

Agenda Setting

- Pluralist model
 - relatively open marketplace of ideas for new policies.
 - Any interest groups should have the opportunity to influence the agenda.
 - may not win, but they will not be excluded from the decision making process.
- Elitist Model
 - Elites keep certain issues off of the agenda
 - Same interests win again and again.

What is the Agenda?

- **Governmental or systematic agenda**
 - issues which are perceived by members of the political community as meriting of public attention
 - involve matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority.
- **Decision agenda**
 - Issues/policies up for active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers.
- **Examples? Global warming**

A. Downs, Issue Attention Cycle

- Argument
- Evidence
- Strengths
- Weaknesses
- Implications

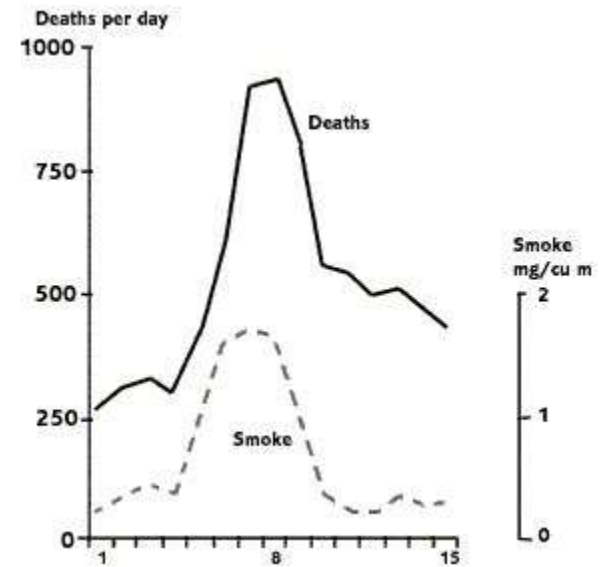


- The Public Interest, 1972. cited 1,508 time
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Issue Attention Cycle

- The pre-problem stage
- Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm
- Realizing the cost of significant progress
- Gradual decline of intense public interest
- The post-problem stage

