

# Introduction to Public Policy

Week 13

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## Policy Change & Termination

Theodolou & Kofinis, pp. 201-209.

Knill & Tosun, pp. 250-279.

# Policy Change & Termination

- They come **after evaluation & feedback**

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  - Reformulation & reimplementation
- **Possible outcomes** of evaluation
  1. Policy does not change= policy stays the same
  2. Policy Change
    - A. Radical/Rapid change
    - B. Small/slow (incremental) change
  3. Termination: Ending policy
    - A. Partial termination
    - B. Total termination


# Policy Failure & Policy Termination

← → ⓘ e!ition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/11/19/south.korea.south.korea.policy/index.html

**CNN** Regions → U.S. | Africa | Americas | **Asia** | China | Europe | Middle East | Opinion International Edition + 🔍 ☰

## South Korea: Policy of engagement with North is a failure

By **Andrew Salmon**, For CNN  
November 18, 2015 — Updated 12:19 GMT (2015 HKT)



19 Korean soldier (right) looks at a S. Korean soldier in September at the border village of Panmunjom. (Chosun Daily News)

**STORY HIGHLIGHTS**

- An annual white paper slams the decade-long engagement policy
- If did not change North Korea's "perverse" policies, the report says
- The Sunshine Policy lasted between 1998 and 2008

**Seoul, South Korea (CNN)** — South Korea has denounced a policy that called for a peaceful engagement with North Korea as a failure.

An annual white paper published by Seoul's Ministry of Unification slammed the decade-long engagement policy, which cost South Korea \$4.5 billion.

The policy did not change North Korea's "perverse" policies, the report said.

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- After IVF shock, mom gives birth to two sets of identical twins
- Inside North Korea: Water park, sacred birth site and some murders
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# Policy Change & Termination



SUCCESS:

Policy remains the same

PARTIAL  
SUCCESS  
OR  
FAILURE:  
Policy  
Change

- Radical/rapid Change
- Partial/slow change

TOTAL  
FAILURE:  
Policy  
Termination

- Total Termination
- Partial Termination

# Should we change policy or not?

Example: Individual applications to the Turkish Supreme Court

Panel | Anayasa Mahkemesine Bireysel Başvuru Yolu: İlk Üç Yılı ...

**PANEL**

**ANAYASA MAHKEMESİNE BİREYSEL BAŞVURU YOLU İLK ÜÇ YILI VE GELECEĞİ**

**MODERATÖR**  
Cem Duran Uzun  
SETA

**KONUŞMACILAR**  
Engin Yıldırım  
ANAYASA MAHKEMESİ BAŞKANVEKİLİ  
Recep Kaplan  
ANAYASA MAHKEMESİ GENEL SEKRETER YARD.  
Serdar Gülener  
SAKARYA ÜNİVERSİTESİ, SETA

16 Aralık 2015 Çarşamba 14:00, SETA Ankara  
Nenehatun Cad. No: 66 GOP 06700 Çankaya, Ankara [setav.org/live](http://setav.org/live) + [fsetacanli](https://www.facebook.com/setacanli)

 SETA

# Reasons for Policy Change & Termination

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- Interest group mobilization
- Target groups' complaints
- Changes/decrease in funding
- Legal challenges

# Interest Group Mobilization

2018/08/17/turkish-taxi-drivers-protest-us-uber

## DAILY SABAH TURKEY

CATEGORIES

Daily Sabah > Turkey

### Turkish taxi drivers protest US, Uber

DAILY SABAH

ISTANBUL

Published  
17.08.2018  
00:00



Taxi drivers condemn the American government's attacks on the Turkish economy and their principal competition Uber.

*Taking advantage of the widespread anger toward the U.S. government, Istanbul's taxi drivers staged a demonstration against the speculative attacks on the Turkish currency and Uber*

▲ group of taxi drivers in Istanbul staged a protest in front of the U.S.

