

# Introduction to Public Policy

Week 8

Policy Design & Formulation

Theodolou & Kofinis, pp. 131-144.

# Policy Design & Formulation: What is it?

- Policies come from somewhere: They need to be created or designed
- Finding the most appropriate course of action to solve a problem
  - Choosing between alternative courses of action
  - Select and adopt the best solution to the problem
- A policy should be **politically adoptable**

# Example: Body Cameras for Security Personnel?

Source: <http://www.rasmussen.edu/degrees/justice-studies/blog/pros-and-cons-of-police-body-cameras/>, 12/03/2017

- Advantages
  - A much clearer picture of what happened in an incident
  - Officers can self-evaluate and improve how they handle situations
  - Reduction in complaints
- Disadvantages
  - Costly for the police departments
  - Privacy concerns
  - Data storage problems
- Adoptable Policy?
  - The American public are in favor of law enforcement adopting body cameras.



# Policy Design & Formulation

- Policy formulation & formal adoption of policies is a complex process
  - **Constant battle does not end** even when the policy is formulated & adopted
- The nature of the problem affects how solutions are formulated & which formulation is finally adopted
- The **best policy is feasible policy**, with a **consensus** behind it
  - Formulation needs support
  - A majority coalition

# How are Policies Formulated?

Example: Forced Abortion Policy used in China to support one child policy

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2012/06/201261534919315890.html>, 12/03/2017.

← → ↻ ⓘ www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2012/06/201261534919315890.html

News ▾ Middle East Documentaries ▾ Shows ▾ Investigations

## China apologises to woman forced to abort

15 Jun 2012  



**CHINA'S ONE-CHILD POLICY WAS INSTITUTED IN 1979 AS METHOD OF POPULATION CONTROL**

China has apologised to a woman who was forced to undergo an abortion seven months into her pregnancy and suspended three officials responsible for the act, state media reported.

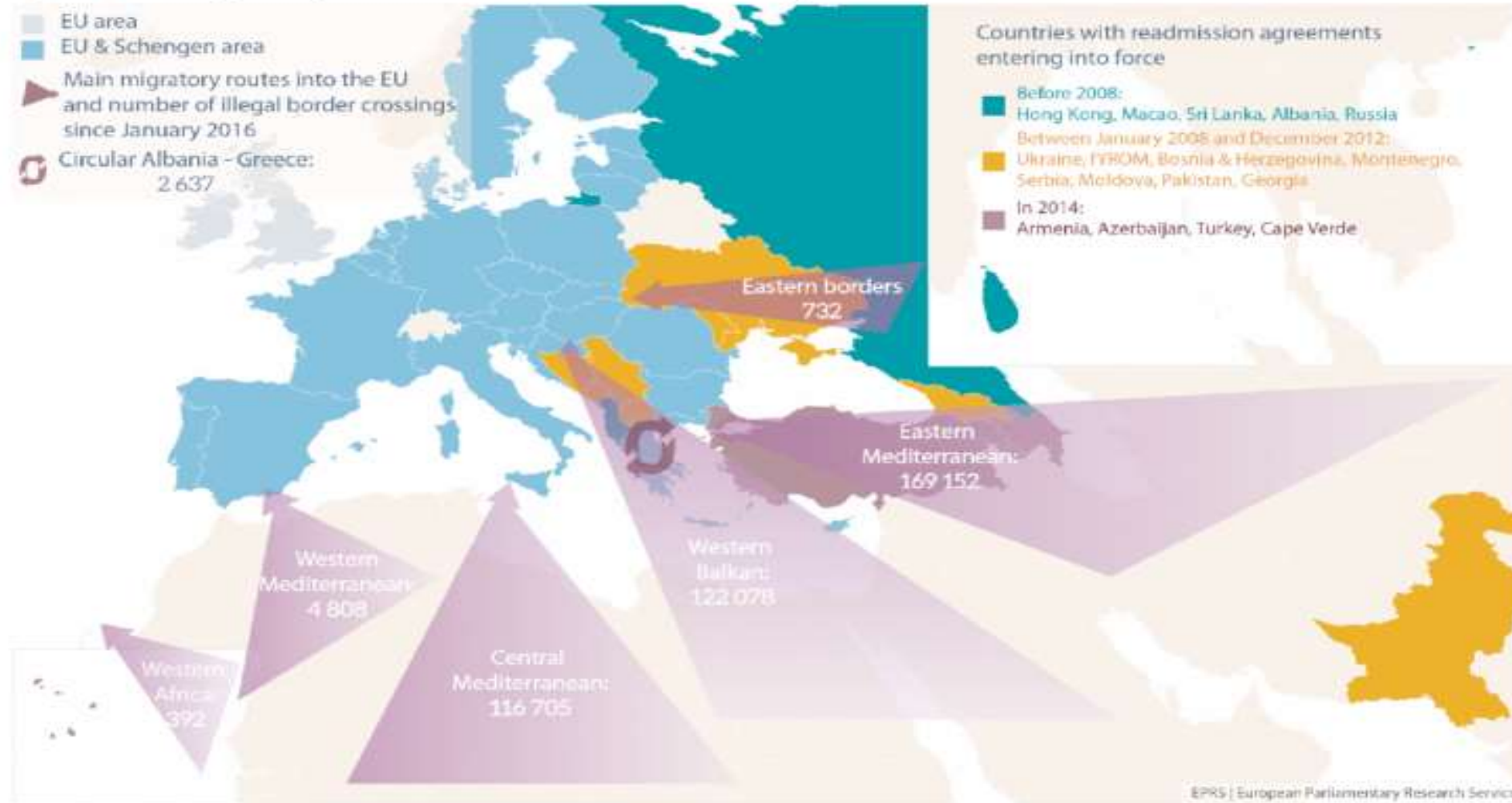
# Policy Design & Formulation: What is it?