London Killer Fog December 1952



American Steel and Wire Co, Donora PA



Zinc Furnace



"Donora Death Fog." 1948 PA

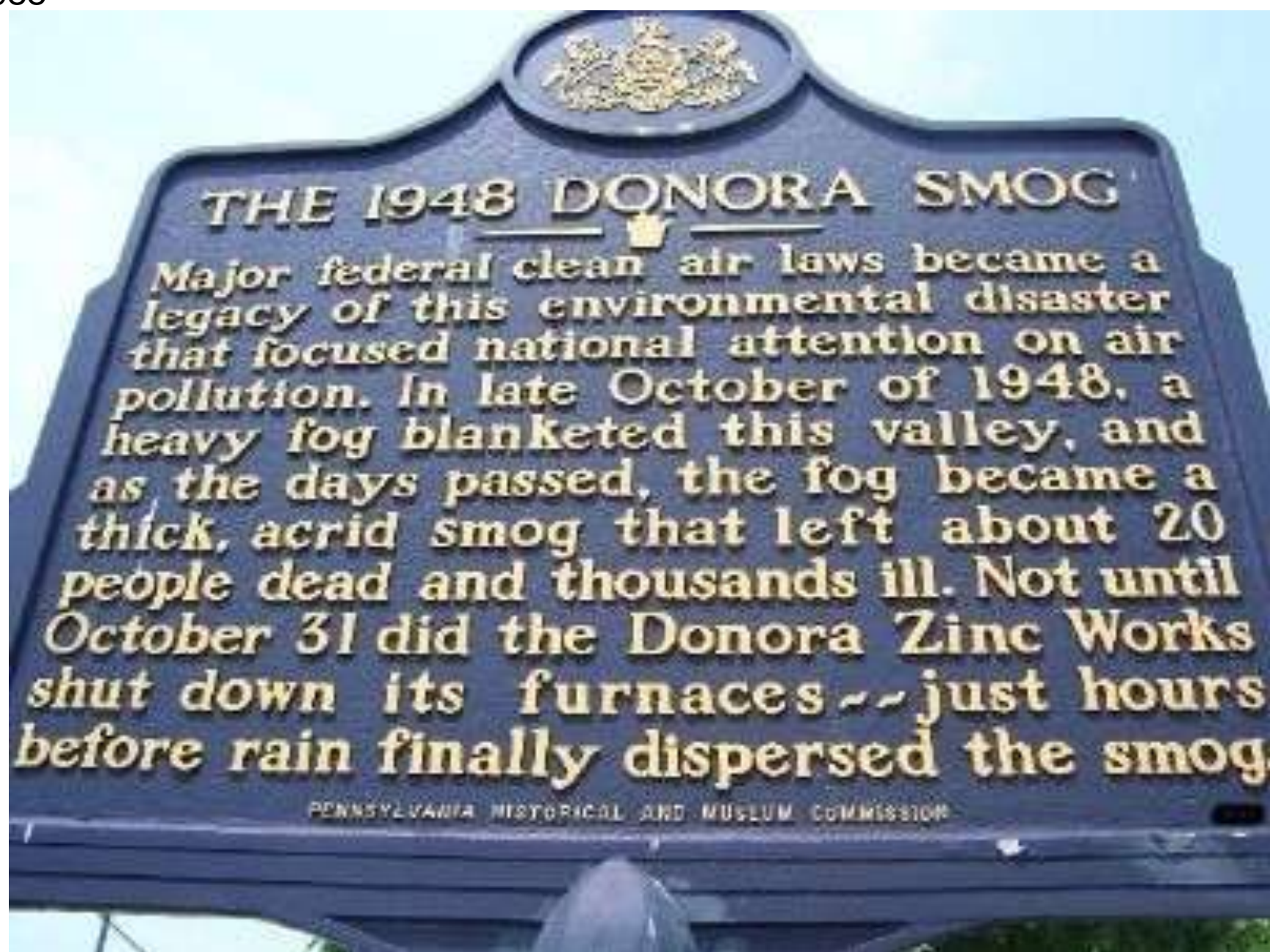




US Steel, Smog “an act of God”



1988



THE 1948 DONORA SMOG

Major federal clean air laws became a legacy of this environmental disaster that focused national attention on air pollution. In late October of 1948, a heavy fog blanketed this valley, and as the days passed, the fog became a thick, acrid smog that left about 20 people dead and thousands ill. Not until October 31 did the Donora Zinc Works shut down its furnaces -- just hours before rain finally dispersed the smog.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND MUSEUM COMMISSION

Fire on Ohio's Cuyahoga River in 1952



...ght as an American Citizen; Cast Your Vote Tuesday

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

CLEVELAND, SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 2, 1936

24 PAGES—SECTION A TWENTY CENTS

OIL SLICK FIRE RUINS FLATS SHIPYARD

In Ohio Pen Rebels Fed at Gunpoint

FLAMES HIT DRY DOCKS, THREE TUGS

Byline by George S. ...



1948 CASTS
1948 CASTS
1948 CASTS

JUDGE VOTE IS ONLY
SAFE NOW, 4 WE!

61,927 at Stadium See
Irish Whip Navy, 17-6

FINAL COUNTY POLL
BOYD'S WIFE'S DEED

Board Orders
21,712 Voters
Challenged

Light Rite Tonight!
Expected to Comb
Grass Fire Danger

20 Empty Boxes
on Loan Demanded

Lausche Clashes With
C. P. Taft on Pen Riot

Forest Fire Rises

FOOTBALL
RESULTS

BY THE JURY AND GRAND JURY

Forest Fire Rises

FOOTBALL RESULTS

BY THE JURY AND GRAND JURY

Forest Fire Rises

FOOTBALL RESULTS

Cuyahoga River, mid 1960s



Santa Barbara 1969 Oil Spill



Santa Barbara 1969 Oil Spill





- “We should not underestimate the American; public’s capacity to become bored, especially with something that does not immediately threaten them or promise huge benefits for a majority.” Downs
- Problems rise and fall off of government agenda based independently of objective conditions!!!
- Accurate description of Layzer?

Kingdon

- Policy-making is characterized by long periods of non change
 - Problem Stream
 - Policy Stream
 - Political Stream

Problem Stream

- Indicators- “assess magnitude of and change in a problem.”
- Focusing events - disasters, crises, personal experience and symbols

Indicators

- “governmental officials use indicators to
“Interpretation is more complicated than straight
assessment of facts.”

