analysis, and credentializes the policy analysts as an "expert" whose opinion has authority. In essence it elevates the findings of the policy analysts within a policy debate, and weights the analysts opinion and "voice" above other individuals seeking to influence the decision-making process. The second purpose relates to the political agents involved in the policy process, and allows them to add authority to their position by claiming outside, neutral evidence grounded in "science". (Kingdon, 1973)

In both cases, the claim is made that the underlying assumptions framing the analysis are based on proven laws of science (mathematics, economics, natural sciences, etc.), and are, therefore, irrefutable. Differences in findings are attacked based on the claim that the analyst's methodologies contain errors in either data or methods. Since this type of attack strikes to the very core of the analyst's reputation, and subsequent employment, arguments ensue over whose methods and data are correct. These arguments are quickly used by political actors to either attack or defend their pre-existing positions. (Jenkins-Smith, 1988)

To a great extent, policy analysis methods are focused on the process of defending conclusions, and refining techniques in such a way that the policy analysts findings are further "legitimated". What is being avoided in this process is any examination of the underlying construction of assumptions which frame the methods of analysis. But it is exactly this area of underlying assumptions which structural analysis seeks to reveal.

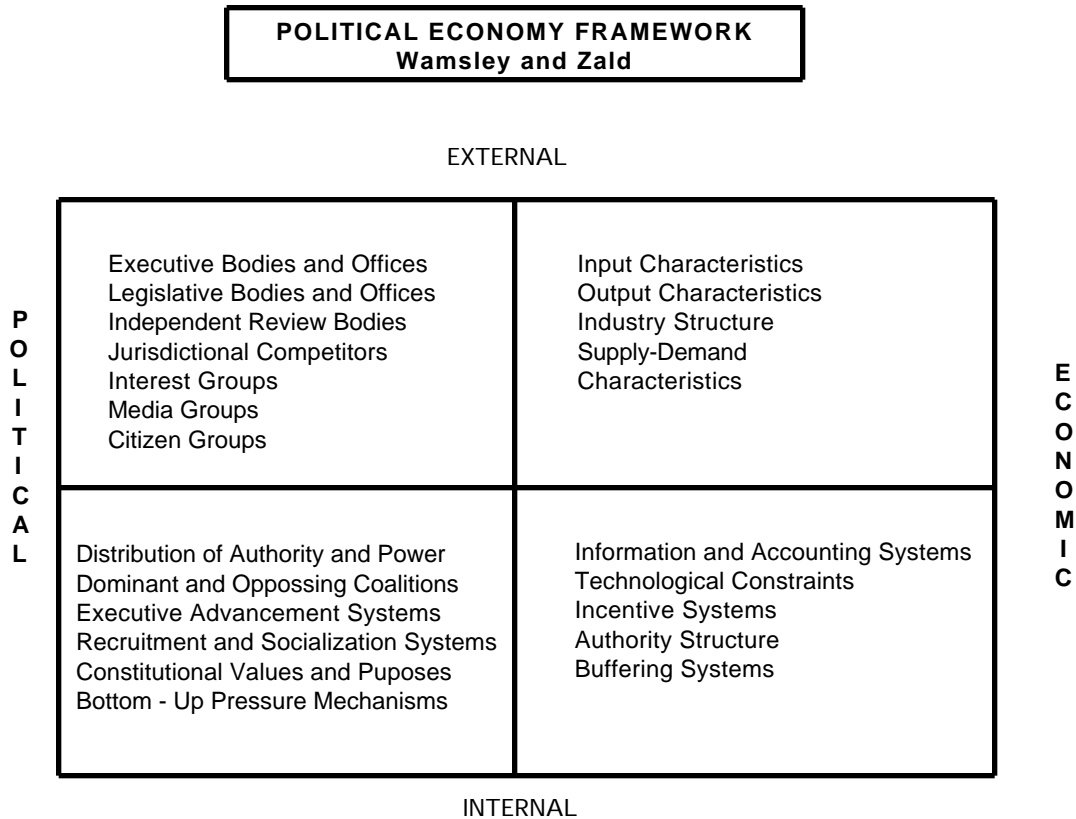
In order to reveal these underlying principles, an analytical framework must first be constructed in which the policy subsystem can be placed, and then examined in terms of actions and processes. The framework for initial analysis must be able to reveal not only what actions and processes are occurring, but also the rationales for actions which are being used by the various members within the policy subsystem, and the types of structural forms that are constructed as a result of such actions. In order to achieve this initial goal, a first level of analysis should be conducted that utilizes an Institutional focus rather than a belief focus.

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

Translating the "theory of structuration" to the area of institutional analysis requires some adaptation of existing, and compatible, theoretical frameworks within public administration theory. This adaptation requires identifying those theoretical frameworks which share some similar

conceptual views of the policy and organizational structuring processes, and which would be enhanced in their explanatory power by the inclusion of the principles of structuration theory. The most likely candidate for this adaptation is the Political Economy framework of Wamsley and Zald (1976).

The Political Economy Framework



Wamsley and Zald's political economy framework draws heavily on organizational analysis theories which include both processes and beliefs. It emphasizes this approach because this type of political economy framework views organizations as integrated social systems in which processes are linked across the system, but contained within the processes are both normative and functional values which relate to the operational and administrative structuring of the system.

In the political economy framework, structure and process are represented by the two terms used in its nomenclature; namely political and economy. Political represents the basis for legitimacy, and the distribution of power. Both factors affect an organization's function, goals, and means of work. In addition, the political also involves the general perception of the propriety of the organization's existence, and the relation of the organizational goals to the goals of dominant elites.

Economy refers to the physical arrangement of both labor and resources. Task accomplishment, means of production, and efficiency, are the main issues within this arena, and are focused on the specific output of the organization.

The relationship between the political and economic aspects of an organization form the basis for analyzing both the internal and external elements which affect the development and operation of public agencies.

An organization's political economy can be conceptualized as being divided into internal and external frameworks. The external framework refers to the organization's interaction with its external environment. The external environment is composed of "users", "suppliers", interested "others", and disinterested "others". The organization, combined with these "others", make up the policy subsystem which determines the "conditions of existence" in which the agency either thrives or withers.

Across the spectrum of "others" are varying levels of sentiment either for or against the agency, and varying power resources available to individual actors. Policy actors apply varying levels of resources into the policy subsystem in order to affect actions taken within the subsystem. Policy actors decisions to affect the subsystem are based on: their willingness to engage the process; their skill and mastery at manipulating the process; their level of sentiment in support or opposition to the either the policy matter, or to the relations that may develop between the policy agency and other policy subsystem actors. At the same time that these "others" are applying resources to influence actions within the policy subsystem, policy actors within the organization are also consciously attempting to manipulate resources in order to: avoid controversy; buffer the effects of both contingencies and implementations; and seeking to institutionalize a balance of interests in the favor of the agency. This "dual" process leads to political exchanges between both the external and internal environments.

The degree and level of political exchange is affected by five dimensions. The first dimension is the level of either ambiguity or clarity related to the goals of the organization. The second dimension is the level of surveillance by superiors or external actors over the operation of the agency. The third dimension is the degree in which the organization's Statutory charge is linked to core values in the political culture. The fourth dimension is the extent to which external control mechanisms affect resource allocation within the agency and its programs. The fifth dimension is the level of external support and influence available to the organization from the policy subsystem.

The internal political framework refers to the institutionalized structure of the agency, and the authority, power, and values that undergird its sense of self-identity. Within the agency or organization exists a sense of pursuing higher level values: "commonwealth values". This overall sense of "mission" generates a concept of a higher purpose which is unintentionally and intentionally fostered within the agency. This is ultimately reflected, internally, in four functional strategies within the organization.

The first of these strategies is the development of an "ethos" which defines the agency's mission in relation to the "higher" purpose. The second is the development of boundary-spanning units that are charged with surveillance of the environment, and early warning of changes that may be occurring. The third is the recruitment and socialization of personnel with qualities that will maintain and foster the goals and values of the agency. The fourth is the shifting and balancing of resources to maintain goal stability and equilibrium.

The extent and manner in which the above four functions and strategies can be achieved is dependent, though, on the internal political structure of the agency, and the constraints that exist within that structure. Constraints within the structure have five relevant dimensions.

