

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT ORIGINAL TEXTBOOK SERIES

公共管理英文版教材系列

Public Policy: An Evolutionary Approach

SECOND EDITION
(第二版)

公共政策导论

James P. Lester 詹姆斯·P·莱斯特 Joseph Stewart, Jr. 小约瑟夫·斯图尔特 著

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出版说明

21 世纪,我国的公共管理学呈现良好的发展势头,在教育界、理论界、实务界等社会各界的共同努力下,公共管理专业教育正逐渐与世界同步。为了全面深入地反映国外公共行政与公共管理的发展脉络,系统完整地介绍国外公共行政与公共管理专业的经典著作和最新研究成果,让国内读者直接阅读原汁原味的英文原著,提高教学研究和实际工作水平,中国人民大学出版社引进了公共管理英文版系列教材,影印出版。

本系列教材所选书目均系国外公共行政与公共管理领域最权威的专家所著的经典著作,是国外知名大学正在使用的权威教科书,综合反映了当前本领域的理论发展现状与实际操作水平。本系列教材注重理论与实践紧密结合,对于系统培养学生思考和解决实际问题的能力大有裨益。同时,所选教材行文流畅,简洁易懂,便于阅读。

为了使读者对每本教材有一个整体了解,把握该书在公共行政与公共管理学中的地位与价值,我们特别邀请专家对每本书撰写了导读,并把目录翻译成中文,供读者阅读时参考。同时,中国人民大学出版社将于近期陆续推出本系列教材的中文版。

需要特别提及的是,我们出版这套系列教材,并不表明我们赞成这些著作中的每一个观点。这些著作都基于西方特定的行政生态,是西方公共行政与公共管理理论与实践发展的产物,读者在阅读时不应忘记“取其精华,去其糟粕”的原则。

当前,我国的高等教育改革取得了突破性的进展,其中一项切实的举措即是规定有条件的高校实行双语教学,教育部对此也有具体的要求。贯彻这一精神,满足我国高等教育国际化发展的需要,提高学生阅读专业英语资料的能力,也是我们影印出版这套公共管理教材的初衷。

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2004 年 1 月

导 读

21 世纪是一个复杂的世纪, 21 世纪是一个发展变化的世纪。在这种复杂与变化中, 我们如何准确地定位公共政策? 怎样深刻地认识社会问题? 如何正确地理解公共政策的发展变化? 怎样有效地分析公共政策在不同领域的多种表现? 美国学者詹姆斯·P·莱斯特 (James P. Lester) 和小约瑟夫·斯图尔特 (Joseph Stewart, Jr) 所著的《公共政策导论》(第二版) 一书, 以独特的历史视角审视美国的公共政策, 回顾了政策的历史演进过程, 讨论了政策程序、形成过程、分析途径、执行策略等问题, 并在此基础上运用演进研究的概念框架对政策的发展变化进行了深入的分析和探讨。

《公共政策导论》(第二版) 是一本视角独特、颇具特色的公共政策教材。它通过研究公共政策的历史变迁来预测其未来的发展变化, 不仅为读者展示了公共政策的历史演进过程, 而且深刻分析了政策过程的不同阶段, 对指导现实的政策设计和未来的政策再设计都有重要的启发意义。书中从中立的角度客观地介绍了保守主义和自由主义的研究途径, 并运用大量政策模型对具体案例进行分析, 有助于读者认识和理解近些年来公共政策的发展规律、变化类型和最新研究成果, 对提高政策分析水平和日常决策能力也有很大的帮助。透视历史、预见未来是其重要特色, 书中对公共政策完整过程的全面分析和介绍, 有利于读者系统把握公共政策的整体框架, 深刻理解和洞察现代公共政策的基本走向。

