

Introduction to Public Policy

Week 7

Public Policy-Making Process: Different Theories

Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 80-96.

Public Policy-Making Process: Different Theories

- How to understand the policy process?
 - The way policy develops, changes, executed, evaluated & terminated
- Different theoretical perspectives & models
 - Competition instead of universal acceptance
 - Only a prism/lens to understand reality

Role of Theory

- To help us better understand the complexity of PP-making

 - **Simplification**/ Clarification
 - **Abstraction**
 - Provide a base for **Evaluation**
 - **Application** to problems and examples
- Illuminate the elements and dynamics of the process
 - **Explanation**

Problems of Theory

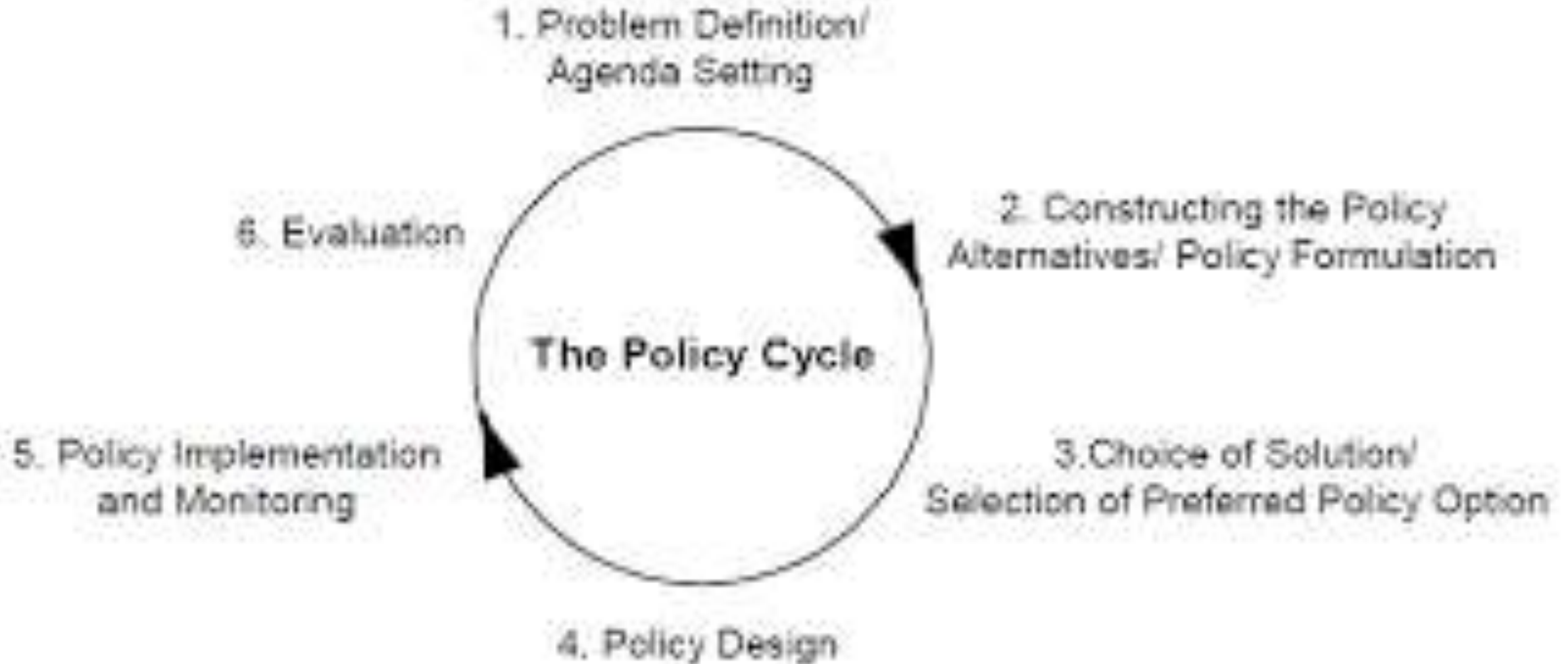
- No theory is the perfect illustration of a phenomenon/reality
 - Each has different strengths & weaknesses of explanation
 - Each has a set of assumptions that may or may not hold true
- The challenge is to derive value from each theory
 - Different analytical values of different theories