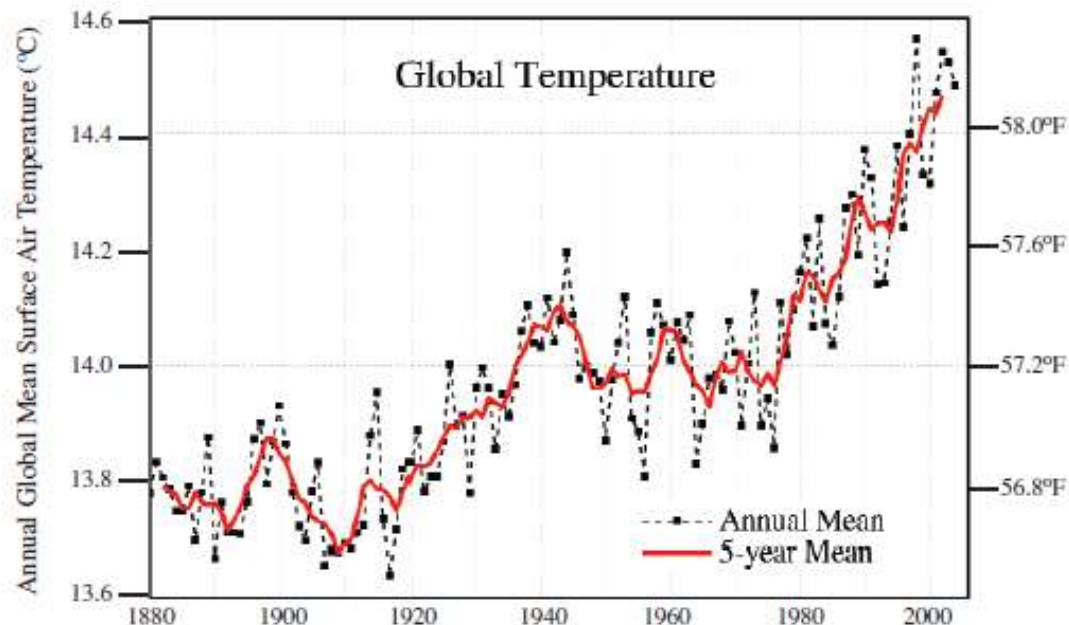
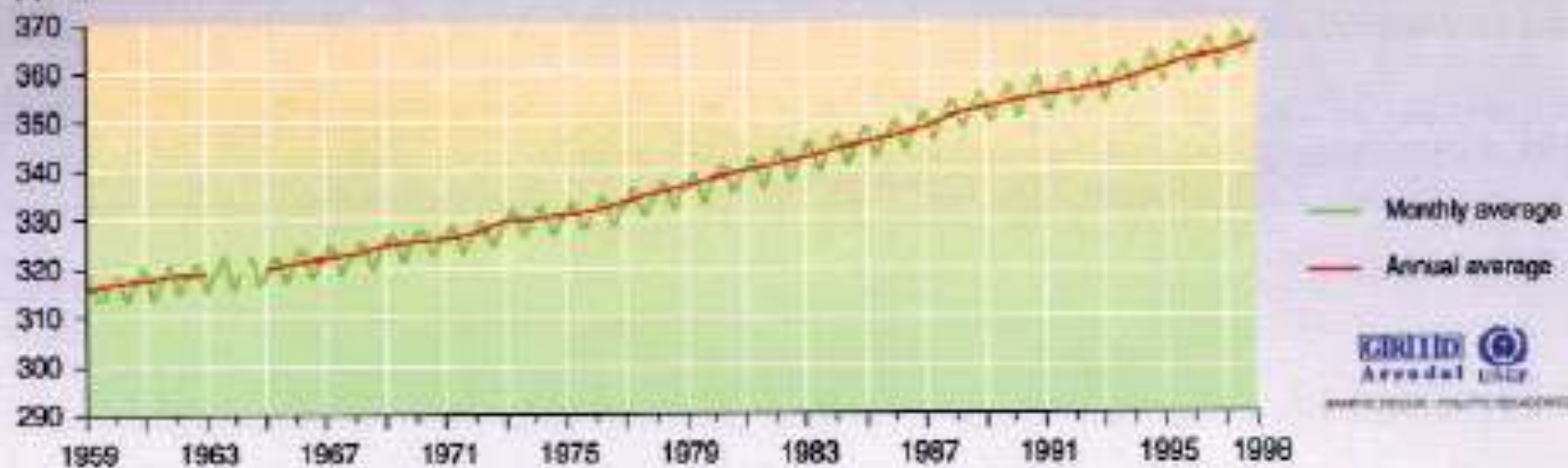


Figure 2. Global annual-mean surface air temperature has increased by 1.4° F (0.7°C) since the early 20th century, with about 0.9° F (0.5°C) of the increase occurring since 1978. Figure courtesy of Goddard Institute for Space Studies.

