Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America

Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America integrates research from agenda setting and epidemiology to model factors that shape the speed and scope of public policy diffusion. Drawing on a data set of more than 130 policy innovations, the research demonstrates that the "laboratories of democracy" metaphor for incremental policy evaluation and emulation is insufficient to capture the dynamic process of policy diffusion in America. A significant subset of innovations triggers outbreaks – the extremely rapid adoption of innovation across states. The book demonstrates how variation in the characteristics of policies, the political and institutional traits of states, and differences among interestgroup carriers interact to produce distinct patterns of policy diffusion.

Graeme Boushey is Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research at the University of Michigan, on leave from his post as Assistant Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University. His teaching and research are organized around practical and theoretical questions of state and federal policy making. He recently coauthored a review of individual and organizational decision making for the *Handbook of Public Policy*, and he also has coauthored an article in the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* on immigration policy in federations.

Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America

GRAEME BOUSHEY

San Francisco State University



Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-76281-6 - Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America Graeme Boushey Frontmatter More information

> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521762816

© Graeme Boushey 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Boushey, Graeme.
Policy diffusion dynamics in America / Graeme T. Boushey.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-76281-6 (hardback)
1. Policy sciences. 2. Diffusion of innovations – Political aspects – United States. I. Title.
JK468.P64B73 2010
320.60973–dc22 2010005435

ISBN 978-0-521-76281-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To my parents, Homer and Virginia Boushey

Contents

List of Figures	<i>page</i> ix
List of Tables	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
1 Contagion in the Laboratories of Democracy	1
2 Incrementalism and Policy Outbreaks in the America States	in 22
3 Policy Agents: Innovation Attributes and Diffusion Dynamics	62
4 Innovation Hosts: State Characteristics and Diffusior Dynamics	n 92
5 Policy Vectors: Interest Groups and Diffusion Dynan	nics 139
6 Conclusion	169
Appendix A: List of Innovations Collected	187
Appendix B: Policies Collected by Historical Era	193
Appendix C: Innovations Collected by Policy Type and	Target 197
Appendix D: State Receptivity to Innovation Ranked	
by Policy Type	201
References	205
Index	215

Figures

1.1.	The epidemiologic triad of disease.	page 11
1.2.	The epidemiologic framework of innovation diffusion.	14
2.1.	Distinct patterns of policy diffusion: The death penalty	
	and state lotteries.	27
2.2.	Distinct patterns of policy diffusion: Charter schools and	
	the Amber Alert.	27
2.3.	Episodic patterns of policy diffusion: Gubernatorial term	
	limits and English Only legislation.	28
2.4.	Newell's bands of rationality.	35
2.5.	S-shaped adoption curve.	39
2.6.	S-shaped adoption curves representing three different	
	rates of innovation diffusion.	43
2.7.	R-shaped exponential adoption curve.	44
2.8.	Simulated theoretical diffusion curves.	48
2.9.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: All policies.	56
2.10.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: 1900–1929.	57
2.11.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: 1930–1959.	58
2.12.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: 1960–2006.	59
3.1.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: All policies.	83
3.2.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: Governance	
	policy.	84
3.3.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: Morality	
	policy.	85
3.4.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: Regulatory	
	policy.	86
3.5.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: Children's	
	policy.	87

c 1.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-76281-6 - Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America
Graeme Boushey
Frontmatter
Moreinformation

х		Figures
3.6.	Cumulative distribution of adoption times: Licensing policy.	88
	Map of state receptivity to innovation, 1960–2006.	102
	Map of state receptivity to morality policy innovation, 1960–2006.	121
4.3.	Map of state receptivity to regulatory policy innovation, 1960–2006.	122
4.4.	Map of state receptivity to governance policy innovation, 1960–2006.	123

Tables

2.1.	Statistical Tests for Normality by Historical Era	page 56
3.1.	Statistical Tests for Normality by Policy Type	83
4.1.	State Receptivity to Innovation, 1960–2006	101
4.2.	State Receptivity to Innovation by Historical Era	104
4.3.	State Predictors of Innovation Receptivity, 1960–2006	114
4.4.	State Receptivity to Innovation by Policy Type	119
4.5.	Predictors of State Receptivity to Regulatory, Morality,	
	and Governance Policy, 1960–2006 (Baseline Model)	131
4.6.	Predictors of State Receptivity to Regulatory, Morality,	
	and Governance Policy, 1960–2006 (Full Model)	132
5.1.	Interest Group Variation in Organization and Strategic	
	Behavior	150

Acknowledgments

This work explores the diffusion of public policy innovations in the United States. I became interested in the topic as a graduate student at the University of Washington, where I was introduced to research on policy making in federations. Although I appreciated the purported benefits of decentralized policy making, I could not reconcile ideal models of innovation and diffusion with my experiences growing up in California, where many of the prominent policies that the state adopted in the 1990s did not match the neat, cost-benefit decision-making processes outlined by researchers of an earlier generation. As I began to read research on agenda setting, it became clear that the process of public policy innovation and diffusion is dynamic, one in which incremental decision making is often interrupted by sudden moments of attention-driven policy change. I became interested in identifying what determines the pattern of innovation diffusion, whether by gradual increments or by sudden outbreak.