The first of these constraints is referred to as "Constitutions". Constitutions, both written and unwritten, consists of the basic norms and conceptions of what are the legitimate purposes and ways of using power to achieve ends. In addition to spelling-out what is proper action, these also define with whom and where authority resides, what are the relationships between subordinates and superiors, the focus of collective action, and the degree and level of discretion allowed in taking action.

The second constraint is "Goal Consensus". This refers to the values and agreements between the dominant coalition within the organization as to the direction and purpose of the ends that are being sought by the organization.

The third dimension is "Unity of Authority". This relates to the authority structure of the organization, and the degree of cohesion within that structure between the various levels of the organization.

The fourth dimension is "Sub-Unit Power", and relates to the patterns of power dispersal within the organization, and their ability to shape the direction, goals, and functions of the overall organization.

The fifth dimension is the process of socialization and succession within the organization, and refers to the formal and informal ways in which persons are not only brought into the organization, but also advance to the highest levels of authority and power within the agency.

Ultimately, the four analytical frameworks that are developed - internal political, external political, internal economy, external economy - provide a holistic view of the processes and linkages which compose the entire organizational dynamics within the policy subsystem. Combined together, the four frameworks also reveal the linkages between structure and process within the policy subsystem from the focal point of a public agency nested within a larger policy subsystem.

The "Duality" of the Political Economy Framework

Both Giddens' "Theory of Structuration" and Wamsley's and Zald's Political Economy Framework share points of mutual agreement.

The first point of agreement is that organizations are social systems. Wamsley and Zald see these social systems as both processes and functions that are linked, across the system, to the structure of the organization, and contain within them a normative value, or values, that are defined and reinforced by the executive cadre of the organization. The values and ethos of the organization are institutionalized within the structure of the organization by the executive cadre. The executive cadre exhibits consciousness, they are cognitively aware of what they are doing, why they are doing it, and what they expect to be achieved by their actions. There exists rational intention on their part, and a reflexivity and feedback based on the analysis of their actions and the responses they receive from both the internal and external environments that compose the policy subsystem.

Giddens would agree that Wamsley and Zald have identified critical elements in the process, but would take the process one step further by adding the reflexive nature of structuration - something only implicit within Wamsley and Zald's framework. To Giddens, like Wamsley and Zald, strategic action by social agents must be framed within social practices and knowledge that are institutionalized over both time and space, forming a societal totality that is recognized by the collective. As stated earlier, this is Giddens concept of "Mutual Knowledge", and contains the

elements of both "Semantic" and "Normative" understanding. Only in this manner can practices be recognized as 'proper' and 'legitimate', and accepted by the collective.

A second point of agreement involves the process for action. Under Wamsley and Zald's view of the political economy process, the various elements involved in defining of the organization's 'structure' are seen as both 'constraints' and 'opportunities'. They are factors which knowledgeable agents must be aware of in order to assess appropriate courses of action. These agents bring to bear resources, power, surveillance, and administrative skills, with varying levels of success, upon problems critical to the continued existence of the organization. Giddens would support this view, defining this area as one in which such factors both 'constrain' and 'enable' social agents simultaneously. Once again, power, resources, and skills are directed consciously at the social system with the intention of either maintaining stability or enabling change.

To Giddens, all social life contains a recursive nature that is mutually dependent on both the structure and social agents interaction. Thus structure forms personality, and personality forms structure. Yet in spite of this recursive process, individual social agents are not Pavlovian animals. Individual social agents always possess the ability to direct resources, power, and skills at the social system, and affect change, at a conscious level. Wamsley and Zald would agree with this assessment, and emphasis that this is one of the critical areas for development within the executive cadre.

In the end, we find that both Giddens' "Theory of Structuration", and Wamsley and Zald's "Political Economy Framework", with its iterative dimensions, share a common orientation and view toward the development, maintenance, and change of organizations and social systems. Giddens' theory reaches to the deepest levels of social interaction and life, while Wamsley and Zald's concepts specify the elements of this interaction which manifest themselves in those organizations that are defined as "public".

Wamsley and Zald define "political economy" as "the interrelation between a political system (a structure of rule) and an economy (a system for producing and exchanging goods and services). Under their framework, a description of the political economy should contain four elements: the component elements of the system, the polity encompassing its membership, the economy of the allocation of resources used to produce and exchange goods and services, and the points of intersection between the political and economy.

In order to facilitate this description, analysis of the political economy should contain the following elements. The political should contain both the elements of power and the values (ends) for which the power is used. This is accomplished by analyzing both the ethos or values of the political system, and the power structure within the system (both internal and external).

What Wamsley and Zald define as Political, is similar to three concepts defined by Giddens: discursive consciousness, power, and authoritative resources. To Giddens, discursive consciousness reflects our understandings of why things exist, especially in terms of the patterns of our organizational and personal lives. These understandings form the basis for our ability to articulate and rationalize why power and resources are allocated in specific ways, and the underlying justifications for legitimating such distributions. In Wamsley and Zald's External and Internal Political framework we find similar concepts for justifying and rationalizing the dispersion of authority and influence across a policy subsystem, and within the specific public agency under study.

Another area of similarity between Giddens and Wamsley and Zald is found in their distinctions between resources used within a policy subsystem. Giddens divides resources into two categories: authoritative and allocative. Authoritative resources are non-material in form, and involved in the generation of Power. These types of resources are derived from their capacity to harness the activities of other human beings, and to direct them based on a pre-existing, agreed upon patterns of domination. The justification for the use of such resources and power is grounded in the same types of constitutional, legal, and ethos values as defined by Wamsley and Zald in both the External and Internal Political frameworks.

The economic analysis defines the system for producing the goods and services that are the output of the subsystem. This level of analysis contains a statement of the goods and services produced, their quantities, and methods of production. In addition, it further examines the mechanisms, rules, and institutions that shape and influence the exchange of goods and services on the boundary of the organization.

Wamsley and Zald's definitions of External and Internal Economics also share similarities with Giddens definitions of practical consciousness, knowledge, and allocative resources. To Giddens, practical consciousness expresses the process of how things are done. At this level of consciousness, things are done in a routine manner based on previous socialization, and are often not examined in terms of trying to express, at a conscious level, why a specific pattern is being followed. They are the day to day activities we engage in without, generally, reflecting on either the way the process is being done, or the underlying reasons why the process was originally constructed. This is very similar to Wamsley and Zald's framework for the elements within the External and Internal Economic framework, which, in essence, is composed of the instrumental methods and procedures used both externally and internally to implement policy decisions, and to sustain equilibrium within the organization.

Giddens also shares a similar view with Wamsley and Zald over the nature of the resources found within the external and internal economic framework. To Giddens, these type of non-human resources, money, methods of resource transformation, economic procedures for supply and demand, are defined as Allocative Resources, and are composed of human artifacts that are grounded in Knowledge of how and why things are reproduced in the society on an on-going basis. This is the level of instrumental implementation, and the area of daily practices of life.

In addition to a similar orientation toward the nature of resources, consciousness, power, and knowledge, Giddens and Wamsley and Zald share similarities in terms of the underlying nature of the components found within the political economy framework.

To Giddens, structure refers to the institutionalized features (structural properties) of societies. Structure, again, contains the three previously defined concepts or elements: Structural Principles, Structures, and Elements of Structure. Wamsley and Zald have a similar construction of these principles, but from a slightly different angle of analysis; namely the perspective of a public agency.

The components of the Internal Political framework, for the most part, reflect a series of underlying beliefs, from the agency's perspective, of how and why the organization and the policy subsystem exist. While the perspective is somewhat subjective, based on the agency's view of the world, these concepts, still, frame the reasons for existence, and thus conform, generally, to Giddens definitions of Structural Principles.