Theory-1: Stages Heuristic (Policy Cycle) Approach

- Originated by: [Harold Lasswell](#)
- Decision process as an interrelated series of stages
 - Dominant in the literature
 - Assumes an evolutionary process with a beginning & an end
- Stages can be further grouped as:
 - Predecision, decision & postdecision



Policy Cycle



1: Stages Heuristic (Policy Cycle) Approach

STRENGTHS

- Dominant in the literature
- Fluid cycle of stages in evolution
- Simplification of complexity
- Looks at the whole processes

WEAKNESSES

- Lack of empirical validation
 - No causal assumptions
- Descriptive inaccuracy in real life examples
 - The real process does not follow the step-by-step approach

Theory-2: Rational Choice Approach

- Assumptions of
 - Rationality of individuals & groups
 - The impact of context on rationality
- Types of Rational Choice Approach
 - Institutional Rational Choice
 - Public Choice
 - Game Theory
 - Expected Utility

2.1. Institutional Rational Choice

- Focuses on **actor-centered** institutionalism
 - Policy process as an interaction between **rational individuals & groups**
 - **Institutional rules** affect rational behavior
 - Example: Effect of institutions in forest use
- 3 tiers of decisions:
 - Constitutional
 - Collective choice
 - Operational

Example: Constitutional Decisions

- Turkish Constitution, Article 10: Equality before the law
 - Everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds.
 - **Men and women have equal rights.** The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice.
 - (Paragraph added on May 7, 2004; Act No. 5170)
 - **Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality. (POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION)**
 - (Sentence added on September 12, 2010; Act No. 5982)

• Institutional rules affect rational behavior

30 Ekim 2015 CUMA

Resmî Gazete

Sayı : 29517

YÖNETMELİK

Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlıđından:

MERA YÖNETMELİĐİNDE DEĐİŐİKLİK YAPILMASINA DAİR YÖNETMELİK

MADDE 1 – 31/7/1998 tarihli ve 23419 sayılı Resmî Gazete’de yayımlanan Mera Yönetmeliđinin 8 inci maddesinin beşinci fıkrasının (a) bendine aőađıdaki alt bent eklenmiőtir.

“10) Bakanlar Kurulunca kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim proje alanı olarak ilan edilen alanlardan Kanun kapsamındaki mera, yaylak ve kışlak olarak tahsis edilmiş olan veya kadimden beri bu amaçla kullanılan arazilerin tahsis amacı deđişiklik işlemleri Kanununun 14 üncü maddesi ve bu Yönetmeliđin 8 inci maddesi genel hükümlerine tabidir. Durumu ve sınıfı çok iyi veya iyi olan mera, yaylak ve kışlaklarda tahsis amacı deđişikliđi yapılamadıđından, Bakanlar Kurulu kararı alınmadan önce oluşabilecek kamu zararını önlemek için öncelikle kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim proje alanı olarak ilan edilmesi düşünölen alanın 1/5000 ölçekli haritası ile Mera Komisyonuna başvurularak uygun görüő alınmalıdır.

Tahsis amacı deđişiklikleri müracaatlarında, Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ve ilgili kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim alanı krokisi, belediye meclis kararı, kentsel dönüşüm ve gelişim alanı içerisinde kalan Kanun kapsamındaki taşınmazların, çevre parsellerini de gösterir kadastro teknikiđine uygun 1/5000 ölçekli haritası ile komisyonca talep edilen diđer bilgi ve belgeler müracaat dosyasına eklenir.

Tahsis amacının valilikçe deđiőtirilmesini müteakip yirmi yıllık ot gelirinin yatırılması sađlanır. Ot bedeli yatırıldıktan sonra iki yıllık süre zarfında kesinleşmiş uygulama imar planının komisyona sunulması gerekmektedir. Bu süre zarfında söz konusu planların sunulmaması durumunda tahsis amacı deđişikliđi iptal edilir. İmar planlarının tahsis amacı deđişikliđine uygun olarak kesinleşmesi durumunda söz konusu yerlerin tescilleri Hazine adına, vakıf meralarının tescilleri ise vakıf adına yapılır.”

MADDE 2 – Bu Yönetmelik yayını tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

MADDE 3 – Bu Yönetmelik hükümlerini Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanı yürütür.

