

Introduction to Public Policy

Week 4

Policy-Making Actors

Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 55-75.

ACTORS OF THE POLICY PROCESS/GAME

- Government
- Private Sector
- 3rd Sector (NGOs, NPOs)
- Citizens
- International organizations
- Media (Traditional and new)
- Lobbyists
- Think tanks

POWER/INFLUENCE OF ACTORS

STAGE OF POLICY PROCESS	INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS					NON-INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS				
	Parliament	President	Prime Minister & the Cabinet	Courts	Bureaucracy	Public	Interest Groups	Lobbyists	Media	Think Tanks
Problem Identification										
Agenda Setting										
Policy Formulation										
Policy adoption										
Implementation										
Evaluation										
Policy change/ termination										

Source: Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 56.

POWER/INFLUENCE OF ACTORS

POWER/INFLUENCE		POWER/INFLUENCE ON ISSUES	
		ONE ISSUE	MULTIPLE ISSUES
POWER/INFLUENCE OVER PROCESS	ONE POINT IN THE POLICY PROCESS	ACTORS INFLUENTIAL ON ONE ISSUE AT ONE POINT Example: ?	ACTORS INFLUENTIAL ON MULTIPLE ISSUES AT ONE POINT Example: Ministry of Finance
	MULTIPLE POINTS	ACTORS INFLUENTIAL ON ONE ISSUE AT MULTIPLE POINTS Example: Mor Çatı NGO on Women's Issues	ACTORS INFLUENTIAL ON MULTIPLE ISSUES AT MULTIPLE POINTS Example: Parliament

Source: Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 55.

INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

- Have institutional means of power
 - In general, they are the most powerful policy actors.
 - Examples: President, Parliament, Prime Minister and ministers (ministries)
- Important concepts
 - Pluralism & Governance
 - No one actor possesses omnipotent influence across every topic and every stage of the policy process.

IDENTITY OF ACTORS

IDENTITY		INSTITUTIONALITY	
CONSTITUTIONALITY	CONSTITUTIONAL ACTORS	INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS	NON-INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS
	NON-CONSTITUTIONAL ACTORS	PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT MINISTRIES BUREAUCRACY	CITIZENS
		REGULATORY AGENCIES DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES ADVISORS	LOBBYISTS INTEREST GROUPS THINK TANKS

Source: Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 55.

Government (Levels)

- **Federal** Systems (United States, Germany, Russia...)
 - Federal Government Level
 - State Government Level (California, Florida...)
 - Local Government Level
- **Unitary** Systems (**Turkey**, France...)
 - National Government Level
 - Local Government Level (Municipalities, villages)
- Systems with **Regions** (Spain...)
 - National Government Level
 - **Regional** Government Level (Catalonia, Basque Region...)
 - Local Government Level

Government (Separation of Powers)

- **Legislature**

- One chamber (Turkish Parliament) vs. Two chambers (Senate and House of Representatives in the US)
- Legislative Committees

- **Judiciary**

- Hierarchy of Norms

- **Executive**

- President
- Prime Ministry and the Cabinet



Members of Parliament (MPs)

- Channels of effect on public policies
 - Law-making/legislative process
 - Representation of their voters
 - Oversight of government agencies
 - Through budgets
 - Court of Accounts (Sayıştay)

