The Bridge's Demise: A public policy study of coalitions and narrative strategies in the Columbia River Crossing boondoggle

By

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This dissertation is dedicated to my dear wife and best friend, Kylie Nicole Brewer. You have been my greatest support since the beginning of my college career. From our chats in the parking lot before class at Clark College in 2006, to the completion of our undergraduate degrees at BYU-Idaho six years later, to your continued support as I worked through graduate school at ISU. I will forever be grateful for your love, patience, and friendship. Your influence was paramount to my success.

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Abstract

In this dissertation, it is argued that policy narratives play an important role in the policy process. Through narratives, people's views are influenced to either advocate or oppose a particular policy and often these policy narratives originate from advocacy coalitions seeking increased support from the public for their policy stance.   Although most NPF (Narrative Policy Framework) studies have focused on national policy issues, this study will use the NPF to analyze a specific state and local economic development project and the narratives surrounding its ultimate failure to materialize. Specifically, in the Portland-Vancouver area of Oregon and Washington states, local policy discussions have been dominated by a federally funded proposal for a new mega-bridge on Interstate-5 connecting the two cities across the Columbia River. A new government agency (CRC- Columbia River Crossing), made up of planners and engineers, was formulated for the implementation of this project. Upon approval of a proposal, the CRC experienced heavy backlash from citizens, local businesses, and community leaders alike. This dissertation suggests the narratives surrounding this issue over the past decade and perpetuated by two competing advocacy coalitions, have shaped policy realities for the public and lawmakers in this region. This study uses the NPF and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) as set forth by Paul Sabatier to measure strength and cohesion within coalitions based on the use of narrative elements, strategies and advancement of narratives at the meso-level. The implications of this paper are broad considering that other state and local governments throughout the United States struggle to control the narrative in similar highly politicized infrastructure projects.

Chapter 1 Introduction

What is the power of stories? At the center of this question is the concept of *power*. Power to *do* what? At its most basic level, power as defined by political scientists is the ability to get someone to do something they otherwise wouldn't do (Barbour and Wright, 2015). In this definition, power is wielded by someone or something that has an ability to mobilize or move someone to action. So in other words, can stories—something that is not tangible, is abstract, and difficult to quantify— wield power in this manner? The overall purpose of this dissertation study is to demonstrate that stories indeed "wield" some degree of power over the policy process. They are strategically made up of critical elements found in any traditional story; a setting, a plot, characters, and a moral (McBeth et al. 2014, 228). From this point, they will be referred to as narratives. Narratives, as defined by McBeth and Jones (2010, 329) are stories "with a temporal sequence of events unfolding in a plot that is populated by dramatic moments, symbols, and archetypal characters".

Recently scholars have increasingly acknowledged more and more the importance of narratives in the policy process, enough to cause Hendry (2007) to declare narratives as "highly seductive" and having "powerful sway" over the lives of humans. More specifically, this study is focused on narratives that are related to certain areas of policy. *Policy narrative* are messages that push a certain policy agenda and name characters within the narrative as "good" or "evil". More detail regarding the specific characteristics of policy narratives are given in Chapter 2. However, it should be

noted that policy narratives are everywhere! They can be found in written word, oral

presentations, and often through the medium of modern media technologies (Lybecker

et al. 2015). They are found in all levels of government from congressional hearings at

the federal level, to the lobbyist petitioning a governor at the state level, to the

neighbor giving a speech at a town council meeting. This dissertation provides greater

insight into the role of narratives at the state and local policy level.

The theoretical foundations used in this study are (1) The Narrative Policy

Framework (NPF); which provides a structuralist, quantitative, and neo-positivist focus

to the study of narratives and their power to shape the public policy process (Jones and

McBeth, 2010, 330); (2) The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) which brings

importance to "policy subsystems" and shows how actors from various institutions

operate in conjunction with a particular policy area (Sabatier, 1988, 131). This study

focuses utilizing the theories above, on the failure of the Interstate-5 Columbia River

Crossing mega-bridge project to materialize as the major policy issue under analysis.   It

is the policy narratives surrounding this policy issue that are explored using these

frameworks.

This dissertation focused on three guiding research questions based in these

theories to shed light on the public policy process and promote further theory building:

(1) What is the role of policy narratives in shaping the policy outcomes of the proposed

CRC bridge project? More specifically, how do coalitions use narrative elements to

influence policy outcomes? (2) Often, a single policy issue is targeted by two or more

competing advocacy coalitions. How does one coalition triumph over another? Is the winning coalition stronger and more cohesive (coalitional glue) in their use of narrative elements and strategies? (3) Lastly, when a coalition moves from being a winning coalition to the losing coalition, does their use of narrative elements and narrative strategies change? These questions are answered via the study of the CRC policy issues as introduced below.

A need for the improvement of the Interstate-5 corridor including a small span of highway in the city of Vancouver, Washington; a small span in the city of Portland, Oregon; and the bridge connecting the two cities (see image below), was identified almost two decades ago— long before the policy issue divided the region. As noted by the Columbia River Crossing project summary, "The first major effort to document the needs and evaluate options for improving the bi-state corridor occurred in 1999 with the Portland/ Vancouver I-5 Trade Corridor Study that produced the Freight Feasibility and Needs Assessment in January 2000." This was followed by the creation of a Final Strategic Plan for improving transportation and trade in 2002. After years of planning, the design process began in 2005 for the newly designated Columbia River Crossing project. Almost a decade later, with much political fall-out, the Washington State Senate failed to pass a $450 million spending measure (apart of a larger transportation bill) that would have propelled the eventual replacement and construction of the proposed bridge. Ironically, the Oregon Legislature had already approved of their portion (also $450 million) of the bridge cost.

MAP 1: The CRC Project Proposal with corresponding infrastructure projects

Figure B-2. Project Area Map
Record of Decision 2011

Note: The image above represents the areas of Portland and Vancouver in addition to the proposed mega-bridge that would receive infrastructural development as part of Bi-State/Federal funding package. Image courtesy of peaktraffic.org.

While initially the planning stage did not promote much backlash from stakeholders affected by the project, once official proposals were made public, two coalitions emerged. One coalition, hereafter referred to as Pro CRC, fiercely advocated for the building of the new bridge as detailed in the proposal including expansion and greater ease of access for public transportation methods and pedestrian travel including walking and bicycling. The Anti CRC coalition, with similar fierceness, advocated for other options including most prominently no replacement bridge at all, and less prominently, a bridge without expansion of public transportation, a bridge to be built in another location connecting the two cities, and even an underwater tunnel.   Both

coalitions, over the course of the policy issue (2005-2015), sought to influence public opinion and the ultimate policy outcome in favor of their policy agenda. Currently, there is no literature to be found that discusses this issue in historical terms, let alone the tactics used by coalitions to either advance or bring down the project. Using the frameworks mentioned above, this study will provide important contributions illuminating the complexities of this important public policy issue.

MAP 2: The CRC Bridge Proposal

Note: The twin bridge span seen in blue is the original bridge. The span seen in grey is a depiction of the proposed replacement. Image courtesy of Portland based newspaper The Oregonian.

To better introduce this specific policy issue, a general introduction to regional complexities in the area is warranted. Vancouver currently has a population nearing 170,000 people. Portland is currently the 26th largest city in the U.S. with a population nearing 620,000 people. To put population numbers into a broader perspective, Clark County (Vancouver-county seat), the third fastest growing county in Washington State, has a population of over 451,000 people. Multnomah County (Portland- county seat)

has a population of over 776,000 people. Although in two different states, Portland and

Vancouver can almost be described as "sister-cities" in terms of their connection to one

another by economics, culture, and people. The Executive Office of Management and

Budget (OMB) interestingly groups Vancouver into the "Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro

Metropolitan Area" (OMB). Although Vancouver may have been more self-reliant in the

past, today it is very reliant on its proximity to its large urban neighbor seated along the

Columbia River. Thousands of Vancouver residents pour into Portland on a daily basis

for work. As other cities throughout the United States, Portland attracts people from all

around the region seeking employment and better opportunities. Although many

Vancouver residents would likely not admit it, Vancouver in many respects is a "semi-

suburb" of Portland. Vancouver residents—although have access to southwest

Washington media such as *The Columbian* newspaper—heavily rely on Portland based

news including three major television stations and *The Oregonian* newspaper.

Vancouver residents will often drive over into Portland for both small and large

purchases to avoid Washington sales tax. Additionally, many Vancouver residents are

sports fans to Portland franchises including the Portland Trail Blazers (basketball) and

the Portland Timbers (soccer). Furthermore, many Vancouver residents are simply

attracted to Portland for a whole host of other reasons from business contracts, to food

and recreation. Conversely, Vancouver doesn't draw nearly the same amount of

attention from Portlanders. Although Portland is heavily reliant on the business and

economic development brought by Vancouver residents coming to work and making

purchases on a daily basis, Portlanders are likely unaware of their reliance on Vancouver,

let alone what it has to offer. Portland is nationally recognized for its progressive

tendencies including its vast Light Rail transportation network, environmentally friendly

attitude, and the election of an openly gay mayor Sam Adams.

Vancouver on the other hand is both politically and culturally different.

Although Vancouver has a "downtown" with a few skyscrapers, it tends to be very

suburban and more politically conservative. For example, their current representative

in the U.S. House of Representatives is a female republican. Although the downtown

tends to be represented by democrats, most state representatives in the region are also

republicans. Vancouver residents, although reliant on Portland, tend to see it as more

crime ridden with news reports from the urban center appearing on their television

screens of murders and robberies on an almost nightly basis.   Although recently many

Vancouver residents have opened up to the idea of Light Rail extension into their city

from Portland, many are fearful of the tax increases that would be incurred from this

costly form of public transportation. Others fear that Light Rail extension would ease

the way with which crime could cross the bridge into Vancouver. As such, although

Vancouver and Portland have worked together in the past, including the construction of

their current bridge in the early 20th century, their relationship is tenuous.

What made the CRC policy issue unique in and of itself was the fact that it was

not your normal state and local governmental issue where one government (neither the

state nor corresponding locality) was solely involved in the planning and construction of

a large project. The CRC dives right into the nuances of intergovernmental politics (two

different cities and two different states) and border politics, both of which are deeply

intricate and potentially divisive. The project was bi-state, overseen by the governors

and legislatures of both states, and reliant on precious federal dollars (only available for

a limited amount of time). As an intergovernmental issue, the CRC was met with

opposition in both cities, both states, and even from national entities including the

Coast Guard. Thus, narrative analysis provides an interesting perspective for this issue

as coalitions are made up of actors from different levels of government, different states,

political parties, and businesses.

The Narrative Policy Framework, the first theoretical focus of this study, "is an

attempt to systematically study policy narratives and their role in both policy processes

and policy outcomes" (McBeth et al. 2014, 136). It asserts that policy narratives are

often powerful tools used to push forth a policy agenda. Moreover, it "confirms an idea

that political psychologists and neuroscientists have been batting around for some time.

To change public opinion requires less emphasis on policy details and more on telling a

good story" (Smith and Larimer, 2013, 190). Indeed, narratives have received attention

from scholars in other fields for some time as mentioned by Jones and McBeth (2010) in

their note that "most work on narrative is found in interdisciplinary journals." However,

after more than a decade of research, the NPF is now a widely accepted theory in the

field of public policy (McBeth et al. 2014, 227) after being featured at the *Policy Studies

Journal* symposium in 2013. The NPF has already been used to analyze a wealth of

public policy issues including recycling policy (McBeth et al., 2010; Lybecker et al., 2012),

obesity policy (Clemons et al., 2012; Husmann, 2013; McBeth et al., 2014), climate

change (Jones, 2014), border policy (Lybecker et al., 2015; 2016), the Salvadoran civil war (Kusko, 2014), and language policy (De Sy, 2016) among others. It is hoped that this dissertation will contribute to foundational scholarly work already completed by NPF scholars throughout the field of public policy.

In short, the NPF is a major theory for understanding the power of narratives in the public policy process. Its assumptions are based on social construction, bounded relativity, structuralism, operationalization at three levels of analysis, and in the increasingly empirically supported claim that narratives "play a central role in how individuals process information, communicate, and reason" (McBeth et al., 2014, 229). Importantly, the NPF, as described by Smith and Larimer (2013, 233), encompasses "how a post-positivist theoretical framework might be employed to generate hypotheses that can be empirically tested." As noted prior, narratives are not tangible, are abstract, and are difficult to quantify. Although narratives will never be tangible, the NPF promotes major strides in the field of public policy by making narratives less abstract, more understandable, and quantifiable. The work done by NPF scholars up to this point is both impressive and unprecedented.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), as proposed by Paul Sabatier (1988), provides a different focus to policy design and policy subsystems. The theory itself proposes three basic premises for better understanding the policy process. First, policy change must be understood from the prism of time. According to Sabatier, analysis of any policy issue requires researchers to analyze how the issue developed over a long

period of time. Specifically, Sabatier argues that an issue can only sufficiently be understood through analysis of a decade's (or more) worth of data. Second, Sabatier claims "that the most useful way to think about policy change over such a timespan is through a focus on 'policy subsystems'…" (1988, 131). Policy subsystems are made up of policy-focused advocacy coalitions that seek to maintain the policy status quo or dramatically change the policy subsystem itself. Advocacy coalitions are essentially groups of actors who come together based on a common public policy agenda. In this study they are referred to as coalitions. For example, the Pro-CRC coalition, in hypothetical terms, could be made up of prominent regional politicians, agency heads, local businesses, and journalists. Conversely, opposing coalitions may have similar compositions. To Sabatier, these coalitions are what drive public policy. From a narrative policy perspective, narratives that originate from these coalitions are the key to understanding how issues emerge, transform, and ultimately become non-issues. Third, the ACF purports that within public policies (i.e. obesity policy, recycling policy, language policy for example), are "implicit theories" regarding how to "achieve their objectives" (1988, 131). In simple terms, these "objectives" are the values and beliefs that are used to conceptualize and drive the issue.

In this study, it is the second premise that receives more significant attention. Within a "policy subsystem" there are advocacy coalitions "composed of people from various organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs…who often act in concert" (1988, 133). Advocacy coalitions develop strategies and tactics to push their policy agenda in a favorable manner to lawmakers and the public alike. This study,

using analysis of policy narratives that originate from these coalitions, identifies the "strategies" used to garner support from lawmakers and the public. In doing so, it was expected that strategies will evolve based on the winning/losing status of the coalitions involved in the aforementioned public policy issue.

It should be noted that it is not the goal of this dissertation to claim that a new-mega-bridge would or would not bring greater ease of interstate commerce and transportation, increased economic prosperity to the region, and more safety to the thousands of north Oregon and southern Washington residents who traverse the bridge span on a daily basis. Additionally, it is not the goal of this study to promote or discourage any of the narratives promoted by either coalition in this policy issue. Again, the purpose of this study is to demonstrate that stories "wield" some degree of power over the policy process. Even more specifically, the goal of this study is to understand how coalitions use narrative elements and strategies to influence policy design and how those narratives corresponded to shifts in the winning or losing status of the coalitions involved.

Additionally, it is hoped that this dissertation study brings greater understanding to academicians, state and local government officials, and lawmakers regarding the power of narratives to significantly influence the continuation (or termination) of important regional infrastructure projects. According to GOVERNING— a leading media platform for news on state and local government finance, policy, and management—the Columbia River Crossing project is listed as the number one infrastructure project in

their top five list of projects facing serious challenges. Governing entities in the Portland/Vancouver area are not the only organizations experiencing intense challenges in their efforts to update regional infrastructure. For example, the FasTracks project in Denver, CO—"one of the most ambitious transit projects" and number two on GOVERNING's list (Holeywell and Lippman, 2012))—is a multiple billion dollar project "to build 122 miles of new commuter rail and light rail, 18 miles of bus rapid transit, 21,000 new parking spaces at light rail and bus stations, and enhance bus service for easy, convenient bus/rail connections across the eight-county district" (RTD FasTracks). The project, with unexpected revenue challenges, faced political backlash, in the face of potential sales tax increases to fund and prevent the project from having a longstanding completion date (Whaley, 2012). Likewise, in California voters approved of $9.95 billion in bonds to fund a proposed California High-Speed Rail project, probably the most extensive infrastructure project underway in the U.S. currently (The Economist, 2016). The major highlight of the project is the proposed 800 miles of rail connecting large urban centers including Los Angeles, San Francisco, and others. The project was championed as a way to clear overly congested freeways and lessen levels of pollution. However, after facing political fall-out from opposition to the project (The Economist, 2016) and cost estimates for the project doubling, "a recent poll showed that 59 percent of Californians would vote against the bond if they could do it again" (Holeywell and Lippman, 2012). Considering the above examples, state and local governments could benefit significantly from an enhanced understanding of the power of narratives and the work done in this dissertation. The CRC, FasTracks, and the California High-Speed Rail

project all blatantly manifest the "nitty-gritty" world of state and local politics. Narratives are deeply embedded in that world.

In sum, this dissertation focuses on the power of policy narratives to influence the policy process, how coalitions deliberately use narrative elements and strategies and how the influence of narratives explain and give context to failed state and local infrastructure projects such as the Columbia River Crossing project. It strives to contribute three important elements to study of narrative policy analysis. First, it shows that the reality of policy narratives shapes the context of policy issues and how they are approached by the public and lawmakers. It reveals, in conjunction with the research questions listed above, how coalitions use narrative elements such as the use of characters (heroes, villains, victims) to portray the CRC policy issue. Secondly, it confirms—as evidenced in other NPF work (Kusko, 2014, Shanahan et al., 2013)—that use of coalitional strategies is connected with the winning/losing status of coalitions. However, this study also adds to this finding by demonstrating that over time, coalitional strategies shift as the winning/losing status of an advocacy coalition also shifts. Lastly, most other NPF studies have focused on policy issues of national import. Although these studies have extended significant contributions to the field of narrative policy, few of them have used the NPF to analyze state and local politics. Thus, this study demonstrates that the NPF is a viable framework for further study of policy issues of a state and local nature. It is these gaps that this study seeks to fill.

As to the research approach for this dissertation, a duel theoretical and empirical approach was taken to achieve a structural and post-positivist methodology as utilized by NPF scholars in prior studies. In like manner to Kusko's (2014) study of the effect of narratives from Progressive Christians and the American Religious Right on the Salvadoran Civil war, "by employing the combined theoretical and empirical elements of both the [NPF] and [ACF] to illustrate whether and how policy narratives drive coalitions of elites this [study] must be considered a work defined by a neo-positivist and structuralist methodology." Similarly, but with notable expected differences, this study follows suit by employing these frameworks to study the failure of the Columbia River Crossing project.

To achieve this utilization of the NPF and ACF, content analysis was employed as the widely accepted methodology for the study of policy narratives (Keelan et al., 2007). Specifically, a decade (from 2005-2015) of policy narratives from local newspapers, blogs and the new media (YouTube) underwent extensive content analysis, further coding of measures, and ultimate statistical analysis. Policy narratives were indeed employed by advocacy coalitions to set the context for the policy issue under analysis. Additionally, it is also anticipated that coalitional strategies will shift depending on the winning/losing status of the advocacy coalition at a given time. For a more detailed description of this project's methods, please refer to Chapter 3.

The findings that are produced from extensive content analyses of the data collected and statistical analysis (found in Chapter 4) were then contrasted to the

ultimate policy outcomes of this policy issue. In this juxtaposition, the power of

narratives to shape public policy (specifically state and local policy) were established by

analyzing the type and quantity of narratives expressed by advocacy coalitions.

Furthermore, the connections evidenced between narrative and the policy process

demonstrate the viability of narrative study and the study of coalitional strategies

through discussion of the findings in Chapter 5. Before this is done, the literature that

provides the theoretical and methodological approach to this dissertation is explored.

Chapter 2 A Review of the Literature

Introduction:

"With Iron Bands We Clasp Hands" the headline pronounced in the southwest Washington based newspaper *The Columbian* on February 14, 1917 (Red, 2006). After a series of political hurdles, fundraising attempts, and two years of construction, a large 20th century style 3500 foot single span bridge connecting the city of Vancouver, Washington to Portland, Oregon was finally erected across the vast Columbia River. The event was heralded by citizens of Vancouver in a large celebration affair that attracted upwards to 40,000 people with hundreds of automobiles lining the streets to cross the bridge into Portland for the first time.

For many years, travelers were forced to cross the wide river span by ferry. The newly built bridge connected the then known Pacific Highway enabling travelers by automobile to travel the west coast highway unfettered from Canada to Mexico. Hopeful rumblings about a new bridge originated out of a coalition that formed between members of a commercial club in Vancouver and a few dozen Portland based businessmen from across the river. Upon meeting, this coalition decided to pressure the legislatures of their respective states to provide $5000 from each state in funding for initial geologic surveying.

A resolution submitted to the Washington Legislature passed approving bridge funding but its counterpart resolution in the Oregon Legislature failed to materialize. In desperation, members of the commercial club in Vancouver raised $2500 in gold from

southwest Washington residents. They then took their efforts across the river with a parade of 300 Vancouver residents, 30 Scottish bagpipers, and banners that read 'We want the bridge and so do you, We've done our part…now you come through' in attempts to gain additional funding and support. As a result of such efforts, it only took 30 days for necessary funding to be acquired to begin the initial bridge surveying (Red, 2006). In 1956, a twin span was added to the bridge to accommodate increasing traffic demands. Now, a part of the Interstate 5, one span was designated a north bound lane and the other a southbound lane.