- Policy formulation is a political exercise
- The **best policy is sacrificed for adoptable policy**
  - Policies should be acceptable for both adopters & target populations
- Policy formulation is heavily affected by policy makers' need to **win support** for their proposed policies

# Example of Readmission Policy for Migrants

<https://epthinktank.eu/2017/11/17/growing-impact-of-eu-migration-policy-on-development-cooperation/migratory-routes/>, 12/03/2017.

**Figure 2 – Migratory routes and EU readmission agreements in force**

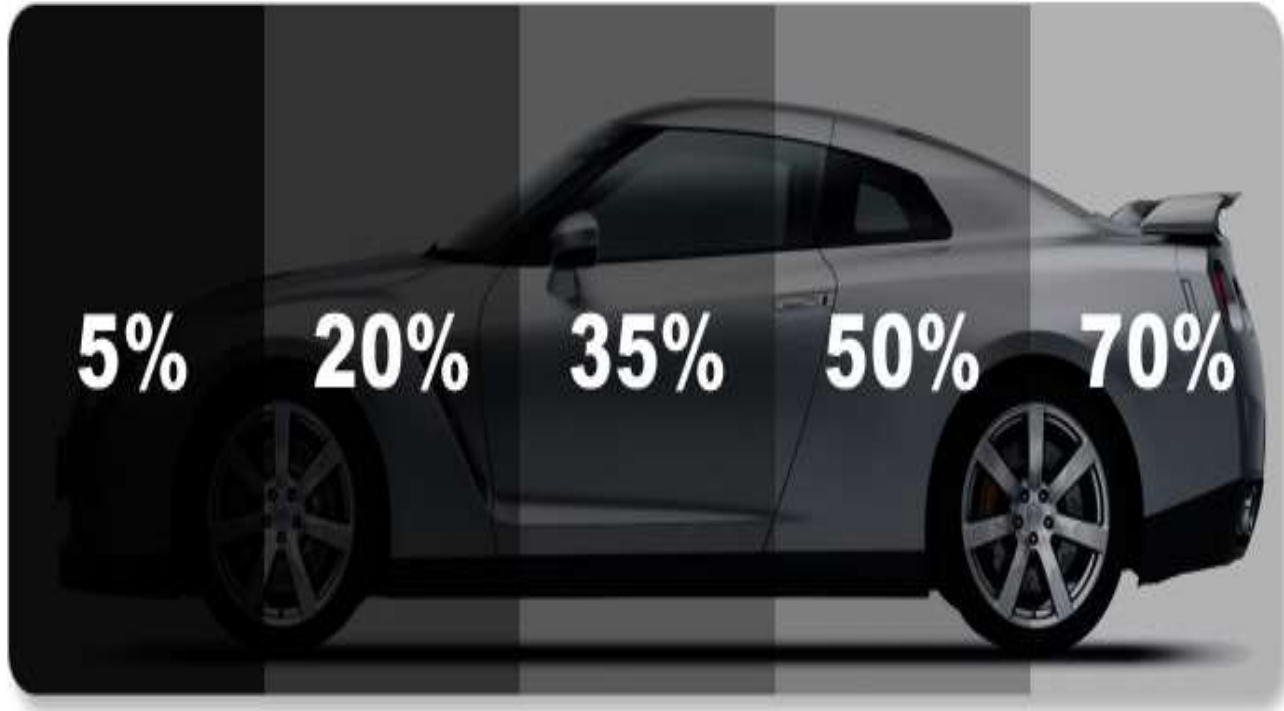


# What is Policy Formulation?

- Once an issue is on systematic or institutional agenda, solutions should be considered.
  - Sometimes formulation can occur before agenda-setting
- In theory:
  - Formulation begins before legislation is enacted
  - Ends when policy is implemented
- In reality
  - **Formulation becomes «reformulation»** during implementation & evaluation



# Formulation & Reformulation Example: Changing rules on car window tilting/filming

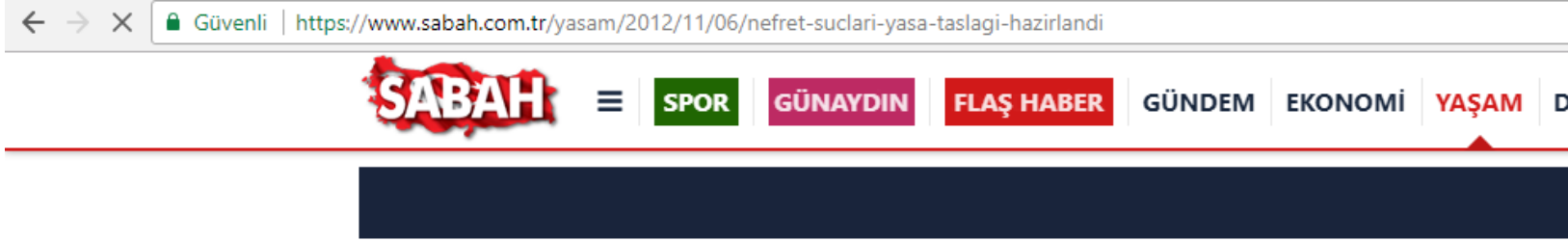


# Nature of formulation

- Includes **bargaining & compromise** among policy actors
  - To maximize political support
- **Competing realities**
  - Example: Does car window tilting provide privacy for car users or is it a threat for national security?
- Multiple actors with different formulations for the same problem
  - Example: Childhood Obesity
