

Promise and Performance: Choosing and Implementing an Environmental Policy



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abundant labor force, the peripheral nations provide a ready pool of workers on which to draw (p. 14). For Maldonado-Denis, the labor flow from Puerto Rico to the United States closely parallels the flow of southern European "guest workers" northward—a flow that has helped to create "economic miracles" as in the Federal Republic of Germany.

We are told early on in the work that the choice of "emigration" rather than "migration" to describe the Puerto Rican case is based on politics rather than semantics. One "migrates" within one country but "emigrates" from one country to another. To Maldonado-Denis, Puerto Rico is not part of the United States, but "a Latin American nation which has been under U.S. colonization since 1898" (p. 16). Therefore, he uses "emigration" to highlight the exodus of hundreds of thousands of islanders to a *foreign* nation.

The main contribution of *The Emigration Dialectic* is that each of its seven chapters raises issues that should stimulate further exploration and analysis. In chapter 2, for example, the author discusses "neo-Malthusianism" on the island as seen in the controversy over the sterilization of large numbers of Puerto Rican women. Sterilization and emigration are analyzed as two processes directly related to the island's economic development program and on both issues, according to the author, the Puerto Rican government has acted irresponsibly.

The high points of the book are chapters 6 and 7 on "cultural assimilation" and "those who return" to Puerto Rico. First, Maldonado-Denis analyzes the process of cultural assimilation both on the island and in the States, and concludes that "the difference in the process . . . in Puerto Rico and in the metropolis is one of degree and not of type" (p. 104). In this chapter, the author's discussion brings to mind some of the more moving passages in the works of Memmi or Fanon on the ravages of colonial culture on the colonized. The chapter on the "New Yorricans" who return to Puerto Rico is another perceptive discussion; "New Yorrican" is a term loosely applied to all Puerto Ricans born on the mainland. The mainland-born Puerto Rican may not only feel alienated in the States but may also feel alienated on his return to Puerto Rico. "The so-called New Yorrican is the target of the hostility of those on the island. . . . [He] becomes a scapegoat, the victim of a national chauvinism" (p. 127).

The Emigration Dialectic is a book written with passion, and so is likely to invite criticism from those hoping for a more balanced expository style. As one who has been critical of Puerto Rico's dependent development and its concomitant emigration process, I found that at times Maldonado-Denis' broadsides against policy

makers on the island and the mainland were not sufficiently documented and sometimes his evidence was inconsistent. One example involves unemployment statistics for Puerto Rico. In 1976, the official unemployment rate was 19 percent, but critics of the island's development program often cite an unofficial rate that is about 10 points higher. Throughout the book, Maldonado-Denis shifts between a 30-40 percent rate for the same period and usually neglects to mention that this is an unofficial guess. Another problem involves the book's translation from Spanish to English. At points the translation is not merely clumsy, it renders an idea meaningless.

Despite these reservations, I recommend this as a provocative discussion of Puerto Rican emigration and the dynamics of emigration more generally. By examining the socioeconomic "push" factors in Puerto Rico and the "pull" factors in the States at the height of the Puerto Rican exodus in the late 1940s and 1950s, we can better understand the motives of more recent emigrants from other Caribbean islands, Central, and South America. Finally, students of ethnicity will find this work useful. Maldonado-Denis sheds light on the reasons why Puerto Ricans and other ethnic groups may be resisting the pressure to "melt" in the great American "melting pot."

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Promise and Performance: Choosing and Implementing an Environmental Policy. By Alfred A. Marcus. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980. Pp. xix + 204. \$18.95.)

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970 (CAA) were more than merely major new bureaucratic and policy mandates. They also represented ideas generated by three important reform movements. Substantively, they reflected the environmentalist demand for a major new government effort in pollution control. Organizationally, they exemplified the long-standing proposal offered by a variety of presidential commissions that specialized regulatory agencies be headed by single administrators who are accountable to the president. And legally, they responded to critics who called for clearer and less ambiguous policy mandates from Congress. It is in these qualities that the EPA and CAA showed great promise; but, as Alfred A. Marcus demonstrates through this interesting case study, it is in these very same areas that environmental policy efforts were doomed to failure.