The now century to half century old bridge has served the Pacific Northwest as a critical transportation point and remains a symbol of the region's historic economic development and culture. However, with increasing transportation demand (massive bottleneck traffic entering and leaving Portland each work day) and questions as to the bridges geologic capacity (bridge pilings supported only by Columbia River mud, not bedrock), the beginning of the 21st century brought on talks by local administrators and politicians as to the bridge's continued viability.

To remedy these concerns, the Columbia River Crossing (CRC), a group of planners and engineers, was formed to begin plans for the replacement of the Interstate-5 Bridge with a new mega-bridge that would accommodate current transportation demands and meet modern safety standards. The project was jointly owned by the Washington Department of Transportation (WDOT) and the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) with oversight from both states' governors and

legislative bodies. Other local agencies were also involved and task forces appointed to

assist in the planning process. Once a plan was drawn up and approved, construction

dates were set for 2010. However, plans for the bridge angered many stakeholders and

citizens alike and two coalitions formed in support and opposition for the proposed

bridge. These coalitions will be discussed in greater detail below.

Although the mention of the CRC has received widespread attention by

traditional media including local newspaper and television outlets in southwest

Washington and northwest Oregon, the project has been largely ignored by academia

with literature on the subject nonexistent. This paper seeks to fill this gap by using well

established theoretical approaches and research methods in public policy theory to

provide a new perspective into reasons for the CRC's ultimate failure. The Advocacy

Coalition Framework (ACF) developed by Sabatier provides for a portion of the

theoretical basis behind this research project. This framework views coalitions as a vital

element in the development of public policy. Additionally, the Narrative Policy

Framework developed by McBeth et al. provides the other theoretical foundation used

in this paper as well as provide for the methodological approach to the study of

narratives elements and strategies used by coalitions.

Why Study State and Local Policy Issues?

The CRC policy issue provides just one example of numerous state and local

infrastructure projects involved in intense political engagement as noted in Chapter 1.

State and local policy issues, like the CRC, are unique because they address policy

problems distinctive to a specific area and a specific constituency of citizens. Local

climate, natural resources, economies, party politics, all serve as unique variables

among many others that determine the nature of state and local policy issues.

Schleicher (2017) notes that "state and local governments…are closer to the people,

promote more innovation, and produce outputs that are a better fit for the diverse set

of preferences that exist in a large nation." Furthermore, state and local governments

are the so-called "laboratories of democracy". As such, studying the way coalitions use

narratives in such "laboratories" provides key insight into forces at play in policy design

at the state and local level. In terms of coalitions and narratives, state and local policy

issues provide rich examples of coalition building and narrative use. The CRC policy

issue is no exception to this.

Lyons et al. (2013, 184) "argue that people's ability and incentives to become

informed about state matters will depend in part on the political context of their state".

In state and local policy issues, context and setting matter. Jones and McBeth (2010,

340) explain that a "consistent criticism of narratives and poststructural work is that

work is often disconnected from institutions or policy settings". By studying the distinct

CRC policy setting, this criticism is answered accordingly. In the case of the NPF, state

and local issues are unique relative to national policy issues because actors and groups

within those issues live in closer proximity to each other, they are much more likely to

have human contact, and continue to live with each other (in the same school district,

city, county, region) after a political struggle is finished. For example, the

superintendent of a school district may think twice about criticizing the mayor of the

city in which the school district resides. They still have to meet periodically to discuss

education and must "get along". National policy issues, such as health care reform, gun

rights, and national security, generally involve actors that operate outside the purview

of each other. These actors perhaps will never come into human contact with their

adversaries. This fact primes researchers of narrative to a consideration of other

questions in regards to setting and context. Does a local setting promote more

cooperation and less divisiveness? Are actors less likely to vilify each other in a state and

local policy context in comparison to a national policy context? These questions are

answered later in Chapter 5. In studying the CRC, it is expected that state and local

policy settings are less divisive and generally facilitate more cooperation among actors.

Actors will vilify each other less as a result of the necessity for needed cooperation in

future policy issues and as such will make varying use of policy narratives to describe the

opposition to their desired policy agenda.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Overview

The importance of coalitions in politics has received formidable attention from

scholars in political science for some time. Schattschnieder (1960) clearly laid out the

importance of groups in altering the scope of political conflict. To Schattschnieder,

groups could be understood by understanding how they attempt to expand or contain

the scope of a conflict. However, in a much less theoretical manner and a clear focus on

explanatory and predictive power, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith developed the Advocacy

Coalition Framework in an attempt to better understand the policy making process and

how groups fit into that process. In their theory, they argue that coalitions matter and that they directly influence the outcomes of political conflict. Weible (2006, 98) importantly notes that "the advocacy coalition framework is frequently used to explain stakeholder behavior and policy outcomes in intense political conflicts over periods of a decade or more." Ultimately, the ACF emerged out of growing frustrations in the field of public policy with the simplicity of *stages heuristics* which saw the policy process as a completely rational and linear process. Theorists using stages heuristics were never able to develop a policy theory that was both explanatory and predictive. The ACF emerged as a theory that met both criteria.

The framework itself has three premises. First, as noted in Chapter 1, a "time perspective" is needed when exploring the policy process. Too many policy studies look at intense policy disputes with a singular time perspective. The ACF submits that in order to more comprehensively understand the policy process in general and a specific policy issue, it must be studied for a decade or more. In Sabatier's (1988, 131) work, he notes that scholars increasingly have supported this evolution in public policy studies and argued "persuasively that a focus on short-term decision making will underestimate the influence of policy analysis because such research is used primarily to alter the perceptions and conceptual apparatus of policy-makers over time." Second, a focus on policy subsystems over a long time span is the most viable method for understanding policy change. Sabatier (1988, 131) explains that, "the most useful aggregate unit of analysis for understanding policy change in modern industrial societies is not any specific governmental institution but rather a policy subsystem." To Sabatier, scholars

in political science have focused primarily on governmental institutions such as the

Presidency, Congress, and the courts that the field has largely ignored the existence of

policy subsystems, "those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who

are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue" (Sabatier, 1998, 131). Those

issues range from social issues such as abortion rights, health care, or assisted physician

dying to controversial environmental issues such as climate change, clean water, or

deforestation among many others. Lastly, Sabatier claims that "public policies (or

programs) can be conceptualized in the same manner as belief systems" (Sabatier, 1988,

131). In other words, policy issues should be analyzed by looking at the sets of values

and assumptions that go into their realization. In making the assumption that when

people get involved in the policy making process, it is their goal to make their beliefs a

reality, researchers can better understand the role of beliefs by mapping them out in a

systematic empirical manner.

   Defining the terms

   The ACF operates from the premise that individuals and groups have different

types of beliefs. These beliefs are termed *Core Beliefs*, *Policy Core Beliefs*, and

Secondary Aspect Beliefs. *Core Beliefs* essentially make up the base beliefs held by

humans such as religion, or a moral code. These beliefs are the least likely to change

and often what characterize the identity of the individual or group (Sabatier, 1988).

Core beliefs are important because coalitions often highlight difference between their

core belief systems. As noted by Leach and Sabatier (2005, 493), "the framework [ACF]

suggests that individuals assess trustworthiness by comparing their own core beliefs to those of other parties." Furthermore, *Semi-Core Beliefs* are more ideologically focused and are commonly based in how one sees the role of government in the market of day-to-day life. These beliefs are subject to change based upon instability in the political system. Going on, Leach and Sabatier (2005, 493) explain that "because policy core beliefs are more directly salient to specific policy disputes than are deep core beliefs, the Framework hypothesizes that 'the policy core provides the principle glue of coalitions." This "glue" becomes important because as coalitions are more cohesive in their policy beliefs, the more "sticky" they are. In other words, the steadier a coalition's congruency, the more likely they are to experience success in the policy process. Or, this at least is what this dissertation will try to demonstrate. Lastly, *Secondary Aspect Beliefs* are the beliefs people hold about how policy *should be* implemented. For example, one might have views regarding whether illicit drugs should be controlled by individual states or the federal government. These types of beliefs often change or evolve based upon new information. Coalitions are likely to change these beliefs as time goes on and as new information is learned. Overall, the ACF claims that coalitions are resistant to change. Thus, it requires solid empirical evidence and extensive new social developments for coalitions to even consider changing their secondary aspects, let alone their policy core beliefs (Sabatier, 2007, 125).

At the broadest level, the ACF identifies what it terms as a policy subsystem. Before defining this term however, it is important to first understand what the founders of the ACF mean by advocacy coalitions. On the most simplistic level, advocacy

coalitions are groups that are focused on a specialized public policy area. Unlike interest groups that have clear specific goals for achieving a particular policy outcome, advocacy coalitions are more loosely organized and have varying levels of coordination. They are generally made up of politicians, agency heads, interest groups, and members of the news media and they have similar core beliefs (depending on the policy issue in dispute) and almost always have the same policy-core beliefs. Coalitions at some point in their existence will attempt to adopt a "strategy(s) envisaging one or more institutional innovations which it feels will further its policy objectives" (Sabatier, 1988, 133). For example, the formation of advocacy coalitions became apparent early on in the policy period as the Columbia River Crossing agency began the planning stage and presented multiple bridge proposals to the public. The Anti CRC coalition throughout the policy process brought formidable opposition to the project at all levels. In equal measure, the Pro CRC coalition fought intensely for acceptance of the ultimate bridge proposal that was adopted by the engineers and planners of the CRC agency.

Although the ACF points to a variety of actors as potential members of advocacy coalitions including most notably politicians, members of interest groups, and businesses, the ACF also acknowledges that some actors once seen as indifferent or neutral to policy issues are in fact members themselves of coalitions. Sabatier (2007, 128) notes that scientists, according to ACF studies using survey research, "are often members of coalitions."

Again, looking at the CRC policy issue, the CRC planners and engineers began the planning stage, individuals and groups already formulated opposition to the possibility of a bridge replacement. With the actual bridge proposal, two main advocacy coalitions formed, those against the proposal characterized as the Anti CRC and those in favor of the proposal characterized as the Pro CRC. Interestingly, both of these coalitions were compiled by unlikely groups and individuals which otherwise have vastly different policy preferences. The Pro CRC coalition was made up of business interests, local agencies, local journalists, and notable regional politicians. Most notably, Pro CRC coalition members included the Portland Business Alliance, an interest group that promotes private sector job creation and development in the region, *Trimet*, Portland's mass transit service, members of the C-Tran board, Vancouver's public bussing transportation system, local politicians including the Mayor of Portland Sam Adams and the current mayor Charlie Hales, the Mayor of Vancouver Tim Levitt and representatives of both political parties in Washington and Oregon's legislatures. State politicians that joined the Pro CRC coalition include Washington State Senator Patty Murray, Washington Governor Mike Inslee, and Oregon Governor Kitzhaber. Probably the most vocal Pro CRC advocate was the Vancouver (Clark County) based newspaper *The Columbian* and journalists on the editorial board. After preliminary research into this policy issue, it became readily apparent that the paper's editorial board was deeply supportive of the CRC and the proposed project.

The Anti CRC coalition was made up of a variety of groups and politicians from both sides of the river. Most notably, the Anti CRC included members of the C-Tran

board, Thompson Metal Fab and other large industries that frequently navigate the

Columbia River, the U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Pearson Airfield

near Ft. Vancouver, and correspondingly the Federal Aviation Administration. Several

environmentally based groups also joined the coalition including the Northwest

Environmental Defense Center, the Coalition for a Livable Future, both of which filed

lawsuits on the project claiming that it failed to comply with Federal environmental law,

the Oregon League of Conservation Voters, 1000 Friends of Oregon, Oregon

Environmental Council, and the Oregon Chapter of the Sierra Club. Additionally,

Republican representatives, mainly from the Washington State legislature, joined this

coalition in opposition to the proposed bridge project. In Clark County, the bridge

project seemed to divide along partisan lines with democrat representatives in favor of

the project and republican representatives against. In Clark County at the time, 3

representatives made up the downtown, 3 representatives made up the suburban

areas, and 3 representatives made up the rural areas of the county. Not surprisingly,

the downtown was represented by three democratic representatives in the legislature.

More broadly than the coalition level, the ACF defines the policy subsystem as

the system in which advocacy coalitions, "consisting of people who share similar core

beliefs and a motivation to act towards particular policy outcomes" (Hirch, 2010, 744).

In this case, the policy subsystem is made up of the two coalitions discussed above.

Using narrative, they compete with one another to frame an issue in a particular

manner that makes the opposing coalition appear malicious or without good cause.

Disputes between coalitions are at least temporarily resolved by "policy brokers". The

role of the policy broker is to establish a compromise between the two groups and their

policy beliefs that reduce conflict. It is not anticipated that a policy broker will be

identified in this particular policy issue.

As noted by Weible, the ACF provides several useful assumptions about policy

subsystems. These include:

(1) the substantive and territorial boundary of the policy issue and who to include in a stakeholder analysis; (2) the structure of individual beliefs and motivations to influence policy, (3) individual motivations to form relationships (into advocacy coalitions); (4) the identification of stakeholder resources and available political venues; and (5) the factors necessary to produce major and minor policy changes" (Weible 2006, 98)

What ultimately brings coalitions together is the shared belief system which for

many ACF studies has become the center of analysis of subsystems (Hirch, 2010, 745).

Belief systems serve as the "glue" and stakeholders within policy subsystems are

important actors in maintaining and defending the set of core beliefs. Weible further

notes that, "Stakeholders specialize in a policy subsystem and maintain their

participation over long periods of time in order to foster, among other reasons, the

institutionalization and implementation of policy objectives. Strategies used by

stakeholders in a policy subsystem include putting pressure on political sovereigns,

courting the media, considering legislation, and trying to persuade others including

members of the opposing coalition to their viewpoints" (Weible, 2006, 98). The ACF

hypothesizes that stakeholders within an advocacy coalition use whatever resources

they have to seek out venues where they have an opportunity to be an influence on the

policy making process. Wieble notes that "Stakeholders spend considerable amounts of

time venue shopping, looking for institutional access where they might have a

competitive advantage" (Weible, 2006, 101). Although some venues are more

welcoming than others, stakeholders generally find one (or some) in which their

lobbying efforts become advantageous. Failing to gain acceptance from most state

legislatures and governors, the U.S. Congress, and the Presidential administrations

before President Obama, proponents of same-sex marriage used venue shopping which

ultimately brought them to the courts. Finding solace in the federal court system, the

same-sex marriage coalition brought their case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court in

2015 and won a historic battle in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. Similarly, advocacy coalitions

(and stakeholders who make up their membership) venue shop to find places where

their policy goals might be accepted. As explained in this dissertation, this and other

assumptions of the ACF were seen through analysis of the CRC policy issue.

Claims and assumptions

The first major assumption of the ACF is that "the most useful unit of analysis is

the policy subsystem" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999; Weible 2006, 98) and that

advocacy coalitions are what make up those subsystems. The ACF operates under the

premise that agreement over core policy beliefs is the glue that holds advocacy

coalitions together. This glue provides both predictability and stability to the actions

and efforts of coalitions. Considering this compelling premise, the ACF claims that

"policy core attributes of such programs in a jurisdiction will not change as long as the

dominant coalition that instituted that policy remains in power…" (Sabatier, 2007, 125).

It is likely however that the secondary aspects of such programs will definitively change

over time. The ACF also claims that policy subsystems, although stable for the most part, will undergo dramatic change if they experience a "shock" that originates outside the subsystem. These shocks tend to "substantially [alter] the distribution of political resources or view of coalitions within the subsystem" and in general incur instability temporarily until the subsystem is once again stabilized by the reorganization of the subsystem and resurging coalitions. For example, the subsystem of coalitions addressing police brutality in the United States largely favored police and law enforcement interests up until recently. In 2012, the Trayvon Martin case and other examples of police brutality brought new-found and passionate attention to the issue. As a policy issue that was once largely brushed under the rug, these cases served as a "shock" to the subsystem. Newly formed groups filled in the ensuing gaps in policy that emerged from these cases such as *Black Lives Matter*. Already established groups, such as the *NAACP*, changed their secondary aspects and reformulated their strategies to deal with the new policy landscape. The ACF also notes that shocks can arise from internal changes as well. These usually result from hierarchical changes that take place within organizations that are a part of the advocacy coalition.

Of the ACF's most notable assumptions, the theory draws from rational choice theory— mostly from the social science perspective instead of the economics perspective. Thus, the ACF "assumes that actors are instrumentally rational—that is, that they seek to use information and other resources to achieve their goals…" (Sabatier, 2007, 130). However, the ACF understands rational choices in terms of a limited ability to process information and perceive the world due to cognitive

constraints. In essence, the ACF assumes that actors make choices with limited

knowledge and understanding, hence, rationality is bounded. Or in other words, "actors

ability to process and analyze information is limited by time and computational

constraints" (Sabatier, 2007, 131).

Other important ACF assumptions include the claim that "actors weigh losses

more heavily than gains" (Sabatier, 2007, 131). This assumption is consistent with

prospect theory, a behavioral economic theory also popular among some scholars of

international relations. Additionally, the ACF assumes, in correspondence with cognitive

dissonance theory and attribution theory "that on salient topics, actors' perceptions are

strongly filtered by their preexisting normative and perceptual beliefs" (Sabatier, 131,

2007). Actors and coalitions thereafter use their preexisting beliefs as the lens by which

they accept or reject policy information, especially information that challenges policy

core beliefs. Sabatier (2007,131) also notes that with the sharing of beliefs among

coalition actors, actors in other coalitions will receive a piece of evidence regarding their

policy focus and interpret it in different ways leading to enhanced in-group cohesion.

A resulting phenomenon from these factors is what ACF scholars refer to as a

"devil shift". When in-group cohesion or congruency exists in combination with "the

tendency to remember losses more than victories" (Sabatier, 2007, 132), contentious

policy issues and the situations that result can lead to a devil shift. The "devil shift"

occurs when actors within a coalition view others "as more evil and more powerful than

they probably are" (Sabatier, 2007, 131). Examples of the devil shift taking place include

when immigrants are portrayed as the cause of a country's policy woes (Lybecker et al., 2015) or when the obese in the U.S are vilified for their supposed "lack of self-control" (Husmann, 2015). Groups are vilified all the time by other groups. In many policy subsystems, the devil shift seems to be the only "shifting" that actually occurs. Consistent with the Narrative Policy Framework, the ACF reminds scholars in public policy that the vilifying of other groups is a common tactic utilized by advocacy coalitions. The question then becomes, how consistent are actors and groups within a policy coalition targeting cohesively a villain in the opposing advocacy coalition? This study specifically will seek to understand this phenomenon and the level of cohesion that exists among actors in an advocacy coalition.

In conclusion, the ACF is a well-tested, formidable, and systematic theory that has largely survived the scrutiny that has characterized the field of public policy for decades. Scholars for decades now have tested its relevance. Importantly, Sabatier (2007, 135) notes that recently, a number of studies have been completed "in which scholars have sought to apply the ACF to something narrower than a classic policy domain." It is the goal of this dissertation study to do just that in its contribution to the field. The Columbia River Crossing Bridge project, an unconventional and narrow policy domain is the policy issue analyzed by this framework.

The Narrative Policy Framework: An Overview

Roots for the Narrative Policy Framework can be traced back to emerging scholarship in the 1990's that began to primarily focus on problem definition and the

use of narratives in defining and framing policy problems. Roe (1992, 563) first

explained that "narrative policy analysis allows us to examine and draw policy

implications from the narratives that decision makers use to articulate issues of high

ambiguity, where the truth-value of these narratives remains unknown or little agreed

upon." Besides acknowledging that policy problems are ambiguous and complex, Roe

brings to light the fact that politicians, among others, use narratives to influence the

policy process. Similarly, Riessman (1993, 5-6) argued that "narratives are useful in

research precisely because storytellers interpret the past rather than reproduce it as it

was." She discusses what she refers to as "performative analysis" which provides for a

then innovative, yet simple way of identifying features between characters in a story

(protagonist and narrator), the setting, and the audience hearing the story. In pointing

out that narratives have distinguishable elements, her discussion provided a clearer

understanding of how to analyze the ambiguity in narratives. Although these key

findings were important precursors to future narrative policy analysis studies, Roe

(1992, 581) noted that "stories and storytelling have long been recognized to be an

important part of conventional policy analysis and public administration." However, it

was not until later that the study of narratives began to take on a more systematic

appearance.

Stone, in her 2002 work, focused more intently than prior work on the influence

that narratives have in shaping policy beliefs. To Stone, rhetoric makes all the

difference. To illustrate this point, she discussed how the public sees the welfare

system in the United States. Citing a public opinion poll, when the public was asked if

they support welfare, 48% argued that spending cuts should be made. However, when the public was asked if they support programs for poor children, support for spending cuts waned to a low 9%. What's the difference between these two questions? To Stone, it is only the words! Furthermore, she later argues that "politicians or interest groups deliberately choose one egregious or outlandish incident to represent the universe of cases, and then use that example to build support for changing an entire rule or policy that is addressed to the larger universe" (146). Since the Reagan administration, the Conservative movement in the United States has largely narrated the "welfare queen" story over and over again. Although not supported by research, this notion has perpetuated in American political culture. Stone's work demonstrates that this phenomenon takes place across all levels of government throughout the political spectrum and in all policy arenas.