# Target Groups' Complaints

national-park-in-turkeys-bolu-draws-criticism-124011

**DAILY NEWS**

Turkey Economy Opinion World Arts & Life sports Video Photo

Home > Turkey > Local

December 12 2017 15:40:00



## Planned construction in national park in Turkey's Bolu draws criticism

Aysel Alp - AHEARA



A mansion and some 25 bungalows are set to be built in the Golcuk National Park, one of the symbols of the northwestern province of Bolu, drawing criticism from the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP).

Bolu Mayor Alaaddin Yilmaz, however, claimed that no trees would be cut down for the upcoming construction.



# Reasons for Policy Change-1

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1. Societal dynamics, technologies & societal and political conditions change
2. New policies may contradict or invalidate an existing policy
3. A policy can be challenged legally or constitutionally
4. New discoveries may decrease public support for the policy

# 1. Societal dynamics, technologies & societal and political conditions change

← → ↻ ⓘ www.hurriyetdailynews.com/putin-erdogan-agree-to-hold-syria-peace-talks-in-astana.aspx?pageID=238&nID=107367&NewsCatID=355

## Putin, Erdoğan agree to hold Syria peace talks in Astana

ISTANBUL

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Russian President Vladimir Putin said on Dec. 16 that he had agreed with Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan to hold peace talks on Syria in the Kazakhstan capital Astana.

Speaking at a news conference during a visit to Japan, Putin also said [Russia](#) would now be pursuing talks on a “nationwide” ceasefire in Syria.

Those talks would be in addition to U.N.-brokered talks that have been taking place intermittently in Geneva, Putin told reporters.

*December/16/2016*

## 2. New policies may contradict or invalidate an existing policy



The image shows a screenshot of a CNBC news article. The browser address bar at the top displays the URL: [cnbc.com/2020/11/17/sweden-toughens-up-coronavirus-rules-as-infections-and-deaths-rise.html](https://cnbc.com/2020/11/17/sweden-toughens-up-coronavirus-rules-as-infections-and-deaths-rise.html). The article is categorized under 'HEALTH AND SCIENCE' and has the main headline: 'No-lockdown Sweden toughens up restrictions as coronavirus cases rise'. The author is Holly Ellyatt (@HOLLYELLYATT). The article is dated 'PUBLISHED TUE, NOV 17 2020, 8:34 AM EST' and 'UPDATED TUE, NOV 17 2020, 1:02 PM EST'. There are social media share icons for Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, and Email. A 'KEY POINTS' section lists three bullet points. On the right side, there is an advertisement for Abu Dhabi with the text 'Discover Abu Dhabi'.

HEALTH AND SCIENCE

### No-lockdown Sweden toughens up restrictions as coronavirus cases rise

PUBLISHED TUE, NOV 17 2020, 8:34 AM EST | UPDATED TUE, NOV 17 2020, 1:02 PM EST

Holly Ellyatt  
@HOLLYELLYATT

SHARE f t in e

**KEY POINTS**

- Sweden appears to be changing tack and implementing stricter measures as a second wave of infections takes hold and hospitalizations rise.
- The country was infamous for not imposing a lockdown during the first wave of the coronavirus pandemic.
- On Monday, it announced that public gatherings of more than eight people were no longer allowed.

Abu Dhabi  
Discover Abu Dhabi

## Reasons for Policy Change-2

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5. Elected officials and their values & priorities change
6. The problem is solved, so the policy is no longer needed
7. Implementors lack the skills to successfully execute policy
8. Implemented policy may have defects & weaknesses
9. Target groups refuse to comply with policy and/or organize against it.

# 5. Elected officials and their values & priorities change

home > world europe US americas asia australia africa middle east cities development

**South Korea**

## South Korea set to change policy on North as liberal wins election

Moon Jae-in has won presidential election comfortably after predecessor ousted in corruption scandal



This article is 3 months old

< 4,371

**Justin McCurry in Osaka and agencies**

Tuesday 9 May 2017 15.04 BST



 Moon Jae-in captured the public mood by promising to tackle rising inequality and youth unemployment, and make a clean break from his scandal-hit predecessor. Photograph: Kim Hong-Ji/Reuters

Moon Jae-in, a left-leaning liberal who favours engagement with [North Korea](#), has won South Korea's presidential election, raising hopes of a potential rapprochement with Pyongyang.