    - Ministry of Education: close cafeterias
    - Doctors' Union-more exercise
- Formulation can occur **for a long time** & it **doesn't necessarily result in adoption**

# Example of a Long Formulation Process without Adoption: Hate Speech Law Draft

<https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2012/11/06/nefret-suclari-yasa-taslagi-hazirlandi>, 12/03/2017.



Haberler > Yaşam Haberleri > Nefret Suçları Yasa Taslağı hazırlandı

## Nefret Suçları Yasa Taslağı hazırlandı



RECAİ KÖMÜR | Yaşam Haberleri

Giriş Tarihi: 6.11.2012

Nefret suçlarıyla mücadelede önemli bir dönüm noktası olarak değerlendirilen Nefret Suçları Yasası'nın çıkması yönünde sona yaklaşıyor. 62 örgütün bir araya gelerek oluşturduğu Nefret Suçları Yasa Taslağı son şeklini aldı. Platform adına değerlendirmede bulunan Sosyal Değişim Derneği Sekreteri Levent Şensever, Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Teşkilatı'na bağlı 56 ülke arasında Türkiye'nin nefret suçları konusunda yasal bir düzenlemeye sahip olmayan 8 ülkeden biri olduğunu, yasa taslağının önümüzdeki hafta Adalet Bakanlığı'na sunulacağını, 2013 yılı yasama dönemi içinde de Meclis'ten çıkmasını beklediklerini ifade etti. Nefret suçlarında mağdur ya da mağdurların temel ve değiştirilemez nitelikteki ırk, etnik kimlik, milliyet, din, renk, cinsiyet, cinsel yönelim, cinsiyet kimliği yaş, fiziksel ya da zihinsel engellilik gibi belirli özellikleri nedeniyle işlenen suçun hedefi oldukları vurgulanıyor.