詹姆斯·P·莱斯特和小约瑟夫·斯图尔特是活跃在美国公共政策研究领域的两位知名学者。他们多年从事公共政策的研究和教学工作, 著作颇丰, 在学界享有一定声誉。詹姆斯·P·莱斯特是科罗拉多州立大学 (Colorado State University) 政治学资深教授, 1980 年毕业于乔治·华盛顿大学 (George Washington University) 并获得博士学位。他先后执教于肯塔基州立大学、俄克拉何马大学、丹佛大学等美国多所著名大学。詹姆斯·莱斯特教授在公共政策特别是环境研究领域很有建树, 自己或与他人合作公开出版了 60 多部 (篇) 有关著作和论文。本书的另一位作者小约瑟夫·斯图尔特现任教于新墨西哥大学 (New Mexico University), 主要讲授政治学和公共政策等课程。他 1977 年毕业于休斯敦大学 (University of Houston) 并获得博士学位, 也曾在美国多所著名大学任

教。在公共政策和美国政治等研究领域，小约瑟夫·斯图尔特教授享有很高声誉，自己或与他人合作公开出版了40多部（篇）有关著作和论文。

在《公共政策导论》（第二版）的出版过程中，著名学者詹姆斯·安德森（James Anderson），威廉·邓恩（William Dunn），查尔斯·布洛克（Charles Bullock），理查德·科尔（Richard Core）等著名教授也给予了很大的支持与帮助，他们精辟的见解和宝贵的意见也是此书获得极大成功的一个重要原因。

宇宙万物的发展变迁都可视为一种自然演进，需要运用演进（evolutionary）研究方法进行分析。古人云：“以铜为镜可以正衣冠，以古为镜可以知兴替”。《公共政策导论》（第二版）充分体现了“以古为镜”的研究理念，它以公共政策的发展变迁为基本线索，关注前因后果的联系和社会背景的因素，用历史演进的观点来观察和认识具体的公共政策，探索并归纳其表现出的内在规律性。实际上，对于公共政策专业的学生而言，学习中一个主要的问题就在于绝大多数公共政策教材在内容上普遍存在历史意识的缺失。这或许也是教师在教学活动中面临的最大挑战。几乎没有一本书详细介绍公共政策的演进历史，以至于学生不能系统掌握和理解过去30年中公共政策领域产生的知识进步和学术发展。为了更加全面地把握公共政策变化演进的历史，有必要进行更大时间跨度的政策分析，以理解一些实质性公共政策的发展走向。因而，近来有一批学者积极建议通过研究公共政策演进的历史（至少12年以上）来认识公共政策的基本轮廓。实际上，近30年中整个政治学学科出现的最明显的研究趋势之一就是用历史的分析替代当代的或跨学科的分析。毫无疑问，用历史透视政策可以从动态角度更加全面和深刻地认识公共政策的实质性特征。

《公共政策导论》（第二版）分为四个部分。第一部分“公共政策研究的内容”介绍了公共政策和政策分析的相关领域，讨论了政策分析的多种研究途径，即什么是“模型”以及评估“模型”的相关方法；第二部分“政策过程中的分析”致力于分析政策演进过程和政策周期的各个阶段，特别关注不同政策阶段认识上的显著变化；第三部分“分析公共政策选择”探讨了四个实质性公共政策的演进过程，它们包括教育、福利、刑事和环境。这部分内容以独特的历史视角介入具体的公共政策，从而补充和完善了前两部分的分析；第四部分“结语”解释和分析了政策分析的发展趋势，探讨了分析结果被决策者利用（或不利用）的原因，并且对前三部分内容做了总体上的归纳。

《公共政策导论》（第二版）具有以下一些特点：

- 讨论了热点公共政策，包括犯罪、教育、福利和环境问题；
- 运用大量模型解释政策形成、政策执行、政策终结、知识应用和议程设立；

- 每章后面都附有讨论题，以便复习和思考本章的内容；
- 推荐的读物和音像制品为进一步分析和研究提供了大量资料来源；
- 最新的数据和表格便于读者获取更多的信息；
- 介绍怎样通过因特网改进研究，帮助读者从网上拓展资源。