Parliamentary Commissions and Their Staff

- Experts helping the members of the Parliament

20 Ekim 2015 - Salı, 12:22:44

ADALET KOMİSYONU

ANAYASA KOMİSYONU

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ UYUM
KOMİSYONU

BAYINDIRLIK, İMAR, ULAŞTIRMA
ve TURİZM KOMİSYONU

ÇEVRE KOMİSYONU

DIŞİŞLERİ KOMİSYONU

DİLEKÇE KOMİSYONU

GÜVENLİK ve İSTİHBARAT
KOMİSYONU

İÇİŞLERİ KOMİSYONU

İNSAN HAKLARINI
İNCELEME KOMİSYONU

KADIN ERKEK FIRSAT
EŞİTLİĞİ KOMİSYONU

KAMU İKTİSADİ
TEŞEBBÜSLERİ KOMİSYONU

MİLLİ EĞİTİM, KÜLTÜR, GENÇLİK
ve SPOR KOMİSYONU

MİLLİ SAVUNMA
KOMİSYONU

PLAN ve BÜTÇE
KOMİSYONU

SAĞLIK, AİLE, ÇALIŞMA ve
SOSYAL İŞLER KOMİSYONU

SANAYİ, TİCARET, ENERJİ,
TABİİ KAYNAKLAR, BİLGİ ve
TEKNOLOJİ KOMİSYONU

TARIM, ORMAN ve KÖYİŞLERİ
KOMİSYONU



ADALET KOMİSYONU



Duyurular-Basın Açıklamaları

Komisyon Faaliyetleri

Ziyaretler

Belgeler

Bağlantılar

İletişim

Komisyon Hakkında

Adalet Komisyonu, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İçtüzüğü uyarınca faaliyet gösteren ihtisas komisyonudur. Komisyonun üye sayısı yirmi altıdır. Komisyon üyelerinin on altısı Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Grubuna, altısı Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Grubuna, üçü Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Grubuna ve biri de Halkların Demokratik Partisi Grubuna mensuptur. Komisyon, kendi üyeleri arasından bir başkan, bir başkanvekili, bir sözcü ve bir kâtip seçmektedir.

Adalet Komisyonu; Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlığınca kendisine havale edilen adalet işleri ile medeni hukuk, ceza hukuku, borçlar kanunu gibi temel kanunlar, sivil ve askeri yargulama hukuku

Güncel

Roles of the President (Related to Legislation)

- To deliver, if he/she deems necessary, the opening address of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the first day of the legislative year,
- To summon the Turkish Grand National Assembly to meet, when necessary,
- To promulgate laws,
- To **return laws to the Turkish Grand National Assembly to be reconsidered**,
- To **submit to referendum**, if he/she deems necessary, legislation regarding amendments to the Constitution,
- To **appeal to the Constitutional Court for an annulment** in part or entirety of certain provisions of laws having the force of law, and the Rules of Procedure of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the grounds that they are unconstitutional in form or in content, and
- To call new elections for the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Source: <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/presidency/power/>

Roles of the President (Related to the Executive)

- To appoint the Prime Minister and to accept his resignation,
- To appoint and dismiss Ministers on the proposal of the Prime Minister,
- To preside over the Council of Ministers or to call the Council of Ministers to meet under his/her chairmanship whenever he/she deems it necessary,
- To accredit representatives of the Turkish State to foreign states and to receive the representatives of foreign states to the Republic of Turkey,
- To **ratify and promulgate international treaties**,
- To represent the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Armed Forces on behalf of the Turkish Grand National Assembly,
- To **decide on the use of the Turkish Armed Forces**,
- To appoint the Chief of General Staff,
- To call the National Security Council to meet,
- To preside over the National Security Council,
- To proclaim martial law or state of emergency, and to issue decrees having the force of law, in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Ministers convened under his/her chairmanship,
- To **sign decrees**,
- To remit, on grounds of chronic illness, disability or old age, all or part of the sentences imposed on certain individuals,
- To appoint the members and Chairman of the State Supervisory Council,
- To instruct the State Supervisory Council to carry out enquiries, investigations and inspections,
- To appoint the members of the Higher Education Council, and
- To **appoint rectors of universities**,

Roles of the President (Related to the Judiciary)

- To **appoint the members of the Constitutional Court**, one-fourth of the members of the Council of State, the Chief Public Prosecutor and the Deputy Chief Public Prosecutor of the High Court of Appeals, the members of the Military High Court of Appeals, the members of the Supreme Military Administrative Court and the members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors.

Influence of Lobbyists

- Elements of Lobbyists' Influence/ What makes a lobbyist influential?
 - Experience
 - **Years** in the advocacy **profession**
 - Access
 - Close **professional and personal relationships** with people
 - Expertise
 - Level of **knowledge and skill** in understanding the policy process and **develop winning strategies**
 - Resources
 - **Money and capabilities** available to the lobbyist
 - Character
 - **Integrity** of character?

Source: Theodolou & Kofinis, 2004: 70-71.