# Solutions or Instruments in Policy Formulation

- Mechanisms by which governments want to change the behaviors of specific target populations
  - Examples (the full list is at pages 134-135)
    - Inducements
      - **Rewards or penalties**, such as, Law on Smoking in Public
      - **Rights & Duties** to Specific Persons or Groups
        - Disabled **Quotas** in Public Agencies' Hiring Process
    - Contracts
      - Contracting out agreements to run hospitals (PPPs)

# Example: Increasing the Number of Disabled Public Employees in Turkey by Using a Quota System (3%)

eyh.aile.gov.tr/haberler/kamuda-5-bin-777-olan-engelli-memur-sayimizi-50-binin-uzerine-cikarttik-ve-2018-yili-icerisinde-de-insallah-5-bin-engelli-memur-alacagiz

Engelli ve Yaşlı Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü

T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı

Bakan Bakanlık Teşkilatı Merkezi Birimler Bakanlık Mevzuat Basın

Ana Sayfa Haberler 24.Kas.2017

"Kamuda 5 bin 777 olan engelli memur sayımızı 50 binin üzerine çıkarttık ve 2018 yılı içerisinde de inşallah 5 bin engelli memur alacağız"

Bakan Kaya, Kırıkkale'de "Engelsiz Kafe"nin açılışını yaptı



Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanı Dr. Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya, "Kamuda 5 bin 777 olan engelli memur sayımızı 50 binin üzerine çıkarttık ve 2018 yılı içerisinde de inşallah 5 bin engelli memur alacağız"dedi.

Engelli Hakları Pekin'de Ele Alındı

"Kamuda 5 Bin 777 Olan Engelli Memur Sayımızı 50 Binin Üzerine Çıkarttık Ve 2018 Yılı İçerisinde De İnşallah 5 Bin Engelli Memur Alacağız"

ÖSYM'den Engelli Adaylara Müjde

Engellilik Alanında Veri Ve İstatistik Toplantısı Ankara'da Gerçekleştiriliyor

"Evde Bakım Uygulaması Kapsamında Yaklaşık 500 Bin Engelli, Yaşlı Vatandaşımızın Yakınına Evde Bakım Aylığı Veriyoruz"

Erişilebilir Üniversiteler Seminerleri Ege Üniversitesi İle Devam Etti

Erişilebilir Üniversiteler Seminerleri'nin Üçüncüsü İstanbul Üniversitesi'nde Gerçekleştirildi

YADES Kapsamında Desteklenen Ödüllü Projeye Ziyaret

Erişilebilir Üniversiteler Seminerleri'nin İkincisi Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi'nde Gerçekleştirildi

Umut Evleri Bilgi Ve Paylaşım Toplantısı Karaman Ermenek'te Gerçekleşti

# How to Choose a Policy Solution/Instrument?

- Factors that policy makers must take into account when choosing a policy solution/instrument:
  1. Political feasibility: Political support
  2. Administrative feasibility
    - Successful implementation & management of the program
  3. Resources necessary for implementation
  4. Reaction of the target population
    - Do they change their behavior?

# Example for the Reaction of the Target Population: Number of Cigarette Smokers in Turkey Decline: From 32% to 27 % from 2008 to 2012

www.hurriyetaailynews.com/no-more-smoking-like-a-turk-with-decline-in-turkeys-tobacco-use-60441

**DAILY NEWS**


Turkey Economy Opinion World Arts & Life Sports Video Photo

Home > Turkey > Local

January 02 2014 00:01:00

## No more 'smoking like a Turk' with decline in Turkey's tobacco use

ISTANBUL - Hurriyet Daily News



A smoking ban in Turkey outlawed smoking in all enclosed public places, including bars, cafes, restaurants, taxis, trains and outdoor stadiums. The ban included premises that serve mainly, or basically, but excluded private residences. DAILY NEWS photo.

Smoking prevalence has significantly declined in Turkey due to government-led regulations and campaigns, as the number of smokers has declined by more than one million in the past four years, the World Health Organization (WHO) said in a recent report on tobacco use across the world.

"In Turkey, the smoking prevalence significantly decreased from 32.2 percent, 16 million, in 2008 to 27.1 percent, 14.8 million, in 2012," WHO said in its report on the global tobacco epidemic in 2013.

# Actors Involved with Policy Formulation

- In the policy formulation process
  - There are large number of actors involved
    - Institutional & non-institutional actors
  - Few rules and maps guiding the process
- Different sets of actors in each issue
  - The President
  - Parliament
  - Bureaucracy
  - Interest Groups
  - Think tanks & policy entrepreneurs
  - Others...