# 8. Implemented policy may have defects & weaknesses

The screenshot shows a web browser displaying a New York Times article. The browser's address bar shows the URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/us/minneapolis-police-body-camera-policy-fatal-shooting.html>. The article title is "Minneapolis Police Change Body Camera Policy After Fatal Shooting". The author is identified as "By MICHAEL WOOD" and the date is "7/26/17". A photograph shows Minneapolis Police Chief Medaria Arradondo speaking at a podium. A quote from him reads: "What good is a camera if it is not being used when it may be needed the most?" The article text states that Minneapolis police officers will be required to turn on their body cameras as soon as they start responding to 911 calls, part of a policy overhaul announced on Wednesday as fallout continues from the fatal shooting of an unarmed Australian woman by an officer who was coasting a camera but not recording. A sidebar on the right lists related articles under the heading "RELATED COVERAGE".

← → ↻ 🌐 Govenli | <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/26/us/minneapolis-police-body-camera-policy-fatal-shooting.html> 🔍 🌟 📄

The New York Times

Man Charged After White Nationalist Rally in Charlottesville Ends in Deaths  
Trump Is Criticized for Not Calling Out White Supremacists  
Ray, Hite or Lerner? Hard Choices for Democrats in the House  
Betsy's Challenge: Keeping in Step, but Not Preach  
In Washington, a True Underdog Act Is Done  
What a Problem: Having Death Forewarned About the Fugitive Search for...

## Minneapolis Police Change Body Camera Policy After Fatal Shooting

By MICHAEL WOOD 7/26/17



RELATED COVERAGE

- After Minneapolis Police Shooting, Many Ask: Why Wasn't Body Camera On?
- Officer Heard Loud Noise Before Police Shot Minneapolis Woman, Officials Say
- Fatally Aired: Why Did Minneapolis Police Kill Australian 'Sheep Caret'?
- Woman Shot by Minneapolis Officer 'Didn't Have to Die,' Police Chief Says
- Survivors in Minneapolis Shocked and Outraged by Police Handling

"What good is a camera if it is not being used when it may be needed the most?" said Medaria Arradondo, Minneapolis's acting police chief.

Minneapolis police officers will be required to turn on their body cameras as soon as they start responding to 911 calls, part of a policy overhaul announced on Wednesday as fallout continues from the fatal shooting of an unarmed Australian woman by an officer who was coasting a camera but not recording.

"What good is a camera if it is not being used when it may be needed the most?" said Medaria Arradondo, the city's acting police chief.

Questions about the non-use of body cameras, which were rolled out in

## 9. Target groups refuse to comply with policy and/or organize against it.

nanpasa-sakinleri-bize-ragmen-yapilacak-birseyi-kabul-etmiyoruz-29969642

**Hürriyet**

GÜNDEM

DÜNYA

EKONOMİ

SPOR

YAZARLAR

KEL

### Gaziosmanpaşa sakinleri: Bize rağmen yapılacak birşeyi kabul etmiyoruz

Ezgi ÇAPA -Özgür ARSLAN/(DHA)

02 Eylül 2015 - 14:17:56



Haberî Öne Çıkar

↑ 5

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- A +

Yorum yaz

*GAZIOSMANPAŞA'nın Karayolları, Sarıgöl, Yıldıztabya, Pazariçi, Mevlana mahallelerinde yaşayan vatandaşlar, 1/5000 ölçekli nazım imar planına dava açmak üzere İstanbul Bölge İdare Mahkemesi'ne başvurdu. Mahmutbey'de yeni inşa edilen İstanbul İdare Mahkemesi önünde toplanan mahalle sakinleri, başvuruyu öncesinde farklı mahallelerden toplanan dilekçeleri bir araya getirdi.*