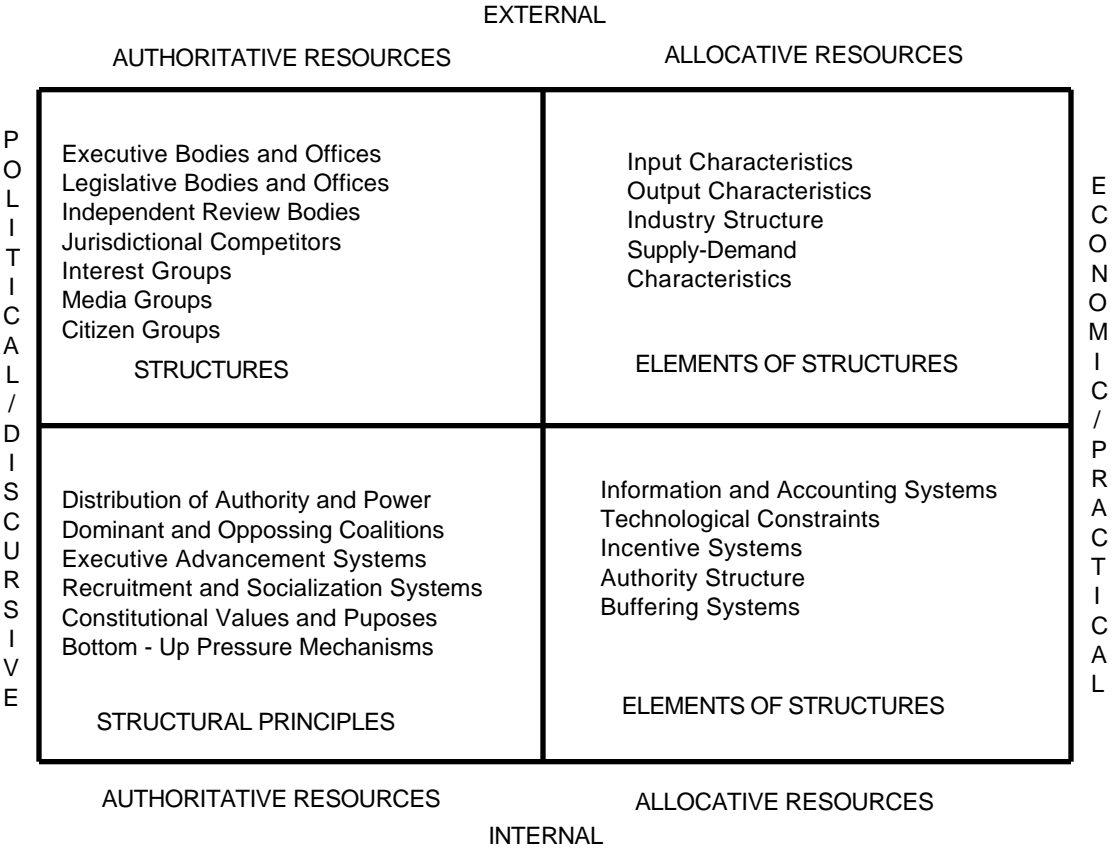
The External Political framework contains many of the formal elements and groups that have been given both legitimacy and resources within the policy subsystem. While these allocations of power and resources often have been defined by external organizations and values, from the perspective of the agency, and its set of underlying Structural Principles, these External Political factors are often the units for the distribution of resources and power necessary for the agency to fulfill its internal structural principles, and thus, again from the subjective viewpoint of the agency, are the equivalent of Giddens Structures.

Both the External and Internal Economic frameworks contain the methods and procedures necessary to carry out the implementation of the agency's Structural Principles. While the Internal Economic framework focuses on the agency's processes, these processes must be linked to the External Economic processes in order for there to be an end result that fulfills both decisions and values previously decreed within the Structural Principles and Structures.

It is possible to utilize Wamsley and Zald's Political Economy framework as a model for analyzing Giddens concept of the "duality of structure", but a slight adjustment must be made to the focus on the agency perspective. Since we are seeking to locate the structural principles that also define the boundary between the public and the private spheres of a policy subsystem, and the processes whereby this boundary is adjusted and transformed over time, within each of the four frames of analysis must also be included the perspective of the private side engaged in the policy subsystem plus the public side. Since both the political and economic systems inter-penetrate at the level of both the public and private organizations, analysis of the political and economic perspectives of both sides of the subsystem would reveal both structure and process undergirding the policy subsystem as a totality, and yet still retain a focus on the agency relationship to the policy subsystem. In order to do this, the researcher must link the above mentioned concepts of Giddens, to the fields defined by Wamsley and Zald, within the modified model. Such a linkage would appear as follows:

**INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF A POLICY
SUBSYSTEM**

**Modification of Wamsley and Zald's Political
Economy Model**



Once the political economy analysis has been completed, it is possible to extract from the analysis the underlying beliefs that form the structural principles referred to be Giddens. Only a handful of policy scholars have sought to examine the nature of these types of assumptive belief structures. One policy scholar who has sought to directly address this level of analysis is Paul Sabatier.

BELIEF ANALYSIS

SABATIER'S STRUCTURE OF BELIEF SYSTEMS
OF POLICY ELITES

	Deep Core	Near Core	Secondary Aspects
Definition	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms and the basic strategies for	Fundamental policy positions concerning researches	Instrumental decisions and information necessary to implement policy core.
Scope	Part of basic personal philosophy. Applies to all policy areas.	Applies to policy area of interest.	Specific to policy/ subsystem of interest.
Change	Very difficult: akin to a religious conversion.	Difficult, but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies.	Moderately easy: topic of most administrative and legislative policy.
Components	The nature of man. The nature of society. Ultimate personal and social values. Nature of justice. Individual good. Collective good.	Proper scope of government. Distribution of authority. Critical social groups. Perceived threats. Levels of public participation Ability to solve problem.	Administrative rules. Budget allocations. Legal interpretations. Program performance. Seriousness of problem.

Sabatier has developed a typology for analysis of a policy subsystem based upon three levels of beliefs manifested within the policy system and process. The units of analysis toward which the typology is actually applied are the individuals engaged in the specific policy subsystem.

Deep Core Beliefs/Structural Principles

Under Sabatier's typology, there are three levels of belief systems that are manifested by policy elites within a policy subsystem. The first level is defined as Deep Core beliefs. At this level, individuals hold fundamental normative and ontological beliefs which reflect part of their basic personal philosophy. Such beliefs include the nature of man, ultimate values such as freedom, security, and power, and a basic orientation toward the concept of social and individual justice. (Sabatier, 1988)

Sabatier's concept of Deep Core Beliefs, in many ways, is similar to Giddens concept of Structural Principles. At the level of Structural Principles we are dealing, again, with normative and ontological beliefs manifested within social agents. These are bedrock beliefs that frame the nature of our understanding of how and why things exist, and construct our view of a sense of fairness, justice, and personal integrity. (Giddens, 1984) The difference between Sabatier and Giddens, though, lies at the point of the unit of analysis. In Sabatier view the unit of analysis is the individual, in Giddens view it is the collective.

Sabatier aggregates individual Core Beliefs, summing the majority areas of agreement, to define the basic Core Beliefs within the Policy subsystem. Giddens, on the other hand, focuses on the interaction between various individual's core beliefs, and their modification and adjustment over time, to form a collective Core Belief. In order to apply Sabatier's methodology to Giddens concept of Structural Principles, one would be required to take Sabatier one further step, namely a historical analysis of collective agreement and adjustment over time in collective Core Belief development.

While the differences in the approach to the unit of analysis may, on the surface level, appear rather minor, in fact there is a fundamental "Core/Structural Belief/Principle" being manifested even at this level of framing underlying analytical assumptions. Under Sabatier's view, Core Beliefs, however they are developed, are fixed within the individual, and are unchangeable. Giddens, on the other hand, proposes that Structural Principles within the individual are the result of a continuous process of social interaction and socialization, and are therefore changeable through the process of social existence. Thus to apply Giddens concepts to Sabatier's methodology would require shifting the analysis to include external forces or events occurring on a broader social level that are impacting on policy subsystem member's individual and collective understanding of social reality; even at the most fundamental levels of human values.

Near Core Beliefs/Structures

The second level of Sabatier's typology is defined as Near Core Beliefs. Under Sabatier's definition, this level of belief is an extension of the values held within the Deep Core Belief structure of the individual, but is focused on a specific policy area of interest. At this level of belief, policy positions are developed, and strategies for achieving one's position are created. Examples of Near Core Beliefs are the proper scope of government, the perceived legitimate distribution of authority within the policy subsystem, and the appropriate level of public participation and expertise that should be allowed within the policy discussion. (Sabatier, 1988)

Giddens second level of beliefs, Structures, is similar to Sabatier's Near Core Beliefs, but contains some subtle meanings which could poise critical problems in resolving the two approaches. To Giddens, Structures refer to the collective understanding that has been achieved previously under the process of developing Structural Principles. Because there has been an agreement reached within the collective about how and why the system exists, there now follows an actual distribution of power and resources to institutions and individuals who have been empowered by the collective understanding with both legitimacy and authority. (Giddens, 1984)

Again, the primary difference between Giddens and Sabatier, at this level, is the focus of analysis: Sabatier once again is focusing on the individual, and Giddens, once again, is focusing on the collective. In order to apply Giddens, to this level of Sabatier, would require, once again, to extend Sabatier's analysis of individual patterns of belief, seeking to locate the areas of collective agreement and adjustment. This is somewhat aided by the fact that Sabatier, at this level, does concede that Near Core Beliefs can be changed if the individual perceives, through experience, that serious anomalies are occurring at this level. Thus there is agreement between the two approaches that, at this level of belief, a dynamic for change and adjustment is occurring; although some disagreement over the extent or level of change that may be manifested within the policy subsystem.