Although Stone's work emerged as the most comprehensive study of narratives yet, it among others, was criticized in the public policy literature, mostly from positivists who saw post-positive narrative analysis lacking in many important respects. Claims against narrative policy analysis emerged from notable scholars such as Sabatier who noted that narrative policy analysis was too embedded in social construction, not empirical, and not "clear enough to be wrong" (Sabatier, 2002). Stone's work provided extensive contributions to the study of narrative but still lacked a way to test the *actual* influence of narrative on public policy.

Taking note of these criticisms, scholars of narrative analysis attempted to analyze narratives more systematically. In 2004, McBeth and Shanahan took a closer look at narrative and its connection to elected officials, the media, and interest groups— most of which had only previously been conceived as simply democratic linkage mechanisms. These scholars analyzed how these actors acted as "policy marketers". *Policy marketers* "manufacture or market public opinion to consumer-oriented citizens who, in turn, internalize the framed package as 'the Truth' (McBeth and Shanahan, 2004, 320). Using Yellowstone National Park as a case study, this initial narrative study found that "marketing, consumer-oriented citizens in the GYA [Greater Yellowstone Area] live in competing social realities with mutually exclusive sources of knowledge and competing interpretations of reality" (2004, 334). Thus, even in a small locally based policy issue, narratives played an important role in shaping political conflict and focus. These scholars go on to conclude that "when citizens examine policy conflicts, they— like the policy marketers that provide the information—approach the conflict from diametrically opposed frames that fail to consider the values of the opposition and the larger context of Greater Yellowstone policy" (2004, 334).   In 2005, McBeth, Shanahan and Jones again analyze the politics surrounding the Greater Yellowstone Area (GYA) but go further by using content analysis methods on public consumption documents to identify the connection between narrative policy and interest groups. They find that narratives can be connected to interest group policy beliefs, that narrative analysis can be falsifiable, and that by quantifying the narratives analyzed, the explanatory power

and usefulness of narrative analysis is enhanced.   This allowed for further hypothesis

testing and the challenging of assumptions (McBeth et al, 2005).

Later work continued this ongoing trend. In 2007, narrative analysis scholars

proposed an intersection in the literature between narrative policy analysis and policy

change theory. In this piece, they asked why the public undergoes "alterations in how

they understand policy problems" and why "policy issues that remain static for many

years suddenly become dynamic?" (McBeth et al., 2007, 87). In this particular study,

"issue expansion and containment in the turbulent GYA policy arena [were] empirically

tested through coding interest group narratives" (2007, 102). Specifically, the authors

tested to see if identification of winners in the narratives equated to the diffusion of

benefits and concentration of costs. In like manner, they tested to see if the

identification of losers equated to the concentration of benefits and diffusion of costs.

Importantly, the authors, connecting this study to the ACF, found that "while advocacy

coalitions embed stable policy core beliefs in narratives, they also use those narratives

to further dynamic political strategies." Adding to these important findings, Shanahan

et al. (2008, 130) "empirically test [to see] whether media accounts are, really, policy

stories with embedded policy beliefs and congruent narrative strategies to support their

policy beliefs." They find that national media accounts tend to frame an issue (again, in

the GYA) in terms of a national issue while local media accounts do the same in framing

an issue as a strictly local policy issue. Additionally, powerful policy values, as found in

the narrative analyzed play a major role "in uniting members around a particular policy

alterative" (131). Preliminary studies in narrative analysis set the stage for the

introduction of a new methodological and theoretical framework that could account for

previous criticism and synthesize the findings of these foundational studies.

As a public policy theory, the NPF was formally unveiled in McBeth and Jones'

2010 work "Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to be Wrong". In this

foundational piece, the authors established how the study of narrative could be

empirical and replicable while still acknowledging the important work of post-positivists,

such as Stone, on narrative analysis.   The NPF was later featured in various public policy

panels throughout the United States enabling the theory to place itself more fully on the

"public policy map". A major turning point for the NPF was its inclusion in Sabatier and

Weible's third edition of *Theories of the Policy Process* where it was featured as an

emerging theory alongside the ACF and *Punctuated Equilibrium*. The application of the

NPF is now widespread with scholars all over the world utilizing the theory to better

understand the complexities of policy design in policy process.

Only recently, the NPF has been used to analyze a wide and increasingly

emergent range of domestic U.S. policy issues. Smith-Walker et al. (2016) analyzed the

use of narratives used by the National Rifle Association and the Brady Campaign to

Prevent Gun Violence in stifling or facilitating policy debate after the 2012 Sandy Hook

Elementary shooting. Merry (2015), studying the same policy issue, took a closer look at

the use of Twitter by the interest groups mentioned above to construct policy narratives

in 140 characters or less. Merry (2016), found that both interest groups "engaged

primarily with their supporters on Twitter while avoiding confrontation with their

opponents." Gupta et al. (2015) also further explored the utility of Twitter in providing

narratives for narrative policy analysis in U.S. nuclear policy. In studying U.S. campaign

finance regulatory reform, Gray and Jones (2016) broadened the NPF's use of qualitative

methodology in exploring narrative elements and strategies. Ertas (2015) approached

the issue of charter schools, "one of the most controversial policy alternatives in the

school-choice debate" using the NPF to explore further the connection between

narrative and fluctuations in public opinion. Crow et al. (2016) explored the role of

policy narratives in describing wildfires and shaping the policy design connected with

natural disasters.

Going beyond the U.S., the NPF has made remarkable inroads globally by making

appearances in international journals and being used to study a wide range of

international policy issues. Radaelli and Dunlop used the NPF to better conceptualize

policy learning in the European Union. The same authors in O'Byran et al. (2014)

analyzed narratives in the British Parliament regarding the Arab Spring. Lawton and

Rudd (2014, 855), using the NPF in the study of environmental conservation in the U.K.

concluded that, "policy settings, awareness of narrative archetypes, strategic narratives

and rhetorical devices, and a willingness to engage in the currency of compelling stories

and morals may help conservation scientists tell their story more effectively." Leong

(2015) combining the NPF and the ACF, examined the privatization of water in Jakarta.

Schlaufer examined the role of evidence in narrative through the examination of the

"Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) study in Swiss direct-democratic

campaigns on school policy". Finally, Weible et al (2016) used the NPF to study air and

climate issues in Delhi, India. Interestingly, they found that "narrators differ in their

propensity to tell hero-heavy or villain-heavy policy*."*

For over a decade now, the Narrative Policy Framework has contributed to the

growing literature in public policy in the explanation of policy design and formulation.

As with other theories, its main focus is to explain the policy process and specifically

what elements go into the creation of policy itself. However, what sets the NPF apart

from other theories and makes in theoretical basis unique in and of itself is its

extraordinary focus on narratives and the power that stories have to influence political

attitudes. The mechanics of the theory will now be discussed in more detail.

Defining the terms

Scholars of the Narrative Policy Framework make the audacious claim that policy

narratives are the "lifeblood of politics" (Shanahan et al. 2011, 374) As noted by Kusko

(2014, 16) "the significance of narrative cannot be discounted as numerous

academicians and researchers from varying disciplines and fields, activists, politicians

and businesspeople are recognizing the power of storytelling." Humans understand

stories because they are relatable and they generally have a clear beginning, middle,

and end (Jones et al. 2014). NPF scholars have demonstrated that "stories are more

powerful than scientific evidence in persuading individuals and in shaping beliefs"

(Shanahan et al. 2011, 374). For this cause, members of advocacy coalitions have found

it advantageous to bolster the use of narratives in influencing public opinion and the

policy process.

Policy narratives, like other literary sources, also contain important structural elements that present the intended message in a strategic manner. The elements provide meaning "by casting characters...by leading the audience through a logical temporal sequence or plot; evoking a familiar story type with wide resonance; and identifying a solution in the form of a moral (McBeth et al., 2012, 163). The NPF acknowledges that policy narratives, like stories, have many of these same elements including a setting, plot, moral, and characters. Jones and McBeth (2010, 340) note that "structural study of narrative requires that such narratives have a policy setting or context". The setting sets the context for the policy narrative in providing the culture and/or core or policy core beliefs behind a narrative. The next element, the plot, is a key component of both stories and policy narratives alike. Policy narratives have a beginning, middle, and end. As such, plots are "fundamental in providing relationships between component parts (e.g., characters and setting) and structuring causal explanations that determine the plausibility of the narrative" (Jones and McBeth 2010, 340). Finally, narratives have a moral which ties all other narrative elements together. Shanahan et al. (2013, 459) describe the moral to be "a policy solution offered that is intended to solve the specified problem" and is "often portrayed to prompt action" (Jones and McBeth 2010, 341).   Narrative characters—a critical element of policy narratives—are discussed below.

The NPF is concerned with the study of narratives that address specific policy issues and attempt to change or alter in some way the policy process. Consequently, "the NPF is based on the idea that policy narratives are strategically constructed by

stakeholders to influence public policy" (McBeth et al., 2012, 163). Policy narratives must meet two criterion in order to be considered, and hence studied, as a policy narrative.   First, policy narratives must take a policy stance on a particular policy issue(s) (Shanahan et al. 2013, 457). For example, while driving down the highway, one may see a bumper sticker on the back of a passing car that reads "trees provide oxygen". Although this phrase takes a stance, it doesn't necessarily take a "policy stance". Conversely, a passing car may have a bumper stick that reads "stop deforestation because trees provide oxygen". This stance not only addresses a policy issue, deforestation, but it also takes a stance on that issue. Although both of these examples show when or how a policy stance is taken, neither can be characterized as a policy narrative. One other criteria still is not met.

To be a policy narrative to the NPF, narratives must also reference at least one character type. Characters largely provide the "meat" of policy stories. Accordingly, Jones and McBeth (2010, 341) indicate that "the role of characters in public policy narratives has been theorized to play an important role in understanding policy." Character types identified in the Narrative Policy Framework are heroes, villains, and victims. In policy narratives, heroes are generally those characters who are portrayed as the solver of a policy problem (Stone, 2002). Metaphorically, heroes come to "save the day" via policy solutions that promise reparation of people adversely influenced by the villain or the impacts of bad policy. The villain not surprisingly is that character(s) who is the perpetuator of the problem and is targeted for blame. Lybecker et al. (2015, 7) note that "the central purpose of the narrative in fixing blame is also to articulate a causal

theory of intentionality or inadvertence. In doing so, policy narratives reduce complexity

to the pinpointing of blame on specific individuals or groups, the villain(s)." Generally,

groups or individuals who are a part of the losing coalition in a policy issue tend to make

heavier use of the villain in fixating blame (Shanahan et al. 2013). Finally, persons or

groups that are harmed by a policy issue are the victim (Stone 2002). Victims can be

harmed both "directly or indirectly by the villain" (Lybecker et al. 2015) and are likely to

be beneficiaries of favorable public policy (Schneider and Ingram, 1993). For example,

Clemons et al. (2012, 6) note that people "are more likely to give charitable

contributions to an identifiable victim."

Further studies have provided more insight into these three character types. For

example, in conjunction with Schneider and Ingram's (1993) *Social Construction of Policy

Design*, NPF work has differentiated between "contender villains", villains that hold

positions of power (i.e. government, corporations), and "deviant villains", characters

with little power but often constructed as villains for "deviant behavior" (i.e.

immigrants, criminals, etc.). This has brought enhanced understanding of socially

constructed character types in narrative (Lybecker et al. 2015; Lybecker et al. 2016).

Other scholars (Clemons et al. 2012) have explored the idea that victims are seen with

varying levels of "innocence". There can be normal victims (who may or may not be the

product of their own adversity) and "innocent victims" depending on the context of the

policy issue and the social conditions.

Beyond merely the identification of narrative elements such as characters, literature in public policy has also sought to further understand how coalitions use narrative elements to influence policy design. Sabatier (1987, 450) notes a strategy used by coalitions that he terms the "devil shift" as discussed above. This strategy is used when "actors perceive opponents to be stronger and more 'evil' than they actually are." Sabatier (1988) later notes that this concept is worth further study in public policy. Shanahan et al. (2013) rise to that call by exploring the devil shift more fully in addition to an "angel shift", a concept native to NPF literature, in their study of a proposal by Cape Cod to install wind turbines off Nantucket. These scholars describe the devil shift, in conjunction with the NPF, as "a policy story exaggerating the power of an opponent while understating the power of the narrating group or coalition". Conversely, the same authors define the angel shift as "a policy story that emphasizes a group or coalition's ability and/or commitment to solving a problem, while de-emphasizing the villain." In their study, they found that the winning coalition made heavy use of the angel shift "as a narrative strategy to obtain policy success." Although previous research highlighted the power of the villain character, the losing coalition in this policy issue "became entrapped in a devil shift, futilely and repeatedly attacking the opposing coalition as a villain." As such, these scholars suggest that greater use of the hero character and angel shift will lead to policy success. This dissertation study seeks to further clarify this important NPF contribution by replicating the methodology of the angel-devil calculations in the study of the CRC policy issue. It is the hope that the results of this

dissertation shed further light on the importance of the hero and villain characters used by coalitions to influence policy design.

This dissertation also takes a closer look at the *victim* character which has received less attention in NPF studies in comparison to its villain and hero equivalents. As noted above, the victim character "is the one harmed by the villain and worthy of policy attention" (McBeth et al. 2005). Early NPF research on the victim character looked at how relationships between humans and nature were portrayed in a way that victimized nature in comparison to humans. McBeth et al. 2005 differentiate between *anthropocentric* victim narratives (when humans are victimized) and *biocentric* victim narratives (when animals, nature, or climate are victimized).

Further NPF research explored how shifting policy subsystems altered how characters within a subsystem were portrayed. For example, McBeth et al. 2014 note the shifting victimhood of actors in the use and regulation of cigarettes as a public policy issue. Although initially the cigarette industry successfully portrayed themselves as the victim of unfavorable public policy, various focusing events changed public perceptions of the victim ultimately to those subjected to second-hand smoke (especially flight attendants). Interestingly, the cigarette industry, at least for a short time, found utility in victimizing themselves. Additionally, McBeth et al. (2014, 147) further explain that "focusing events…as strategic creations, are most powerful when they forward a human face representing an innocent victim…thus drawing attention to a larger problem." Moreover, research suggests that when identifiable victims are present, it is easier for

individuals to be sympathetic when humanized than when presented as "statistical aggregations" (McBeth et al. 2014). These findings provide important contributions to the study of narrative policy and at the same time raise important questions. Is the victim character more or less influential in influencing policy design as hero characters or villain characters? Do individuals and coalitions use a narrative strategy that overtly portrays themselves with impotency or victimhood? Such was done by the cigarette industry throughout the latter half of the 20th century. Do other groups and coalitions participate in this narrative strategy and can it be studied in the same manner as the angel-devil shift?

The notion that individuals and coalitions can perpetuate a narrative "shift" towards themselves as the victim is absent in the ACF and NPF literature. Thus, this dissertation seeks to establish a definition for this potential narrative strategy and test whether or not this strategy exists and was utilized by the Anti CRC or Pro CRC coalitions in this policy issue. As noted above, villains are equated to "devils" and heroes are equated to "angels". Accordingly, in establishing a term that shows a shift toward victimhood, the term *impotent* is selected to give context to this potential narrative phenomenon. According to Dictionary.com, *impotent* is defined as "unable to take effective action; helpless or powerless". Synonyms of *impotent* or *impotency* include "powerless, ineffective, ineffectual, inadequate, weak, feeble, useless, worthless, futile". This dissertation study defines the *impotent shift* as a policy story that emphasizes the victimhood of the narrating individual/group while understating their position as the

hero in solving a policy problem. Methodology for this potential narrative strategy is described in the following chapter.

Finally, it should be noted that "although there are minimum conditions, policy narratives vary in 'narrativity' based on the extent to which they include some aggregation of narrative elements, narrative strategies, policy beliefs, and other literary elements common to story" (Shanahan et al., 2013, 457). Importantly, the main purpose of narrative elements "is to portray a particular problem definition and post the author's proposed policy solution as the answer that leads to mobilization." Thus, the use of narrative elements serves as a tool to gain increasing support from current supporters and potential supporters (McBeth et al. 2012, 163). This dissertation project will also—using measurements discussed in the following chapter—explore the "narrativity" of policy narratives addressing the Columbia River Crossing project.

Assumptions of the NPF:

As a scientific approach to the policy process, the Narrative Policy Framework provides several core theoretical assumptions. These include:

policy narratives are central in policy processes; (ii) policy narratives operate at three levels of analysis: micro (the individual), meso (the policy subsystem), and macro (institutional/cultural); (iii) a broad set of actors (elected officials, interest groups, the media, etc.) generate policy narratives; and (iv) policies and programs are translations of beliefs that are communicated through policy narratives, the vehicle for conveying and organizing policy information (Shanahan et al., 2011, 540).

Central to these assumptions are the three levels of analysis that allows the NPF to provide "distinct unit[s] of analysis, relevant theories, and related hypotheses"

(Shanahan et al. 2013, 456).   As noted in the same study, "At the micro and meso levels,

policy narratives are constructed by individuals and organizations advocating for a policy

goal derived from some defined problem" (457).   At the micro-level, researchers

concern themselves with how narratives interact with the public in shaping public

opinion.   In micro level studies, researchers employ survey methodology to delineate

how narratives translate to policy views.   In a study of obesity policy in the United States

(see Clemons et al. 2012), researchers performed a micro-level analysis by presenting

survey respondents with two narratives and a scientific statement about obesity as a

medical condition.   Respondents then selected which narrative to them was more

persuasive.   The narratives, using Lakeoff's parenting metaphor (see Lakeoff, 2002;

Graham et al. 2009), on the one hand, tells the story of an individual who overeats and

doesn't exercise.   On the other hand, the other narrative presents the same individual

but frames the story in terms of how her obesity is associated with sociopolitical faults

and unfavorable policy construction.   The former narrative portrays the individual as a

villain (without personal responsibility) and the latter as an innocent victim (one subject

to social constraints).   The scientific narrative provides a more factual story of obesity in

the U.S.   In this study, respondents select which narrative best aligns with their view of

this public policy issue.   Accordingly, researchers were able discover which stories wield

more power in shaping public opinion on obesity policy within the U.S. Utilizing micro-

level research in NPF studies is advantageous due to the fact that "survey methodology

is efficient, variables can be tightly controlled via experimentation, and research

measures the influence of policy narratives on public opinion" (Shanahan et al. 2013,

456). The disadvantages include issues with generalizability and studies being unable to

explain actual realities in public opinion and its connection to public policy making.

Experiencing similar if not greater employability in NPF studies, the meso-level of

analysis places a high degree of emphasis on policy subsystems and policy narratives

that originate from coalitions within those subsystems. Meso-level analysis builds off of

rational choice theory in addition to Schattschneider (1960) and his foundational work

on the "scope of conflict" and later work on policy containment and expansion (Pralle,

2006). Studies at this level of analysis seek to understand how policy narratives

influence coalition formation in a subsystem and how coalitions seek to expand or

contain conflict in order to influence the outcome of public policy (Shanahan et al. 2011,

541). Previous studies (Shanahan et al. 2013; Kusko 2014) show that the losing coalition

often employs a narrative strategy in order to diffuse the costs of a public policy (or

proposed policy) and concentrate the benefits of said policy. Put differently, a losing

coalition will do all in their power to make a policy seem costly, problematic, and

ineffective. Conversely, they will diminish or make little to no mention of the benefits of

such policy, thus "concentrating" the benefits. The same research shows that the

winning coalition will employ a narrative strategy where they will concentrate the costs

of a public policy and diffuse the benefits. Therefore, a winning coalition will do all in

their power to promote the status quo (or proposed policy) while diminishing the costs

of their favored policy. Although NPF literature has provided some insight into the

strategies potentially used by winning or losing coalitions, it has not explored whether

coalitions strategies change over time and if changes take place when a coalition shifts

from a winning coalition to a losing coalition (or vice versa) during the duration of a policy issue. As such, this dissertation fills this gap in the literature via the study of the CRC policy issue.

In analyzing strategically developed coalitional narratives, meso-level analysis employs human coders who use quantitative content analysis methods. Content analysis is conducted on public consumption documents including news reports, editorials, and news releases among others. With content analysis via human coders comes the requisite to reduce human bias through multiple reconciliation sessions to improve inter-coder reliability. Only recently have NPF scholars utilized these meso-level methodological techniques on new media sources (Lybecker et al. 2015; Lybecker et al. 2016; Merry 2016).

Beyond these two levels of analysis, at this current point in NPF literature remains unchartered territory. As noted by Shanahan et al. 2013, 457), "At the broadest level—the macro level—NPF theorizes that the policy narratives of institutions and cultures play an important role in shaping policy processes and outcomes over substantial periods of time". Accordingly, although the NPF has addressed the macro-level of analysis theoretically, it has yet to do so methodologically. This acknowledgement certainly opens a vast door of possibilities for future NPF research which are not addressed in this meso-level dissertation study.

