

## On Knowing and Doing

Or; Rationality and Its Practical Limits in Organizational Choice

Or; Knowledge and Intuition in Decision Making

Or; The Powers and Limits of Policy Analysis

# Overview

Rationality and Administrative Choice – A Review [Simon, Updated]

- Area 1 -- Formalistic Analysis and the Federal Government
  - Area 2 -- Expertise and its Limitations
  - Area 3 – On Knowing and Redoing; Adaptation as a Rational Strategy
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<A Hypothetical: *Traffic Safety in the Land of Libertaria, 1995*>

# Rationality and Administrative Choice

*“Does Reason Rule the World, or Does the World Rule Reason?\**

*“Should Reason Rule the World, or Should the World Rule Reason”\*\**

- A. Is Rationality Always the Ostensible Norm in Organizations?
- B. The Limits of Rationality – The Idea of Bounded Rationality
- C. Choice Strategies Under Conditions of Bounded Rationality

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\*Anon., 2005

\*\* Anon., 2005

## Rationality and Administrative Choice:

### A. Is Rationality Always the Norm?

- In most organizations, it's usually the dominant culture, nowadays
  - “Let’s reason together”\*
- It’s not, of course, the *solitary* culture
- . . . And in some times and places <think of some>, it’s not even *dominant*

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\*Lyndon Johnson

## Rationality and Administrative Choice

# An Aside on Herbert Simon

- **Simon the Producer**
  - Nobel Laureate in Economics, 1978
  - Author of 1000 papers
  - Father of Artificial Intelligence
- **Simon the Interdisciplinary Man**
  - PhD in <guess what field, Shirley>
  - Also studied physics in grad school
  - Top professional society awards in Psychology, Economics, Political Science, Business Administration
  - (First job: planning department in a city manager's office)
- **Simon the Administrative Theorist**
  - Wrote Administrative Behavior in 1947 – basis of his Nobel Prize
  - Updated it in 1997, with significant new commentary
- **Simon the Mensch**
  - An amiable fellow, but . . . does the tidiness of a man's office reflect his soul?
  - A blemished record on emerging technologies

## Rationality and Administrative Choice

### B. The Limitations of Rationality

*“Economic Man” is just a straw man, but it must be the liveliest straw man in human history”\**

- “Incompleteness of Knowledge”
- “Difficulties of Anticipation”
- “The Scope of Behavior Possibilities”
- (I’d add) The Limited Attention Span
- And Besides, Context Also Matters (Simon, ’97):
  - Agenda-setting
  - “Representing the problem” [see p. 124 ff]
  - Generating Alternatives

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Anon., 2005

### C. Strategies Under Bounded Rationality

*“Administrators satisfice because they have not the wits to maximize”\**

- Satisficing; settling for the “good enough”
- Employing “simplified models” of the world
  - see next page, on the role of intuition
- (from Lindblom) “muddling through,” “incrementalism”
- (from nobody, yet) proceeding via deliberate trial-and-error\*\*

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\*Simon, 1997

\*\*Hobby-horse alert!

## Rationality and Administrative Choice

### An Aside on the Role of Intuition

- Intuition – a source of rationality?
  - It's "simply analysis frozen into habit"<sup>\*</sup> -- e.g., the chess master vs. 52 rubes
  - It integrates personal experience over time
  - It evolves; it features the "survival of the fittest responses"
  - It amounts to the "reasoned feel of the expert"
  - <Blink>! It works *better* than deliberate analysis
- Intuition – a source of ignorance?
  - "Iraq surely has lots of WMDs"
  - "Leeches will heal many ills; leeches will heal no ills"
  - "You've just got bronchitis – go home and rest"
  - "That altitude alarm is wrong, I'm sure we're at 1000 feet"
  - "We can make Enron's stock price rise indefinitely"
  - "It's a coincidence that Brazil and Africa look like adjacent puzzle pieces"
- The key problem – whose intuition can be trusted, and when?
  - (This needs an *institutional* solution, I suspect)

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<sup>\*</sup>Simon, p. 139

## Area 1 -- Formal Analysis and the Feds

*"You can lead the House to data, but you can't make it think"\**

- **A.** PPBS, ZBB, and GPRA – loud fizzles
- **B.** APA – long-sustained reform
- **C.** C/B Analysis – sustained reform
- **D.** Other Initiatives
  - Impact Statements – a soft fizzile
  - Regulatory Budget – an idea with sizzle?
  - FACA – the stick that doesn't swizzle

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\*Anon., 2005

## Area 1 -- Formal Analysis and the Feds

### A. Fixing Program Planning, Budgeting, Performance

- 1960's: PPBS – Quantify and Conquer, at least in DoD?
- 1970s: Zero-Based Budgeting (ZBB) – Making Reasoned Budgets
- 1990's: Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA)
- Combined impact: very modest – widely seen as giving temporary edge as rules of the game change, others adapt to the new tools