A potentially more serious area of difference does exist though over the nature of what is occurring at this level. To Sabatier, this level of belief development is linked to the individual perceptions of the proper roles and methods that should ultimately link institutional arrangements and rules to the

policy subsystem and specific issue at hand. Sabatier perceives this point as an actual decision area, which will lead, ultimately, to an actual allocation of power and authority. Giddens, on the other hand, sees this level as an extension of the decisions that have been previously agreed to under the process of developing Structural Principles. To Giddens, this level of development is the formal process in which legal and social legitimacy and authority are allocated to formal institutions, groups, and individuals, with, correspondingly, an actual distribution of both resources and power. Thus Sabatier would see this level as a point where a decision is being developed, while Giddens would see this level as a point where a decision is being implemented.

The differences between these two perceptions can be somewhat mitigated, though, if one keeps in mind that Giddens definition of an organization is grounded in the concept of a social system, composed of individuals, engaged in a continuous process of interaction and change. The formal distribution of authority, legitimacy, power, and resources are only physical manifestations of individual and collective beliefs previously defined under Structural Principles, and thus are similar to Sabatier's view of the development of individual policy positions and strategies which reflect previously held underlying individual normative and ontological beliefs. At the same time, Giddens assumes that interpenetration between the three levels of Structures is continuous, and thus decisions over both beliefs and structures are occurring at all levels simultaneously. Under this interpretation, it would be possible to see this level as both a decision and implementation area.

Secondary Aspects/Elements of Structures

The final level of beliefs/structures deals with the instrumental level of a policy subsystem. Sabatier calls this level Secondary Aspects. Following from decisions reached at the Near Core Belief level, actual instrumental decisions are reached to implement the specific policy. Such decisions include the development of administrative rules, the allocation of budgets, development of methods of program performance, and agreement on the legal interpretations and reasoning that will guide the implementation of the specific policy. (Sabatier, 1988)

Giddens, who refers to this level as the Elements of Structures, also sees this level as instrumental in nature, and linked to actual daily practices. The difference between Giddens and Sabatier, though, can be seen in what Giddens focuses on at this point. To Giddens, this level of belief is reflected in the actual institutional features that are developed to guide daily operations and work. Rules, procedures, methods, chains of command, are the elements that actually construct what we refer to as organizations and institutions. (Giddens, 1984)

Elements of Sabatier's Secondary Aspects such as budget allocations and legal rationalizations are, to Giddens, more appropriately located in the previous area of Structures or Near Core Beliefs. Giddens views these areas of resource allocation and legal legitimization as structuring elements that allow for the implementation of specific procedures, and thus are more appropriately located as an underlying foundation for fostering the development of specific institutional methods.

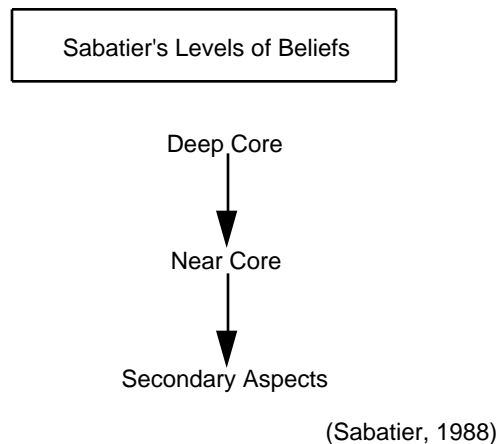
While disagreeing on what specific elements should be included at this level, both Giddens and Sabatier agree that it is this final level where the perceived rational methods of administration and policy implementation are enacted on a daily basis, and thus are in fundamental agreement with each other at this point.

Beliefs/Structure

Both Sabatier's and Giddens's theory contain fundamental points of agreement which would allow for the development of a method of policy analysis that could reveal the elements of Giddens levels

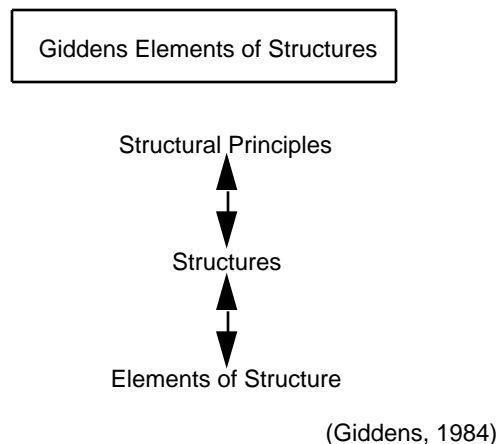
of Structures - Structural Principles, Structures, and Elements of Structures. In order to apply Sabatier's method to Giddens, though, a researcher would be required to shift the focus of analysis away from individual beliefs, and toward the process of developing collective belief. This does not mean that one discounts or does not examine individual personal values and beliefs, these are after all the social agents, according to Giddens, that drive transformation. But, the final point of discovery is focused on how the individual beliefs ultimately become the collective belief, and how these belief systems are transformed and changed over time.

To Sabatier, Belief systems are developed from Core Beliefs through Near Core Beliefs to Secondary Aspects.



There is a natural progression from one level to the next, and the only possible area for significant change in beliefs is at the level of Secondary Aspects.

Giddens, on the other hand, sees the development of such individual and collective beliefs as developing within a social environment, and subject to influence and change at any level.



In Giddens view, beliefs are the result of social existence, and are subject to influence by the whole range of social experiences, even at the most fundamental levels of being.

In order to apply Giddens concepts to Sabatier's typology, the researcher is faced with the necessity of rejecting Sabatier's linear relationship of belief development, and instead adopting an underlying assumption that Giddens concept of the interpenetration of belief levels is not only possible, but is also probable.

Once these distinctions between Sabatier and Giddens are clarified, the researcher is able to focus Sabatier's typology toward collective values and normative structures. The next framework for analyzing a Structural Belief system would be defined in the following manner.

<p>STRUCTURE OF BELEIF SYSTEMS/ STRUCTURATIONAL PROCESS OF A POLICY SUBSYSTEM</p>

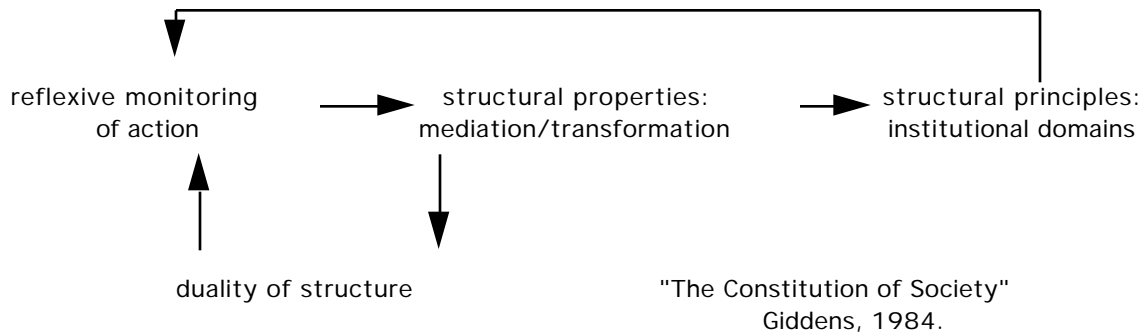
	Deep Core/ Structural Principles	Near Core/ Structures	Secondary Aspects/ Structural Elements
Definition	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms Collective understanding of why and how the subsystem exists	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic structuring of authority, power, and resources needed to achieve the normative axioms of deep core.	Instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement Near Core/Structures.
Scope	Part of basic collective and personal philosophy. Applies to all policy areas.	Applies to the specific policy area of interest.	Specific to the policy subsystem and institutions of interest.
Change	Difficult, but possible through social interaction and adjustment.	Moderately difficult, but can occur ithrough mutual adjustment to create or manitain consensus, or through experience revealing serious anomalies.	Moderately easy: topic of most administrative and legislative policy.
Components	The nature of man. The nature of society. The nature of justice. Individual rights. Collective rights Personal security.	Proper scope of government. Proper scope of regulation. Proper distribution of resources. Proper distribution of power. Proper distribution of influence. Proper institutional grounding. Proper bodies of knowledge. Proper legal principles.	Administrative rules. Administrative procedures. Administrative methods. Chain of command. Decision process. Evaluation methods. Boundary scanning methods.