If there is a pasture in the Urban Transformation Areas, these pastures will be included in the conversion area by paying the grass price

Kentsel dönüşüm alanlarında mera varsa, ot bedeli ödenerek dönüşüm alanına dahil edilecek

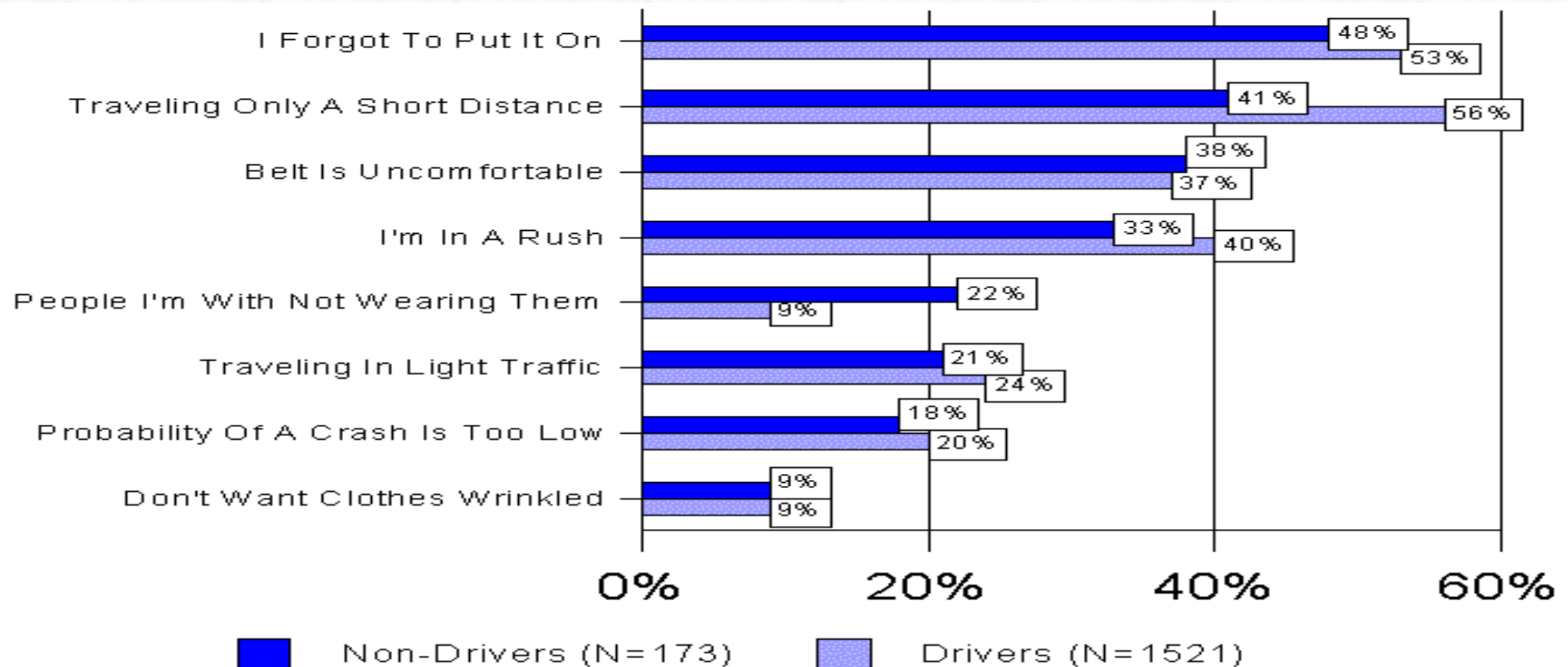
2.2. Public Choice

- Studies the collective decisions of **self interest-maximizing** individuals
 - **Incentives and disincentives** may predict individual actions
- Decisions between **high-cost** and **low-cost** alternatives
 - Decisions based on **limited or imperfect information**
 - Individuals may **not** make **best or moral** decisions

Seat Belt Example

- Will drivers buckle their seat belts?
 - Perceived benefits
 - Reduced risk of injury
 - Costs
 - Time spent buckling
 - Discomfort
 - Fines?