*Joining the Two Theories***:** *Narratives used as a coalitional strategy*

Shanahan et al. (2011, 536) contend that "empirical approaches to narrative such as the NPF can better illuminate specific facets of the policy process underspecified by the ACF, particularly when combined with the ACF's already well-defined and validated parameters." In this same study, the authors identify the ACF as the "ground spring" for the NPF. Following the guidelines set forth in Sabatier's work (2002)" the NPF can be applied in a variety of policy settings and employs extant theory to identify causal relationships and testable hypotheses" (Shanahan et al. 2011, 556). As such, the NPF and the ACF combined provide a more clear understanding of the policy process.

At the meso-level of analysis, where the study and importance of coalitions is paramount, the NPF and the ACF are complimentary in their focus. Due to "the comparable units of analysis and focus upon group and coalition behavior", it becomes apparent that meso-level studies provide for a venue of compatibility. In this dissertation, it is suggested that the merger of these two theories enhances and more fully establishes the foundations of both. As a starting point, Shanahan et al. (2011), comprehensively explore the connections between the NPF and the ACF. Specifically, they focus on four main concepts that align the two theories and work as the requisite assumptions at the meso-level of analysis. They are: i) belief systems are the glue that bind advocacy coalitions (ii) policy learning is a relatively enduring alteration in thought or behavioral intention on the part of a coalition; (iii) public opinion serves as an exogenous constraint, internal shock, and an advocacy coalition resource; and (iv) strategy is used by advocacy coalitions to influence decisions by governmental authorities" (Shanahan et al. 2011, 545-546).

The NPF focuses on the quantification of variables such as policy beliefs that bind

coalitions together. In like manner, the ACF also focuses on belief systems and how

those systems shape coalitions (Shanahan et al. 2011, 546). Due to the fact that the NPF

quantifies narrative elements for hypothesis testing, "the quantification of policy beliefs

through the policy narrative element of characters can be used to test and explain

different facets of coalition behavior" (Shanahan et al. 2011, 546). The quantification of

characters can also be methodologically beneficial in measuring other variables as

alluded to above such as stability, cohesion, and strength, over a period of time.

Stability of a coalition's narrative strategy can be an important element for

understanding intracoalitional coordination overtime. McBeth et al. (2010, 547) explain

both stability and instability as "strong indicators of whether or not a coalition or group

is engaging in strategy or if the stories it emits are reliable indicators of the group's

belief." Stability is seen when a coalition uses the same narrative element to describe

the opposing coalition consistently over a long period of time. Stability can be tested

empirically by analyzing broad descriptions of a coalition's use of characters and/or

expansion/containment of the policy issue over the course of a decade. As noted

above, coalitions are comprised of many actors and groups. Having a cohesive narrative

can prove to be difficult as coordination takes place. *Cohesion*, the second coalitional

element tested, is found when coalitions are consistent with how they present their

policy beliefs and use of narrative elements. In studying cohesion, researchers might

ask "do groups and actors within coalitions vary in their use of policy narrative

elements, strategies, and measured policy beliefs?" (Shanahan et al, 2013, 461).

Overall, cohesion is tested again through the use of frequency counting broken down by coalitions and actors within coalitions. Finally, *strength* of narrative has to do with the "intensity with which a group or coalition employs a particular policy belief or viewpoint" (Kusko, 2014). Strength can be calculated by aggregating the total calculations of angel-devil shift over the duration of the policy issue (Kusko, 2014). The more intently a coalition uses the hero or villain character will be demonstrative of their narrative strength as a coalition. These three intracoalitional elements are analyzed and tested as part of answering the main research questions presented in the previous chapter.

Summary

This dissertation employs the Advocacy Coalition Framework and the Narrative Policy Framework as the theoretical and methodological basis for further study of coalitional behavior and use of narrative elements and strategies. In discussing the wealth of literature previously completed, this chapter has explicated how this study will provide meaningful contributions to public policy by synthesizing the above mentioned theories and using them to explore the Columbia River Crossing project. In the following chapter, the specific methodologies employed for this dissertation are explained in detail.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The Central Policy Issue:

By 2010, just five years after the commencement of the planning stage for CRC project, construction for the newly proposed mega bridge was expected to begin as early as that year. For many, especially the 60,000 residents of Vancouver that cross the bridge daily into Portland for work, there were high hopes. As one of the most crowded transportation hubs on the I-5 corridor spanning the west coast, the crossing into Portland from Vancouver each workday morning presented a major challenge for residents, tourism, and interstate commerce. As the only drawbridge left on the west coast span, massive traffic backups were increasingly problematic with the frequent delays caused by large-scale marine traffic. The same was also true for the late afternoon commute back over the bridge from Portland.

However, by 2010, with a couple years of political turmoil, and the closer the construction phase came to fruition, the more political recoiling the project began to experience. The main issues for those against the project: increased taxes and the extension of Portland's Light Rail across the bridge into Vancouver. Although the proposal for the new bridge relied on funding from bi-state allocations and the federal government, it became apparent that the project would also need to be paid for by local taxpayers. Bridge tolls were approved as the taxation method of choice to help bear the brunt of the costly new bridge.   Although planners disagreed on the actual total estimated cost of the bridge with estimates ranging from 2.6 billion to 4.4 billion,

planners ultimately agreed that the bridge would be paid for in thirds; a third by the federal government, a third by allocations from Oregon and Washington, and a third by bridge tolls.

Although Portland—with a more politically left leaning residency—was less resistant to the project, the idea of direct taxation of bridge crossers (mostly from the Washington side of the bridge), did not sit well with residents of Vancouver—a historically more conservative constituency. Much of the political backlash centered on the idea that those crossing the bridge more often would be punished with heavy tolls. More conservative leaning groups and politicians alike gravitated toward this fact and used it extensively in providing intense opposition to the project. Additionally, part of the CRC proposal included the extension of Portland's mass transit system, Light Rail, into Vancouver. Many felt that such extension would bring Portland's crime into Vancouver and would force citizens of Vancouver to pay for what was believed to be an inefficient and expensive form of transportation.

The bridge experienced intense public scrutiny and ultimately, with much political fall-out, the Washington State Senate failed to pass a 450 million spending bill that would have propelled the eventual replacement and construction of the proposed bridge. Ironically, the Oregon Legislature had already approved of their portion of the bridge cost. As noted in Chapter 2, two major coalitions formed around this issue and intensely used narrative elements and strategies to influence the ultimate policy

outcome. The research methodology used to extrapolate the use of policy narratives in this policy issue will be discussed in detail below.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Again, the three guiding research questions for this dissertation are as follows:

1) What is the role of policy narratives in shaping the policy outcomes of the proposed CRC bridge project? More specifically, how do coalitions use narrative elements to influence policy outcomes?

(2) Often, a single policy issue is targeted by two or more competing advocacy coalitions. How does one coalition triumph over another? Is the winning coalition stronger and more cohesive (coalitional glue) in their use of narrative elements and strategies?

(3) Lastly, when a coalition moves from being a winning coalition to the losing coalition, does their use of narrative elements and narrative strategies change?

To answer these questions, six main hypotheses are proposed and are as follows:

Hypothesis One: There are intercoalitional differences between the Pro CRC coalition and the Anti CRC coalition in their use of narrative characters. There is an association between the Anti CRC coalition's uses of the villain character. Likewise, there is an association between the Pro CRCs coalition's uses of the hero character.

Hypothesis Two: Advocacy coalitions that have more consistent and frequent use of hero and villain character types (maintaining strength and cohesion) emerge as the winning coalition over the duration of the policy issue.

Hypothesis Three: The Pro CRC coalition will make more heavy use of the angel shift. The Anti CRC coalition will make more heavy use of the devil shift.

Hypothesis Four: For both coalitions—making extensive use of the victim character—there will be found the use of an impotent shift narrative strategy.

Hypothesis Five: The Pro CRC coalition will portray itself as the winning coalition by containing the policy issue and making more frequent use of the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" narrative strategy. There is an association between the Pro CRC coalition's use of this narrative strategy and that of the Anti CRC coalition. Equally, the Anti CRC coalition will act as a losing coalition by expanding the policy issue and make more frequent use of the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" narrative tactic. There is an association between the Anti CRC coalition's use of this narrative strategy and that of the Pro CRC coalition.

Hypothesis Six: As the Anti CRC coalition transitions from losing coalition to winning coalition in the duration of the policy issue (2005-2015), their narrative strategy shifts from concentrating benefits/diffusing costs to concentrating costs/diffusing benefits. Likewise, as the Pro CRC coalition transitions from the winning coalition to the losing coalition in the duration of the policy issue (2005-2015), their narrative strategy shifts from concentrating costs/diffusing benefits to concentrating benefits/diffusing costs.

Variables and Operationalization

To answer the above research questions and test the corresponding hypotheses, the following variables were coded and operationalized. At the coalitional level, it was expected that identification of these variables in the analysis will explicitly reveal levels of cohesion and strength of the narratives for the 10 year study period. Variables include:

Narrative Elements (Characters). According to standard coding procedures, content analyzers independently coded content for character types and combinations of character types. Actors within the content deemed as the cause of a problem or the reason for problem perpetuation were coded as a villain characters. Actors who were the recipients of the villains' action or were somehow harmed by the "problem" (as portrayed by either coalition) were coded as victim characters. Some of the narratives coded also found the prevalence of hero characters, those deemed as the "fixer" of the problem. Many of the sources analyzed are expected to contain the use of multiple characters. In these combinations (villain/victim, villain/hero, victim/hero, or all three character types), the source lays out a more comprehensive picture of the public policy issue at hand.

Narrative strategies. Independent coders also analyzed the policy narratives found within the sources and searched for rhetoric that demonstrates a coalitional tactic or strategy (diffusing the benefits, diffusing the costs, concentrating the benefits, concentrating the costs) of the bridge project. For example, if coders were to analyze a

source of the Anti-CRC coalition which argues that the bridge project will bring drugs and crime from Portland into Vancouver suburbs, they would code the sources as "diffusing the costs". In other words, the costs were felt by all of Vancouver residents, or diffused to a larger population.

Pro CRC or Anti CRC. Each narrative will be coded as a Pro CRC or Anti CRC narrative. Narratives that are sympathetic to the bridge project, the CRC agency or other members of the coalition will be coded as a Pro CRC narrative. Equally, narratives that show less favorability for the bridge project will be coded as Anti CRC.

Views per month. This variable applies to the sources that were sampled from YouTube. Coders recorded the number of views each video received from the time it was originally posted onto YouTube. In addition, coders also recorded the origin date. By dividing the number of months the video was on YouTube by the number of views, coders can potentially calculate an average for the number of views per month. This average provides important findings regarding the videos popularity overtime. With this figure, it can also be known which policy narratives were most people exposed to when accessing this new media source for information on the bridge project. In turn, it can then be determined which policy narratives where most influential.

Sponsorship and Media. Sponsorship and media type allows the researchers to differentiate between traditional media sources and new media sources. Traditional media sources are more clearly identified as those sources coded from newspaper articles, editorials and other public consumption documents. Conversely, new media

sources are often found on the internet, most commonly through social media venues

including Facebook, Twitter, blogs and YouTube.   In Lybecker et al. (2016), researchers

found that traditional media sources often utilized the venue of YouTube to disseminate

news stories regarding the U.S. Canada border. In characterizing sponsorship,

researchers can identify not only between traditional media and new media but also

traditional media that is found in new media venues.

Research Methods

The collection of data and the overarching methodology for this dissertation

utilized well-established and accepted techniques used commonly in prior NPF and ACF

studies (Shanahan et al. 2013; McBeth et al. 2012; Kusko 2014). Sabatier (2007) notes

that "the best prospects for systematic empirical work" in public policy lies in the

content analysis of government documents, editorials, and other media sources.

Content analysis generally is employed when researchers formalize coding measures

and then utilize those same measures as they analyze content found in media sources

selected for data collection. In terms of data creation and analysis, this method is

inexpensive (as it accesses the wealth of information found in news databases), and

allows for longitudinal study of the material analyzed (Sabatier, 1999). Moreover,

employing this substantiated methodology enhances understanding of the role of

narratives and provides researchers with the opportunity of empirically analyzing

subjectivity, as is the essence of policy narratives. Thus, this dissertation study finds it

very advantageous to employ this method in its analysis of policy narratives surrounding the bridge project. It permits a thorough study of coalitions and policy narratives.

For this dissertation, content analysis was conducted on a total of 370 public consumption documents. Sources accessed included newspaper editorials from the two most popular newspapers in the Vancouver/Portland region. *The Columbian*, a Vancouver based newspapers first began publishing in the region in 1890 as a Democratic newspaper to compete with the local Republican newspaper. Although the newspaper later "switched" political parties (The Columbian), it currently has a reputation for publishing articles more favorable of left-wing beliefs. On the other side of the bridge, *The Oregonian* has reported on Portland specific news since 1850. On the west coast, it currently holds the record for the oldest continuously published newspaper (Heinzkill, 1993) and currently is the second largest newspaper in the Pacific Northwest (Alliance for Audited Media). Based in one of the most politically left-leaning cities in the United States, the "politics" of the newspaper can be expected. Although, it should be noted the results of this study—as later discussed in Chapter 4—suggest that the paper showed a greater sense of pragmatism with this policy issue than previously expected, or at least relative to its counterpart on the Vancouver side. Combined, these two traditional media sources made up 181 of the 371 public documents analyzed (*The Columbian* 81 articles, *The Oregonian*-100 articles).

The other 189 public documents analyzed for this study were derived from locally based online blogs (87 articles) and YouTube videos (102 videos). As new media

sources, blogs and videos have achieved extensive popularity as more commonly

accessed sources of information in the last decade. This study finds it crucial that these

sources receive equal attention to their traditional media equivalents. Considering the

fact that many members of the public access a wide range of media sources according

to their preferences, it becomes apparent that data reliability are improved as these

sources are considered in delineating narrative strategies used by coalitions associated

with the policy issue. As noted by Reis et al. (2015), "A growing number of people are

changing the way they consume news, replacing the traditional physical newspapers

and magazines with their virtual online versions or/and weblogs." As such, content

analysis was conducted on these sources as a more comprehensive approach to

understanding the use of narrative elements and strategies.

Documents for *The Columbian* newspaper and the blogs were retrieved using the

LexisNexis Academic Universe database for a 10-year period of time (January 1, 2005-

December 31st, 2015). The Lexis Nexis database archives articles from thousands of

publications around the United States and can be searched for all available documents

specific to many different policy issues. For this study, it proved to be a formidable

source for finding public consumption documents for analysis. To retrieve articles for

The Columbian newspaper, "All News" was selected in the "Search by Subject or Topic"

tab. Under the search terms tab, "Advanced Search" was selected opening up a

separate window to input more search criterion. Under "Dates", the above 10-year

date range was inputted. Under "Source", "The Columbian (Vancouver, WA)" was

selected. Under "Source Type", all of the boxes were left unchecked. Under "Article

Type", the "Editorials & Opinions" box was selected. After clicking "Apply", the search

term "columbia river crossing project" was inputted on the main search bar and the

"Search" button selected with the above criterion in place. The search produced 104

results. Of the 104 editorial articles, "letters to the editor" were excluded from the

sample producing a total of 81 articles to be analyzed. "Letters to the editors"—

although likely policy narratives—were excluded so as limit the results so as not to be

representative of the views of laypersons.

Lexis Nexis also provides a wealth of sources for online blogs. In attempts to

utilize this rich resource, a search in Lexis Nexis was also conducted. Similarly, "All

News" was selected once again. In the "Advanced Search" window, the above date

range was inputted and no source name was typed into the "Source" search bar. This

would allow for all local blogs to be searched instead of specifying a single blog. In

"Source Type", the "Blogs" box was selected. All boxes were left empty under the

"Article Type" section. Upon clicking "Apply", the search term "columbia river crossing

project" was entered into the main search bar and the "Search" button was selected

with the above criterion in place.   The search produced 87 articles, all of which were

selected for analysis.

Finding articles for *The Oregonian* newspaper proved more challenging as

multiple databases, including Lexis Nexis, were searched with little results. Although

The Oregonian archives all of its articles in the *Multnomah County Library (Portland,
OR)*, it was later discovered that the database, *NewsBank Inc*. also had access to articles

needed for this dissertation project. *NewsBank*, unlike *Lexis Nexis*, has archived news

articles from a multiplicity of domestic and international sources and has served to be a

helpful source for this study. The search criterion was entered as follows: On the home

page under "Access World News—Historical and Current", the "USA" link was selected.

Accordingly, a map of the United States appeared on the following page. On the map,

the state of Oregon (OR) was selected. All 52 Oregon-based publications archived in

NewsBank appear on the following page in list format in alphabetical order.

"Oregonian, The (Portland, OR)" link was selected. After imputing this criterion, further

criterion was imputed at the top of the page under the *NewsBank* logo. In the first drop

down tab, "All News" was selected. In the search bar to the right of this tab, "columbia

river crossing" was imputed. In the next tab down, the Boolean term "AND" was

selected with "Section" selected in the next drop down tab. In the next search bar,

"editorial" was typed. "Add row" was then selected. In the next drop down tab, the

Boolean term "AND" was selected and "Date" was selected in the drop down tab next to

that one. The date range "2005-2015" was then manually typed into the corresponding

search bar. "Add row" was again selected. Finally, in the next drop down tab, the

Boolean term "NOT" was selected and "Headline" was selected in the next drop down

tab after that. In the corresponding search bar "Letters to the editor" was manually

typed out. Using this process, replicating the exclusion of letters to the editor as done

with *The Columbian* editorials was achieved. Although noticeably more complicated,

this search produced a desirable result of 278 results. Maintaining the results page as

"Best match first", the first 100 articles were sampled for analysis. It should be noted

that the "columbia river crossing project" search phrase was not used in this search as it was in the two prior searches on LexisNexis because it only produced 37 results. Subsequently, it made more sense in this case to broaden the search by removing the word "project" and conducting the search under the term "columbia river crossing". Doing so provided a much richer set (278) of results in which to access.

For the last media source, YouTube videos, a search was conducted by visiting the Youtube.com website and entering in the main search bar "columbia river crossing". Again, a search was experimented using "columbia river crossing project" but only produced 41 results in total. To increase the number of sources that could be sampled, the former term was utilized instead providing for a total result number of 260 results. A sample of only 61 videos was taken due to the fact that upon prompt observation, it appeared that videos past video #61 in the search results were not related to the policy issue and hence, would be useless for the study. Observing that many of the 41 videos found in the first search differed from the second search, they were combined with the 61 videos sampled to create a total sample of 102 videos to analyze. For both searches, a "most relevant" filter was used so as to produce results that put the most relevant videos near the front of the results list. Furthermore, searching for the most relevant sources produces videos that are most likely to be seen by members of public who have previously searched for information on the policy issue at hand. Accordingly, this study is consistent with prior studies (Keelan et al. 2007; Lybecker et al. 2017) that have used YouTube as a data source.

To complete the content analysis of the public consumption documents

sampled, two undergraduate students were employed. The students were first required

to familiarize themselves with the NPF literature so as to understand how narrative

elements and narrative strategies are theoretically defined. The students were then

trained in common content analysis methods and then given copies of a code sheet (see

Appendix) to fill out for each public consumption document they would analyze. In the

analysis process, coders looked for narrative elements (characters- villains, victims, and

heroes) and narrative strategies (containment- concentrate costs/diffused benefits and

expansion- concentrate benefits/diffused costs). Additionally, for the YouTube videos,

coders recorded the number of months a video was present (date uploaded) and the

number of total views. This allowed for potential calculation of the average number of

views per month for videos watched during the duration of time under study. After both

student coders and the author of this dissertation coded each document individually, all

three coders came back together for reliability check meetings.

A total of 14 reliability analysis check meetings occurred to overcome

discrepancies in the narrative elements recorded. In these meetings (totaling almost 12

hours altogether), coders met –with their individually completed coding sheets—and

discussed each public document assessing agreement in use of character types and

narrative strategies. When disagreement occurred, coders discussed reasons for the

disagreement and often referred to the source document itself to remedy such

disagreements. In most cases, coders arrived at agreement after reconciliation. As

stated, all three coders analyzed all 370 documents. Hence, reaching agreement during

the reliability check proved challenging. If one coder disagreed with the other two

coders (that did agree), it was recorded as a disagreement "before" reconciliation. At

times, the three coders all disagreed over a narrative element. The levels of agreement

recorded (after reconciliation) are consistent with previous studies completed utilizing

the NPF (Shanahan et al. 2013) and are noted in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Reliability Check Analysis by Source Type and Totals

Narrative Elements	Villain		Victim		Hero		Narrative Strategies	
Source Type	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
YouTube Videos	82.40%	100%	58.80%	100%	74.50%	100%	90.20%	100%
Blogs	81.80%	100%	59.10%	98.50%	45.50%	100%	80.30%	98.50%
The Columbian (Vancouver)	37.50%	95.80%	38.90%	98.60%	52.80%	100%	65.30%	95.83%
The Oregonian (Portland)	61.80%	100%	57.40%	98.50%	50.00%	95.60%	70.60%	95.60%
Total	64.20%	98.80%	52.90%	98.80%	54.50%	98.80%	75.50%	97.30%

Note: This table shows percentages for agreement between coders before reliability check and after. In all cases, percentages of agreement rose as a result of reliability checking and meet inter-coder reliability standards for content analysis. As noted above, agreement levels before reconciliation for narratives found in The Columbian newspaper were relatively low for all character types. It is suspected that this discrepancy is the result of the fact that articles in this source used many character references and it was the first media source analyzed by coders. Thus, as coders analyzed other media sources, their agreement levels rose simply as a result of having more experience coding public consumption documents. Importantly, after reconciliation meetings, inter-coder agreement levels rose for The Columbian article to appropriate levels.