作者在谈到如何使用此书时，还对学生和教师提出了建议。“告诉我的，也许我会忘记；显示给我看的，或许我会记得；与我个人紧密相关的，我将会牢记。”很明显，这段话表述了三种学习方式。首先，学生需要掌握一些基本资料和主题信息，即“告诉我”的知识。其次，为解决手头上的问题，学生还需要一些经验和技术手段，即“显示给我看”的东西，以便了解别人是如何处理同类问题的。最后，学生需要将前两个阶段被告知的信息和被展示的经验技术加以运用，即“与己相关”的内容。俗话说，“纸上得来终觉浅，绝知此事要躬行”，讲的就是这个道理。因此，教师可以用三种不同的方式来组织课堂。首先，每周可以以一个简单的主题开始讲授。学生们课前必须提前准备并阅读一些相关读物，课上以大组的形式讨论这个主题。其次，第二堂课可以播放录像带（或做特邀演讲），使学生掌握关于主题的一些实际经验和操作技术。最后，以小组讨论的形式反思并运用前两堂课上学到的知识和经验。这三个步骤相辅相成，为学生提供了多元化的学习活动方式，有助于吸引他们的兴趣并使课程具有生动性和乐趣。客串演讲和小组讨论是对传统授课方式的有效替代（同时也是有益补充）。学生们将在学习过程中变得更加主动，而不是像在传统课堂中那样，只是依赖机械被动的、单纯靠听和记笔记的学习途径。

本书还为读者提供了多种关于公共政策的网上信息和相关链接。学生和教师可以利用免费的搜索引擎在因特网上查询信息，还可以直接登录政策网站（[www. policy. com](http://www.policy.com)）。政策网站提供网上最大的、最广泛的政策新闻和信息服务。这个网站收集了世界上最主要的思想库、基金会和政府机构的政策信息，对学习公共政策知识会有很大的帮助。另外一个值得推荐的信息来源就是大学网络图书馆（InforTrac College Edition），其数据库收集了 600 多种学术性刊物和经典的出版物，包括报纸、杂志、百科全书和文件等，并且每天进行更新。至于原始资料媒介（Primary Source Media），则主要提供政府的解密文件，当然也是一个重要的信息渠道。

谢明

2004 年 1 月 3 日 于北京

*To William Howard Lester
and Paula F. Sutherland*

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

James P. Lester is Professor of Political Science at Colorado State University. He received his Ph.D. from the George Washington University in 1980 and has also taught at Texas A&M University, the University of Kentucky, the University of Oklahoma, and Denver University. He is the author or coauthor of over sixty publications in the areas of public policy and environmental studies. His most recent book is *Environmental Politics and Policy: Theories and Evidence*, Second Edition (Duke University Press, 1995). During 1999–2000, he is the Fulbright Distinguished Chair of American Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany.

Joseph Stewart, Jr., is Professor of Political Science at the University of New Mexico. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Houston in 1977 and has also taught at the University of Texas–Dallas, the University of New Orleans, and West Virginia University. He is the author or coauthor of over forty publications in the areas of public policy and American politics. His most recent book (with Paula McClain) is *Can We All Get Along? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*, Second Edition (Westview Press, 1998).

PREFACE

For several reasons, this is a particularly exciting time to study public policy. Moreover, it is likely to continue to be so for the foreseeable future. First, public policy study has become one of the fastest-growing subfields in political science. In less than 30 years we have seen enormous growth in student interest in this area, in course offerings at both undergraduate and graduate levels, in graduate programs, in policy institutes, and in research conducted in this subfield. Second, the existing literature on policy studies has witnessed enormous intellectual growth over the past two decades, and many new conceptual developments have occurred. Finally, the nature of American public policy increasingly requires policy analysis as a guide to policy design and redesign. Governments at all levels (i.e., federal, state, and local) will continue to need advice from policy analysts in the years to come as policy debates continue to proliferate in such areas as welfare reform, environmental problems, crime policy, and educational reform.

Many areas of the policy cycle have witnessed significant intellectual growth as far as understanding the determinants of each phase. Yet, the major problem for students of public policy (and perhaps the major challenge for teachers) is that a sense of history is missing in most contemporary policy analysis texts. So little of this evolutionary development has been accumulated in a single textbook that students may not fully appreciate the amount of intellectual growth that has taken place over the past 30 years. To appreciate more fully the extent of policy evolution, it is necessary to examine substantive policy across time. Most recently, a number of scholars have suggested that we may gain a substantially better understanding of the contours of public policy by examining its evolution over a period of at least a decade. By doing so, we begin to appreciate how systematic patterns have developed over time and across several areas of policy.