Media

- Importance: «Information is power»
 - Constant **access** to citizens
 - **Affecting/manipulating** public opinion and agenda
- Closeness to the institutional actors
 - With or against their powers
 - Ideological positions of media outlets
- Type of Media
 - Traditional Media
 - Newspapers, radio and TV stations...
 - New Media
 - Internet forums, blogs, social media platforms...

Think Tanks in Turkey

Turkish think tanks provide research and ideas yet they play less important roles in policy making when compared with the American think tanks.

- **21st Century Turkey Institute**; based in Ankara, undertakes research and projects on a large scale; from Turkish Foreign Policy to regional politics and geostrategy. [www.21yyte.org]
- **3H Movement** is a liberal think tank and a young organization centered in Istanbul.
- **Ankara Strategy Institute** [1] [↗](#) is an Ankara based independent think-tank organization established in 2011. It is distinguished from other think-tank organizations in Turkey with its analysts being all academicians.
- **Association for Liberal Thinking** is a libertarian think-tank centered in Ankara.
- **Bahcesehir University Center for Economic and Social Research (Betam)** [↗](#) was founded with the goal of establishing a tradition rooted in scientific research, and of becoming a universally accepted research platform. Betam consists of two main units. In the Economic Research Unit, it focuses on the research and development of economic policy in Turkey and abroad from a comparative perspective. In the Social Sciences Research Unit, it concentrates on the cultural, social and political structure of Turkey and its international relations.
- **Center For Alternative Policies** or Alternatif Politikalar Merkezi (APM-CAP). Based in Ankara / TURKEY Undertakes research and projects on economic and foreign policy and **good governance**.
- **Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies** or Avrasya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ASAM). The first known think-tank in Turkey. It has close ties to Turkish diplomacy, and it is the parent organisation of the Institute for Armenian Research (EREN).
- **Centre For Policy and Research On Turkey (Research Turkey)** Established in 2012 in London, United Kingdom. www.researchturkey.org [↗](#)
- **Center for Turkey's Economic and Strategic Studies (TESAM)** is an independent think tank, established in 2008. Undertakes research and projects on Turkey's history, international relations, strategy and foreign policy as well as economic and cultural issues.
- **Education Reform Initiative** (ERI) was launched within Sabancı University in 2003 with the aim of improving education policy and decision-making through research, advocacy, and training. ERI mobilizes a wide range of stakeholders in participatory education policy processes in pursuit of its mission of "quality education for all." [2] [↗](#) Education Reform Initiative was ranked in The 2013 Global Go To Think Tank Index. See the result: [3] [↗](#)
- **Foreign Policy Institute** [4] [↗](#)
- **Freedom Research Association** is an Ankara-based policy think tank with a mission to help consolidate liberal institutions in Turkey. Recently founded, the think tank brings together distinguished political scientists, legal scholars and journalists to publish original research and make an impact on public policy. <http://ozgurulukarastirmalari.com/> [↗](#)
- **Global Political Trends Center** also known as GPoT Center is a liberal research unit at Istanbul Kultur University.
- **Institute for Armenian Research** or Ermeni Araştırmaları Enstitüsü (EREN). Privately funded organization, created by the Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (ASAM).
- **International Cultural Research Center (UKAM)**. Based in Istanbul, is a liberal think-tank specializing in conducting research on cultural and ethnic rights and politics. <http://www.ukam.org/> [↗](#)
- **International Strategic Research Organization (USAK)** is an Ankara-based liberal think tank, established in 2004. An umbrella organization with 9 research centers, it has close ties with Turkish diplomacy, military and political circles. It is sponsored by the business world and member donations.
- **S.E.S.A.R.** (Turkish: *Siyasi, Ekonomik, Sosyal Araştırmalar ve Strateji Geliştirme Merkezi*). Implicated in the **Ergenekon investigation**, with its chief, İsmail Yıldız, jailed.^{[2][3]}
- **SETAM - Center for Strategic Economic Social Research** [↗](#) Established in 2010.
- **S.E.T.A.** [↗](#) Established in 2006. Close to the government. Conservative.
- **Strategic Outlook** [↗](#) Konya based think tank. Established in 2011.
- **Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TACSS)** [5] [↗](#)
- **T.A.S.A.M.** is Istanbul-centred and nationalist.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_think_tanks, 10.20.2015