As noted in the above table, the three coders agreed 64.2% on the villain

character before the reliability check. After reconciliation, coders agreed 98.8% of the

time. For the victim character, coders agreed 52.9% before the reliability check. After

reconciliation, coders agreed 98.8% of the time. For the hero character, coders agreed

54.5% before the reliability check. After reconciliation, coders agreed 98.8% of the

time.   For narrative strategies, coders agreed 75.5% before the reliability check. After

reconciliation, coders agreed 97.3% of the time. Consequently, the data utilized in this

study meets accepted reliability standards and adequate inter-coder reliability was achieved.

All data collected were entered into a statistical program and operationalized according to the variables discussed above. For Hypothesis One, frequencies were calculated for character type by narrative. As such, a narrative was coded as having a villain, victim, hero or some combination of the following characters if at least one of those character types appeared in the narrative analyzed. These numbers were then counted by media source and then aggregated to provide totals amounts. Total amounts operationalized as nominal level variables and calculated as percentages were then tested using a Chi-squared test to identify a relationship between a coalition and their use of narrative elements allowing for a rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis. For Hypothesis Two, total frequency numbers for the hero and villains characters were counted (total number of times a character was referenced in a narrative) and were further delineated by coalition and actors/groups within coalitions. In doing this, major coalitional actors were identified. Additionally, the higher number of references (calculated as percentages) to some actors within the narrating coalition will show cohesion in terms of the use of hero (or victim) characters. Higher number of references to certain actors in the opposing coalition will also show cohesion in terms of the use of the villain character.

For Hypothesis Three, in answering the level of angel-devil shift employed by each coalition, first frequency counts were taken of the total number of references to

heroes made by each coalition in all narratives throughout the policy issue. Hero

references to oneself (any actors in the coalition) were differentiated from the total

hero references number. These frequencies were further delineated by year from 2005-

2015. Similarly, the same was done for the total number of references to villains made

by each coalition in all narratives throughout the policy issue. Villain references to

oneself were differentiated from the total villain references number.   Once these

frequencies were established, for each year, previously accepted calculation methods

for the angel-devil shift (Shanahan et al. 2013) were employed. To calculate the angel-

devil shift, the mean percent of total hero references to oneself (the narrating coalition)

as hero references is taken and the percent of total villain references to references of

others as villains is subtracted and then divided by the total percentage of narratives

used in the calculations. The calculation appears as such:

Percent of total hero references to self as hero—percent of total villain references to

other as villain/total

For Hypothesis Four, in testing for the existence of an *impotent shift*, frequency

counts were taken of the total number of references to victims made by each coalition

in all narratives throughout the policy issue. Victim references to oneself (any actors in

the coalition) were differentiated from the total victim references number. These

frequencies were further delineated by year from 2005-2015. To calculate a "shift"

toward the utilization of one character type over another, another character type must

be selected to draw comparisons as is done in the angel-devil shift. As was established

in Chapter 2, there is no such evidence to suggest that coalitions prefer vilifying themselves. Thus, coalitions, in constructing policy narratives, either select to portray themselves as the hero (Shanahan et al. 2013) or potentially as the victim (as it is hoped this study will answer). So to ascertain a "shift" to victimhood or impotency, the disposition to victimize oneself was compared to the disposition to portray oneself as the hero. The *impotent shift* calculation will appear as such:

Percent of total hero references to self as hero—percent of total victim references to other as victim/total

Results for such calculations for each year in the policy issue duration will be presented in the following chapter.

To answer Hypothesis Five, frequency counts were taken from all narratives sampled in this study, distinguishing between Anti CRC narratives and Pro CRC narratives. Each narrative will be coded as either "Concentrating Costs/Diffusing Benefits", "Concentrating Benefits/Diffusing Costs", or showing no clear narrative strategy. Frequencies were taken for the number of times a coalition aligns with any of these two strategies/ or lack of strategy. These frequencies were further delineated by media source type and aggregated together to show different variations of how the coalitions utilized narrative strategies in different media venues. It was not only expected that coalitions were presented on select media source types (four in this study) but would vary in terms of which strategies they highlight more. Similarly, as was done for Hypothesis One, total amounts were operationalized as nominal level variables

and calculated as percentages which were then tested using a Chi-squared test to identify a relationships between a coalition and their use of narrative strategies allowing for a rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis.

For Hypothesis Six, the data—taken from the process just described—were further delineated by year from 2005-2015. In this fashion, use of narrative strategies was mapped over the course of time. Fluctuations in strategies from year to year did not only indicate how coalitions evolve overtime but also were indicative of whether a coalition was influenced by outside conditions that change their status from losing to winning (or vice versa) and how those changes influenced the way they used narrative. It was hoped that the results of this process would show telling implications for this policy issue and ultimately serve as the most important finding for this dissertation.

Summary

To briefly sum up, this project focuses on the Columbia River Crossing project as the policy issue under analysis. In 2005, after extensive research and a bi-state agreement between Oregon and Washington, the construction of a replacement bridge on the Interstate 5 spanning the city of Vancouver, WA and Portland, OR was deemed necessary and the planning stage commenced in 2005. Although the issue lacked salience during the initial planning stage, upon proposal of an actual bridge design with the inclusion of Portland's mass transit system, Light Rail, the plan was attacked by opponents (Anti CRC) and defended by proponents (Pro CRC). Three overarching research questions were proposed and six hypotheses listed to specify the important,

yet narrow focus of this dissertation. Collection of data was completed via content

analysis methods buttressed by previous NPF and ACF research methodology. New

methodological calculations were proposed for exploring the existence of an impotent

shift and previously accepted calculation methods for the angel-devil shift were

expounded. Finally, methods for computing use of narrative strategies over time were

introduced. The following chapter presents the results of this study.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

This study used accepted content analysis methods to code 370 public

consumption documents. Of the 371 documents analyzed, 257 were included in the

study sample.   The remaining documents were either not a policy narrative (no policy

stance and no narrative character), a duplicate document, or not related to the policy

issue at hand. These documents were coded by two trained undergraduate coders and

the dissertation author. In other words, all 370 documents were coded once by each

coder and then the results of each coding were checked for reliability against each

other. In totality, as noted in Table 2 below, documents came from four public

document sources including new media sources (YouTube videos and blogs) and local

traditional media sources (*The Columbian* newspaper and *The Oregonian* newspaper)

and all were analyzed. Of the 257 sampled narratives, 127 were coded as Pro CRC

narratives and 130 were coded as Anti CRC narratives.

Table 2 also enumerates the total number of narratives included from each

document source by coalition. A total of 51 videos and 66 blog articles were included in

the study sample. Additionally, a total of 72 editorial articles from *The Columbian*

newspaper and 68 editorial articles from the *The Oregonian* newspaper were included in

the study sample. The aggregation of these totals provides for a sample size of 257

cases as mentioned above. Furthermore, Table 2 shows the frequency of Pro CRC and

Anti CRC narratives within each media source type. As noted, more Anti CRC articles

were found in the YouTube video sample (Anti CRC-32/ Pro CRC-19). In the blogs, Anti

CRC articles dominated the sample (Anti CRC-62/ Pro CRC-4). Conversely, *The*

Columbian was dominated by Pro CRC articles with a similar ratio to the blogs (Anti CRC-

3/ Pro CRC-69). Interestingly, *The Oregonian* was evenly split between the frequency of

narratives from both coalitions (Anti CRC-33/ Pro CRC- 35). These frequencies suggest

that the Anti CRC coalition saw new media as a more formidable venue to get their

message to the public. Conversely, the Pro CRC coalition used traditional media venues

much more extensively which suggests they saw this form of media as a better way to

disseminate their message to the public. The results of further analysis on these

narratives, in total and by source type, are provided below.

TABLE 2: Frequencies- Policy Narratives by Coalition and Source Type

	YouTube videos	Blogs	The Columbian (Vancouver)	The Oregonian (Portland)	Total
Pro CRC	19	4	69	35	127
Anti CRC	32	62	3	33	130
Total by Source	51	66	72	68	257

 Note: This table provides frequency data for the number of narratives sampled in each media source type. The Columbian newspaper provided the largest sample of cases with The Oregonian, Blogs, and YouTube videos following in descending order. The random sample taken from each source type provided for an almost equal number of narratives for each coalition in the study (Pro CRC- 127 and the Anti CRC-130 respectively).

Results

Hypothesis One: There are intercoalitional differences between the Pro CRC coalition

and the Anti CRC coalition in their use of narrative characters. There is an association

between the Anti CRC coalition's uses of the villain character. Likewise, there is an

association between the Pro CRCs coalition's uses of the hero character.

Using descriptive statistics, Figure 1 is demonstrative of the variations in narrative character use by coalition. The figure includes a graph for each source type showing these variations. More specifically, these data indicate the percentage of Pro CRC or Anti CRC narratives that use a specific character type. Instead of counting the total number of villains, victims, and heroes within each narrative, these data show simply if a narrative used a specific character type or not. As such, to answer Hypothesis One, it is more important to look at frequency of character type used across all narratives, not the number of times a character type is used within a narrative, or in other words, the "narrativity" of each narrative. Frequency within each narrative or narrativity is discussed in greater detail further below.

As noted in Figure 1, in the YouTube videos, 26% of Pro CRC narratives used a villain character type. 63% of narratives cited a victim and 68% cited a hero. From the Anti CRC narratives, 98% cited a villain character. 62% cited a victim and 50% cited a hero.   In the blogs, Pro CRC narratives cited a villain 50% of the time, a victim 25%, and a hero 75%. In *The Columbian* newspaper editorials, the Pro CRC coalition cited a villain 59% of the time, a victim 46%, and a hero 68%. The Anti CRC coalition cited a villain 100% of the time, a victim 33%, and a hero 33%. In *The Oregonian* newspaper editorial articles, the Pro CRC coalition cited a villain 51% of the time, a victim 63%, and a hero 89%. The Anti CRC coalition cited a villain 97% of the time, a victim 67%, and a hero 52%.

Although both coalitions used some media source types more extensively over others as noted above, their pattern for character usage, when comparing graphs in Figure 1, shows a relatively similar pattern across the board. For example, the Pro CRC coalition cited a hero character more than 68% of time in each media source. Both coalitions used the victim character quite extensively in three out of the four source types. Overall, analyzing all source types, the Anti CRC coalition made much heavier use of the villain character type while the Pro CRC coalition made much heavier use of the hero character. As such, this study finds that intercoalitional differences regarding use of character types are more extensive than expected. Figure 2 provides more extensive insight into this finding.

FIGURE 1: Character Usage by Coalition (percentage) by Media Source
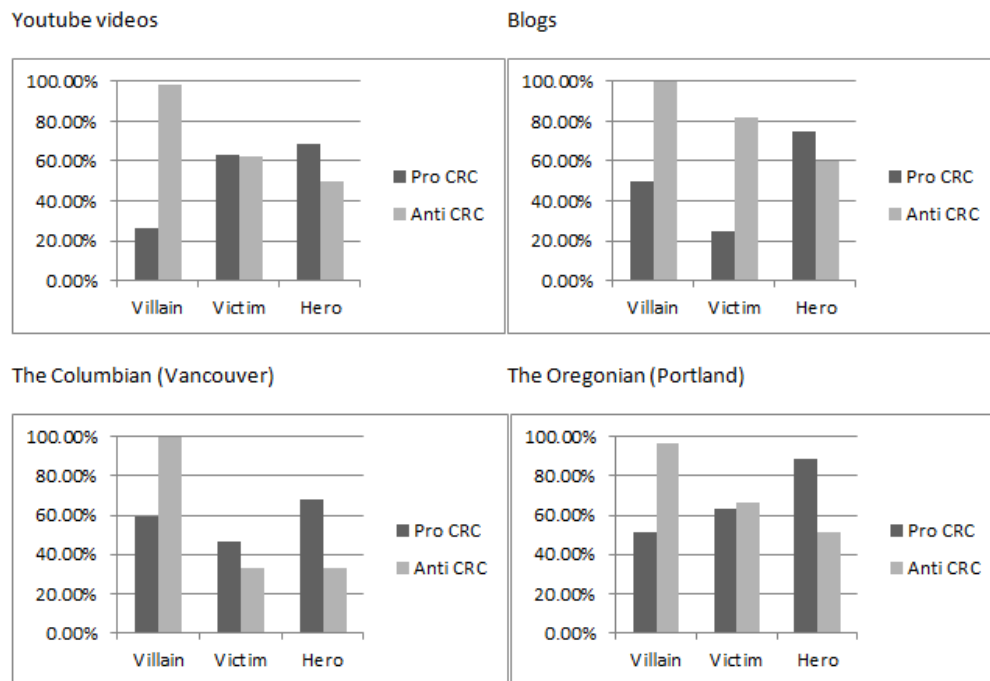
Note: This table shows the use of character type divided by media source type and further divided by coalition.

Figure 2 indicates the aggregation of all the data from each media policy source. It should be noted that these data analyzed descriptively in this way do not tell us whether or not either coalition made use of devil-angel shift narrative strategies. This is discussed in more detail later in this section. What these data do tell is the total variation between the coalition's usage of narrative characters. Of the 127 Pro CRC narratives analyzed, 52% cited a villain character, 53% cited a victim, and 74% cited a hero. Of the 130 Anti CRC narratives analyzed, a whopping 98% cited a villain character, 72% cited a victim, and 54% cited a hero. Interestingly, the Pro CRC coalition cited slightly higher percentage of victims than villains. Moreover, the Anti CRC coalition cited significantly higher percentage of victims than heroes. Chi-squared test results revealed a statically significant relationship (DF=1, 63.070, p < 0.0001) between the occurrence of villains characters in narratives by the Anti CRC and Pro CRC coalitions. For coalitional use of the hero character, a Chi-squared test was also completed. Results of such test revealed a statistically significant association (DF=1, 7.106, p < 0.0077) between the occurrence of hero characters in narratives by the Anti CRC and Pro CRC coalitions. As a side note, a Chi-squared test was also performed on the usage of the victim character by both coalitions. The results of such test also reveal a statically significant association (DL=1, 6.098, p < 0.0135) in the occurrence of the victim character between coalitions. The implications of this finding for the victim character are discussed later on in Chapter 5. Overall, these data confirm Hypothesis One in showing extensive intercoalitional variation in the use of narrative characters. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Analyzing the narratives holistically, the Pro CRC cited heroes

the most, then victims, and villains the least. Remarkably, the Anti CRC coalition was

found to be the exact opposite. They cited villains the most frequently, then victims,

and heroes the least.

FIGURE 2: Character Usage by Coalition (percentage) by all Narratives
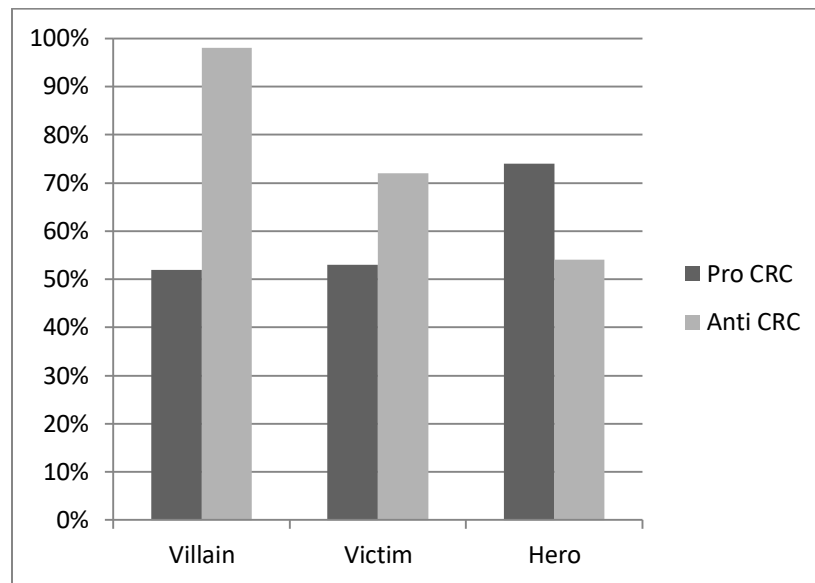
Note: This table shows the aggregation of data in Figure 1, the total sum of all narratives divided by coalition. Chi-squared test results revealed a significant relationship for villains (0.0001), victims (0.0135), and heroes (0.0077).

Hypothesis Two: Advocacy coalitions that have more consistent and frequent use of

specific hero and villain characters (maintaining cohesion) emerge as the winning

coalition over the duration of the policy issue.

In answering this hypothesis, Table 3 and Table 4 provide descriptive statistics of

the 257 narratives coded for villain and hero character types. One of the greatest

challenges of data collection for this dissertation project was the vast number of

characters cited by both coalitions in the narratives. As a state and local issue, the

bridge project attracted a wide range of stakeholders from throughout the region

including local politicians, businesses, interest groups, and even some national

characters. Even with a multiplicity of actors, some patterns emerged that provide

unique insights into the intercoalitional differences of strength and cohesion (the

coalitional glue) evidenced by varying use of characters.

TABLE 3: Villain Identification by Coalition

Coalition	Villain Identification	Frequency Total	Percentage
Anti CRC	CRC	108 (375 total)	28.80%
	Trimet (Portland Light Rail)	36	9.60%
	Vancouver Mayor Tim Leavitt (D)	20	5.30%
	State Rep. Jim Moeller (D)	19	5.10%
	Oregon Gov. Kulongoski or Kitzhaber (D)	17	4.50%
	The Columbian (Newspaper)	16	4.30%
	Democrats	15	4.00%
	Washington Gov. Gregoire or Inslee (D)	14	3.70%
	Oregon Department of Transportation	13	3.50%
	Washington Legislature (Democrats)	10	2.70%
	Washington Department of Transportation	9	2.40%
	Oregon Legislature	8	2.10%
	Sen. Annette Cleveland (D)	7	1.90%
	Vancouver City Council	5	1.30%
	David Evans and Co.	5	1.30%
	State Rep. Sharon Wylie (D)	5	1.30%
	C-Tran (Vancouver Bus System)	5	1.30%
	The Oregonian (Newspaper)	5	1.30%
	U.S. Rep. Jaime Herrara Butler (R)	4	1%
	Portland Mayor Sam Adams (D)	4	1%
	Other	50	13.30%
Pro CRC	Washington Legislature (Republicans)	17 (106 total)	16.00%
	Anti CRC Politicians (Mostly Republican)	13	12.30%
	Trimet (Portland Light Rail)	9	8.50%
	Republicans	8	7.50%
	Portland Mayor Sam Adams (D)	6	5.70%
	Oregon Legislature (Republicans)	5	4.70%
	Councilor David Madore (R)	4	3.80%
	State Sen. Don Benton (R)	4	3.80%
	Other	57	53.80%

Notes: Characters that received less than four citations were not specifically recorded in the list of identified villains. Those receiving 3 or less were included in the "other" identification found at the bottom of each coalition's section of the table. The character with the highest number of citations in the narratives was placed in the same row as the corresponding coalition's name. From there, the most cited characters appear in descending order.

Starting with the Anti CRC coalition, a clearly higher level of cohesion is seen for villain character identification among the top eight villain characterizations. The Anti CRC coalition vilified the (1) "CRC" a total of 108 times (28.8%). The next seven prominent villains include, in descending order: (2) "Trimet (Portland Light Rail)" (9.6%), (3) "Vancouver Mayor Tim Leavitt (D)" (5.3%), (4) "State Rep. Jim Moeller (D)" (5.1%), (5) "Oregon Gov. Kulongoski or Kitzhaber (D)" (4.5%), (6) "The Columbian (Newspaper)" (4.3%), (7) "Democrats" (4.0%), (8) "Washington Gov. Gregoire or Inslee (D)" (3.7%). All other characters found in the Anti CRC section of Table 2 including the "Other" row made up 34.7% of total villain characters cited. The sum of the top eight villain characters listed above made up 65.3% of the total villains cited by the Anti CRC coalition. These eight characters—among others—generally make up the bulk of the "Pro CRC" coalition.