This book offers a unique approach to introducing students to policy studies by using a diachronic, or evolutionary, approach so that the students may fully appreciate the dynamic developments that have taken place in our understanding of both the policy process and several substantive areas of public policy. In fact, one of the clearest trends to emerge in the entire discipline of political science over the past 30 years is the need for historical or longitudinal analysis instead of contemporary or cross-sectional analysis. Therefore, we explicitly adopt the position that we can more fully appreciate and understand public policy

developments by viewing them from an historical or evolutionary perspective. This simply means that we propose to use an historical (or longitudinal) approach in a conceptual, rather than a statistical, sense.

In developing this theme, the book is organized into four sections. The first section of the book introduces the student to the subfield of policy studies and notes several tensions in the field. It also discusses alternative approaches to policy analysis, what we mean by “models,” and means of evaluating models. The second section of the book is devoted to the evolution of research and thinking about various aspects of the policy cycle, noting the evolution of our conceptual understanding from the origin of the concept of each stage to the present time. The third section of the book explores the evolution of our thinking in four substantive areas of public policy, including education, welfare, crime, and the environment. This section provides an analysis of public policy from an historical perspective and thus complements our approach in the first two sections by drawing together the various trends identified in them. The final section provides an explanation about the tendency for policy analyses to be utilized (or not to be utilized) by decision makers and draws conclusions from the other three sections with regard to the evolution of public policy and policy studies.

TO THE INSTRUCTORS USING THIS BOOK:

The following discussion provides some useful advice to the professors adopting this book and the students who take a course in public policy studies. For the instructors, we have found that an old Chinese proverb provides much insight into how students learn and how professors might approach this course. The old Chinese proverb says, “*Tell me and I will forget... Show me and I might remember... Involve me and I will remember.*” Thus, it is clear that students learn in at least three ways. First, all students need some basic *information* about the topic. They also need some type of *experience* with the topic at hand. Finally, they need to *reflect upon and apply* what they have been told or exposed to that week. Therefore, one could adopt three separate activities directed toward the students. First, each week might begin with a brief *lecture* on the topic for that particular week. Students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings for that week’s topic within the context of a large group. The second meeting each week could then be devoted to a *videotape* (or guest lecture) in order to provide the students with some *experience* with the topic. Finally, the week may end with a small group *discussion* for reflection and application of the material that has been presented that particular week. These three sets of activities are mutually reinforcing and they provide the student with multiple kinds of learning activities that hold their interest and make the course more stimulating and engaging. Guest lecturers and small group discussions represent powerful

alternatives (as well as supplements) to the traditional lecture format. By augmenting large class meetings and lectures with these other activities, teachers can share some of the responsibility for instruction with their students. The students thus become more active participants in this learning context, unlike in the traditional, more passive, approach wherein they are constrained by listening and notetaking.

TO THE STUDENTS WHO DO PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH:

The Internet (or the World Wide Web) is a tremendous resource for you as you conduct your policy analysis for the course. Using the Internet, you can gather all kinds of statistical information from government agencies, get other kinds of useful information from Congress or the White House, and even order books and obtain articles on your chosen topic. The purpose of this brief guide is to get you started on the Internet so that you can access the kind of information that is readily available to you for your research.

For starters, you may want to consult Andrew T. Stull's *Political Science on the Internet* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997) and Gregory M. Scott and Stephen M. Garrison's *The Political Science Student Writer's Manual* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998). See Chapter 13 on how to do policy analysis papers.

We strongly recommend that you consider a very useful research resource called www.policy.com, which is the Internet's largest and most widely used policy news and information service, offering daily, in-depth policy news and analysis from the world's leading think tanks, advocacy groups, trade associations, foundations, and government agencies. It provides nonpartisan policy information and thus does not take policy positions; rather, it aggregates policy content from various independent content providers, which range widely in viewpoint and area of expertise. It is entirely free, meaning that it has no registration fee and no subscription fee. It covers today's pressing issues in such areas as the environment, education, crime, welfare, and immigration, to name only a few.