# Kinds/Patterns of Policy Change

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1. Linear Change
  - One policy is replaced by another; or location changes
2. Non-linear change
  - Radical/major change because of ideological reasons of politicians or technological advances
3. Consolidation Change
  - Combination of two or more programs with similar objectives into a single new policy
4. Split Change
  - Divides an agency that is responsible for a particular policy or program into smaller units



# Change of Civil Service Law 657: Linear or NonLinear Change?

 T.C. DEVLET PERSONEL BAŞKANLIĞI

e-Mevzuat | Resmi Gazete | İletişim | En 

Bilgi Edinme | DPB E-Uygulama

KURUMSAL MEVZUAT GÖRÜŞLER İSTATİSTİKLER

HABERLER

Anasayfa » Haberler » BASINDA DPB » 657 sayılı kanun değişiyor mu?

## 657 SAYILI KANUN DEĞİŞİYOR MU?

18.04.2014



Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanı Faruk Çelik, memurların bağlı olduğu 657 sayılı kanunun değişeceği sinyalini verdi.

Kanunun ihtiyaçları karşılamadığını söyleyen Bakan Çelik, "Bu yasa artık yama kaldırmayacak kadar yıprandı" dedi.

Bakan Çelik, Devlet Personel Başkanlığı'nın Bolu Abant Tabiat Parkı'nda bulunan Abant Palace Otel'de düzenlediği "Kamu Personel Sisteminin Sorunları, Çözüm Önerileri ve 2023 Vizyonu" çalıştayında konuştu.

# Major Change? Policy Change about Turkey-Libya Agreement



# Split Change?: Dividing a Ministry into Two

← → × memurlar.net/haber/199721/cevre-orman-ve-sehircilik-bakanligi-ikiye-ayrildi.html

## Çevre, Orman ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı ikiye ayrıldı

8 Haziran 2011 tarihli mükerrer Resmi Gazetede yayımlanan 636 Çevre, Orman ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun Hükmünde Kararname ile Çevre, Orman ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı kurulmuştu. Bayındırlık ve İskan bakanlığı kapatılarak bu bakanlığa ait görevler bu yeni Bakanlığa devredildi. Ancak 4 Temmuz 2011 tarihli Resmi Gazetede, iki KHK yayımlanmıştır. 644 sayılı KHK ile Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 645 sayılı KHK ile Orman ve Su İşleri Bakanlığı kurulmuştur. 644 sayılı KHK, 8 Haziranda yayımlanan 636 sayılı KHK'yi bütünüyle yürürlükten kaldırmıştır. Bu iki Bakanlığa ilişkin olarak yapılan düzenlemeler, ilk Bakanlar Kurulu üyelerinin atanması ile yürürlüğe girecek.



Haberi Kopyala

04 Temmuz 2011 23:39

+Aa- Yazdır



Google reklamları

Geribildirim gönderin

Neden bu reklam? ⓘ

### YAPILAN DEĞİŞİKLİKLER

1- Bu Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamenin yürürlüğe girdiği tarihte Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığına ait her türlü taşınır, taşit, araç, gereç ve malzeme, borç ve alacaklar, hak ve yükümlülükler, yazılı ve elektronik ortamdaki her türlü kayıtlar ve dokümanlar ile bu birimlere ait kadro ve pozisyonlarda istihdam edilen **personel** hiçbir işleme gerek kalmaksızın Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığına devredilmiş sayılacaktır.

# Approaches to Policy Change

- **Policy changes in cycles**

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- Every 30 years (in a generation), the national mood and policies change (Schlesinger)
- Periods of reform follows periods of calm/inaction (Huntington)