Proceeding with the Pro CRC coalition, less narrative strength and cohesion was found in terms of the coalition's total use of villain characters. The Pro CRC's most frequently cited villain was the (1) "Washington Legislature (Republicans)" with 17 total citations which amounts to 16.0%. The next seven prominent villains include, in descending order: (2) "Anti CRC Politicians (Mostly Republican)" (12.3%), (3) "Trimet (Portland Light Rail)" (8.5%), (4) "Republicans" (7.5%), (5) "Portland Mayor Sam Adams (D)" (5.7%), (6) "Oregon Legislature (Republicans)" (4.7%), (7) "Councilor David Madore

(R)" (3.8%), (8) "State Sen. Don Benton (R)" (3.8%). The "Other" section, which

represents the sum of all other villain characters, made up 53.8% of the total Pro CRC

villain citations. The sum of the top eight villain characters listed above made up 46.2%

of the total villains cited by the Pro CRC coalition.

TABLE 4: Hero Identification by Coalition

Coalition	Hero Identification	Frequency Total	Percentage
Anti CRC	Auditor Tiffany Couch	15 (118 total)	12.70%
	Councilor David Madore (R)	14	11.90%
	Rep. Don Benton (R)	10	8.50%
	Anti CRC Politicians (Mostly Republican)	9	7.60%
	Republicans	5	4.20%
	State Rep. Tom Mielke (R)	5	4.20%
	State Rep. Ann Rivers (R)	4	3.40%
	Council Member Stuart (R)	4	3.40%
	Other	72	61.00%
Pro CRC	CRC	86 (185 total)	46.50%
	Washington Gov. Gregoire or Inslee (D)	12	6.50%
	Trimet (Portland Light Rail)	8	4.30%
	Oregon Gov. Kulongoski or Kitzhaber (D)	7	3.80%
	U.S. Sen. Patty Murray (D)	6	3.20%
	Oregon Legislature	6	3.20%
	Oregon Department of Transportation	4	2.20%
	Vancouver Mayor Royce Pollard (D)	4	2.20%
	Other	52	28.10%

Notes: Characters that received less than four citations were not specifically recorded in the list of identified heroes. Those receiving 3 or less were included in the "other" identification found at the bottom of each coalition's section of the table. The character with the highest number of citations in the narratives was placed in the same row as the corresponding coalition's name. From there, the most cited characters appear in descending order.

The Anti CRC coalition had significantly less cohesion in terms of the coalition's

total use of hero characters. The Anti CRC's most frequently cited hero was the (1)

Government "Auditor Tiffany Couch" with 15 total citations at 12.7%. The next seven

prominent heroes include, in descending order: (2) "Councilor David Madore (R)" (11.9%), (3) "State Rep. Don Benton (R)" (8.5%), (4) "Anti CRC Politicians (Mostly Republican)" (7.6%), (5) "Republicans" (4.2%), (6) "State Rep. Tom Mielke (R)" (4.2%), (7) "State Rep. Ann Rivers (R)" (3.4%), (8) "Council Member Stuart (R)" of the Vancouver City Council (3.4%). The "Other" section, which represents the sum of all other hero characters, made up 61.0% of the total Anti CRC hero citations. The sum of the top eight hero characters listed above made up 39.0% of the total heroes cited by the Anti CRC coalition.

Finally with the Pro CRC coalition, the data in Table 4 shows a more clearly cohesive use of heroes by Pro CRC coalition than that of their opponent. The Pro CRC coalition declared the "CRC" a hero 86 times (46.5%). The next seven prominent heroes include, in descending order: (2) "Washington Gov. Gregoire or Inslee (D)" (6.5%), (3) "Trimet (Portland Light Rail)" (4.3%), (4) "Oregon Gov. Kulongoski or Kitzhaber (D)" (3.8%), (5) "U.S. Sen. Patty Murray (D)" (3.2%), (6) "Oregon Legislature" (3.2%), (7) "Oregon Department of Transportation" (2.2%), (8) "Vancouver Mayor Royce Pollard (D)" (2.2%). %). The "Other" section, which represents the sum of all other hero characters, made up 28.10% of the total Pro CRC hero citations. The sum of the top eight hero characters listed above made up 72.9% of the total heroes cited by the Pro CRC coalition.

Although the Anti CRC coalition remained the "losing" coalition throughout most of the duration of the policy issue, they maintained relative strength and cohesion in

terms of their use of the villain character, and even more specifically in the vilification of the CRC coalition itself. Furthermore, the Pro CRC also maintained relative strength and cohesion in terms of their hero character use and was perhaps more potent in their specific reference to narrative characters than the Anti CRC coalition. As noted prior, in 2013, the Republican controlled Washington State Senate failed to pass an appropriations bill to fund further planning and construction of the bridge effectively making the Anti CRC coalition the winning coalition until the end of the study duration. In consideration of this happening in conjunction with these findings, Hypothesis Two is only partially confirmed. The Pro CRC coalition, although maintaining a little more cohesion throughout the policy issue duration, was largely the winning coalition for most of the study period. The Anti CRC, the losing coalition for much of the time, only experienced the "fruits" of their narrative labors late into 2013 after the Washington State Senate announcement. Further analysis of this finding is explored in the following chapter.

Hypothesis Three: The Pro CRC coalition will make more heavy use of the angel shift. The Anti CRC coalition will make more heavy use of the devil shift.

As a reminder, Shanahan et al. (2013, 459) suggest that the phenomenon of the *devil shift* occurs when policy stories, in the aggregate, exaggerate "the power of an opponent while understating the power of the narrating group or coalition." Conversely, the same authors suggest that the phenomenon of the *angel shift* occurs when policy stories similarly exaggerate "a group or coalition's ability and/or

commitment to solving a problem, while de-emphasizing the villain" (459). To calculate

the angel-devil shift, the mean percent of total hero references to oneself (the narrating

coalition) as hero references is taken and the percent of total villain references to

references of others as villains is subtracted and then divided by the total percentage of

narratives used in the calculations (Shanahan et al. 2013, pp. 466, Sabatier, 1987). The

angel-devil shift calculations are placed on a 1 point scale (-1 to 1) as noted below in

Figure 3.

FIGURE 3: Angel-Devil Shift Over Time by Coalition
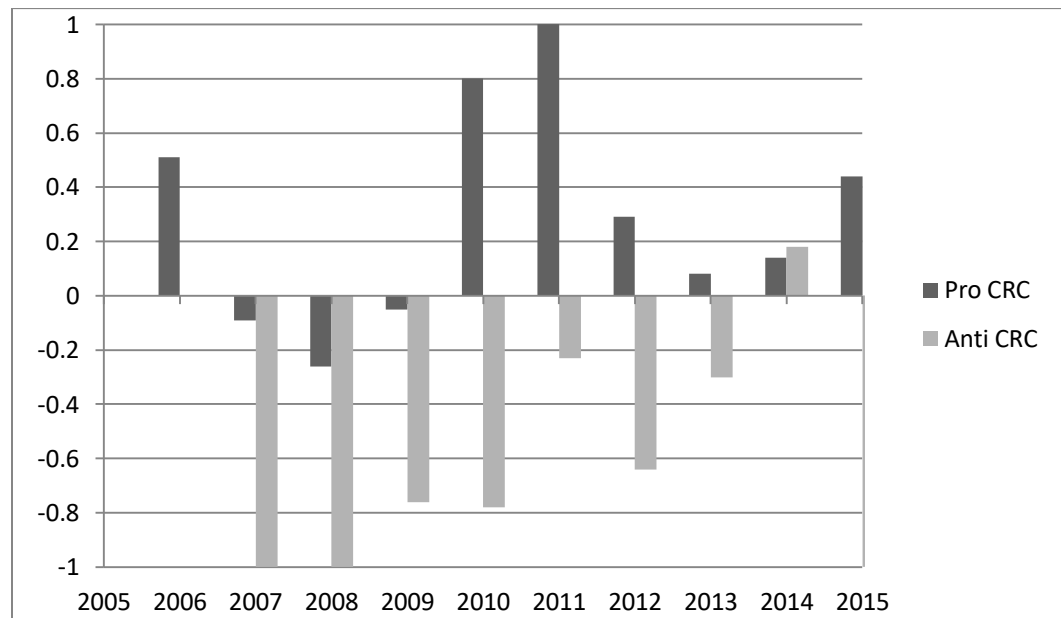
Notes: Calculated by- Percent of total hero references to self as hero—percent of total villain references
to other as villain/total

Although narratives were coded in the year 2005, neither coalition showed any

indication of shift early on in the policy issue besides a tendency toward the angel shift

by the Pro CRC. However, going into the year 2006, the Pro CRC's angel shift was short

lived as the coalition used the devil shift, albeit timidly, for the next three years.

However, the coalition for the remaining 6 years of the policy issue made more dramatic use of the angel shift at varying levels, peaking in 2011 and diminishing in 2013. The Anti CRC coalition used the devil shift more extensively from 2007 all the way to 2013. Levels peaked in 2007 and 2008 and remained high the following two years. Levels returned to almost equal measure in 2012 and diminished to the point where the coalition showed hints of using the angel shift in 2014.

The overall results of each coalitions' use of the angel-devil shift are even more striking. Totaling the Pro CRC's use of all hero characters and villain characters over the 10-year period, the coalition showed a total angel shift of (.27) on the one point scale. Conversely, conducting the same calculations for the Anti CRC produced a devil shift of (.38) on the one point scale. As such, the Anti CRC coalition shows a higher propensity to the devil shift than the Pro CRC coalition does to the angel shift showing greater strength and cohesion in the use of this narrative strategy. Hypothesis Three proposed that the Pro CRC coalition would make more heavy use of the angel shift and the Anti CRC coalition would make more heavy use of the devil shift. These results confirm this hypothesis.

Additionally, observing the shear frequency of character usage by character type in all narratives further confirms the hypothesis and shows greater "narrativity" and cohesiveness in the Anti CRC's use of narrative characters. As noted in Table 5, the Anti CRC used the villain character type extensively with a total of 371 references. Similarly, the Pro CRC coalition used the hero character type, although not as distinct, a number

of 178 times. The implications of this finding are interesting and as such, are discussed

in the next chapter.

TABLE 5: Frequency of Hero and Villain Character Type in All Narratives by Coalition

	Pro CRC	Anti CRC
Villain Frequency	94	371
Victim Frequency	94	108
Hero Frequency	178	121

Hypothesis Four: For both coalitions—making extensive use of the victim character—

there will be found the use of an *impotent shift* narrative strategy.

Both coalitions were observed making ample use of the victim character. As

noted in Chapter 2, the study of coalitions blatantly constructing themselves as the

victim as a narrative strategy is absent in the NPF literature. It was the hope that this

study would shed further light on the angel-devil shift phenomena but would also

explore the strategy that coalitions take in overtly victimizing themselves in policy

narratives (so-named the *impotent shift*). Since it is unlikely, albeit not impossible, that

coalitions will vilify themselves in their own policy narratives, coalitions will either

portray themselves as the problem solver (hero) or as those experiencing the ill effects

of public policy (victim). As such, to calculate the *impotent shift*, the dissertation author

used a similar methodology in calculating the angel-devil shift as noted in Chapter 3.

The results of such calculations are found below in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4: Impotent Shift By Coalition
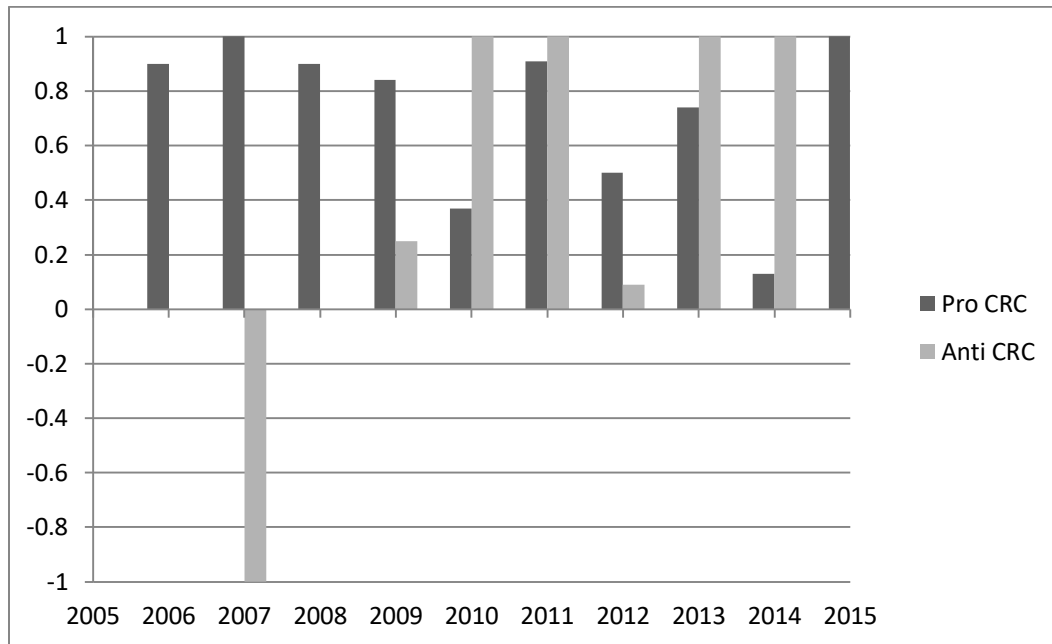
Notes: Calculated by- Percent of total hero references to self as hero—percent of total victim references to self as victim/total

As with the angel-devil shift, the *impotent shift* is also calculated on a one point scale. Positive scores indicate a strategy of portraying oneself as a hero in the narratives. Negatives scores indicate a coalition leaning toward the victimization of themselves in the narratives. Thus, it is observed in Figure 4 that neither coalition used the *impotent shift* as most scores were explicitly positive demonstrating that both coalitions referred to oneself as the hero much more extensively than as a victim. In the year 2007, the Anti CRC coalition is shown to use the *impotent shift* but these results show no pattern and are likely based on a lack of hero narratives in the early stages of the policy issue. As such, minimal conclusions can be made about these findings leading to a rejection of Hypothesis Four.

Although Hypothesis Four is not confirmed, it should be noted that both coalitions—although did not victimize themselves as expected—frequently victimized "citizens" of Vancouver, Portland and the surrounding areas. In the coding measures, "taxpayers", "commuters", "residents" were coded as "citizens". Table 6 shows frequencies for the number of times each coalition cited "citizens" as victims of the opposition's policy proposals (either to construct the bridge, modify the plan, or scrap the project altogether). The Pro CRC coalition cited "citizens" as the victim 47% of the time in their policy narratives. In other words, 47% of the Pro CRC's victim references were "citizens". Interestingly, the Anti CRC coalition referred to "citizens" as victims much more. 78% of their victim references were "citizens". As such, although little use of the *impotent shift* was found, both coalitions saw the use of the victim character as an effective strategy and heavily referred to "citizens" as the victims of the perceived policy problem. Additionally, and as noted above, there exists a statistical significance in the association between both coalition's use of the victim character.

TABLE 6: Frequency of Citizens as Victims

	Pro CRC	Anti CRC
Citizen Victim	44	84
Non-Citizen Victim	50	24

Hypothesis Five: The Pro CRC coalition will portray itself as the winning coalition by containing the policy issue and making more frequent use of the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" narrative strategy. There is an association between the Pro CRC

coalition's use of this narrative strategy and that of the Anti CRC coalition. Equally, the Anti CRC coalition will act as a losing coalition by expanding the policy issue and make more frequent use of the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" narrative tactic. There is an association between the Anti CRC coalition's use of this narrative strategy and that of the Pro CRC coalition.

Confirming the findings in Kusko (2014), Shanahan et al. (2013), and Hypothesis Five, the data in Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the manner in which each coalition either contained or expanded the Columbia River Crossing policy issue. Accordingly, the Pro CRC coalition in the YouTube videos concentrated costs/diffused benefits 68% of the time. They concentrated benefits/diffused costs 21% of the time and had no clear strategy 11% of the time. The Anti CRC coalitions did not concentrate costs/diffuse benefits at all in the YouTube videos. They concentrated benefits/diffused costs 97% of the time and had no clear strategy 3% of the time. In the blogs, the Pro CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 50% of the time, concentrated benefits and diffused costs 25% of the time, and had no clear strategy the other 25% of the time. The Anti CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 2% of the time, concentrated benefits/diffused costs 90% of the time, and had no clear strategy 8% of the time.

In *The Columbian* newspaper editorials, the Pro CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 59% of the time. They concentrated benefits/diffused costs 26% of the time and had no clear strategy 15% of the time. Conversely, the Anti CRC

coalition concentrated benefits/diffused costs 100% of the time in the narratives

sampled from *The Columbian* newspaper. In *The Oregonian* newspaper editorials, the

Pro CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 77% of the time. They

concentrated benefits/diffused costs 11.5% of the time and had no clear strategy 11.5%

of the time. The Anti CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 9% of the time.

They concentrated benefits/diffused costs 91% of the time.

FIGURE 5: Narrative Strategy by Coalition by Media Source
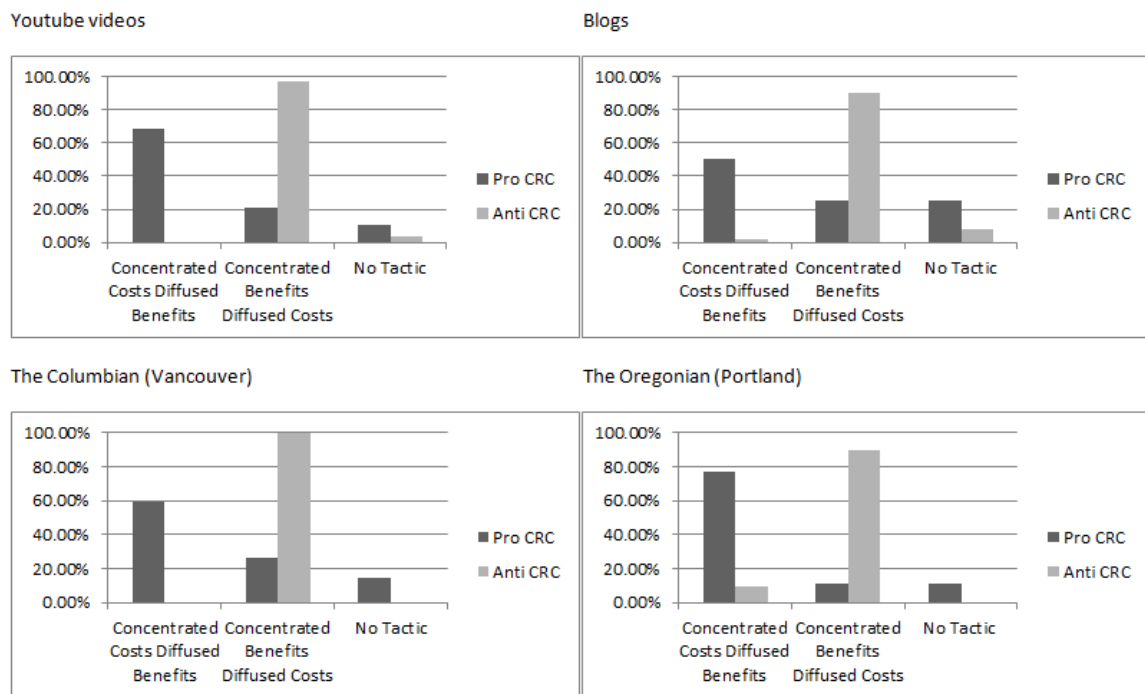
Note: This table shows the variation in intercoalitional differences of narrative strategies by media source type. Percentages are based upon the total number of times a strategy was used to the total number of narratives in a media source type.

No matter the media venue, each coalition consistently made similar use of

narrative strategies (expanding or containing the issue). As noted further in Figure 6, all

of the narrative strategies from Figure 5 aggregated together show similar findings.

Accordingly, in total, the Pro CRC concentrated costs/diffused benefits 65% of the time.

They concentrated benefits 21% of the time and had no clear strategy 14% of the time. The Anti CRC coalition concentrated costs/diffused benefits 3% of the time. They concentrated benefits/diffused costs 92% of the time with no clear strategy only 5% of the time. These data show that during the duration of the policy issue, the Anti CRC used narrative strategies that corresponded with a customarily losing coalition. On the contrary, the Pro CRC coalition used narrative strategies that corresponded with a traditionally winning coalition. Considering the data below, Hypothesis Five is confirmed.

In the case of this policy issue, the Anti CRC coalition, who portrayed themselves as the losing coalition, actually ended up the winner at the end of the duration time under study (2005-2015). The Pro CRC, although portrayed themselves as winning coalition, actually lost bearing in mind that the bridge, under intense public scrutiny near the end of the duration time (2013) under study, failed to materialize by garnering the needed allocation of funds in the Washington State Legislature. Even after years of planning and marketing the bridge to a previously supportive public, the bridge never managed to be replaced (at this point in the study). What can explain this inconsistency in the literature? These implications will be further explored in the next chapter.

Additionally, the data presented in Figure 6 shows that the Anti CRC coalition exhibited more cohesion and strength in terms of their narrative strategies than the Pro CRC coalition. The Anti CRC coalition consistently used the same narrative strategy in the way it formulated its policy beliefs constructing the CRC agency and other Pro CRC

coalition members as villains and their policy proposals as costly to citizens and other

victims alike. Chi-squared test results reveal that there is a statistically significant

association (DF=1, 66.422, p < 0.0001) between the Anti CRC's use of the "concentrated

benefits/diffused costs" narrative strategy and its use by the Pro CRC coalition.