# How Policy is Designed: Social Construction Model

- Social construction: **How society perceives/sees a group; group image**
- How groups are targeted by a certain policy is socially constructed.
  - Social construction of target populations (Schneider & Ingram)
- Connections of **stereotypes** & policy-making
  - Perceptions of deservedness: Which group deserves what & why?

# How Policy is Designed: Social Construction Model

- Benefits & burdens distributed to the groups depend on their perception
  - Positively constructed groups receive benefits
  - Negatively constructed groups receive burdens
- Social Construction & Elections
  - Distributing most benefits to the groups with the most positive image & most political power
  - Giving benefits & burdens to the wrong groups may bring electoral failure

# How Policy is Designed: Constructions of Policy

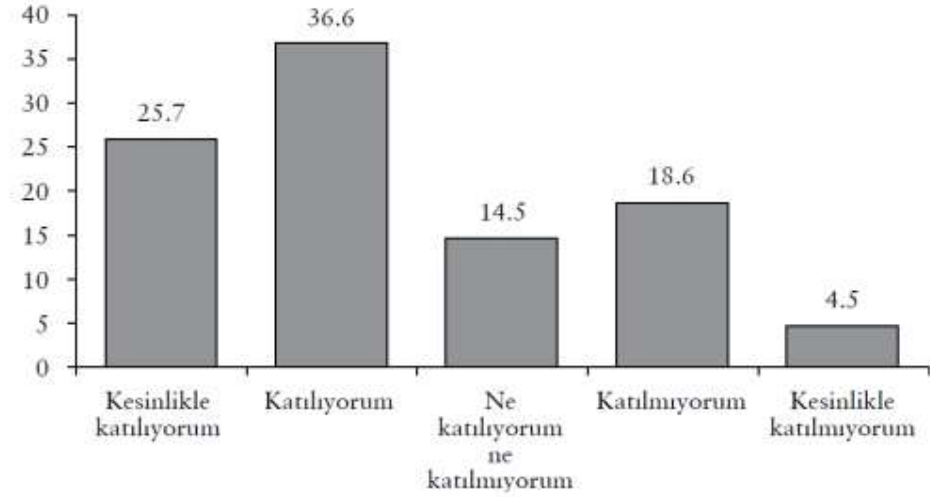
Power	Constructions	
	Positive	Negative
<b>Strong</b>	<b>Advantaged</b>  The Elderly Business Veterans Scientists	<b>Contenders</b>  The Wealthy Unions Minorities Cultural Elites The Moral Majority
<b>Weak</b>	<b>Dependents</b>  Children Mothers	<b>Deviants</b> (punitive policies) Criminals Drug Addicts Communists Gang Members

# Syrian Refugees Problem

<http://www.hugo.hacettepe.edu.tr/HUGO-RAPOR-TurkiyedekiSuriveliler.pdf>, Dec. 1, 2015.

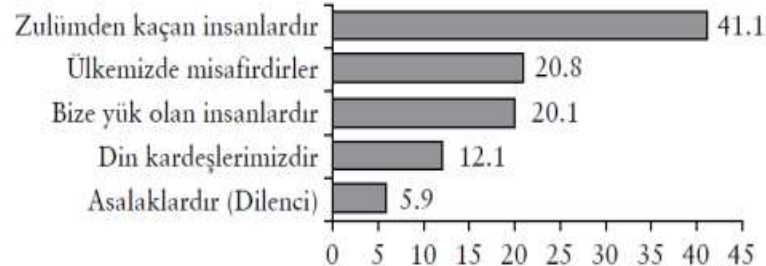


Suriyeli sığınmacılar buldukları yerlerde şiddet, hırsızlık, kaçakçılık ve fuhuş gibi suçlara bulaşarak toplumsal ahlak ve huzuru bozmaktadır.



Suriyeli sığınmacılar buldukları yerlerde şiddet, hırsızlık, kaçakçılık ve fuhuş gibi suçlara bulaşarak toplumsal ahlak ve huzuru bozmaktadır.

"Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere ilişkin kanaatinizi en iyi aşağıdakilerden hangisi ifade eder?"