Some Selected Think Tanks in Turkey

Kuruluş (Alfabetik)	Kuruluş Yılı	Merkezi	Siyasî Eğilimi	Örgütlenme Biçimi
ANKARA STRATEJİ	2011	Ankara	Belirtilmiyor	Dernek (Ankara Strateji Enstitüsü Derneği)
BİLGESAM	2008	İstanbul	Liberal	Vakıf
DPE	1974	Ankara	Liberal	Vakıf
ESAM	1969	Ankara	Muhafazakâr Millî Görüş	Dernek
ORSAM	2009	Ankara	Belirtilmiyor	Vakıf
SAM	1995	Ankara	Belirtilmiyor	Diğer (Bakanlığa Bağlı Düşünce Kuruluşu)
SDE	2009	Ankara	Muhafazakâr Demokrat	Vakıf
SETA	2005	Ankara	Muhafazakâr/Demokrat	Vakıf
TEPAV	2004	Ankara	Liberal	Vakıf
USAK	2004	Ankara	Liberal Milliyetçi	Dernek

Source: Yıldız, Mete, Çelik, Dilek; Arslan, Nurtaç; Çiftçi, Leyla; Eldemir, Serdar ve Sinem Sinangil (2013), "Kamu Politikalarında Düşünce Üretim Kuruluşlarının Rolü: Genel Çerçeve ve Türkiye'den Örnekler, Mete Yıldız ve Mehmet Zahid Sobacı (Derleyenler), Kamu Politikası: Kuram ve Uygulama içinde, Ankara: Adres Yayınları, s. 188-208, s. 201.

KURULUŞ	MALİ KAYNAKLAR				
	Üye Aidatları	Projeler	Bağışlar	Dergi ve Kitap Satışları	Reklamlar
ANKARA STRATEJİ	×	✓	✓	×	×
BİLGESAM	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
DPE	×	✓	✓	✓	×
ESAM	✓	✓	✓	✓	×
ORSAM*	×	×	×	×	×
SAM ¹	×	×	×	×	×
SDE	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
SETA	×	✓	✓	✓	×
TEPAV	×	✓	✓	×	×
USAK	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

¹ SAM, idari ve cari harcamaları ile güncel ihtiyaçlarını T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı bütçesinden karşılanmaktadır.

* ORSAM'ın mali kaynakları Türkmeneli İşbirliği ve Kültür Vakfı tarafından karşılanmakta, bunun dışında herhangi bir gelir kaynakları bulunmamaktadır.

KURULUŐ	Kullanılan Teknoloji					
	SMS	E-Posta	Sosyal Medya	E-Satıő	TV/Radyo	Gazete
ANKARA STRATEJİ	×	✓	✓	×	✓	×
BİLGESAM	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
DPE	×	✓	×	×	✓	✓
ESAM	×	×	✓	✓	×	×
ORSAM	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
SAM	×	✓	✓	×	×	×
SDE	×	×	✓	×	✓	✓
SETA	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TEPAV	×	✓	✓	×	✓	✓
USAK	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Think Tank Reports on Current/Pressing Issues

Türkiye'nin Koalisyon Tecrübesi: Modeller ve Siyasal Gerçeklikler

MEHMET ZAHİD SOBACI

- Koalisyon modelleri ve dinamikleri nelerdir?
- Türkiye'de genel seçimler sonrası oluşturulan koalisyonlar hangi modele uygundur?
- Koalisyon modelleri ve dinamikleri, 7 Haziran seçimi sonrası oluşan parlamento aritmetiğinde neye işaret ediyor?
- 7 Haziran seçimi sonrası muhtemel koalisyonların pratikte uygulanma ihtimali nedir?