CO₂ concentration in the atmosphere: Mauna Loa curve

ppmv



CRICKET AND CLIMATE CHANGE MAPS

Spread of the long-winged conehead cricket since 1930

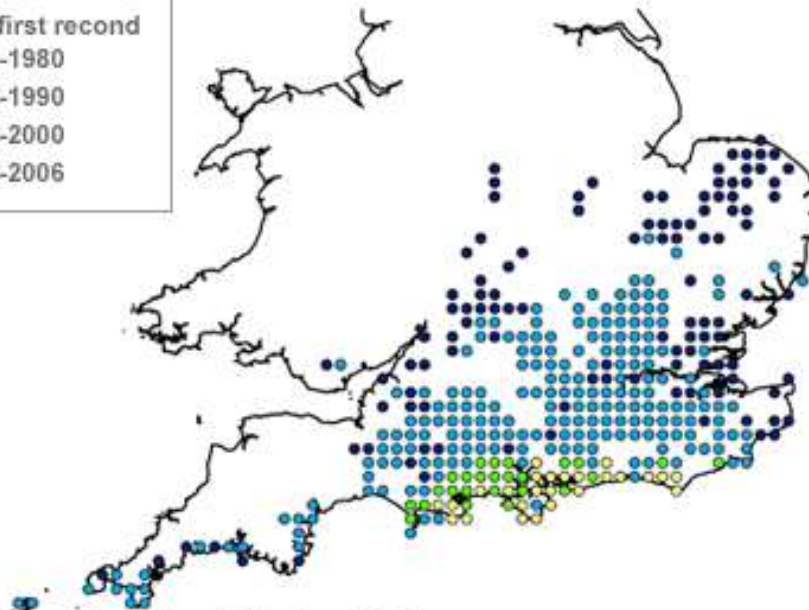
Year of first record

1931-1980

1980-1990

1990-2000

2000-2006



Spread of Roesel's bush cricket since 1930