The lesson Marcus draws from his analysis is at

once both simple and profound: if you try to satisfy everyone, you're likely to please almost no one. The EPA's unsuccessful attempts to respond to the contradictory objectives of its two masters (Congress and the White House) as well as the ever-expanding demands of its primary clientele (environmentalists) were further aggravated by the diverse viewpoints which emerged from among the policy, program, and research components of the newly formed agency. Marcus does a credible and insightful job of describing EPA's dilemmas during the 1970s and how that agency tried in vain to contend with them. It is only as he moves away from this major thesis and descriptive task that his study becomes awkward, incomplete, and frustrating to the reader.

Minor themes in the work seem to slip from Marcus' grasp. In a number of places he raises issues and proceeds to abandon them with less than complete analysis or without having joined the specific issues to the case study. Not only is this a source of frustration but it also gives the impression that the author lacked confidence in his own analytic capabilities since he is often diverted from his task in a search for a coherent framework. These problems are most in evidence in the first and final chapters. Rather than focusing on the major theme of the study at the outset, Marcus opens his work with what proves to be an irrelevant comparison of policy evaluation criteria. Only after the first ten pages does he get to meaningful information. Ironically, the final pages of the book suffer from the opposite problem, for it is here that Marcus offers several relevant points on the difference between divided and concentrated authority patterns—points which, if provided much earlier in the text, would have vastly increased the value of the case study. As it is presented, the reader is left "hanging" in this and other parts of the work.

The problems that Marcus faced are not unique among those who study policy implementation and use the case study approach in their analyses. When Pressman, Wildavsky, Bardach and others launched this field of study, it seemed to hold considerable promise as a means for explaining policy successes or failures, and many political scientists picked up the challenge and ran with it. But recent implementation studies indicate that the runners have hit a "wall" and that the work of these analysts has come to a point where the lack of new and insightful concepts and analytic frameworks might render future studies redundant. Marcus' somewhat awkward search for a relevant perspective is a sign that all is not lost.

MEL DUBNICK

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Three Mile Island: Prologue or Epilogue? By Daniel Martin. (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1980. Pp. ix + 251. \$14.50.)

Like "Pearl Harbor" and "Watergate," "Three Mile Island" has become part of our language. It is the place where millions of people believe that what was supposed to be impossible almost happened: a catastrophic nuclear accident.

Daniel Martin's fine book can be read and enjoyed as a gripping minute-by-minute, even second-by-second, account of what did happen at Three Mile Island between March 28 and April 2, 1979. And, as they say of all good thrillers, "few readers will be able to put it down." I certainly could not, nor could several friends to whom I have passed it along.

But, to Martin's considerable credit, his narrative moves beyond the inherent melodrama of the episode into some fertile territory for reflection about the operation of government. It has been many years since Karl Deutsch first taught us about the importance of "the nerves of government," about the meaning of variations in the ways that organizations receive, process, and respond to information. When he asked his students about the difference between refrigerators and chickens, he was not looking for the observation that you cannot unplug a chicken. Rather, he was making the point that even chickens have rudimentary cybernetic capabilities enabling them to adapt their behavior to their environment. Martin, unhappily, confirms that during the accident at Three Mile Island the responsible agencies of the U.S. federal government behaved more like refrigerators than like chickens. His story is one of the total failure of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and other agencies as information-processing entities. This failure was so complete, so utter, and so consistent that Martin's account is hilarious at the same time that it is deeply troubling.

About half-way through the book, I began to underline phrases and verbs with a recurrent theme: "did not believe," "did not know," "garbled," "did not know how," "could not find out," "no answer," "misquoted information," "misinterpreted data," "could not get through," "invalid assumption," "inaccurate data," "mistakenly understood," "was not aware."

The result was that "the federal actors in charge helped turn a crisis into a new calamity."

For several years, Tony Oettinger, Director of the Harvard University Program on Information Resources Policy, has been warning of the risks of concentrating on the "bones and muscles" of government and society while ignoring the nervous system. Martin's account of the events at