Bölge

	Bölge İçi (Adana, Gaziantep, Hatay, Mardin, Şanlıurfa)	Bölge Dışı (Diğer iller)
Kesinlikle Katılıyorum	41,8	22,7
Katılıyorum	28,0	38,2
Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum	14,2	14,6
Katılmıyorum	10,5	20,1
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	5,4	4,4
Toplam	100,0	100,0

# Policy Analysis

- Use of **reason & evidence** to find the best solution to public problems
- Policy analysis is **not an exact science**
  - It can not always guarantee a complete solutions to the problems
- Policy **analysts are found in**
  - Legislatures/Parliaments, Think Tanks, Consulting Firms, NGOs & Universities
- Question to ask before analysis: **Who is the client** of this analysis?

# Policy Analysis Steps: Problem Definition

- **Incorrect or poor problem definition** brings **unsuitable solutions**
- Frame the problem in concrete terms & with all its dimensions
  - Example: Problem of **urban regeneration** with its social, economic and political dimensions
- The analyst need to understand how others see the problem
  - All relevant and affected actors/parties need to be identified
  - From most affected to the least affected
  - All influencing factors must be taken into account

# Dimensions of the problem of urban regeneration

@<https://slideplayer.com/slide/8832360/>

## Why Urban Regeneration

- Environmental Improvement,
- Earthquake resilience,
- Local economic development,
- Social Inclusion,
- Best land use



## Problems

- Ownerships,
- Density,
- Planning System,
- Organizational Structure,
- Legal framework,
- Project Finance,



# Policy Analysis Steps: Developing Alternatives

- How to find/generate alternatives?
- Research
  - Solutions to similar problems?
  - Policy transfer
- Surveys of experts
- Experiments
- Brainstorming



# Example: Homeschooling in the US

<https://www.hslda.org/laws/>, Dec. 2, 2015

Navigation Menu: Search, Navigation Menu, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube

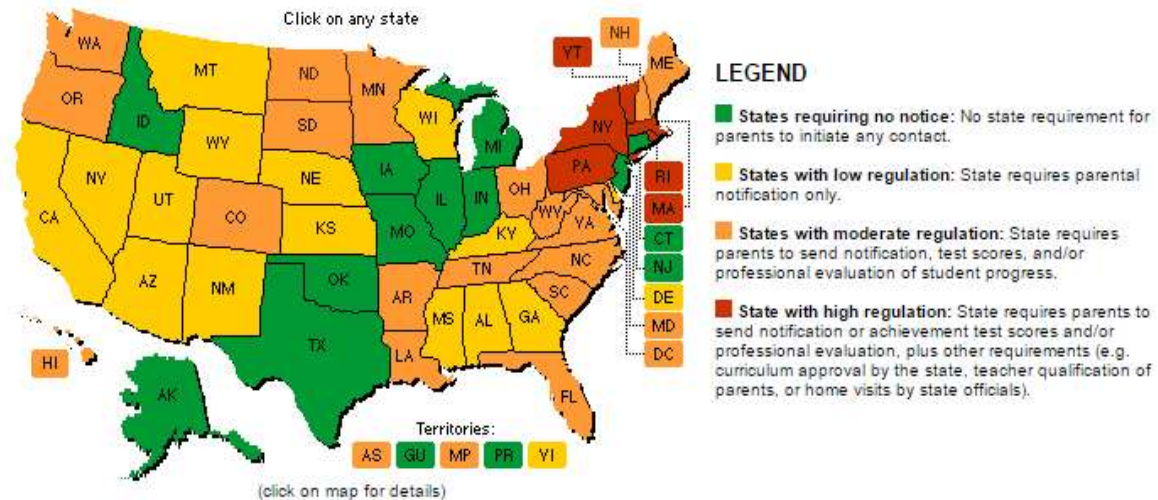
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HSLDA  
advocates for homeschooling since 1983



## State Laws



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# Models of Policy Formulation (B. Guy Peters)

- In order to formulate policy, policy makers must
  - Have detailed & factual information about the problem
  - Understand the causes of the problem

# Factual Information about Domestic Abuse

<http://kadincinayetleri.org/>, Dec. 1, 2015.



# Factual Information & Causation about Traffic Accidents

<http://www.slideshare.net/EMBARQNetwork/transist-trafik-guvenligi>, Dec. 1, 2015.