In pursuing this interest, I could not help but notice that a similar pattern emerged in my own work – long periods of gradual improvement interrupted by new insights and sudden productivity. Unlike models of the policy process, the causes of these breakthroughs are easy to explain. They came after meetings and conversations with those friends and colleagues who graciously showed an interest in this project, and who took the time to offer suggestions for improvement. I wish to thank each of them for their attention and support.

I am fortunate to have worked with an extraordinary group of people at the University of Washington, and thank each of them for the time and energy they invested in the development of this research. This book

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-76281-6 - Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America Graeme Boushey Frontmatter More information

Acknowledgments

would not have been possible without the mentorship of my committee, Bryan Jones, Mark Smith, and Erik Wibbels. Bryan Jones encouraged my interdisciplinary approach to modeling diffusion dynamics and provided feedback and support for this research from its conception. My interest in policy diffusion grew out of challenging discussions with Mark Smith and Erik Wibbels, whose respective mastery of the literature on interest groups and federalism provided an invaluable resource as I began to explore the questions of why and how innovations spread across states.

A number of others provided key advice at various stages of the project. Peter May volunteered feedback as I began to explore how the initiative process shaped the diffusion of innovations. I benefited enormously from the friendship and advice of David Olson, whose knowledge of state and local politics is limitless. Anne Ganley provided insight on how to organize and execute a major research project. John Ahlquist, Christian Breunig, and Josh Sapotichne were valuable critics and good friends. They pushed me to expand my conceptualization of the processes leading to innovation diffusion and often took time from their own research to help me work through various technical challenges that emerged as I worked on this project.

I was surrounded by a group of colleagues and friends who made it a joy to study in the Department of Political Science at the University of Washington. Chris Koski, Rose Ernst, Sebastien Lazardeux, Ashley Jochim, Michelle Wolfe, and Samuel Workman each provided encouragement and assistance at important stages of this project. My thinking on public policy diffusion grew better from the exchanges we had over coffee in Gowen and Smith Halls.

A number of others provided important comments on various stages of this research. Andy Karch read one of the first drafts of Chapter 2 and later provided feedback when I presented a completed manuscript at the University of Texas–Austin. Frank Baumgartner – a coauthor and former student of Jack Walker – made valuable suggestions that helped clarify how interest groups influence the process of policy diffusion. Frances Berry, John Fulwider, Michael Mintrom, Christopher Mooney, Karen Mossberger, Craig Volden, and Dick Winters offered criticism and comments at various panels over the past few years. I would also like to thank seminar participants at the University of Texas–Austin, who read the manuscript and provided lively feedback during a workshop and panel discussion.

xiv

Acknowledgments

I was welcomed to San Francisco by a wonderful community of scholars. Max Neiman, of the Public Policy Institute of California, took an early interest in this project and graciously gave detailed comments on an entire draft of the manuscript. Richard DeLeon commented on a full draft, adding the perspective of a scholar who has made a career of studying the innovative politics of San Francisco. Jesse Cohen provided technical support for ArcGIS and helped produce the maps that appear in Chapter 4.

The faculty and students in the political science department at San Francisco State University were supportive audiences as I worked on this research. I especially want to thank the students in my graduate seminar in American politics, whose comments on the manuscript gave me a fresh perspective as I neared completion. I am grateful to the School of Behavioral and Social Science and the Office of Faculty Affairs and Professional Development at San Francisco State University for their support of this research.

Lew Bateman of Cambridge University Press has been a supportive editor and a valuable critic. He skillfully kept the project moving, providing important feedback at each stage of the review and revision process. I am in debt to the anonymous reviewers for their generous and useful comments. Each clearly invested a great deal of time and effort reviewing the manuscript, and I am certain that responding to their concerns improved this book. Their comments were careful and comprehensive and not only highlighted issues and ideas in need of improvement, but also provided concrete and useful directions that made revisions much easier. Any errors or omissions that remain are entirely my own.

I am blessed to have a family that has provided unwavering support over the years that I have worked on this research. As I collected data for this project, my parents Homer and Virginia Boushey became active students of policy innovation and diffusion. My mother forwarded newspaper clippings about interesting new policies and the problematic legacy of California's initiative process. My siblings Geoff and Sarah Boushey were close confidants when I became excited by a new idea or frustrated by a setback. My father, a professor of medicine at the University of California San Francisco, was always willing to read drafts of my manuscript, and provided perspective on examples I chose from studies of epidemiology.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Sara Levine, whose friendship, support, encouragement, and patience have sustained me as I have worked

xv

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-76281-6 - Policy Diffusion Dynamics in America Graeme Boushey Frontmatter More information

xvi

Acknowledgments

late evenings and long weekends on this project. I always found it easier to return to writing after the long hikes we took on the coast or in the redwood forests of Northern California, where I gained perspective in the calm that comes during a long walk with a good friend. I cannot imagine completing this book without her extraordinary love and support.