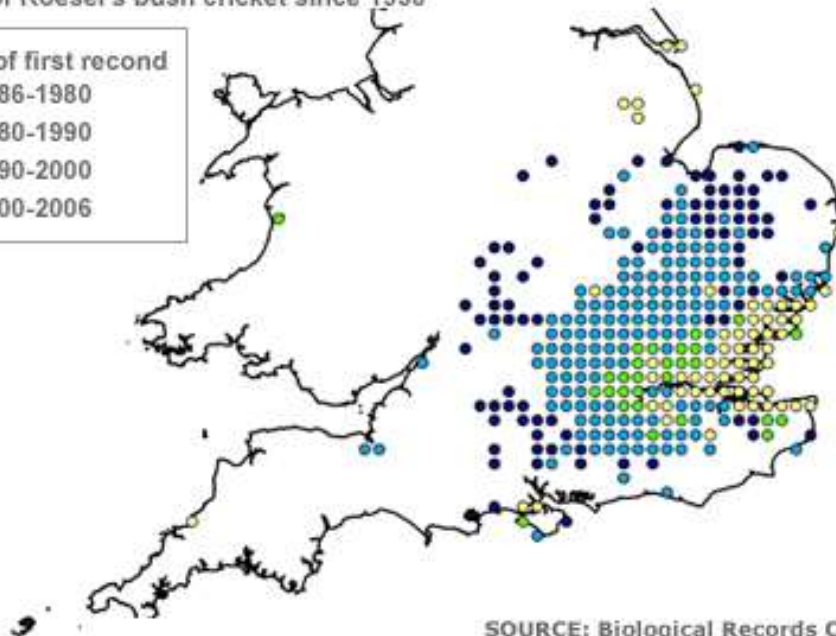
Year of first record

1886-1980

1980-1990

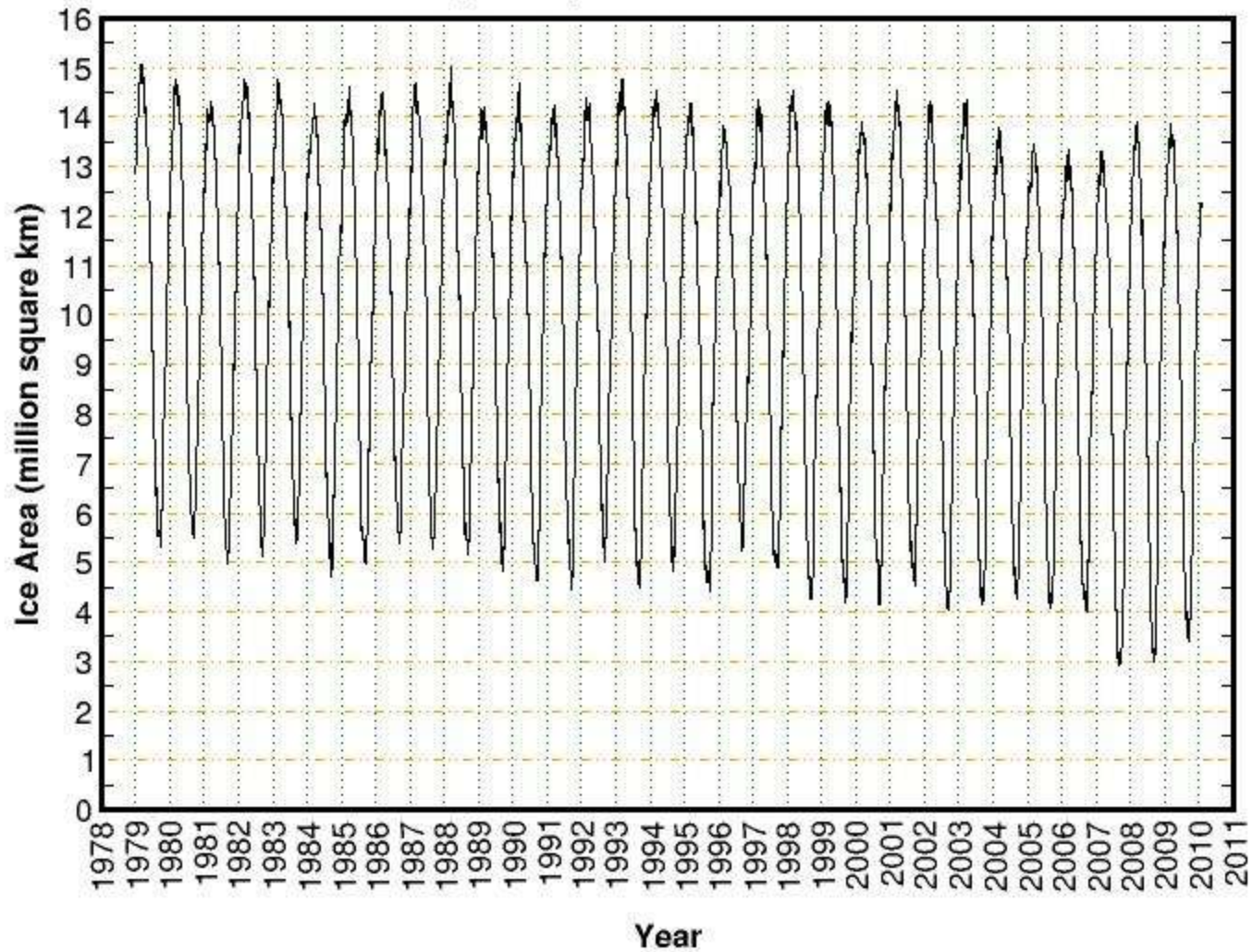
1990-2000

2000-2006



Northern Hemisphere Sea Ice Area

Data provided by NSIDC: NASA SMMR and SSM/I



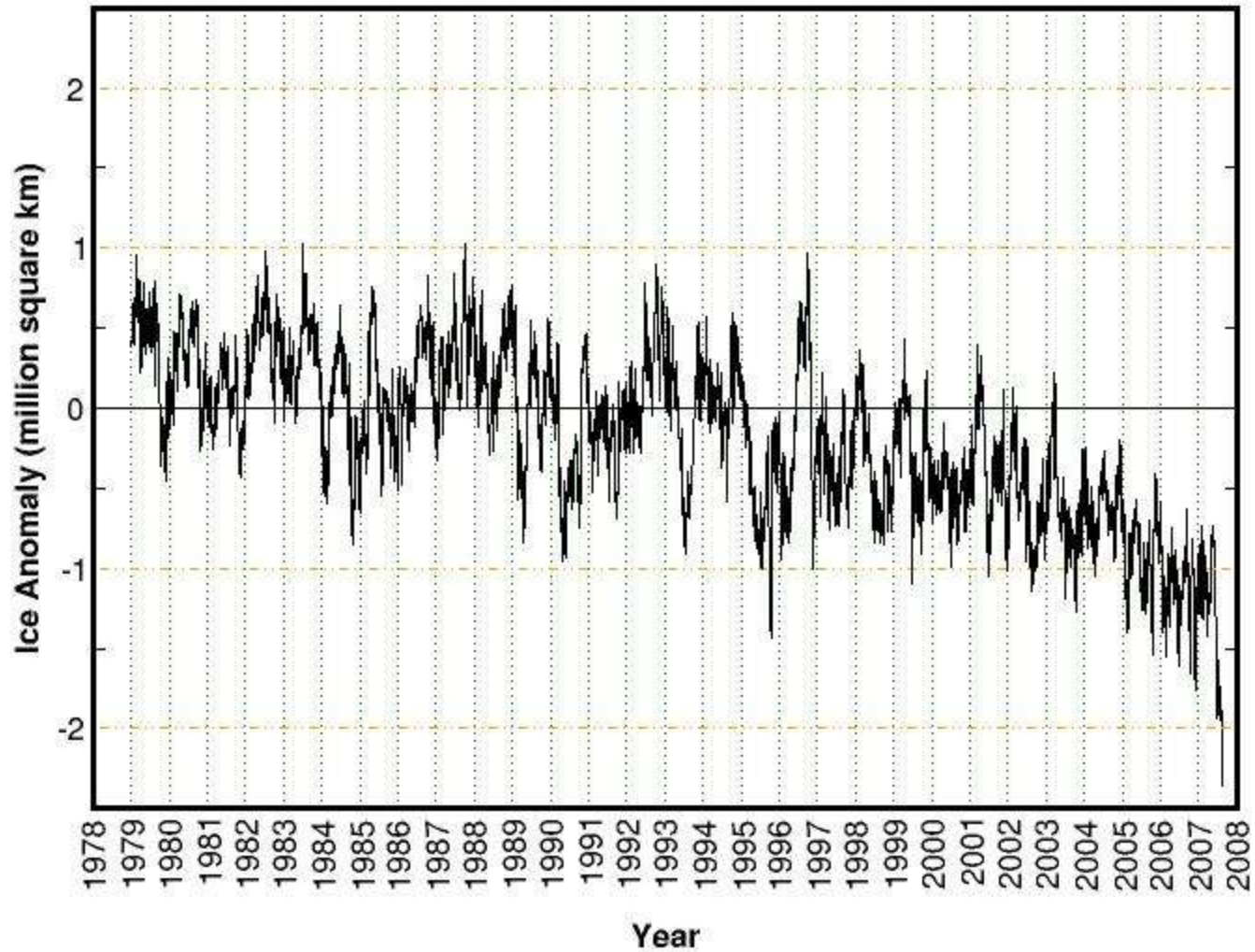


Since 1979, more than 20% of the Polar Ice Cap has melted away.