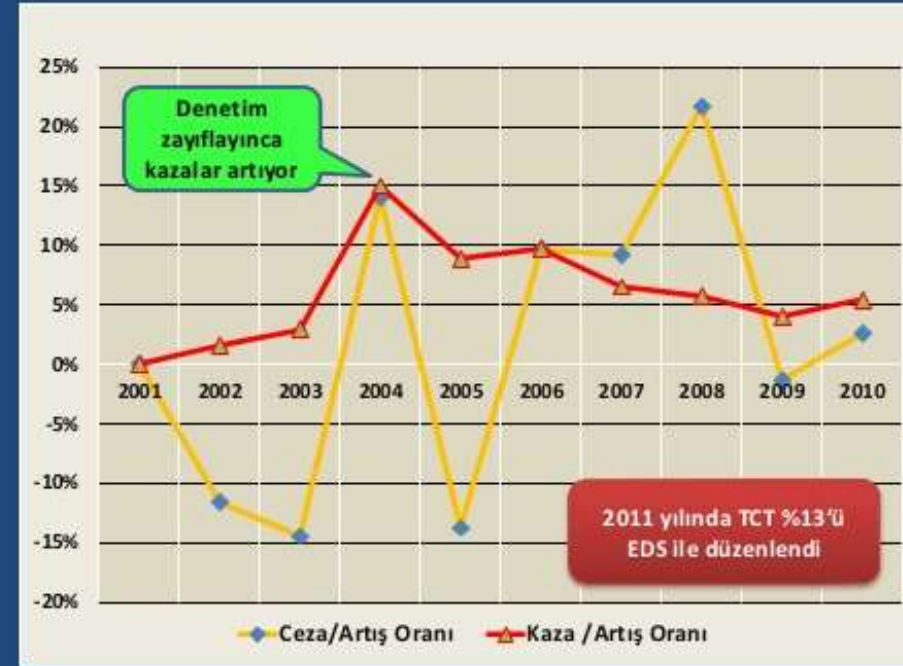


## Son 10 yıldaki ölümlü/yaralanmalı trafik kazası istatistikleri

YILLAR	Ölümlü/ Yaralanmalı Kaza sayısı	Ölen / yaralanan sayısı	Nüfusun etkilenme oranı
2004	77.008	140.864	0,75%
2005	87.273	158.591	0,86%
2006	96.128	173.713	1,00%
2007	106.994	194.064	1,17%
2008	104.212	188.704	1,33%
2009	111.121	205.704	1,45%
2010	116.804	215.541	1,50%
2011	131.845	241.909	1,64%
2012	153.549	271.829	1,71%
2013	161.306	278.514	1,75%
Son 5 yıldaki artış	<b>%45</b>	<b>%35</b>	<b>%36</b>
Son 10 yıldaki artış	<b>%110</b>	<b>%98</b>	<b>%163</b>

Trafik istatistikleri TÜİK ve EGM (2014)

## Denetim artınca kazalar azalıyor!



### Geçen 10 yılda

Araç sayısı **%91**, sürücü sayısı **%59** arttı

Trafik kaza sayısı **%185** arttı

Trafik Polisi sayısı **%18** trafik birimi **%56** arttı

Radar sayısı son iki yılda **%30** azaldı

Uygulanan ceza sayısı sadece **%78** arttı

Fiziki denetim yetersiz kalıyor.

**Kaynak sorunu var.**

# Models of Policy Formulation (B. Guy Peters)

	High Knowledge of Causation	Low Knowledge of Causation
High Information	ROUTINE	CONDITIONAL
Low Information	CRAFTSMEN	CREATIVE

# 1. Routine Policy Formulation

- Requires
  - High levels of knowledge about causation
  - High levels of factual information (High levels of supportive information)
- **Simplest** type of formulation
  - Incremental changes on policy issues that are on the legislative agenda
  - Routine adjustment of existing policies
  - Example: Anti-Smoking Policy/Legislation
- Routine policies can change if the underlying theories of causation change
  - Example: Defense Spending during the Cold War

## 2. Creative Policy Formulation

- Requires
  - Low levels of factual information
  - Low levels of knowledge about causation
- Any formulation proposal is doubtful in their effects
  - Policy makers need to be creative but cautious/careful
    - Formulators are influenced by bureaucratic experts
  - They need to match the needs of the individual and the implementing agency
    - This often means a reversible policy if it is unworkable or needs correction
  - Example: Personal counseling in schools

# 3. Conditional Policy Formulation

- Requires
  - High levels of factual information
  - Low levels of knowledge about causation
- Any formulation proposal is based on the **likely effects** of policy
  - Example: Fatih Project
- Policy makers need to formulate **modifiable policy** upon implementation, and as conditions change
  - Example: Fiscal Policy