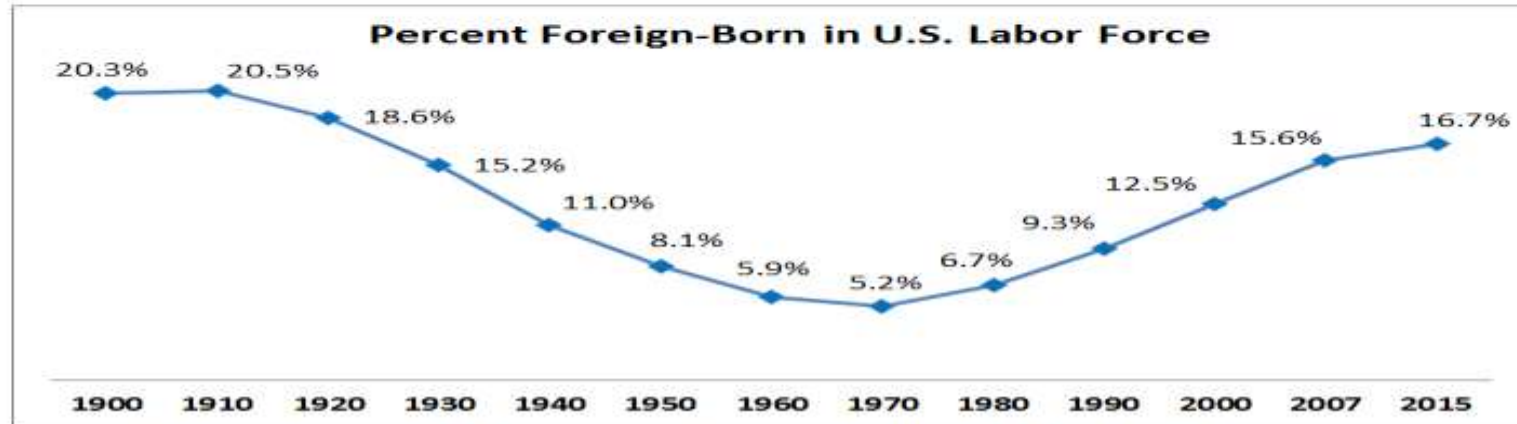
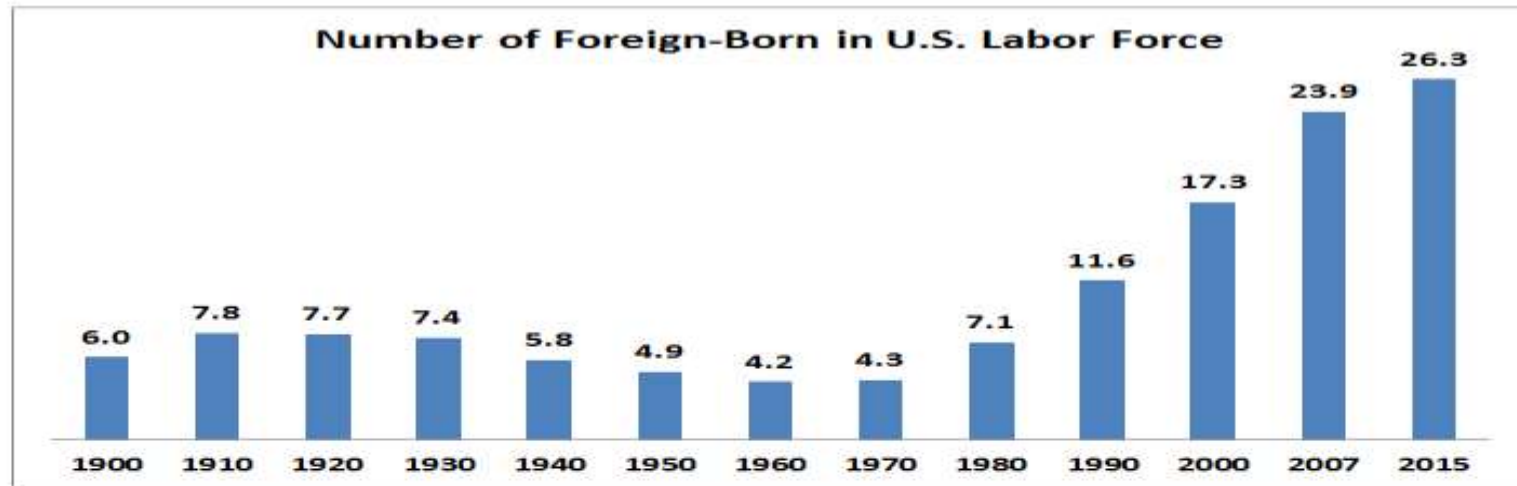
- **Policy evolves by policy learning**