GİRİŞ

Yumuşak kuvvetler ayrılığının yansıması olan parlamenter sistemlerde, hükümetin kazanacağı biçim (tek başına hükümet, koalisyon hükümeti ve azınlık hükümeti) ile genel seçimler sonrasında oluşan parlamentonun kompozisyonu arasında yakın bir ilişki vardır. Çünkü parlamenter sistemin bir gereği olarak, hükümet parlamentonun içinden çıkmakta ve yaşamını sürdürmesi parlamentodan alacağı güvenoyuna dayanmaktadır. Parlamenter sistemlere sahip ülkelerde, yapılan genel seçimlerde bir siyasal partinin tek başına iktidar olmasını sağlayacak çoğunluğu elde etmesi her zaman mümkün olmamaktadır.

Türkiye'de 7 Haziran genel seçimi sonucunda dört partili bir parlamento oluşmuştur. Parlamentoda hiçbir siyasal parti tek başına iktidar olmasını sağlayacak bir çoğunluğa erişememiştir. 7 Haziran genel seçimi neticesinde ortaya çıkan parlamento aritmetiği, Türkiye'de koalisyon hükümeti ve bu hükümeti oluşturma süreçlerinin bir kez daha ülke gündemine gelmesine yol açmıştır. Türkiye tanıdığı, ancak yaklaşık 13 yıl süren tek başına AK Parti iktidarı nedeniyle uzun süredir unuttuğu bu siyasal olguyu yeniden hatırlamıştır. Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, 9 Temmuz'da Ahmet Davutoğlu'na hükümeti kurma görevini vermiştir.

THE PUBLIC: CITIZENS

- In theory, the public is the most influential actor in the policy process.
 - In reality not so much
 - Apathy/Unwillingness to participate
 - Groups with disproportionate influence?

THE PUBLIC: CITIZENS

- Importance/Strenghts
 - Public support for certain solutions or government actions.
 - Critical for election and reelection
 - Indirectly affects appointed actors
- Weaknesses
 - Ideological divisions
 - Participation rates

Participation Rates in Elections

Yurtdışı seçmen [değiştir | kaynağı değiştir]

Seçim	Seçmen Sayısı	Kullanılan Oy	Katılım Oranı (%)	Geçerli Oy	Geçerli Oyların Kullanılan Oylara Oranı (%)	Geçerli Oyların Seçmen Sayısına Oranı (%)
1950	8.905.743			8.051.650		89,30
1954	10.262.063	9.095.617	88,63	8.941.660	98,31	87,13
1957	12.078.623	9.250.949	76,58	9.133.412	98,73	75,62
1961	12.925.395	10.522.716	81,41	10.138.035	96,34	78,44
1965	13.679.753	9.748.678	71,26	9.307.563	95,48	68,04
1969	14.788.552	9.516.035	64,34	9.090.709	95,53	61,47
1973	16.798.164	11.223.843	66,81	10.723.658	95,54	63,84
1977	21.207.303	15.358.210	72,41	14.827.262	96,54	69,92
1983	19.767.366	18.238.362	92,26	17.351.510	95,14	87,78
1987	26.376.926	24.603.541	93,28	23.923.687	97,24	90,70
1991	29.979.123	25.157.089	83,91	24.371.474	96,88	81,29
1995	34.155.918	29.101.469	85,20	28.040.392	96,35	82,10
1999	37.495.217	32.656.070	87,09	31.119.242	95,29	83,00
2002	41.291.568	32.652.702	79,08	31.414.748	96,21	76,08
2007	42.571.284	35.828.274	84,16	34.822.907	97,19	81,80
2011	50.237.343	43.785.665	87,16	42.813.896	97,78	85,22
2015	53.741.838	46.451.389	86,43	45.121.773	97,14	83,96

Yurtdışı seçmen [değiştir | kaynağı değiştir]

Aşağıdaki tabloda bilgi eksiklikleri bulunmaktadır.

Seçim	Seçmen Sayısı	Kullanılan Oy	Katılım Oranı (%)	Geçerli Oy	Geçerli Oyların Kullanılan Oylara Oranı (%)	Geçerli Oyların Seçmen Sayısına Oranı (%)
1987				47.942		
1991		46.408		45.192	97,38	
1995		87.677		86.601	98,77	
1999				65.254		
2002		115.459		114.035	98,77	
2007		228.019		226.784	99,46	
2011	2.568.979	129.283	5,03	127.867	98,90	4,98
2015	2.866.979	1.056.078	36,84	1.041.470	98,62	36,33