Conversely, Chi-squared results also reveal a statistically significant association (DF=1,

6.164, p < 0.0130) between the Pro CRC's use of the "concentrated costs/diffused

benefits" narrative strategy and its use by the Anti CRC coalition. There was no

statistical significance between the coalition's narratives that lacked a coherent

strategy. As noted above, those narratives were few in number. Although the bridge

purportedly would have brought economic development to the region, the Anti CRC

coalition successfully concealed these benefits. However, the Pro CRC was also

relatively consistent in their narrative strategy as well. Thus, the null hypothesis is

rejected and Hypothesis Five is confirmed. Again, the implications of these interesting

findings are discussed further in the following chapter.

FIGURE 6: Narrative Strategy by Coalition Totaling All Narratives
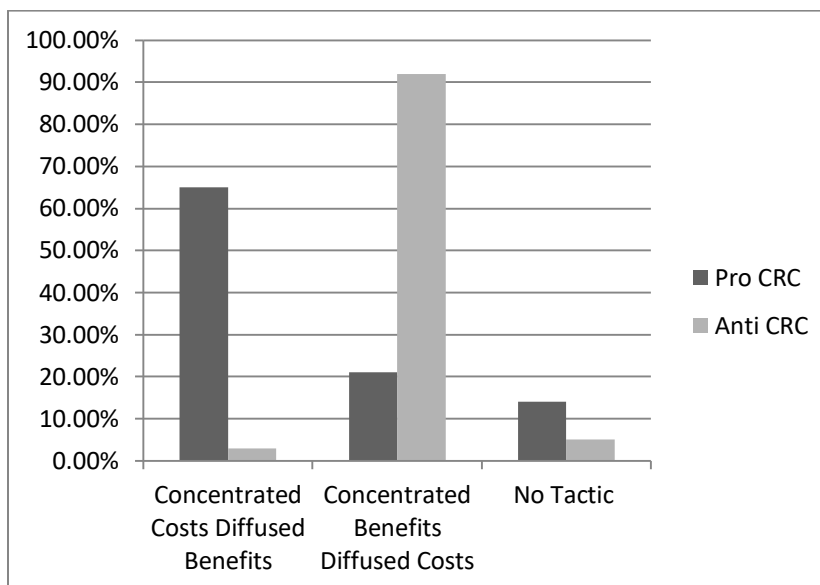
Note: This table shows the variation in intercoalitional differences of narrative strategies by media source type. Percentages are based upon the total number of times a strategy was used to the total number of narratives in the aggregate. Chi-squared revealed an association for use of the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" narrative strategy (0.0130) and the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" narrative strategy (0.0001)

Hypothesis 6: As the Anti CRC coalition transitions from losing coalition to winning coalition in the duration of the policy issue (2005-2015), their narrative strategy shifts from concentrating benefits/diffusing costs to concentrating costs/diffusing benefits. Likewise, as the Pro CRC coalition transitions from the winning coalition to the losing coalition in the duration of the policy issue (2005-2015), their narrative strategy shifts from concentrating costs/diffusing benefits to concentrating benefits/diffusing costs.

The findings in Figure 5 perhaps shed some light on the fact that the Anti CRC coalition won the policy issue while simultaneously using a losing narrative strategy the majority of the policy issue duration. Looking at the policy subjectively, from 2005 to 2013, the Anti CRC coalition was "losing". All indications presented a reality in which a

new bridge would indeed be built. The CRC experienced immense support early on and

many thought construction would begin as early as 2010. Effectively, the Pro CRC was

the winning coalition and acted as such. However, after an actual proposal for a new

bridge was proposed by CRC planners and engineers publically, the project experienced

heavy backlash from many stakeholders.   The political debate and ultimate fallout

culminated in the Washington State Senate failing to approve the needed funding to

continue the project in 2013. Although the Oregon Legislature approved of their

portion previously, it was not enough to convince their Washington counterparts to

follow suit. Subsequently, the Oregon Legislature and Governor discussed the

possibility of pursuing the project alone without the support of Washington State with

little success. Without funding, the CRC was shutdown permanently. It is determined

that at this crucial point in the policy issue, the two coalitions effectively switched their

positions as the winning and losing coalition. As Hypothesis Six predicts, was this switch

reflected in the narrative strategies of either coalition?

FIGURE 7: Anti CRC Narrative Tactics by Year
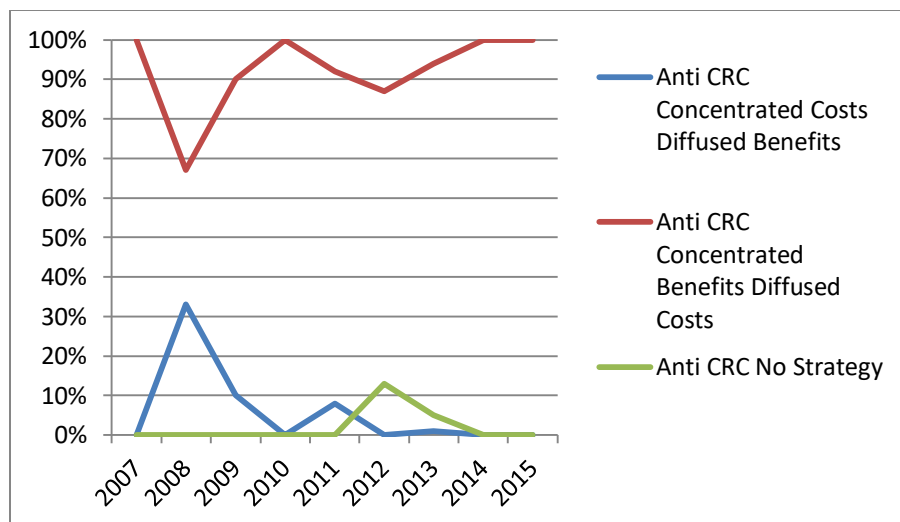
Figure 7 shows how the Anti CRC coalition contained and/or expanded the issue over the course of the policy issue duration. In the first two years of the policy issue, this coalition showed no indication of a narrative strategy in this fashion. From the year 2007 on, they made relative consistent use of the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" strategy with a slight decline in 2008. The Anti CRC coalition also made minor use of the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" strategy. Besides that, the Anti CRC coalition consistently expanded the issue through their commonly utilized diffusing of costs narrative strategy, even after the 2013 Washington State Senate decision to not allocated new funding. As such, the data showing the narrative strategies used by the Anti CRC coalition do not confirm Hypothesis Six as the Anti CRC maintained a consistent narrative strategy even after 2013.

Data for the Pro CRC coalition paint a different picture. Figure 8 shows the narrative strategies effectuated by the Pro CRC coalition. The coalition initially made heavy use of the "concentrated costs/ diffused benefits" strategy from the beginning of the policy issue until 2011. In 2012, use of this narrative strategy declined until it inevitably declined for the rest of the study duration. Conversely, the Pro CRC coalition seldom utilized the "concentrated benefits/ diffused costs" strategy until 2011. Use began to increase and in 2013 and the Pro CRC coalition further perpetuated a complete flip in its narrative strategies. The "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" strategy increased post-Washington Senate decision into 2015. At the same time, the coalition

produced many narratives that lacked a clear strategy giving mixed results as to a

cohesive narrative strategy. Thus, as the Pro CRC coalition transitioned from the

winning coalition to the losing coalition in the duration of the policy issue, their

narrative strategy changed in conjunction with this transition shifting from

"concentrating costs/diffusing benefits" to "concentrating benefits/diffusing costs" as

predicted. The same was not true for the Anti CRC coalition. Thus, Hypothesis Six is

partially confirmed.
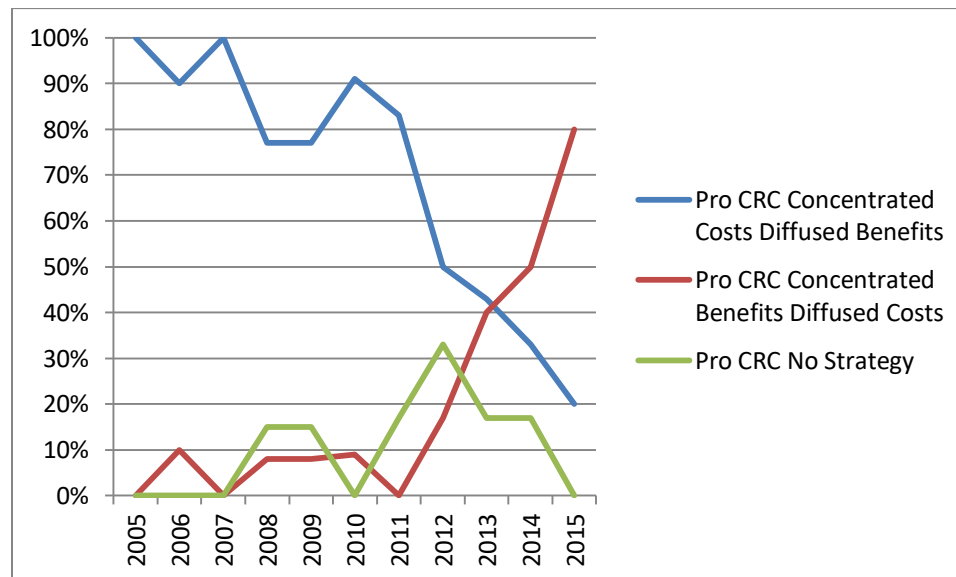
FIGURE 8: Pro CRC Narrative Strategy by Year

Note: This figure shows the use of narrative strategies (percentage) of containment and expansion of the policy issue over the duration of the policy issue under study.

Summary

The results presented in this chapter provide an important contribution to NPF

scholarship and further insights into coalitional use of narrative elements and strategies.

Six hypotheses were proposed in Chapter 3 in addition to the proposed methodology

used for this study. This chapter provided the results by laying out the raw data and

explaining the information extensively in the above Figures and Tables. Hypotheses One, Three, and Five were confirmed. Hypotheses Two and Six were only partially confirmed and Hypothesis Four was not confirmed. The Anti CRC coalition made significant use of the villain character in the number of narratives that cited a villain, the total frequency use of the villain character, and the disposition to use the devil shift. Moreover, the Anti CRC coalition showed incredible cohesion in citing and portraying the CRC as the villain and their use of the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" narrative strategy. The Pro CRC coalition made heavy use of the hero character in the number of narratives that cited a hero, the total frequency use of the hero character, and the disposition to use the angel shift. In this fashion, the Pro CRC coalition demonstrated adequate cohesion in painting itself as the solver of the problem. They lacked cohesion however in containment and expansion of the issue. Although they portrayed themselves as the winning coalition for much of policy issue, their use of narrative characters and strategies was not enough to convince the public, and ultimately members of the Washington State Senate to allocate more funding to the bridge project in their favor. Although both coalitions made use of the victim character, especially in their citation of the "citizen" as the victim, neither showed an inclination towards an *impotent shift*. A discussion for further research and exploration on this potential narrative strategy as well as other questions raised from this dissertation project is discussed in the following chapter. Overall, the totality of these results are further extrapolated in the following chapter and explanations are provided as to their potential implications.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusion

This dissertation focused on three guiding research questions: (1) What is the

role of policy narratives in shaping the policy outcomes of the proposed CRC bridge

project? More specifically, how do coalitions use narrative elements to influence policy

outcomes? (2) Often, a single policy issue is targeted by two or more competing

advocacy coalitions. How does one coalition triumph over another? Is the winning

coalition stronger and more cohesive (coalitional glue) in their use of narrative elements

and strategies? (3) Lastly, when a coalition moves from being a winning coalition to the

losing coalition, does their use of narrative elements and narrative strategies change?

Using the theoretical and methodological roots of the Narrative Policy Framework and

the Advocacy Coalition Framework, answers to these three questions have been

acquired at varying levels and are discussed in full detail in this chapter.

In answering the above questions, this dissertation provides many potentially

important findings. Before discussing the findings in response to Hypothesis One

however, but in conjunction with the same line of analysis, it should be noted that

coalitional use of narrative elements made a surprisingly consistent juncture in all the

media venues selected for data collection. This, although is not the main focus of this

dissertation, is still worth mentioning. In Lybecker et al. (2016), researchers found that

traditional and new media were united in their lack of policy narratives on the US-

Canada border. With this dissertation's policy issue, although coalitions made varying

use of media venues, it was found that the coalition's use of narrative elements

remained relatively constant no matter the venue under consideration. This study

collected narratives from YouTube videos, blogs, and two regional newspapers. Both

coalitions showed consistency in their use of character types across all of these media

venues as shown in Figure 1. For example, in all four media venues, the Anti CRC

coalition used the villain character between margins of 95%-100% of the time. Likewise,

the Pro CRC coalition used the hero character between a larger 65%-90% margin. This

finding is important because it suggests that coalitions do use narratives in consistent

and strategic ways across varying media venues. Lybecker et al. (2015) found that new

media and traditional media generally brought out varying portrayals of the US-Mexico

border, however the finding from this study partially conflicts with this notion

suggesting that narratives may differ depending on media type. Further research should

seek to explore cases where coalitions alter their narrative strategies in different venues

by characterizing their opposition and the policy issue in different ways or by portraying

their policy stance differently to the public.

Now, to the implications of the findings for Hypothesis One which specifically

answers Research Question One. As previously stated, a study utilizing the ACF focuses

on policy subsystems and the advocacy coalitions within these subsystems "consisting of

people who share similar core beliefs and a motivation to act towards particular policy

outcomes" (Hirch, 2010, 744). To understand how coalitions act to influence policy

outcomes, the policy narratives of such coalitions must be analyzed. Hypothesis One

predicted that intercoalitional differences would exist between the two coalition's use

of narrative characters and that those differences would be statistically significant. This

hypothesis was confirmed on both accounts for the use of villain and hero characters.

Unlike Shanahan et al. (2013), which found no statistical associations for villain/hero character use, Chi-squared results in this study revealed a statistical association for the Anti CRC's substantial use of the villain character and a statistical association for the Pro CRCs substantial use of the hero character. As a reminder, of the 127 Pro CRC narratives analyzed, 52% cited a villain character, 53% cited a victim, and 74% cited a hero. Of the 130 Anti CRC narratives analyzed, 98% cited a villain character, 72% cited a victim, and 54% cited a hero. Clearly, the Anti CRC coalition saw utility in using the villain character and showed overwhelming cohesion in this regard. Being opposed to the bridge project, the Anti CRC coalition likely saw no other choice than to vilify what they were trying to stop from becoming public policy. As such, these results suggest that losing coalitions prefer to use the villain character in an all-out affront against the winning coalition so as to diminish their power. In like manner, but to a lesser degree, the Pro CRC coalitions also showed cohesion in their use of the hero character. With this simple analysis of descriptive statistics, it became clearly apparent that the two competing coalitions had intercoalitional differences in narrative elements. With an equal number of narratives analyzed from either coalition, the findings in this case reliably demonstrate the policy beliefs—via narrative elements—in that the Pro CRC adopted a *positive* policy belief narrative and the Anti CRC adopted a *negative* policy belief narrative (McBeth et al. 2007). Even more indicative of this, the Anti CRC coalition referenced a victim almost as much as the Pro CRC referenced a hero indicating a tendency to expand the scope of the issue to those affected. Perhaps as the losing coalition, the Anti CRC coalition, in expanding the scope of conflict, relied on the victim

character. The more victims cited, the greater the scope becomes of those "involved" in the conflict. This strategy proved useful for the Anti CRC as more and more "victims" grew weary of the CRC bridge proposal over the course of the policy duration.

Hypothesis Two, in answering Research Questions One and Two respectively, goes further by predicting that the advocacy coalition which has more consistent and frequent use of specific hero and villain characters emerges as the winning coalition over the policy issue duration. Within character types, the findings for specific references to certain characters in the policy issue were very telling of the overall cohesion of each coalition. As recorded in Chapter 4, the Anti CRC coalition identified the CRC 28.8% of the time as the villain during policy issue duration. The sum of the top eight characters (including the CRC) referenced as villains by the Anti CRC made up 65.3% of total villains cited. Strikingly, the Pro CRC was clearly much more fractured in their specific character references to villains. This coalition cited the Washington State Legislature, its most frequently referenced villain, only 16% of the time. The sum of their top eight villains only made up 46.4 % of total villains. The Pro CRC's lack of cohesion in this regard is both surprising and unanticipated. They either struggled to identify coherent villains or simply opted to stick with a positive narrative strategy.   As the winning coalition, the Pro CRC appears almost lazy in this regard. Perhaps they suspected that there was enough support for the bridge proposal and that a clear aggressive strategy was not needed to overcome the strategy of the opposition. The Anti CRC's very strong level of cohesion was not contemporaneous in their use of the hero character. The Pro CRC coalition referenced the CRC as the hero 46.5% of the time

and their top eight heroes made up 72.9% of hero references. Conversely, the Anti CRC

coalition most frequently cited hero was Auditor Tiffany Couch at 12.7%. Their top eight

heroes made up only 39% of total heroes showing more fracturing in this regard than

the Pro CRC's lack of cohesion with the villain character. As such, in terms of overall

specific character citations, the Pro CRC was surprisingly more cohesive. They

successfully portrayed the CRC as the hero on most accounts and still showed relative

strength in portraying members of the opposing coalition as villains. The Anti CRC's

identification of the hero character was remarkably unstable showing a very unstable

policy narrative. Although their cohesion of the villain character showed a stable policy

narrative, they only held a 20% margin ahead of the Pro CRC coalition. Accordingly,

these results are similar to and support that of Kusko (2014) in that coalitions have

varying levels of narrative stability.   This finding is one potential variable that could

explain the Pro CRC coalition's success throughout much of the policy issue duration.

To put this discussion into a broader context, looking at actual narratives from

members of the two competing coalitions—specifically policy makers—provides a

compelling look into how policy narratives shape the policy process. Below are two

examples of narratives from policy makers as to how they saw the Columbia River

Crossing Project. These examples qualitatively show what the data in Chapter 4 show

empirically:

From Washington House Representative Sharon Wylie (YouTube):

"My seat mates and I have been working really hard to make sure everybody has all the information…The bottom line is I feel it is time to move forward because if we don't, we

lose 850 million dollars of federal dollars and we go to the line and it will be 10-20 years or until the next earthquake before we see that again. The approaches to the [current] bridge are dangerous and have accidents. The bridge is not stable is the case of a bad earthquake and that there are companies that are not locating here because of the problems and choke points on the bridge. So, I think we need to move forward and be careful about overseeing the project and answering everybody's concerns and treating everybody with respect in this process because it's tough."

From Oregon House Representatives Jules Bailey, Cliff Bentz and Brian Clem (The

Oregonian):

"Spending $4.3 billion of tax- and toll-payer money would alone demand a vigorous debate. But this transportation project involves far more than the cost of its construction. There is a need to improve safety and to get goods to market. But how and at what cost to the residents of Portland and Vancouver and to the rest of the two states must be taken up at every level, including the Legislature. Questions such as why Oregon should subsidize Vancouver commuters, trucks bound for California, bicyclists, light rail, pedestrians and more emissions from increased traffic must be asked and answered. Responsibility for the final project decision-making must be clearly understood, and the people and organizations making those billion-dollar decisions must be ready to justify them. As it stands, we still have many questions regarding the Columbia River Crossing and the recent $30 million allocation. We have yet to hear why adding more traffic lanes will not make a bad situation worse. We have not heard why this expenditure should be made now, in the midst of a recession, when the money could be spent in a more effective job-generating way. And most importantly, we have not heard how the commissions and the governors plan to bring the people of this state to the table to weigh in on a project that will affect every Oregonian."

Analyzing the above narratives from Oregon and Washington policy makers from

either political party, it becomes apparent how either coalition expressed their attitudes

of the bridge project. In other words, these narratives provide a unique view into how

policy makers from both states voted on ultimate funding for the bridge thus providing

the clear connection between the power of storytelling and public policy design.

Although both sides express varying levels of doubt about the CRC project, one solidified

their resolve to continue supporting the project (so as to maintain federal funding) until

the end while the other maintained a more adversarial view of the objectives of the

project expressing discontent for the many questions that still remained. Accordingly, both sides used narrative characters in a provocative fashion implicitly victimizing citizens as a whole while either portraying themselves as the hero (as done by Sharon Wylie) or vilifying the CRC and members of the Pro CRC coalition.

Overall, it can be concluded that coalitions use policy narratives in strategic and deliberate ways.   Thus, both coalitions showed extensive cohesion in terms of their strategic use of some characters over others. However, the Anti CRC coalition, as the winning coalition, was more cohesive in their overall use of characters, specifically the villain character. Like Kusko's (2014) study of coalitions in the U.S. and Salvadoran Civil War, the winning coalition in this particular case showed greater cohesion in their use of the villain character. Accordingly, the Anti CRC coalition showed similar tendencies.   As such, the findings in response to this hypothesis are congruent with earlier NPF scholarly work in claiming that "competing coalitions use differing narrative elements in the construction of policy narratives" (Shanahan et al. 2013, 469).