- Advocacy groups push for change when conditions & values change via policy learning (Sabatier & Smith)

- **Backlash or Zigzag Thesis**

- Policies change because of changing perceptions about **who benefits** from these policies
- The groups who do not benefit from the policies push for change one group after another

# Cyclical Policy Change?



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Census.gov

# Backlash or zigzag?

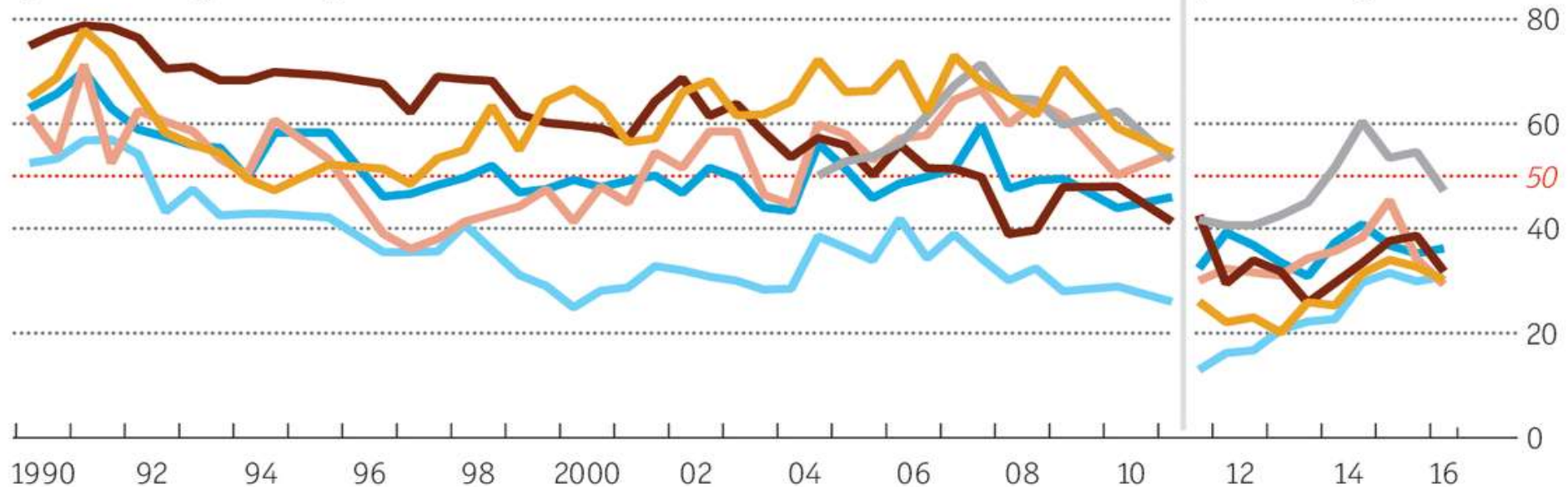
## Love lost

Favourable opinions of the EU, % polled

— Britain — France — Germany — Italy — Poland — Spain

*Generally speaking, do you think that (your country's) membership of the EU is a good thing?\**

*In general, does the EU conjure up for you a positive image?†*



Source: Eurobarometer

\*Polled up to 2011 †Polled from 2000 to present

# Policy evolves by policy learning



- Before the disaster of 2011, Japan got 25% of its electricity from nuclear plants.
- In 2011, the government was hoping to raise that to 50% by 2020.
- The present government hopes nuclear power will supply 20-22% of its electricity by 2030.