Reasons for Not Wearing a Seat Belt (Drivers vs. Non-Drivers)



2.2. Public Choice

- Collective consequences of individual decisions
 - What to do when individual benefits cause collective costs?
- **Tragedy of the Commons**
 - Example: Individual benefit-maximization in fisheries have collective negative consequences for the society
 - Solution: Government regulation and rule-making

Tragedy of the Commons in Fishing

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Turkey's fishing industry shrinking

ANKARA



HÜRRIYET photo

Turkey's fishing industry has been shrinking gradually since 2011 due to a decrease in fishing activities, although there has been an increase in fish breeding, according to a note

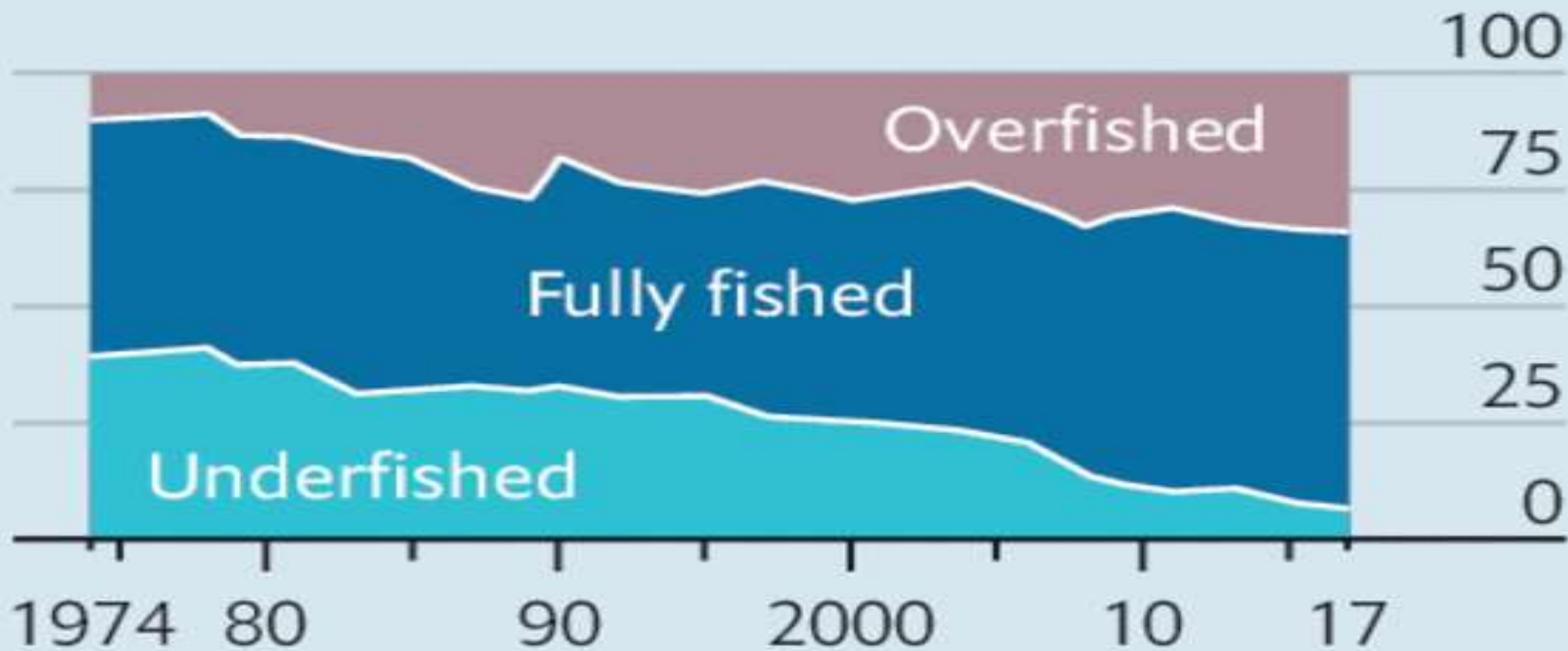
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Quantity of Fish Being Caught in Turkey (2007-2016)

Source: Turkish Statistics Agency, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1005, November 12, 2017.