ARCTIC SEA
ICE BOUNDARY IN 1979

Northern Hemisphere Sea Ice Anomaly

Anomaly from 1978-2000 mean



Focusing Events

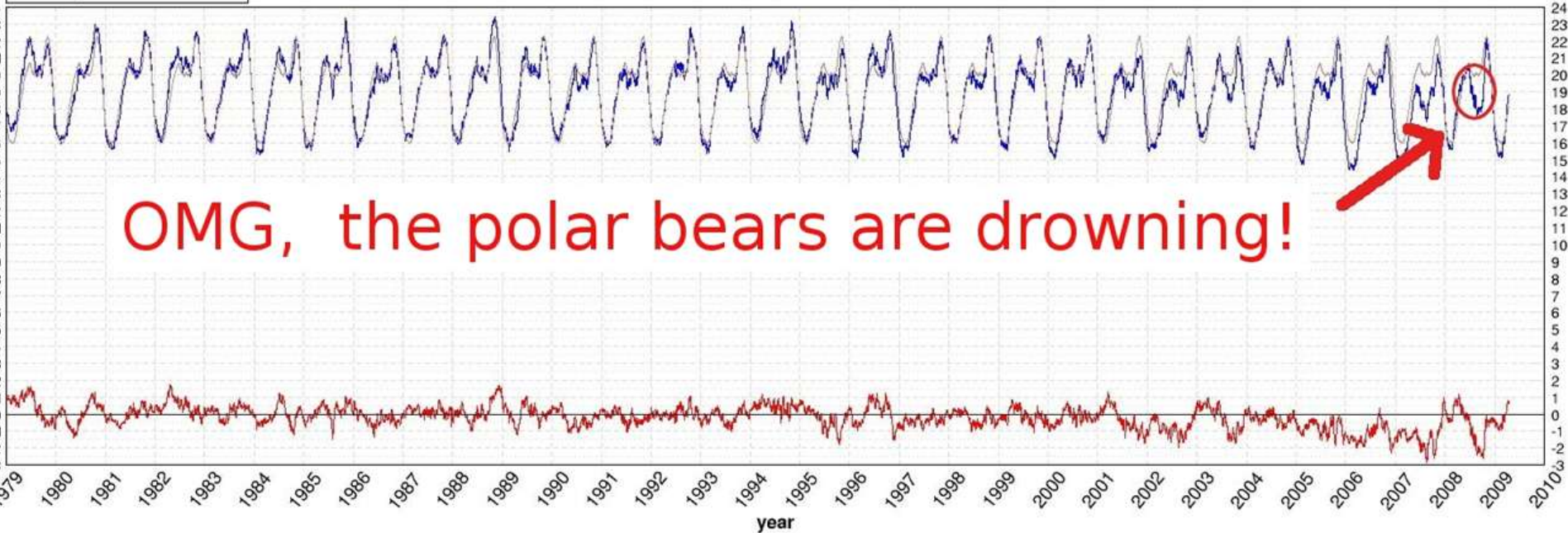


Problem Stream

- Indicators and Focusing Events
 - “Objective conditions are seldom so compelling or so unambiguous that they set the policy agenda or dictate the appropriate conceptualization.”
 - “For a condition to be a problem, people must become convinced that something should be done to change it.”

Global Sea Ice Area 1979 - present

- daily global sea ice anomaly
- daily sea ice area
- daily sea ice mean: 1979-2000



OMG, the polar bears are drowning!

BP Deepwater Horizon Spill



Open for Exploration



Politics Stream

- Shifts of important participants in the system
- Shifts in national mood or interest group configurations.
- Own dynamics and rules

Policy Windows



WWF00447 [JF] © www.visualphotos.com



Policy Entrepreneur

- advocates who are willing to invest their resources—time, energy, reputation, money
 - expertise, ability to speak for others
 - political connections
 - Persistence
 - Policy plan
- Examples?

Problem Stream

Problem Stream - events



"The constraints of human environmentalism ...
well crafted, fearless, and successful." — Peter Matthiessen

SILENT SPRING

40TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION

RACHEL CARSON

With a new foreword by Lucy Tangpest Williams and Linda Le...



April 22, 1970, first Earth Day, 20 million participants.

Policy Window Open?

Policy Entrepreneurs?



Earth Day - 1970

Mass Movement Begins

In New York City, thousands of persons thronged in the warm Spring sunbaked, and the world-famous Fifth Avenue belonged to the people. For a few hours, a small portion of the great city became motor, vehicles, and people pronounced on a proud boulevard usually congested with buses, taxis and cars. It was April 22--Earth Day in New York--and it was a holiday. Assistant Chief Inspector Arthur Morgan, who was in charge of the police on the scene, observed:

"Everyone's Beautiful"

"Everyone's beautiful. Just look at them. We're actually enjoying it."

In Madison, Wis., Earth Day was observed at sunrise over Lake Mendota with a Husk's invocation and a reading of the last chapter of the Book of Genesis with an apology to God for man's assaults on the landscape.

Earth Day observers in Milwaukee promoted the text, the praying mantis and the ladybug as substitutes for DDT.

Thousands Marched

In Greensboro, N. C., in Atlanta, Ga., and in Miami, Fla., thousands marched in demonstration for a clean environment. The Governor of Maine called for the Earth Day commitment to be "a truly lasting one," and the mighty Chicago Tribune observed incredulously that, after demonstrations on the city's broad new Civic Center Plaza, "there was an post-rally litter remaining to be cleaned up."

A new movement had begun, and recruited millions--students, laborers, farmers, housewives, politicians, professional people, liberals and conservatives--who might have found it difficult to find common agreement on any other subject, were gathering together in a massive educational effort to talk about survival and the quality of survival in a world they all share.

In the 1960s more than seven months after Sen. Gaylord Nelson suggested the idea of national teach-ins to discuss the crisis of the environment, the movement grew rapidly through March and April. On Earth Day, it was estimated that 2,000 college campuses, 2,000 community groups and 39,000 elementary and secondary schools were holding events.

In some places it was at the great acclaim while watching a rally of 30,000 in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, an "educational picnic" in others it was the serious business of government.