# Policy Zigzag/Backlash? Government Funding of Renewable Energy

Energy and Environment

## Trump's budget expected to massively slash research on renewable energy — and 'clean coal'

By Chris Mooney May 13



(Manuel Balce Ceneta/AP)

The Trump administration is expected to propose massive cuts to federal government research on wind and solar energy next week, according to current and former Energy Department officials familiar with budget discussions.

The department's Office of Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy (EERE), which funds research on advanced vehicles as well as other aspects of clean energy, would face a roughly 70 percent cut in 2018, carving about \$ 1.45 billion from its \$2.09 billion 2017 budget.



# Why policies do not change?

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- Lack of evaluation
- Favorable (positive) evaluation
- High political support that overcome negative evaluations

# Policy Termination

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- Policy termination is **very rare**
  - There are few real-life examples
- **Changing policy is easier than terminating policy**
  - Because of high political & economic costs

# Why Are There Only Few Examples of Policy Termination?

## 1. Desire of organizations to survive

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- and administrators not to lose their jobs

## 2. Legal obstacles

- As long as a policy is required by law, whether it fulfills its goals may be irrelevant for its survival

## 3. High start-up costs of new programs

- It is often cheaper to keep a program than terminating it

## 4. Bureaucrats join forces with politicians to stop termination

- Example: Unions are called as «anti-termination coalitions»

## 5. Decisions of termination are often political/ideological

# Reasons for Termination

1. The policy is no longer effective

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  - Example: Dialogue policy with N. Korea
2. The need for program disappears
  - Example: Oil exploration programs may be unnecessary after the rise of renewable energy
3. Not enough budget
  - Example: Budget cuts in space exploration programs
4. Negative evaluation
5. The political environment is no longer supportive
6. Ideological reasons for termination

# Was China right to terminate one-child policy?

## China to end one-child policy and allow two

© 29 October 2015 | China



The end of China's one-child policy explained

China has decided to end its decades-long one-child policy, the state-run Xinhua news agency reports.

Couples will now be allowed to have two children, it said, citing a statement from the Communist Party.

The controversial policy was introduced nationally in 1979, to slow the population growth rate.

It is estimated to have prevented about 400 million births. However concerns at China's ageing population led to pressure for change.

### China's 'one child' policy

What was China's one-child policy?

One-child policy end 'no panacea'

China one-child policy: Trauma and sympathy shared online

# Types of termination

## 1. Functional termination

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- Complete ending of a government responsibility in a particular area
  - Example: No more public schools

## 2. Organizational termination

- Elimination of an entire organization or an agency
  - Example: Termination of Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü (2005)

## 3. Policy termination

- Complete abandonement of a policy because its underlying principles no longer have societal support

## 4. Program termination

- Elimination of a particular program that is implemented by a particular policy; while the policy continues to exist.
- Example: Elimination of TODAİE, but education of civil servants continue.