Global marine fish stocks, %



2.3. Game Theory

- Theory of **interdependent decisions** of two or more rational actors jointly determine the outcome of a situation
 - Objective: Determining strategies & outcomes of interactions
- Example: Prisoner's Dilemma
 - Collective negative consequences may occur if individuals pursue self-interests
 - Rationality assumption **does not guarantee good choices**
 - Especially with **limited information** and poorly-defined goals

Prisoner's Dilemma

	Confess A	Stay quiet A
Confess B	6 6	10 0
Stay quiet B	0 10	2 2

Prisoner's Dilemma: Lessons Learned

- **Collective negative consequences** may occur if individuals pursue self-interests
 - Societal consequences of lack of cooperation
 - When people only pursue self interest, they can get hurt collectively
- Rationality assumption does not guarantee good choices
 - Especially with limited information, poorly-defined goals & poor analysis

Is Climate Change Policy a Prisoner's Dilemma Example?

www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-paris-agreement-climate-change-withdrawal-latest-news-updates-global-warming-deal-a7768116.html

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Donald Trump confirms withdrawal from Paris Agreement on climate change in huge blow for global deal

The US president wants to 'renegotiate' a more 'fair' deal for the US

Mythili Sampathkumar, Alexandra Wilts Washington DC | @MyTHIRISK | Thursday 1 June 2017 19:36 BST

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2.4. Expected Utility

- Individuals are driven by the desire to maximize the expected utility versus the costs
 - What is **original** here is the **dimension of time: Expected**

Gains from Financial Integration in the European Union: Evidence for New and Old Members*

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Federal Reserve Bank of St.Louis

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Preliminary Draft, December 2006

Abstract

We estimate potential welfare gains from financial integration and corresponding better insurance against country-specific shocks to output (risk sharing) for the twenty-five European Union countries. Using theoretical utility-based measures

2: Rational Choice Approach

STRENGTHS

- Provides a **logical basis for analysis**
 - Shows how rational actors affect decision-making

WEAKNESSES

- Assumptions of rationality do **not always hold**
 - Assumptions of perfect information, well-defined goals...
- High level of simplicity

Theory-3: Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach



- Originated by: Paul Sabatier
 - Objective: Better explain complexity of policy process than the stages approach
- Main concepts:
 - Policy Subsystems
 - Systems developing around various policy issues
 - Advocacy Coalitions
 - Policy actors that interact within and among these systems, who share common beliefs and perform coordinated activities
- Pursue strategies to change the decisions & outcomes of governing agencies

Example: An Advocacy Coalition that Monitors How Politicians Vote on Matters of Disability

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- Bill Moyers

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Rating Group: Arizona Disability Advocacy Coalition
2006 Positions

Issues: [Social](#)

[How to Interpret these Evaluations](#)

State	Office	District	Name	Party	Rating
AZ	U.S. House	1	Tom O'Halleran	Democratic	100%
AZ	U.S. House	5	Andy Biggs	Republican	33%
AZ	U.S. House	9	Kyrsten Sinema	Democratic	100%
AZ	State House	12	Eddie Farnsworth	Republican	33%
AZ	State House	15	John Allen	Republican	67%
AZ	State House	27	Rebecca Rios	Democratic	100%

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3: Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach

- 3 levels of beliefs in advocacy colations:
 - **Deep core beliefs** (critical **normative** beliefs)
 - Example: All people are equal.
 - **Policy core beliefs** (fundamental **glue** of coalitions)
 - Example: Man-dominated institutions don't treat man & woman as equals.
 - **Secondary beliefs** (may **not extend** the sub-system)
 - Equal pay for equal work between man and woman

Gun Control Example (Advocacy Coalition Framework)

- Deep core beliefs (critical normative beliefs)
 - Freedom of choice
- Policy core beliefs (fundamental glue of coalitions)
 - Freedom to own a gun
- Secondary beliefs (may not extend the sub-system)
 - Guns ensure personal and societal safety

3: Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach

- Elements that affect policy subsystems
 - Internal Elements
 - External elements
 - **Stable external** (difficult to change over time):
 - Constitutional structure, socio-cultural values, natural resources of the country
 - **Dynamic external** (change over time):
 - Elections, public opinion, socio-economic changes