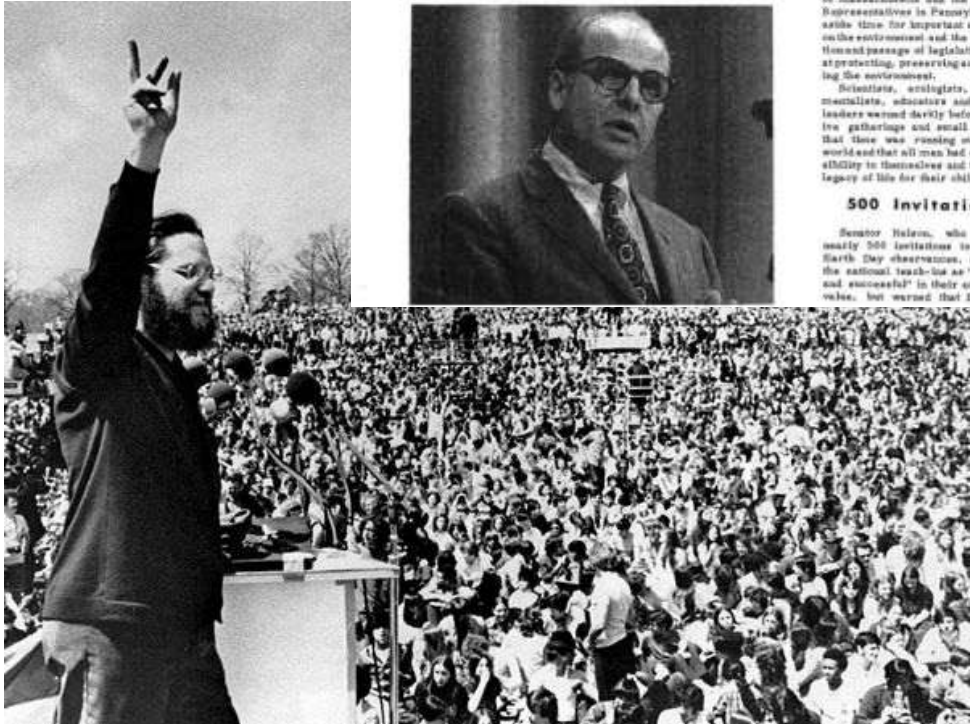
Special Legislation

During April, the state legislatures of Massachusetts and the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania set aside time for important addresses on the environment and the introduction of legislation aimed at protecting, preserving and restoring the environment.

Scientists, ecologists, environmentalists, educators and political leaders worked daily before massive gatherings and small meetings that there was a rising need for the world and that all men had a responsibility to themselves and to leave a legacy of life for their children.

500 Invitations

Senator Nelson, who received nearly 500 invitations to speak at Earth Day observances, described the national teach-ins as "domestic and successful" in their educational value, but warned that Earth Day





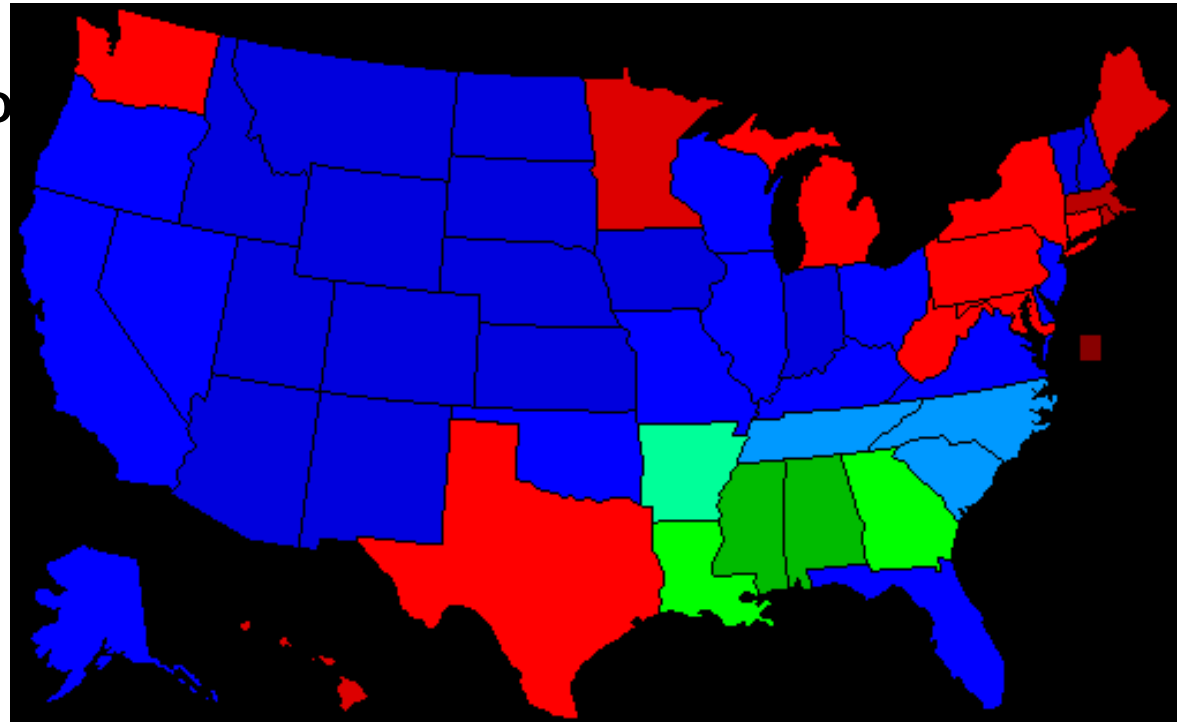
Politics Stream

- Shifts of important participants in the system
- Shifts in national mood or interest group configurations.