Hypothesis Three, in answering Research Question Two, predicted that the Pro CRC coalition would make more substantial use of the angel shift while the Anti CRC coalition would make more heavy use of the devil shift. To reiterate, the NPF contends "that the devil shift occurs in policy narrative terms when a group frequently identifies the other side as a villain." The NPF also explores "the alternative phenomenon, the angel shift, when groups emphasize their own side as a hero capable of fixing the problem" (Shanahan et al. 2013, 460). This study found that the Anti CRC coalition—

although ultimately the winning coalition—until the year 2013 was the losing coalition

in the policy issue. Consistent with the findings in Shanahan et al. (2013), the Anti CRC

coalition employed the devil shift consistently from 2007-2013. After the Anti CRC

coalition emerged as the winning coalition in 2013, they altered their narrative strategy

modestly and actually saw a slight inclination toward the angel shift in the year 2014.

This secondary finding is also consistent with previous NPF literature but also serves as

an important contribution to NPF understanding of coalitional behavior over time.

Coalitional behavior and use of the angel-devil shift can change overtime. Importantly,

this study suggests that not only do losing coalitions use the devil shift but that when

their fortunes turn and they transition to the winning coalition, their narrative strategy

also makes the transition to one that uses the villain character less to the point where

even an angel shift is employed. This again suggests that a winning status leads to a

positive narrative strategy. When the Anti CRC coalition saw the defeat of the bridge

proposal in the Washington Legislature, the way they used narrative elements changed

in response resulting in a positive narrative strategy.

The Pro CRC nevertheless did not follow in the same pattern as the Anti CRC

coalition. At the beginning of the policy issue, they began employing the angel shift, but

once the project experienced initial opposition from coalescing actors in the Anti CRC

coalition, they changed their tune and made a transition to the devil shift for three

years. Although the final winning coalition, the Anti CRC's usage of the devil shift is

unexpected. For the last six years of the policy duration, they transitioned back to the

angel shift and used this narrative strategy steadily, even after devolving to the losing

coalition in 2013. This finding challenges the idea in Shanahan et al. (2013, 465) that the

losing coalition "may turn to the devil shift in an act of desperation" or that "the use of

the angel shift as a narrative strategy itself carries more weight" than other narrative

strategies. The Anti CRC was certainly not acting desperately and their use of the devil

shift, which is assumed to have some effect on public pressure, was enough to propel

"no" votes for further funding of bridge planning and construction. This finding also

suggests that the Pro CRC coalition not only lacked consistency in their use of narrative

characters, but that not all coalitions will shift their strategy when they move from the

winning coalition to the losing coalition. As such, it can be determined that some

coalitions respond to a shift in their winning/losing position by changing their strategy

while other coalitions do not. Further research should seek to understand why some

coalitions opt for strategy change (in terms of the angel-devil shift) while others do not.

As called for by Shanahan et al, (2013, 476), "Future NPF applications will need to test

whether the angel and devil shift are simply a psychological effect (winning leads to

positive narratives and losing to negative narratives) or a deliberate strategy." This

dissertation has in partiality done just this and the findings suggest that the angel and

devil shift can potentially be either a psychological effect or a deliberate strategy used

by advocacy coalitions. Thus, in this case, winning does not necessarily lead to positive

narratives and losing to negative narratives. Although this happens, the opposite also

occurs. Coalitions perhaps act in large measure on variables beyond their current

winning/losing status. The notion of a "deliberate strategy" appears more likely.

Overall, the fact that the Anti CRC coalition used the devil shift consistently throughout the policy issue and still emerged as the winning coalition is consistent with some NPF literature while contrary to others. Leong (2015) similarly found that the winning coalition made heavy use of the devil shift. However, Schlaufer (2016) found that the winning coalition in the Swiss school policy issue employed the angel shift. In some studies, no statistical association has been found in coalitional narrative use of the angel-devil shift (Crow and Berggren, 2014). As such, this dissertation adds to the increasing understanding of the devil shift-angel shift by providing a new prospective and an additional case study for promoting greater understanding of advocacy coalitions use of this important narrative strategy. Further research should seek to connect and draw associations between the use of the angel-devil shift and the setting/context of a policy. Perhaps determining context will provide better predictive power to understanding how and when a coalition decides to evoke a certain narrative strategy. The NPF should continue to explore this fascinating narrative phenomenon as it becomes more apparent that its influence is far reaching.

In a similar light, this study also sought to build even further upon Sabatier's (1987) "devil shift" and the NPF's further clarification of the devil shift and additional angel shift by refocusing analysis beyond simply a coalition's use of the villain and hero characters. The *victim* character and its importance as a potential narrative strategy have been overlooked in the NPF literature. This dissertation sought to remedy this absence in the literature by exploring the victim character and its use by coalitions more extensively. The impotent shift, a narrative strategy employed by coalitions, is found via

the aggregation of policy stories that emphasize the victimhood of the narrating

individual/group while understating their position as the hero in solving a policy

problem. Hypothesis Four predicted that the narrative strategy of the impotent shift

would be used.

A shift toward impotency was not found to be used by either coalition. It was

expected that the Pro CRC coalition as the final losing coalition would potentially make

use of the impotent shift or that the Anti CRC's heavy use of the victim character would

be indicative of this potential phenomenon. Although both coalitions made relative

weighty use of the victim character type, many of those references to victim were to

others and not members of the coalition itself. As such, an impotent shift as a narrative

strategy was not found in this dissertation. Both coalitions victimized the citizens of

Portland and Vancouver more extensively than any other victim reference. Interestingly,

this study found statistical association between each coalition's use of the victim

character, however, this statistical significance only suggests that the victim character

was used extensively in policy narratives as a viable narrative strategy. Perhaps for this

policy issue and its unique context, the victim character was not employed with the

same strength as the hero character. This certainly presents a palpable limitation to this

study. Future research should seek to analyze policy issues where the context of the

issue is more conducive to the use of victim characters to better understand this

potential phenomenon. Examples of policy issues to study might include LGBTQ rights,

the rights of women in hospital settings, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) or even

President Trump's self- victimization via Twitter. In all of these examples, one

group/individual seems to make clear use of the victim character (MADD and mothers, LGBTQ and discriminatory policies, Trump and the so-called "fake news" media). Study of these issues may shed light on the potential that individuals, groups and coalitions do see utility in victimizing themselves by using the impotent shift.

Besides narrative elements and corresponding narrative strategies such as the angel impotent-devil-shift, this dissertation also tested for the narrative strategies of issue containment and expansion. Hypothesis Five predicted that the Pro CRC coalition would portray itself as the winning coalition by concentrating the costs and diffusing the benefits of the policy issue. It predicted the exact opposite for the Anti CRC coalition. It also predicted that statistical associations will be found in either case. This hypothesis was also confirmed and its findings provide fascinating contributions to the understanding narrative strategies.

Like narrative elements, the narrative strategies showed striking similarity across the different media venues utilized in this study. This again suggests that coalitions were relatively unified in their disposition to use one narrative strategy over another. This finding—albeit not aligned with any hypothesis—is interesting and deserves further research. In line with Hypothesis Five and Research Question Three, the findings showed that the Pro CRC coalition portrayed itself as the winning coalition by stalwartly using the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" narrative strategy. Equally, the Anti CRC were also stalwart in their utilization of the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" narrative strategy. Considering that for much of the 10 year period under study, the Pro

CRC was the winning coalition and the Anti CRC the losing coalition, these results align well with previous NPF studies testing the same coalitional phenomenon. Shanahan et al. (2013) and Kusko (2014) arrived at similar results. However, Kusko (2014) finds that both coalitions in her study lacked a propensity to concentrate benefits. This dissertation did not arrive to that same conclusion.

Furthermore, the Anti CRC's propensity to concentrate benefits and diffused benefits in comparison to the Pro CRC coalition was statistically significant. They used this strategy 92% of the time overall. From this, it can be concluded that the goal of the Anti CRC was to expand the scope of the issue and ultimately diminish any chance of the bridge proposal from coming to fruition. The Pro CRC coalition was not as cohesive in this regard. Their preferred narrative strategy (concentrating costs diffusing benefits), although statistically significant in comparison to its use by the Anti CRC coalition, was used only 65% overall. Although for other policy issues, this may be considered a cohesive narrative strategy, in relative terms, it is not. The Anti CRC stuck to their message much more consistently in portraying the bridge as costly, bad for local taxpayers, and unnecessary. The Pro CRC coalition did all in their power to buoy up the bridge project by portraying it as a savior to traffic congestion, an innovative approach to mass transit, and as the "only" option. However, their story telling was not as cohesive and their focus fractured. Thus, this dissertation can confidently suggest that coalitions do act in strategic ways based upon their winning or losing status. A definitive difference existed between both coalitions' usage of narrative strategies and demonstrates that coalitions will act in predictable ways. All on their own, the findings

in response to this hypothesis would suggest that the Pro CRC coalition ultimately won the policy issue. However, this did not happen. Therefore, it is determined that coalitions changed their narrative strategies over time and in response to outside punctuations (such as the Washington State Senate vote to reject the 450 million dollar spending measure). This is discussed next.

As previously stated, a study that utilizes the ACF should provide a "time perspective" of 10 or more years instead of a singular perspective. This dissertation accomplished that by studying the CRC policy issue from 2005 to 2015. The findings in response to Hypothesis Six and again Research Question Three provides evidence that coalitional strategies do change over time; the evolution was tracked in this study over the course of the ten year policy period.   Although the Anti CRC coalition showed consistent use of the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" narrative strategy for most of the policy duration, the Pro CRC coalition confirmed Hypothesis Six by transitioning from the "concentrated benefits/diffused costs" strategy to the "concentrated costs/diffused benefits" strategy in the year 2013, the same time they transitioned to the losing coalition as a result of the Washington State Senate—under intense political pressure—failing to appropriate new funds to the project. This finding supports the notion that coalitions, due to outside punctuations, will change their narrative strategies to meet new challenges within a policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988; Baumgartner and Jones, 2009). Importantly, these findings show clear evidence that coalitions are malleable, strategic, and use policy narratives in specific intentional ways. The decision to not provide funding (choosing to *not* fund is also a public policy) was the punctuation

in the subsystem ending any potential of the bridge being supported by Washington

State. Thus, the Pro CRC coalition reacted in a clear specific way to this punctuation.

While an important contribution, this finding is weak in that the Anti CRC

coalition did not respond (via narrative strategy changes) to their transition to the

winning coalition in 2013 as was the case for the Pro CRC coalition. For this reason,

Hypothesis Six is only partially confirmed. Although both coalitions did not respond as

expected, this finding promotes a line of inquiry into further study regarding the

numerous ways coalitions alter their policy core beliefs, change their narrative, and deal

with large punctuations in the policy subsystem. NPF scholars should explore further

policy issues where these large changes occur and study how coalitions respond.

Examples could include both national or state and local issues. How did advocacy

coalitions respond to punctuations in Texas when the state legislature banned

"sanctuary cities"? How did advocacy coalitions respond to punctuations in the

healthcare policy subsystem after the election of President Trump? How did advocacy

coalitions respond to punctuations in the U.S. environmental policy when the United

States left the Paris Climate Accord? All of these examples show similarities in that

competing coalitions likely had to shift their policy core believes and their narrative

strategies to respond to such dramatic punctuations in the corresponding subsystems.

Studying such issues using the theoretical support of ACF and NPF could provide a

wealth of knowledge on these important policy issues and provide in-depth knowledge

on how coalitions react in their corresponding subsystems.

Overall, both coalitions showed varying levels of cohesion in terms of their use of narrative elements and strategies. As noted throughout this chapter and Chapter 4, the Anti CRC coalition showed high levels of cohesion in their use of villain character, in their use of the devil shift, their reference to the "citizen" as the victim, and their narrative strategy of expanding the scope of conflict. However, they lacked cohesion in their use of the hero character and their reference to specific villains and heroes. Moreover, the Pro CRC coalition showed high levels of cohesion in their use of the hero character, their use of the angel shift, their reference to the "citizen" as the victim, and their narrative strategy of containing the scope of conflict. They lacked cohesion in their use of the villain character and their reference to specific villains. These general findings answer Research Question Two which asked why one coalition emerges as the winner of a policy issue and if narrative cohesion was a contributing variable in that success.

Due to this similarity in narrative strength and cohesion between coalitions in regards to the findings above, it cannot be confidently confirmed if either coalition more fully influenced policy outcomes in this case. It is possible that the Washington State Senate (many members of which were part of the Anti CRC coalition) responded to the heavy backlash from the Anti CRC coalition partly conceptualized by narratives that this coalition pushed through media venues over the 10 year period. It is also possible that the policy outcome would have been the same regardless of the actions of either coalition. None of the findings in this study can disconfirm that possibility. Clearer deficiencies of strength and cohesion between coalitions may have provided the answers needed to make this connection. However, further research should continue to

draw connections between advocacy coalitions, their actions, and actual policy outcomes so as to give researchers clarity on their actual influence.

Outside the bounds of the hypotheses tested in this dissertation, but inside the bounds of ACF and NPF's overall theoretical hypotheses, this study also suggests other findings that provide a supplementary backdrop for further research. First, the frequency of narratives by coalitions in some media venues but not others is an interesting finding in and of itself as noted in Table 2 in Chapter 4. As noted by Reis et al. (2015), "A growing number of people are changing the way they consume news, replacing the traditional physical newspapers and magazines with their virtual online versions or/and weblogs." Although people are changing the way they consume news, are coalitions changing the way they disseminate their message using varying media formats? The answer to this question would provide for an important contribution to the study of coalitions and coalitional behavior. In this dissertation, the Pro CRC relied heavily on traditional media (newspapers) and gave little heed to new media sources (YouTube and blogs). Conversely, the Anti CRC coalition made heavy use of new media sources and made less use (although formidable) of traditional media. Considering these findings, it can be assumed that actors within coalitions—at least in this case—believe they will not find a receptive audience or are not inclined to present their policy narratives in certain media venues over others. Remember as previously stated, the ACF hypothesizes that stakeholders within an advocacy coalition use whatever resources they have to seek out venues where they have an opportunity to be an influence on the policy making process. Wieble (2006, 101) notes that "Stakeholders

spend considerable amounts of time venue shopping, looking for institutional access where they might have a competitive advantage." As such, this finding confirms generally the ACF hypothesis about coalitional "venue shopping". Future research should seek to understand why coalitions utilize textual narratives more than visual narratives (YouTube) and what forces are at play in determining those media preferences. Seeking to understand how coalitions perceive different media venues should be of great interest to NPF and ACF scholars alike.

The findings of this dissertation also suggests that state and local policy issues are not any less divisive than national policy issues but that similar trends arise as in studies that look at national policy issues (Kusko, 2014; Leong 2015). Jones and McBeth (2010, 340) explain that a "consistent criticism of narratives and poststructural work is that work is often disconnected from institutions or policy settings". By studying the distinct CRC policy setting, this criticism is answered accordingly by showing how important the role policy narratives became in formulating policy realities within this community (Portland and Vancouver). In the case of the NPF, state and local issues are unique relative to national policy issues because actors and groups within those issues live in closer proximity to each other, they are much more likely to have human contact, and continue to live with each other (in the same school district, city, county, region) after a political struggle is finished. Actors still have to meet periodically to discuss matters of the community and must "get along". For national policy issues, actors do not have the same expectations. In fact, actors at the national level perhaps will never come into human contact with their adversaries. As such, it would be expected that

within the context of state and local issues, there would be less use of villain character, and more "getting along". The fact that both coalitions referenced villains more than 50% of the time (the Anti CRC more than 95% of the time) would suggest that context in this case did not matter in the sense of taming rhetoric aimed at members of the opposing coalition. Coalitions often used scathing words to describe the effects of the opposing coalition's policy proposals. Characters on both sides were demoralized, demonized, and portrayed in some cases as enemies of the people. Such findings are both shocking yet interesting and are deserving of future research by scholars of public policy that desire to understand how context alters the manner by which policy narratives are utilized.

Conclusion:

Using the NPF and the ACF as the methodological and theoretical foundation, this dissertation makes valuable empirical contributions to a greater understanding of the public policy process at the state and local level. Although this study is not without limitations, its contributions to building theory for the NPF and the ACF are important and worthwhile. The dual theoretical approach used in this dissertation should be utilized by other scholars of public policy as these theories continue to shed light on the complex "nitty gritty" process of policy making at all levels of government. This study is one of few studies (Shanahan et al. 2011; Shanahan et al. 2013; Kusko 2014) that have combined the ACF and NPF in an innovative fashion to demonstrate the role of advocacy

coalitions in public policy and how they strategically use policy narratives to purport

their policy beliefs, influence public opinion, and ultimately alter policy outcomes.

This dissertation has shown that narratives can and do have an important

influence on the design and creation of public policy, specifically at the state and local

level. Ultimately, it was the goal of this dissertation to show that coalitions use

narratives to push their policy agendas and influence policy outcomes. The findings of

this study help policy makers and scholars alike understand that narratives influence

overall support for a given public policy, help perpetuate policy realities, and illicit

pressure on policy makers. As noted via the examples shared above, even policymakers

buy into general narrative strategies expressed by other actors in their corresponding

coalition and will even use those policy beliefs, expressed through narrative, to vote on

legislation. It was perhaps the pressure elicited through opposition narratives from the

Anti CRC coalition that led to the utter "demise" of the CRC bridge project. Overall, this

dissertation confirms even more specifically that narratives are indeed the "lifeblood of

politics" in all important respects and that seeking to further understand narrative will

only deepen overall understanding of the policy process.

By exploring the Columbia River Crossing policy issue, greater understanding has

been acquired on advocacy coalitions and their role in shaping public policy. The

grounding literature for this study was discussed in Chapter 2, the methodology of this

study in Chapter 3 and the broad research questions for this study were answered with

potentially important findings extrapolated and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Limitations for this study have been mentioned and ideas for future research proposed.

The study of how the Pro CRC and Anti CRC coalitions sought to change policy outcomes

through the utilization of policy narratives provides a central perspective to policy

design, especially in the context of state and local politics. Moreover, the study of

advocacy coalitions "adds key insight into the machinery of the public policy process"

(Kusko, 2014, 107). Again, the Advocacy Coalition Framework operates under the

premise that agreement over core policy beliefs is the glue that holds advocacy

coalitions together. This glue provides both predictability and stability to the actions

and efforts of coalitions and thus the ACF claims that "policy core attributes of such

programs in a jurisdiction will not change as long as the dominant coalition that

instituted that policy remains in power…" (Sabatier, 2007, 125). In this study, the

dominant (or winning) coalition lost power over the course of the policy issue duration

and through the ultimate defunding of the CRC project in 2013. Thus, the glue of some

coalitions, no matter how strong, is still subject to punctuations in the policy subsystem.

Notably, the ACF as utilized in this dissertation provided this interesting perspective.

Equally, the Narrative Policy Framework has revolutionized the study of public

policy by providing the much needed neo-positivist approach to policy design that is

"clear enough to be wrong" (Sabatier, 2007; Jones and McBeth, 2010). Its goal is to

show that "changing public opinion requires less emphasis on policy details and more on

telling a good story (Smith and Larimer, 2017, 86). Its policy specific and theoretical

contributions to the field are becoming more and more prevalent as Smith and Larimer

(2017, 87) "question whether any framework in the policy sciences has advanced as

rapidly as the NPF" since its formal inception in 2010. As attempted in this dissertation,

the NPF will continue to discover causal linkages between the actual outcomes of policy

and the policy narratives that facilitate those outcomes. In Chapter 1, it was suggested

that policy narratives "wield" some degree of power over the policy process. The

findings and further implications of this study in particular are demonstrative of this

compelling idea that policy narratives dramatically shape the overall way in which the

public perceives reality and which coalitions act to alter that reality by telling a good

story. Abundant research is possible and many questions remain that can be answered

using the innovative approach of the NPF in conjunction with other growing theoretical

approaches in the field of public policy. Such research will lead to better methodologies

for testing the power of policy narratives and will continue to shed light on the

intricacies of the public policy process. May this undertaking be embraced by scholars

from across the public policy realm!

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Appendix: Code Sheet

Document/video Type (source):   Date of
Document/Video:

Title of Document/Video: Author or Group:

Core Story Elements: (NPF)

    1- Does the document/video have a (or implied):

        a. Villain (if yes, specify type and frequency)_____

        b. Victim (if yes, specify type and frequency)_____

        c. Hero (if yes, specify type and frequency)_____

Coalition Strategies: (ACF)

    2- Overall, what policy stance does the document/video portray?
       Winner_____   Loser_____   None:_____

    3- Does the narrative in the document/video use (or imply):
        a. Concentrated Benefits (if yes, who or what entities gain benefits)? _____

        b. Diffused Benefits (if yes, who or what entities gain benefits)? _____

        c. Concentrated Costs (if yes, who or what entities bear the costs)? _____

        d. Diffused Costs (if yes, who or what entities bear the costs)? _____

New Media

    4- (If a YouTube video)
        a. Is the video positive about the bridge project, negative, or neutral.

        b. Who is the sponsor of the video (who made it?) Traditional or New Media source

        c. How many views does the video have?

        d. How many months has the video been on YouTube?