Once the various structural principles have been extracted, it is possible to then examine both the political economy analysis and the belief analysis in conjunction with each other. This next level of analysis will allow for a process analysis to be conducted that will reveal the process for change, and the process of interaction between belief and structure, what Giddens refers to as the Duality of Structure.

PROCESS MODELS

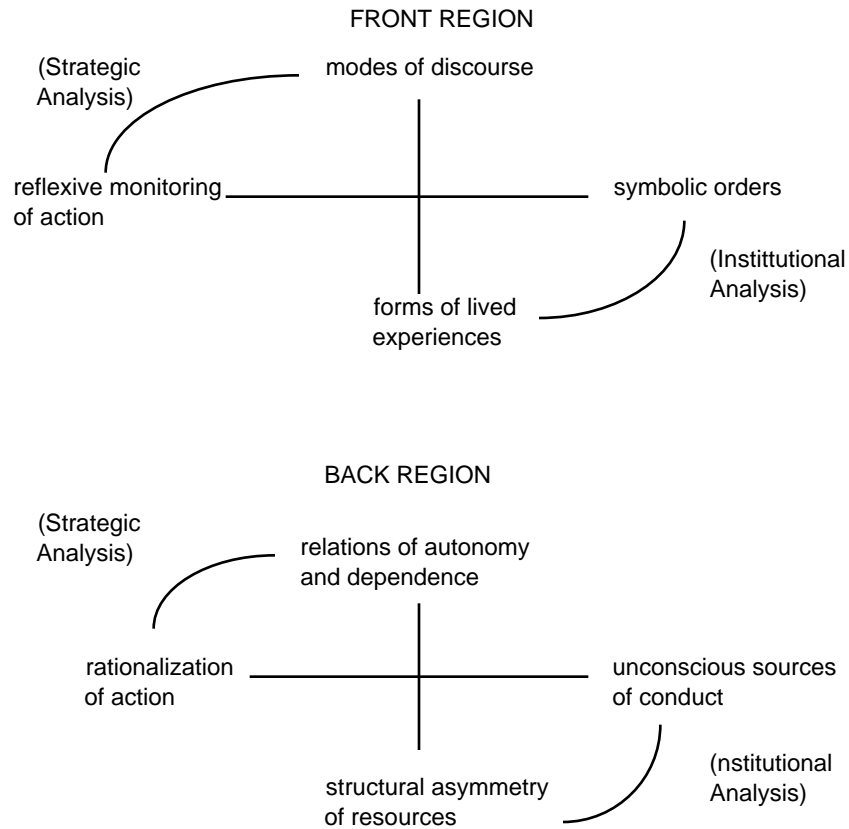
Giddens expands both the Political Economy framework and Sabatier's Belief typology by introducing the concept of reflexivity, which forms the basis for the theory of the duality of structure. This process of reflexivity allows for both the reproduction and transformation of social systems, and is under the control of conscious, situated social agents located across both time and space. In essence, these social agents monitor the responses arising within and without the social system, and are capable of either reproducing or changing the social system.

By introducing the theory of the “duality of structure” Giddens, in essence, presents a methodology for process analysis which allows for examining not only how the elements of structuration ultimately reveal the structural principles of the social system, but also how strategically placed social agents consciously decide to either maintain or change the underlying structural principles.



In order to reveal both the theory of duality of structure and the concept of the reflexive monitoring of action, organizational analysis should contain two levels. The first level is institutional and moves from the elements of structuration (process and output) to the principles of structure, and the second level is strategic which moves from reflexive monitoring of action (social agents) to the principles of structure.

Giddens further emphasizes that both levels of analysis must keep in mind that there exist both “front” and “back” regions of institutional and strategic interaction. The “front” region represents the public and revealed aspects of the interaction, while the “back” region represents the hidden or private aspects of the interaction. By connecting the two levels of analysis, we are able to show how, in the context of rationalization of action, practices are reproduced, and how social agents' actions within the institutional practices actually recreate the structural principles of the institution. In addition, any changes in structural principles are revealed within the context of social agents' actions.



(Giddens, 1979)

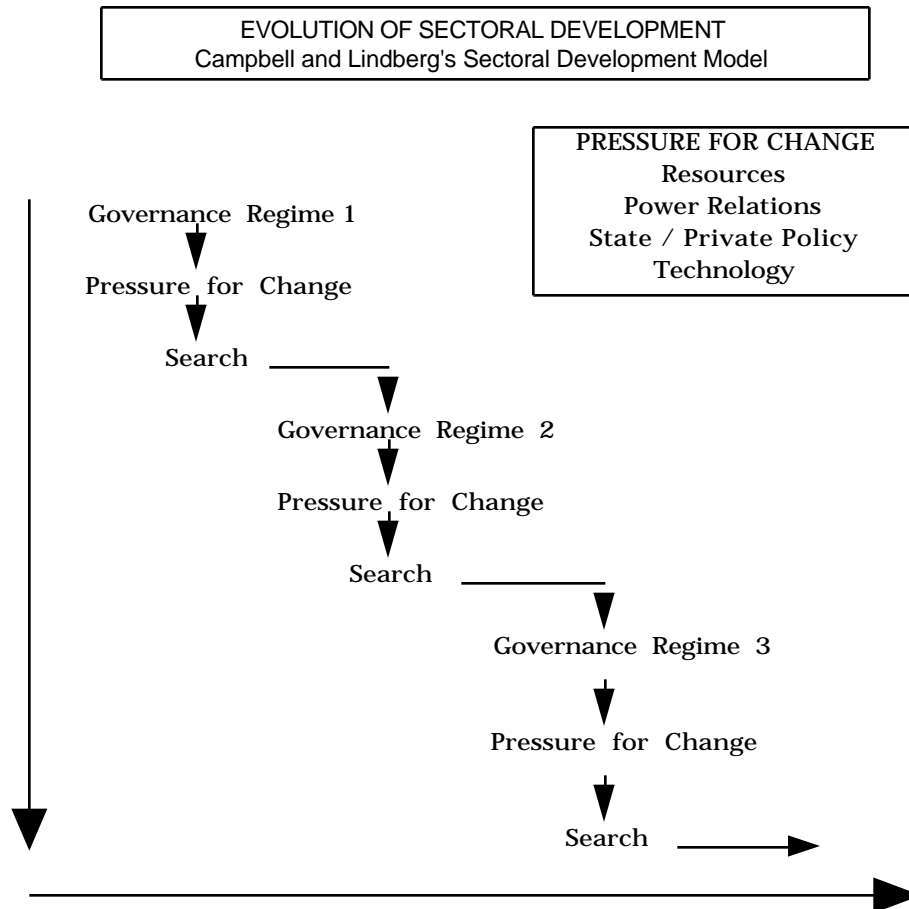
In order to develop a model for analyzing both the duality of structure and the reflexive monitoring of action, the researcher, once again, must locate policy process models which reveal aspects of this transformation process, and which would be enhanced by the inclusion of a structural emphasis. The most likely candidates for this type of adaptation are Campbell, Hollingsworth, and Lindbergh's Sectorial Model, Hecló's Learning Model, and Kingdon's Streams Model.

Learning Processes in Policy Subsystems

Campbell, Lundberg, and Hollingsworth's Sectorial Development Model postulates that within the private sector, in the United States, industries are organized in such a way that they seek to achieve the highest level of transaction cost return within their area of production. As long as the level of transaction costs remain efficient, the industrial sector will remain fairly stable in terms of both structures of production and forms of industrial interaction. This model goes on to state that pressure for change in the industrial regime will result in an industry wide search for a new configuration which will return the industry to an efficient level of transaction costs. Such pressures for change include: a change in the levels of resources within the members within the industrial sector; a shift in the power relations between industrial actors; a change in the structure of either the private or public sectors policy positions; or the impact of new technology which allows for an increase in the efficiency of the transaction cost exchange. Once these pressures for change have been recognized, the industry begins a search process to develop a new form of governance

regime that will, once again, bring efficiency back into the transaction cost equations. (Campbell, Hollingsworth, and Lindberg: 1991).