Policy.com includes such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Enterprise Institute, The Brookings Institution, The Cato Institute, Common Cause, The Economic Policy Institute, The Heritage Foundation, The Levy Institute, The National League of Cities, Resources for the Future, RAND, The Sierra Club, and the Urban Institute, just to name a few. Gaining access to these top public policy research organizations could not be easier. To access these resources, visit www.policy.com or use **Keyword: policy** on America Online or e-mail info@policy.com, or call 202-737-4900.

To access this site, type in www.policy.com for your search. Then, go to the **Policy.com Homepage** or **Policy.com-Policy Update** or **Policy.com** sites. This site

will then give you a list of research areas by issue (e.g., agriculture, crime, environment, education, welfare and housing, immigration, etc.). Select the broad issue area that interests you (e.g., education, environment, etc.). The display will then provide you with more specific issue areas within a broad area such as education (e.g., bilingual education, school choice, higher education, etc.). Select the specific issue within the broad topic that interests you. For example, if you are interested in doing a paper on environmental policy, then you might search the topic of "global warming." Point the mouse to that locale and you will see a display of recent research on this topic from various think tanks and interest groups. You might also want to search the U.S. government agencies for this topic. For example, you might want to know what publications or documents are available from the executive branch on the subject of "global warming." The possibilities are endless for your search.

Another useful resource is **InfoTrac College Edition**, which is a fully searchable online university library containing complete articles and their images. Its database gives you access to over 600 scholarly and popular publications including magazines, journals, encyclopedias, and newsletters. It is updated daily and includes articles dating back as much as four years. Every article within the database can be easily printed for reading and reference purposes or quickly arranged into a bibliography. Student subscribers must purchase a personalized "account ID number" that gives them unlimited access to InfoTrac for four full months at any hour of the day, anywhere they happen to be. For more information on this resource, point your web browser to <http://www.infotrac-college.com/wadsworth>.

Still another useful resource is **Primary Source Media**, which provides students with declassified government documents. To access this resource, point your web browser to www.psmedia.com/ddrs.htm. With this information, you can research, analyze, and evaluate post-World War II trends and events and bring your understanding of domestic and international events to new heights. Released by presidential libraries, these records of the twentieth century provide a foundation for research in political science and public policy. These easily accessible digital facsimiles can be downloaded and printed as required.

After first consulting these three resources, you will also want to access the Internet's (cost-free) search engines, including Lycos, Yahoo, Infoseek, WebCrawler, HotBot, etc. Any of these search engines will work for you, and you should probably consult all of them to be comprehensive in your various searches. Next, you must identify your keyword(s) for your search. For example, let's say you are doing a paper on welfare policy in the United States. Various keywords might be "poverty rates United States" or "welfare policy United States" or "welfare reform," etc. Try any number of keywords to access what you need.

Another way to obtain information is to go directly to the government organization's Web page. For example, see the following sites:

Congress:

See <http://thomas.loc.gov/> for bills introduced and how members voted.

See <http://thorplus.lib.purdue.edu:80/gpo/> for a history of the bills pending and passed.

See <http://www.vote-smart.org/reference/primer/clead.html> for leadership of the 105th Congress.

See <http://voter96.cqalert.com> for background stories on legislation, analysis of major issues, voting records, and election results.

The Presidency:

See <http://www.whitehouse.gov> for the home page of the White House.

See <http://www.tamu.edu/whitehouse/> for documents and other academic resources concerning the presidency.

See <http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/Welcome.html> for the best all-around introduction to various types of government information on policy issues.

See <http://www.gpo.ucop.edu/search/budget97.html> for the budget.

The Bureaucracy:

See <http://www.fedworld.gov> for links to numerous federal agencies and other government information.

The Courts:

See <http://www.uscourts.gov> for information about the federal courts.

See <http://lawlib.wuacc.edu/washlaw/searchlaw.html> for information and decisions at the state court level.

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James P. Lester and Joseph Stewart, Jr.

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