## 4. Craftsman (Zanaatkar) Policy Formulation

- Requires
  - High levels of knowledge about causation-Clear understanding
  - Low levels of factual information-Lack of supportive information
- Any formulation relies heavily on the probability of outcome
- Mostly poor formulation and errors are inevitable
  - Example: Use of US military force in N. Korea

# Example: Possibility of War between the US and N. Korea

«American military officials are nearly unanimous in their belief that the military options are complicated, difficult and dangerous.» (NY Times)

1/world/asia/north-korea-trump-military.html

RCM

**The New York Times**

As China Rises, Australia Asks Itself: Can It Rely on America?

11-Year-Old Has Spent Her Life in Jail, a Serial Killer as a Cellmate

China's Top Ideologue Calls for Tight Control of Internet

ASIA PACIFIC

## How U.S. Military Actions Could Play Out in North Korea

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MICHAEL R. GORDON AUG. 11, 2017



President Trump spoke alongside Nikki Haley, the United States ambassador to the United Nations, in Bedminster, N.J., on Friday. AP Photo for The New York Times

### The Trump

The historic mom White House intru

Trump, Defenc Plea, Says F.B.I

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Betsy DeVos A Choice Efforts:

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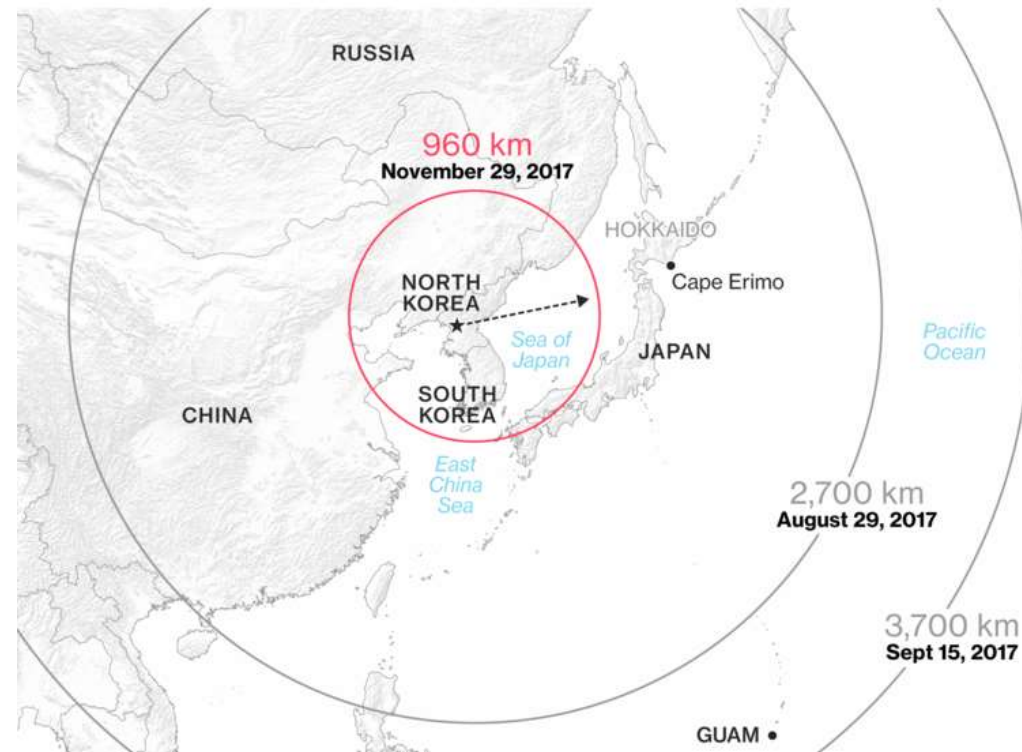
Trump to Keep Recognize Jeru

See More »

WASHINGTON — The intelligence could come to President Trump secretly and urgently: The North Koreans have placed another intercontinental missile on its launching pad. In less than two hours, it could be fueled and ready for launch on a test flight into the Pacific Ocean or perhaps on a mission to strike American territory.

## North Korea's Missile Launch

Analysts say the U.S. east coast may now be in range



Note: Map uses an azimuthal equidistant projection, which best preserves distances from the centre and is not restricted to a hemisphere.

Bloomberg