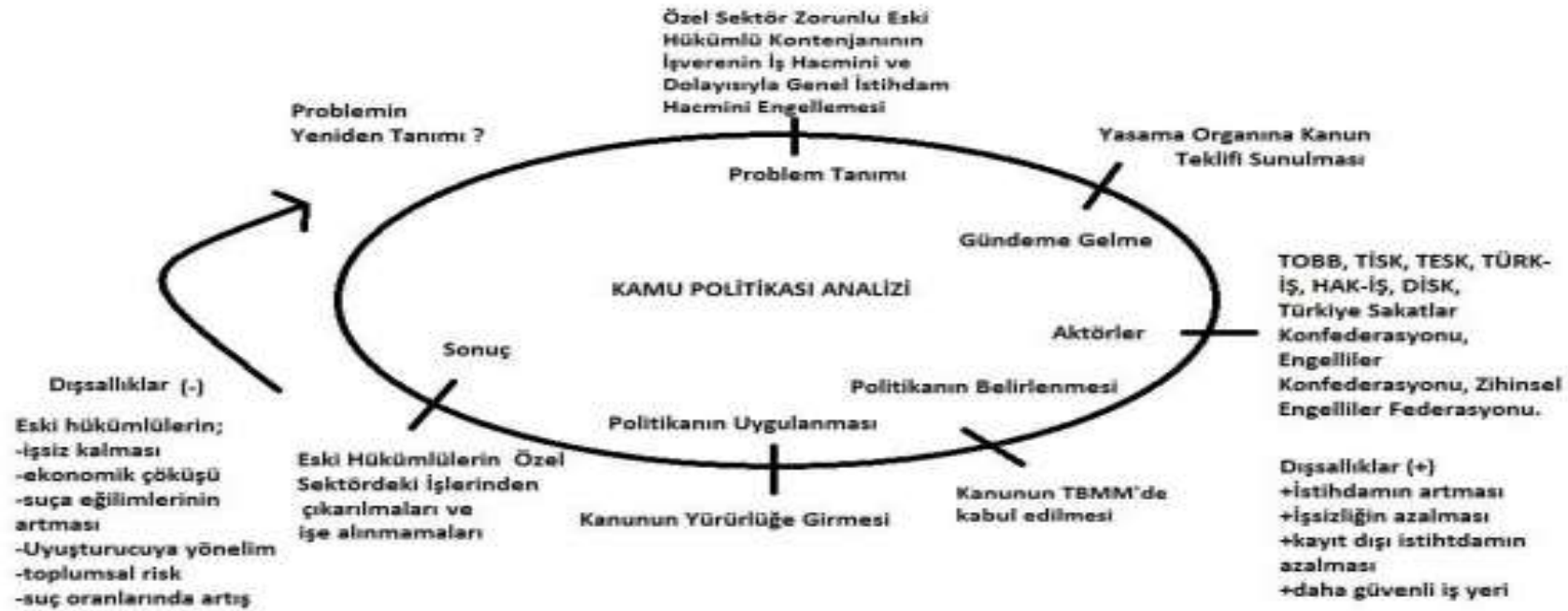
# Approaches to termination

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- Quick (Big Bang) termination
  - End the policy or program quickly, without dividing termination into stages/phases
- Slow termination
  - First the government announces termination
  - The terminations process works in steps
  - Sometimes a new policy replaces the old one

# Quick & Functional Policy Termination Example: Termination of Ex-offender Employment Policy in the Private Sector

Şekil 1: Kamu Politikası Sonlandırmasının Analizi: Eski Hükümlülerin Özel Sektördeki İstihdam Zorunluluğunun Kaldırılması.



Source: Göçoğlu, 2015: 861.



# Successful Termination Strategies-1

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- Controlling information until termination can be fully justified
- Create bigger support for termination
- Showing harmful effects of policy
- Take advantage of ideological shifts in the public

# Should we terminate gender quotas?

## Only Gender Quotas Can Stop the E.U. from Being a Boys Club

Charlotte McDonald-Gibson @cmcdonaldgibson | Aug. 29, 2014



**The European Commission's president has asked that EU member states nominate female candidates. Here's why gender quotas are necessary**

Gender anxiety is enveloping the top levels of the European Union. By the end of this month, each of the bloc's 28 countries is expected to put forward their candidate to sit on the European Commission, the powerful body that drives policy-making and enforces E.U. law.

Jean-Claude Juncker, the Commission's new president, has instructed member states to send female candidates, saying he wants more women in the top jobs. A social media campaign – #100rMore – is also under way to boost female representation at the E.U. to a record high.



Newly elected President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker is congratulated on July 15, 2014, in the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France.

Frederick Florin—AFP/Getty Images



# Successful Termination Strategies-2

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- *Avoid legislative votes*
- Show that costs of policy continuation are higher than costs of termination
- Compensate people harmed by termination
- Selling termination not as an end, but the beginning of a new policy

# Types of Terminators

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## 1. Oppositionists

- Decision-makers, who argue that a policy or a program should be terminated because **it is simply bad**.
- Mainly ideological perception

## 2. Economizers

- Decision-makers who terminate to **cut government expenditures** in times of need

## 3. Reformists

- See termination as the only choice if a **better and more useful policy to be created**.