3: Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach

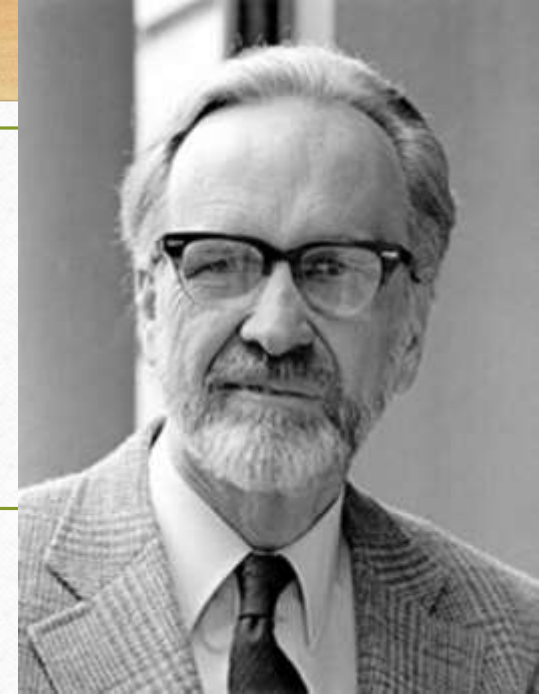
STRENGTHS

- Shows the importance of information and beliefs in the policy process
- New concepts of policy subsystems and advocacy coalitions

WEAKNESSES

- Too abstract & unrealistic
- Theoretically inaccurate
 - For example, how to differentiate different levels of beliefs?

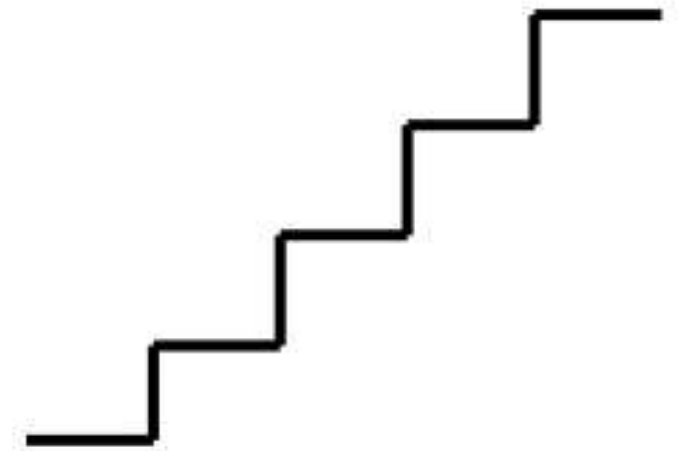
Theory-4: Incrementalism



- Originated by: Charles Lindblom
 - An alternative to the rational model
- We don't/can't make rational decisions because:
 - We have limited capacity for comprehensive analysis.
 - Our values and objectives are poorly-defined.

Theory-4: Incrementalism

- Marginal or incremental change from the status-quo is preferred to dramatic change.
- Test of a good policy is **level of agreement** among analysts.



Incremental change
Change occurs over a period of time in incremental stages

Step by step enlargement of the EU

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION



EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

- 1952** Belgium
Germany
France
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands
- 1973** Denmark
Ireland
United Kingdom
- 1981** Greece
- 1986** Spain
Portugal
- 1995** Austria
Finland
Sweden



- 2004** Czech Rep.
Estonia
Cyprus
Latvia
Lithuania
Hungary
Malta
Poland
Slovenia
Slovakia

- 2007** Bulgaria
Romania

Theory-4: Incrementalism

STRENGTHS

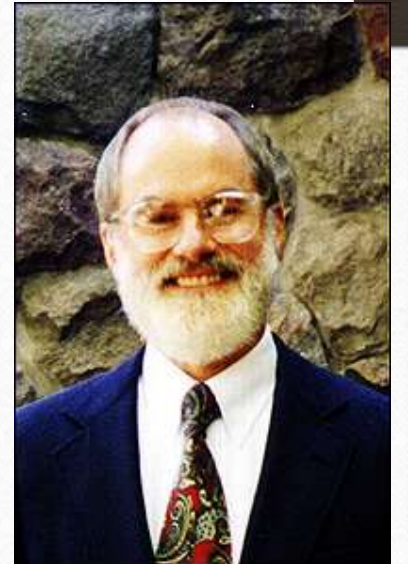
- Realities/true nature of the policy process?
- Explains why dramatic policy change is rare