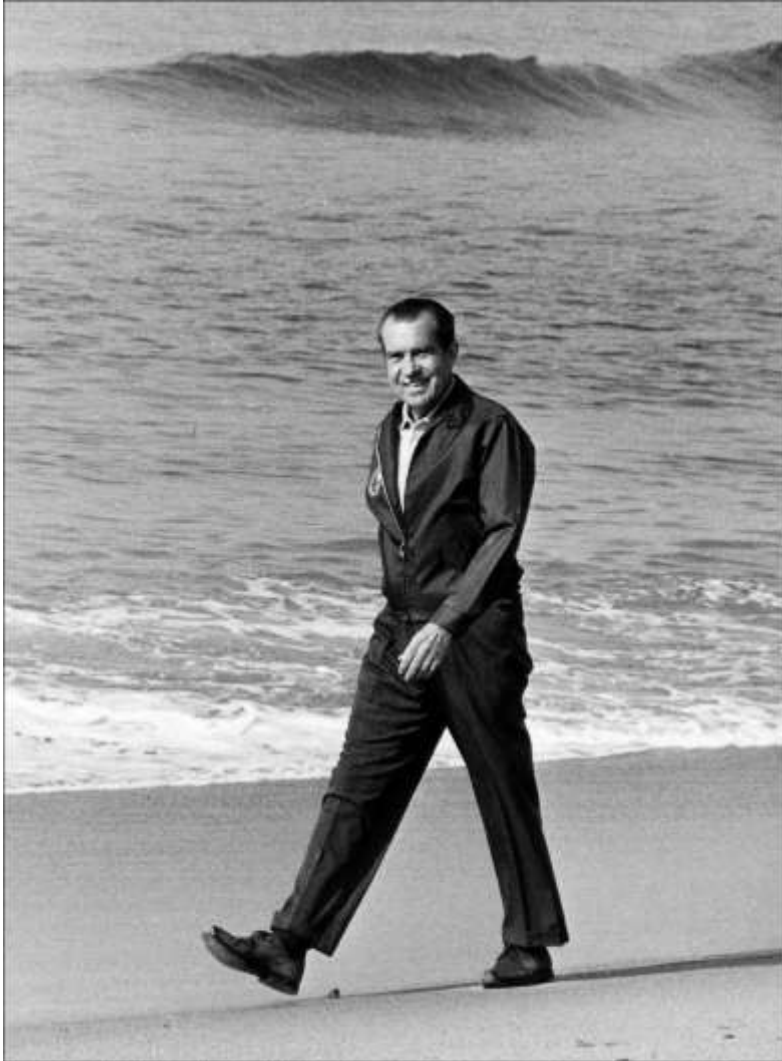
Political Stream

1968 Election

- Nixon 43.4%
- Humphrey 42.7%
- Wallace 8.6%

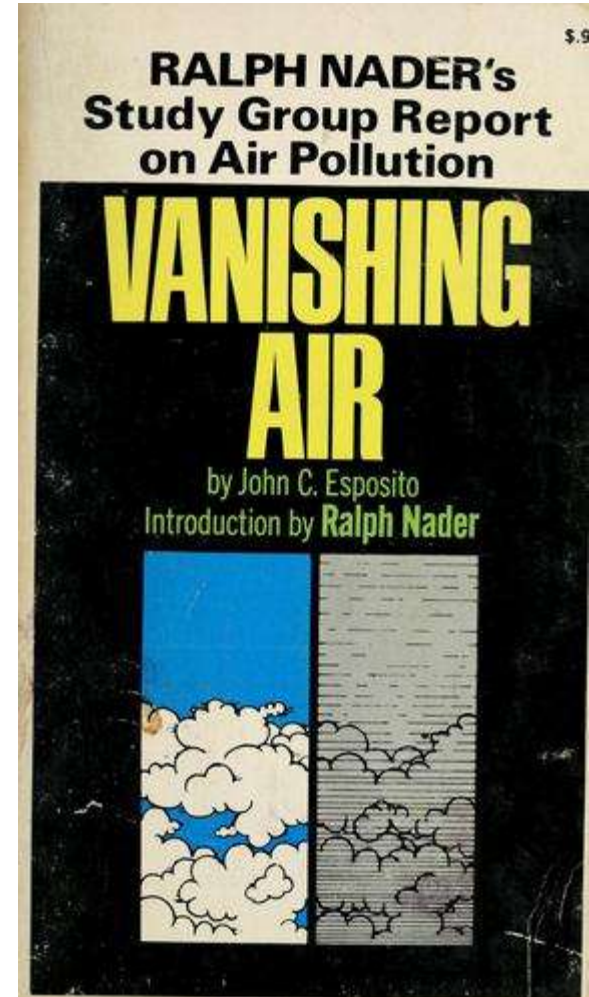


Mr. Environment?



- Establishes EPA
- Declares Earth Week
- 36 Environmental proposals
- CAA
 - National air standards
 - Motor vehicle standards

Mr. Environment or “Chief architect of failed Air Quality Act of 1967?”



Clean Air Act of 1970

Nixon

- new national ambient air quality standards
- New source performance standards
- motor vehicle emission standards

Muskie

Ditto, but

- air quality standards to protect public health and welfare
- Cannot use economic cost and technological feasibility considerations

Clean Water Act of 1972

Nixon

- \$6 billion waste treatment
- Mandatory toxic discharge standards

Muskie

- \$18 billion for waste treatment
- Zero discharge goals
- 100% fishable, swimmable, drinkable

Policy Stream

Why had state laws failed?

- Agency Capture!
- Solution
 - Strict deadlines
 - Clear goals
 - Uniform standards
 - Citizen Lawsuits
 - Technology forcing
 - Detailed statutes x Judicial Review = _____