Conceptualized in a diagram format, the evolution pattern would appear as follows:

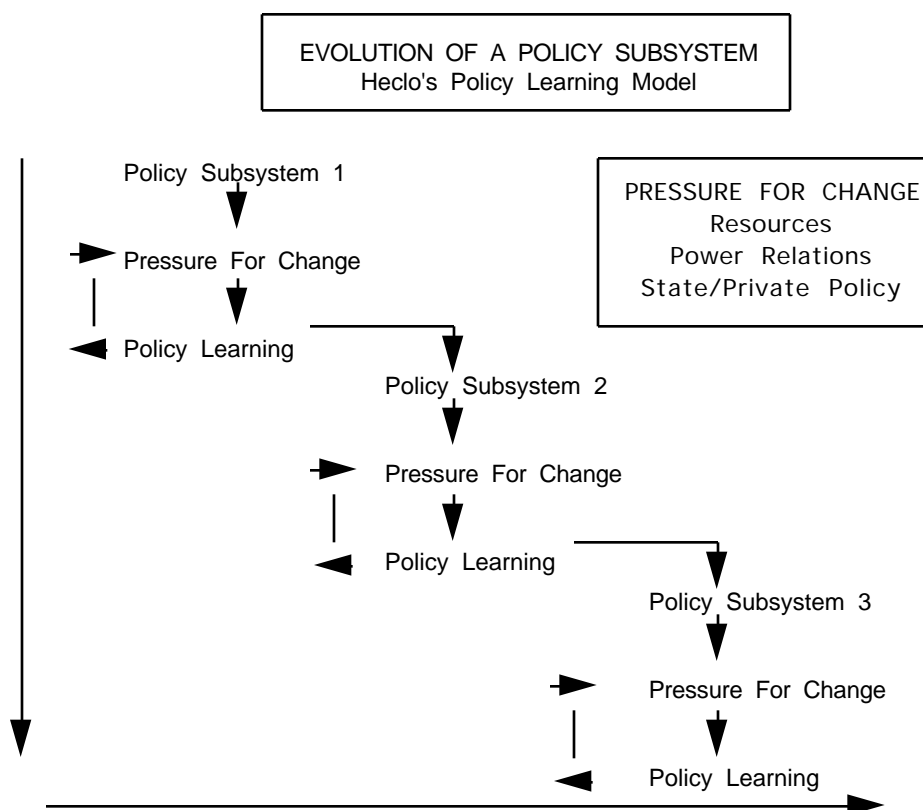


Hugh Heclo's Policy Learning Model presents a similar process for the development of public policy, but expands the model by including a feedback loop into the search process. Heclo's study of the welfare policies in Britain and Sweden, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, found that macro sociological and economic factors could only account for a portion of the changes in such policies. Heclo argued that the additional factor influencing the development of these policies was the learning curve encountered by the policy specialists as they experimented with various options in order to achieve their objectives. Heclo concluded that policy change was the result of two factors: large scale social, economic, and political changes; and the interaction of specialists within the policy community as they sought to become more knowledgeable about the most effective methods to use to address the policy problem and objectives. (Heclo, 1974)

Under Heclo's theory, pressure for change in the policy subsystem originates from external factors such as: a shift in resources within the policy subsystem or actors; change in power relations between the policy subsystem members of units; or philosophical and ideological shifts in either state or private sector policy positions within the subsystem. These larger macro level shifts result in pressure for change within the relations and structure of the policy subsystem, and lead to a

learning and search process, between the members of the policy subsystem, to locate a new approach or arrangement within the subsystem. While the policy learning process searches for a new arrangement or consensus, the policy subsystem continues to experience pressure for change, and actually see the level of pressure increase as the search for solution leads back to the problem. In essence, during this phase, the policy subsystem is caught in a process of cycling, searching the right combination of solutions that will eventually result in a return to equilibrium within the subsystem. Eventually, though, this learning and search process leads to new solutions or procedures, which are then incorporated into either a modified or new policy subsystem. This process, though, is continuous, and reflects the systems adaptation, over time, to macro level shifts that are occurring on a regular basis within the subsystems environment. (Heclo, 1976).

Conceptually, the change and learning process would appear as follows:



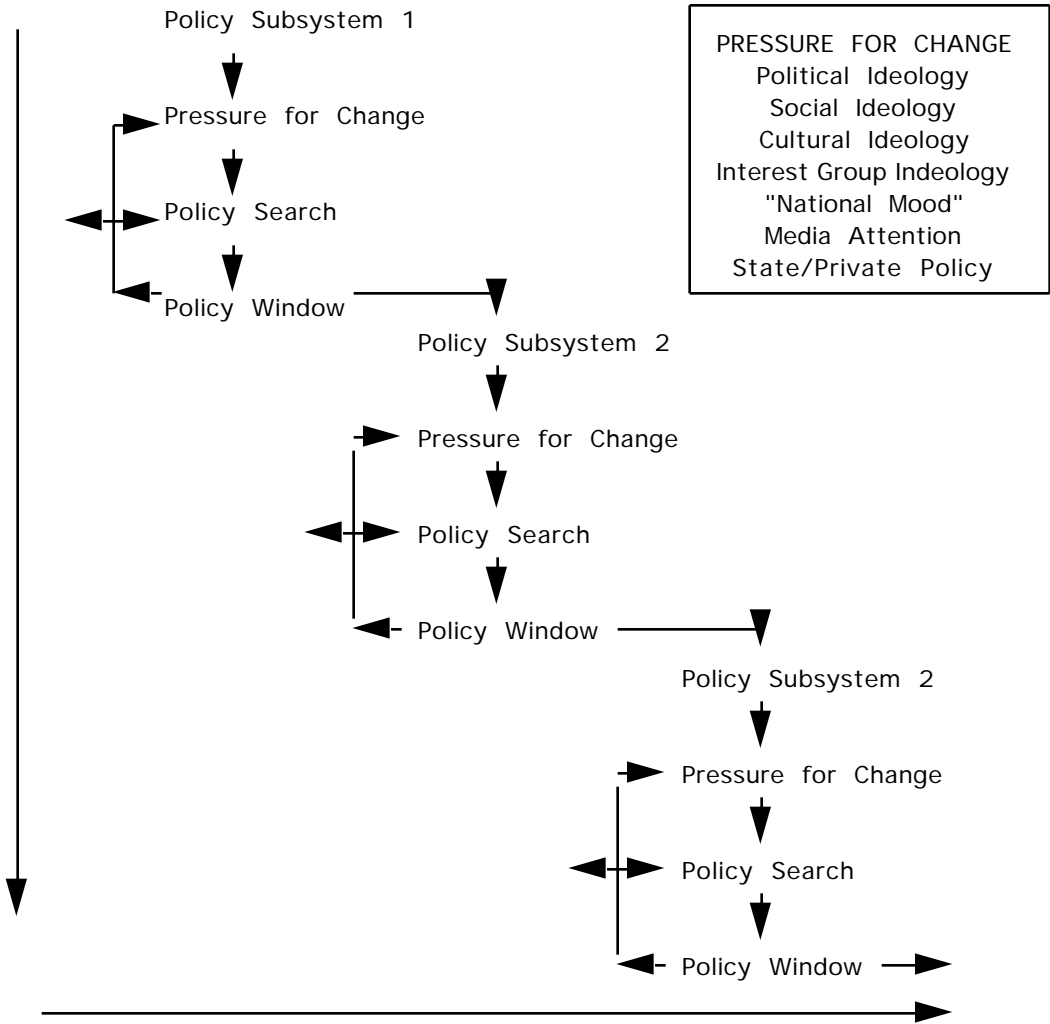
John W. Kingdon's Policy Streams Model takes the policy search/learning model one step further by adding another factor, or actor, to the policy development process: namely the politically motivated actor. Under Kingdon's view of the policy process, the Sectorial development model represents the first window, or stream, that a policy must enter. In this first window, individuals and groups within both the policy subsystem and the large society, first, must recognize that a problem, or pressure for change, does exist. In general, there must develop some broad consensus that a problem has developed, and the need for change is evident. If such a consensus can not be developed, in other words if one groups sees a problem but an equally strong group does not, then no further action will be taken on the matter until additional pressure is brought to bear on the group refusing to recognize that a problem does exist.