WEAKNESSES

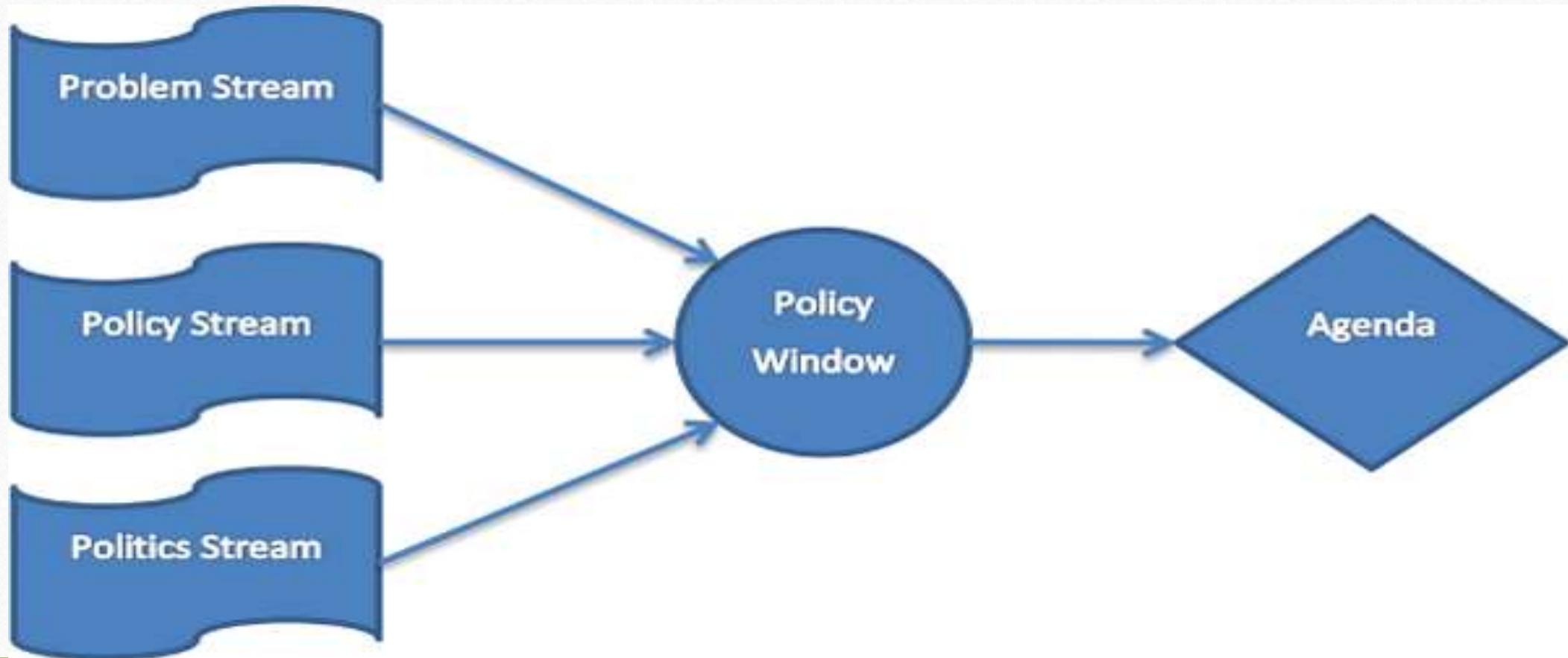
- Is agreement among analysts enough for good policy-making?
 - Or agreement among other policy actors as well?
- Dramatic policy changes happen (when political conditions justify them)
 - Example: Airline security measures after September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks

Theory-5: Multiple Streams Model

- Originated by: **John Kingdon**
 - Explains how issues enter the agenda and how policies are made
- Policy **windows of opportunity** open when three streams merge in a unique moment
 - Problem stream
 - Awareness of problems by decision-makers
 - Policies stream
 - Solution proposals generated by policy communities and specialists
 - Politics stream
 - The context/culture where policy and solutions interact



5: Multiple Streams Model



Nahide Opuz Example (Multiple Streams Model)

- Windows of opportunity open when three streams merge
 - **Problem stream:** Awareness of problems by decision-makers
 - Nahide Opuz was murdered: Domestic violence
 - **Policies stream:** Solution proposals generated by policy communities and specialists
 - Women's organizations were lobbying for harsher penalties for domestic violence & better protection of women and children.
 - **Politics stream:** The context/culture where policy and solutions interact
 - Politicians were responsive.
 - **OUTCOME:** Law Number 6284 was enacted in 2012.