## B. The Administrative Procedures Act (APA) of 1946

- Decision Type 1 -- Adjudicatory Decisions
  - Brings formal trial procedures into the agencies
- Decision Type 2 -- “Notice and Comment Rule-making”
  - An intelligible “preamble” for the Notice of Proposed RM
  - A “statement of basis and purpose”
  - Elicitation of outside comments on every proposed policy
  - Formal agency responses to comments about data, analysis, assumptions
  - Often, an “advanced notice” to elicit general ideas
  - Effective enforcement by judges in subsequent appeals hearings
- Upshot – A Solidly Entrenched Reform, Lots of Work for Contractors

## C. Cost-Benefit Analysis

- A Major Long-Term Trend
  - Regulatory analysis under Carter Administration
  - Regulatory Impact Analysis under Reagan and Bush 1 Administrations
  - Heightened Role of President's Cost Police
  - Much employment for economists inside and outside government
- Best seen, perhaps, as tipping a bit toward the budget office [OMB] in the historic agency-OMB tussles over excessive costs
- Limitations?
  - OMB Can't overcome politically popular program decisions
  - OMB is widely seen as partisan
  - OMB is subject to some “gaming” by agencies – e.g., “salami-slicing”

## Area 1 -- Formal Analysis and the Feds

### D. Other Efforts to Rationalize Decisions

- Government by Impact Statement
  - Environmental Impact Statement
  - Family Farm Impact Statement
  - Family Impact Statement
  - Small Business Impact Statement
  - And 7 more . . .
- The Regulatory Budget Proposal
  - Controlling “off-budget” burdens on the economy
- The Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA)
  - Rarely used to vet, improve analysis

# Area 2 --Experts as Agents of Rationality

*“Should the experts be on top, or on tap?”\**

- **A.** Expertise in the Federal Government
- **B.** Formal Knowledge Appraisal and its Limits

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Frequent question, 1960's

## Area 2 --Experts as Agents of Rationality

### A. Experts and the Federal Government – Four Channels

- Hire Experts into the Rulemaking Agencies
  - Helpful, but there are two little problems – quality and credibility
- Require Public Analyses by the Decision Makers [e.g., NPRM, EIS]
  - Helpful, but there is a little problem of trust
- Employ Outside Contract Analysts
  - Helpful, but there is a little problem of trust
- Engage Outside “Blue Ribbon” Expert Panels
  - Helpful, but there is a little problem of pertinence

## Area 2 --Experts as Agents of Rationality

### B. Knowledge Appraisal and Its Limits

- Knowledge Appraisal – Who are the “Credibility Specialists?”
  - National Academies\*\*? Health Effects Institute? Nat'l Instts of Health?
  - <Is MIT a Knowledge Appraiser? Why not?>
- Is Their Use Dependent on Enlightened Sponsors?
  - Often, yes; sometimes, no
- What Do the Credibility Specialists Have in Common?
  - Surprisingly little, for some reason

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\*Thanks, Sandy Weiner

\*\*Self-deception alert!

# Area 3 -- Adaptation as a Rational Strategy

*"Is it really so rational when current policies are soundly based on aged knowledge?"\**

- A. Does Adaptation Happen?
- B. Does *Planned* Adaptation Happen?
- C. Why Doesn't It Happen Routinely?

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Anon., 2005; Hobby-horse warning!

## Area 3 -- Adaptation as a Rational Strategy

### A. Does Adaptation Happen?

- Yes, Change Happens
  - But isn't it usually *ad hoc* change?
  - And isn't it often based on an *unimproved* knowledge base?
  - “Isn't ‘Trial-and-error’ better than ‘Error-and-Error?’”\*

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\*Anon., 2005

### Area 3 -- Adaptation as a Rational Strategy

#### B. Does *Planned* Adaptation Happen?

- Lots of People Say that it *Should* Happen
- I Can't See Much, in Federal Regulation
- But the Exceptional Cases Are Surely Interesting
  - NAAQS
  - Airline Safety?

### Area 3 -- Adaptation as a Rational Strategy

## C. Why Doesn't it Happen More Often?

- Darned If I Know
- Some Simple Theories
  - Bureaucracies Just Always Resist Change?
  - It Messes up Public Enforcement Efforts?
  - New Rules are More Seductive Subjects Than Existing Ones?
  - Affected Interests are Indifferent to “Sunk Costs”?
  - It Undermines Old Compromises?
- How Would One Induce Planned Adaptation, If One Wanted To?
  - Replicate Air Pollution Standards [NAAQS] Processes?
  - Enforce Benchmarking?
  - Address One Rule a Year?