In the next window, which opens after there is agreement that a problem does exist, knowledgeable members of the policy subsystem will engage in a search and learning process where they seek to discover possible solutions for the problem, or new structural arrangements within the policy subsystem that will lead, eventually, to a solution. Once again, at this level there is a need to develop a consensus on the solution and the methods that will be applied. If no consensual solution can be developed, the problem will recycle back into the pressure for change, and pressure will continue to mount until either the problem solving group modifies its position, or a new option for solution is presented.

In the final window, recognition of the problem and agreement on the solution are presented to the political arena or decision-makers (elected officials). At this point, political actors must see type of either personal or ideological gain to be achieved by enacting the recommendations. Should such recognition not be evident, or opposition arises at this point, the policy window will remain closed, and, once again, the issue will cycle back into the pressure for change point. If, on the other hand, opposition and gain are both evident at this point, the policy window will open, and a new policy subsystem, or configuration, will come into existence. (Kingdon: 1984)

Conceptually, Kingdon's Model of the evolution of a policy subsystem would appear as such:

EVOLUTION OF A POLICY SUBSYSTEM
Kingdon's Policy "Windows" Model



Process Model Synthesis

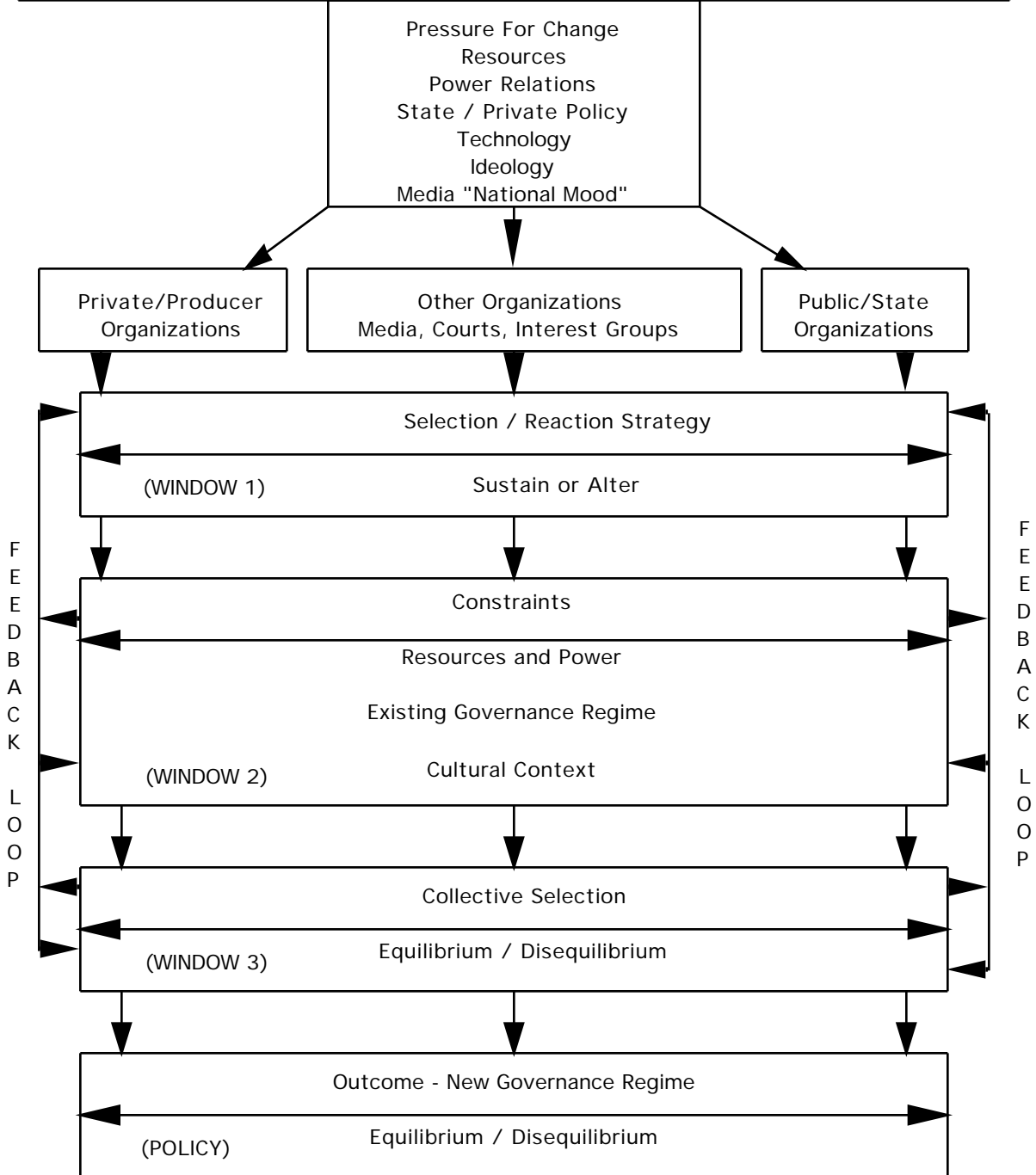
While the three process models offer a framework in which to explain different aspects of change in a policy subsystem, their greatest explanatory power would be achieved by combining the three models into one model. This single model would have the unique ability to examine the process of change within a policy subsystem from the perspective of both the public and private sectors view of the change process. In addition, such a model would also reveal the interaction in the process of transformation between the public and private sectors, and their mutual creation.

With this new model we are able to reconceptualize the policy development and transformation process. In this new model pressure for change results from: Resource shift; power relation shift; State/Private sector policy shift; technological shift; ideological shift; media "national mood" shift; and the unintended consequences of previous decisions - both purposeful and unguided. Various

agents within the policy subsystem seek to intentionally shape the nature of the change process by framing arguments for problem definitions and solutions in their favor, or defend their pre-existing positions from attempts to change by refusing to either agree that a problem exists, or by objecting to possible solutions offered to solve the problem. During this process for recognition of the need for change, and agreement on means to achieve change, a process of reflexive monitoring actions and mutual adjustment is occurring across the policy subsystem actors. This development of reflexive monitoring and consensus is further motivated by the disequilibrium within the policy subsystem that is evident as long as the issues for change are not addressed by the subsystem members. Once a consensual agreement is achieved, though, the solution must enter the political arena, and conform to the underlying political culture and values existent at the current time. If the solution fails to conform to the political ethos, the learning and search process continues, with a corresponding building of pressure within the subsystem. This will continue until problem identification, problem solution, and political ethos match and achieve balance. Once the match has occurred, the policy window will open and a new policy regime, built upon a new set of beliefs and mutual knowledge, will emerge.

Conceptually, the new model for the selection process of a policy regime would appear in the following format:

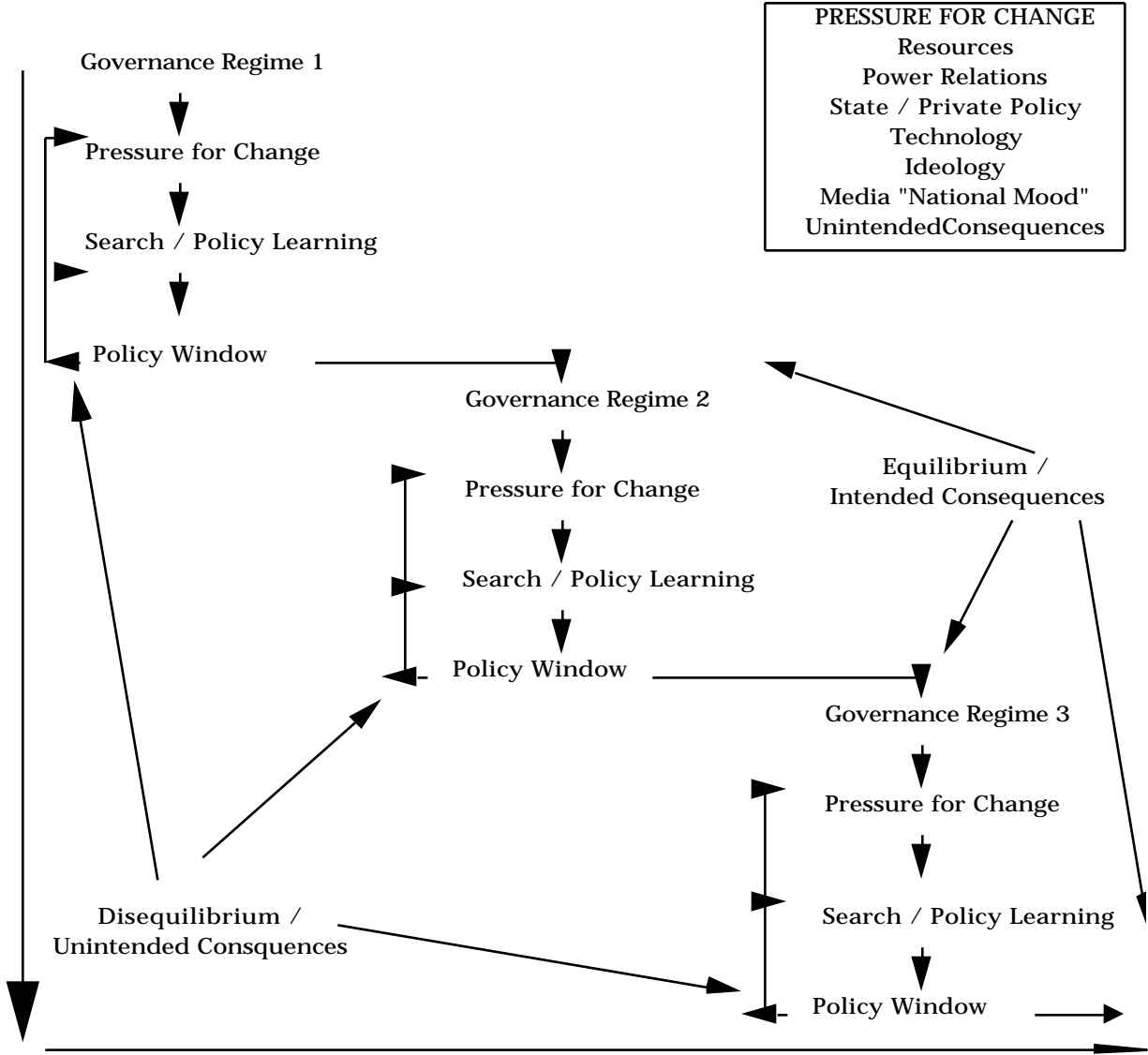
SELECTION PROCESS FOR NEW GOVERNANCE REGIME
 Modification of Campbell and Lindberg's Sectoral Development Model, Heclø's Policy Learning Model, and Kingdon's Policy "Windows" Model



As the policy subsystem moves across time, encountering the need for both policy adjustment and regime adjustment, a body of knowledge and beliefs are developed within the subsystem community. These areas of mutual knowledge frame both the belief patterns that emerge, and the organizational patterns that are created to manifest these beliefs within the physical world. At the same time, the organizational structures that are created, and their subsequent receipt of authority and resources, create an institutional reciprocity of the mutual knowledge within the subsystem community, and are vested with both legal and financial methods to both sustain and interpret the body of values within the subsystem.

The end result of this model creation, is an analytical framework in which the researcher can place their findings, from both the previous Belief Analysis and Institutional Analysis that have been conducted, and examine the movement and transformation of a policy subsystem over an extended period of time, and the creation of Giddens concept of the duality of structure within a policy subsystem. This new model would be, conceptually, diagrammed thus:

EVOLUTION OF A POLICY REGIME
 Modification of Campbell and Lindberg's Sectoral Development Model, Hecló's Policy Learning Model, and Kingdon's "Windows" Model



* If the Policy Window opens, and a new Governance Regime is created, pressure for change is dissipated, and equilibrium is restored in the policy subsystem.

* If the Policy Window remains closed, pressure for change remains in the system, disequilibrium continues to influence the policy subsystem.

DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF GIDDENS "MUTUAL KNOWLEDGE" WITHIN A POLICY SUBSYSTEM

Once this level of analysis has been conducted on all the periods of transformation being considered, a final level of analysis can be conducted that will reveal Giddens's concept of the impact of intended and unintended consequences.

One of the major points that Giddens seeks to emphasize is that while social agents are ultimately the source for all change that is initiated, social agents are not able to predict all the various outcomes of their actions. As a consequence, Giddens also states that another source for change are the unintended consequences that result from social agents deciding to take action. Thus if one were to develop a process model for policy development and change, the effects of unintended consequences would also need to be included within the model.

By examining the beliefs and rationalizations taken for actions from one transition period to the next, and the subsequent results that occurred in the next, or future, periods, one will be able to determine what actions led to unintended consequences, and what the nature of those unintended consequences were. When all unintended consequences for all periods of transition are examined, patterns of thought may be revealed which show either misunderstanding of one's environment, or misinterpretation of critical information. If consistent patterns are developed over time in this area, clues to possible remedial actions may be revealed.

Methods

Various methods for revealing the underlying belief systems of groups include elite surveys, panels of knowledgeable experts (Hart, 1976), and content analysis of primary and secondary sources. (Axelrod, 1976) Given the fact that this particular case study involves one hundred and twenty-five years of development, content analysis of both primary and secondary sources, from both the public and private sector, would, logically, seem to offer the best prospect for a systematic analysis of changing belief patterns.

The location of belief systems and structuring principles can be identified through the analysis of primary and secondary documents, speeches, newspaper articles, interest group publications, and government reports. This process, in terms of the telecommunications field, is facilitated by the fact that the industry has an extensive body of published histories, government reports and formal agency filings, and both public and private achievements of primary source materials.

In developing an analysis of various materials, and testing for validity of findings, the researcher seeks to determine if the following patterns emerge from an examination of the various published sources:

What are the patterns of beliefs reflected in the various opposing coalitions, and how are these patterns ultimately reflected in the actual policy that is developed?

In what arena or forum did the various debates over policy occur, and what are the relationships to various membership groups of the social actors engaged in the debate?

In an examination of the process, is there a pattern over either issues raised within the policy debates, or in the information used to defend positions within the policy debate?

In examining the transformation from one governance regime to the next, is there any pattern that emerges in either the structure of the governance regimes, or

in the rationalizations used to support the development of the policy? (Heintz, 1988)

As the researcher moves into the more current time period, especially the current development of procedural and organizational implementation of the recently passed telecommunications deregulation act, one is able to supplement content analysis through the use of interviewing procedures applied to actual social agents engaged in the development and implementation of the telecommunications deregulation act.

Since the actual subject under study is a case applied to a specific analytical model, development of a method for interviewing social agents should utilize a case-study model. Robert K. Yin (1991) has developed such a model which is premised on the assumption that a case-study should guide the researcher in analyzing the situation rather than just collecting data. Yin's approach is especially useful in examining complex contemporary issues, within real-life environments, which seek to link both historical analysis to current events. (Yin, 1991: 23)

Researchers seeking to apply the case-study method utilize either survey or interview methods. In both methods, an open-ended approach is used which allows the investigator to understand the social agent's world, and also provides the social agent with the opportunity to reflect on their responses and connect them to both their professional and personal experience. Questions are developed that are both relevant to the study, and grounded in the historical experience of the policy subsystem's development.

Considering the developmental stage of this particular research area, namely the actual development of procedures and rules to implement the broad charges outlined within the telecommunications deregulation act, the use of direct interviews linked to official reports would seem the most appropriate way to conduct the field study aspect of this research project. Such interviews should be structured in two hour time slots with key representatives of the various coalitions and agencies engaged in the construction of the new policy regime. Question development, as stated previously, should be open-ended, and allow for the respondent to reflect on various aspects of the social interactions that are occurring, and the underlying beliefs that are being espoused. Questions are posed in a non-directive manner such as "Could you please explain that last point a little further?", and assist the respondent in clarifying both their own answer, and their personal understanding of the issues at work within the policy subsystem.

Data from both the historical examination of the field and the personal interviews, are analyzed by recombining the information through the process of pattern recognition. Field notes and interview notes are transcribed. Information is then organized and classified based on four models of analysis previously discussed. Within the methodology previously outlined, the various structural principles and processes are extracted through the Institutional Analysis, and then the Belief Analysis.

Once we have completed both the Institutional Analysis and the Belief Analysis, it is possible to then examine the interaction between beliefs and structure over an extended period of time. In order to accomplish this, the researcher must take both sets of data, and apply them to the Process Model, which will reveal this interaction. A final examination is then conducted of the impact, both intended and unintended, of the previous transformation cycle actions on the next cycle of change. Final results are then written, in a narrative format, and presented.

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