5: Multiple Streams Model

STRENGTHS

- Helps better understand the chaotic nature of the policy process

WEAKNESSES

- It is not clear whether the streams are independent or interdependent.
- How do the streams explain implementation and evaluation?

Theory-6: Punctuated Equilibrium Model

- Originated by: Frank Baumgartner & Bryan Jones
 - Explains how dramatic changes can occur
 - Mobilization of resources to change the status-quo
- Dissatisfaction with the status-quo fuels mobilization
 - What causes dissatisfaction & mobilization?
 - Changing policy images and redefinition of the issue by new information
 - Example: Change in tobacco policy or owning personal weapons

Aydan Bebek Example (Punctuated Equilibrium Model)

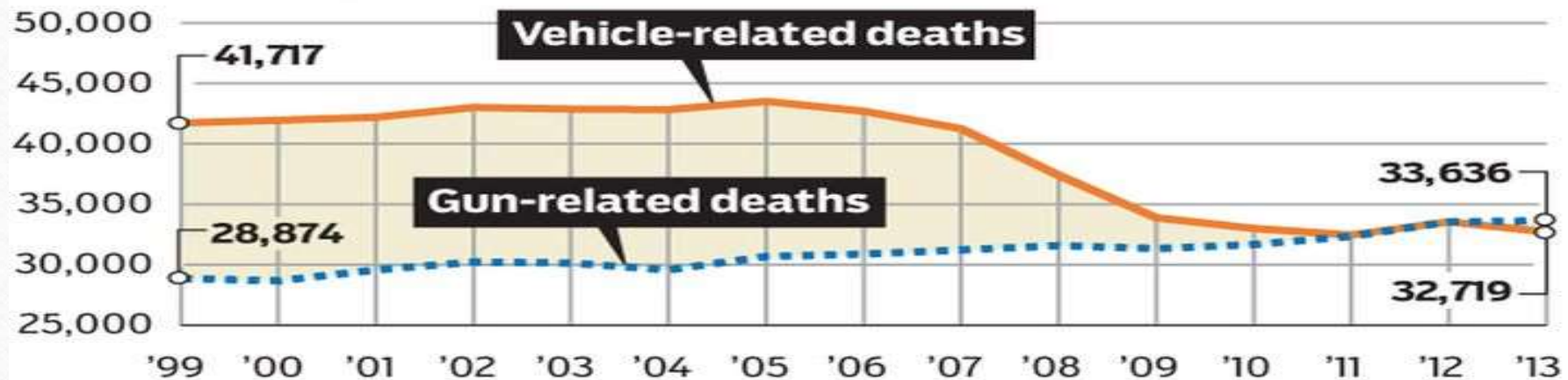
- What caused **dissatisfaction** with the status-quo in emigration policies that **fueled mobilization**?
 - Changing policy images
 - Redefinition of the issue by new information



Gun Control Example: New Information

Gun and vehicle deaths

While deaths in firearm- and vehicle-related incidents were roughly equal in 2013, the trend for each differs. Vehicle-related deaths in the United States have steadily fallen over the past decade, while deaths caused by guns are increasing.



Source: National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

LINDA SCOTT / STAFF

6: Punctuated Equilibrium Model

STRENGTHS

- Useful extension of classic incrementalism

WEAKNESSES

- Does not answer what happens after policy adoption.

General Evaluation: Stages of the Policy Process & Theories (T & K, 2004: 9)

Theories & Models	Stages of Policy Process						
	PRE DECISION PHASE			DECISION PHASE		POST DECISION PHASE	
	<i>Problem Identification</i>	<i>Agenda Setting</i>	<i>Policy Formation</i>	<i>Policy Adoption</i>	<i>Policy Implementation</i>	<i>Policy Evaluation</i>	<i>Termination or Change</i>
Stages-Heuristic	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rational Choice Approach		*	*	*			*
Multiple Streams Model	*	*	*	*			
Incremental Approach	*	*	*	*	*		*
Punctuated Equilibrium Model	*	*	*	*			
Advocacy Coalition Framework	*	*	*	*	*		*

Conclusions: Theories of the Policy Process

- There is **no one «perfect» theory** to explain the PP process.
- **All approaches are useful** in understanding different parts and/or actors of the process.
- The **stages approach** seems to be the **most comprehensive** and widely used.
 - It will be used in later chapters/weeks in this class.