

KAY 493

# Comparative Public Policy

Week 9

Step 9: Increasing chances of success

Step 10: Looking ahead

Rose, Chapters 10 & 11



# Step 9: Increasing chances of success

Rose, Chapter 10



# Positive and negative learning

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- Lesson-drawing has two faces: **positive and negative learning**
  - Learning ways to make programs better
  - Learning how to avoid measures resulting in failure
- Understanding the reasons why a program has been tried and has failed elsewhere is a form of **preventive policymaking**.
- It can inoculate a government against making an avoidable mistake.



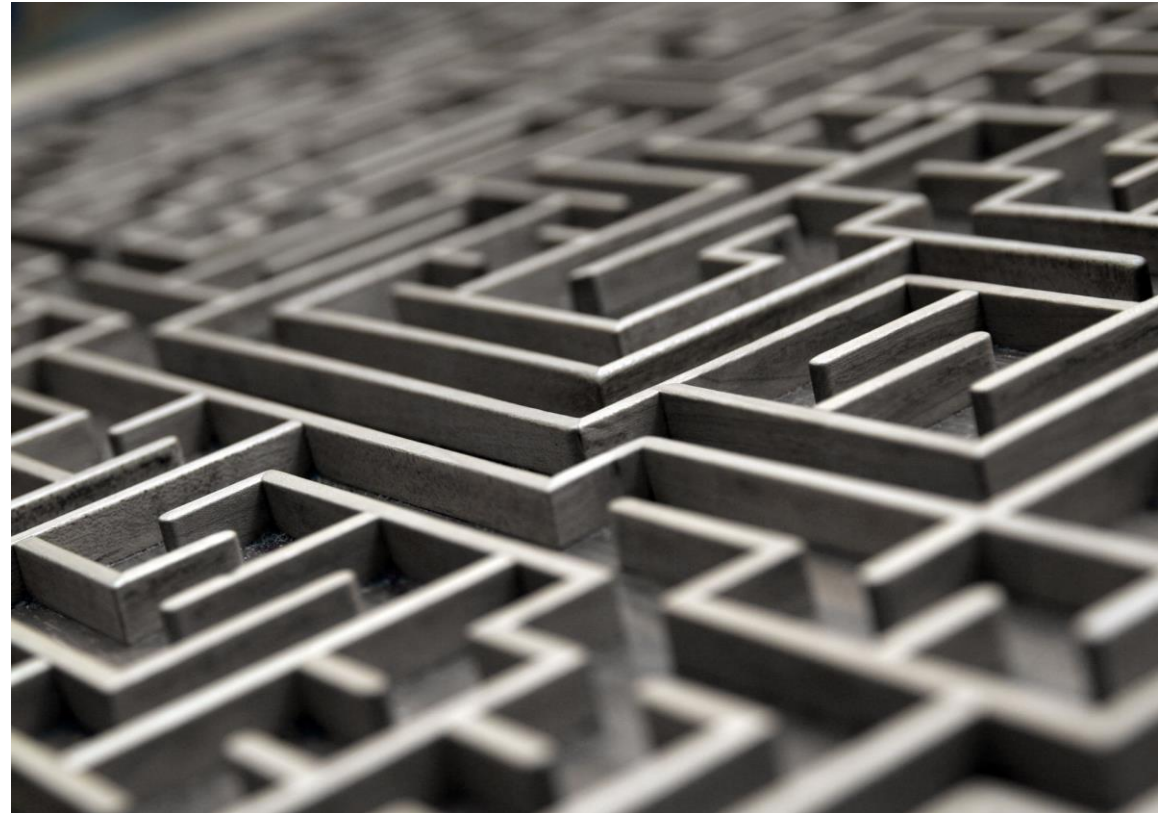
# Importance of ceteris paribus

- Because policymakers are activists, **drawing positive lessons is a bigger priority** than learning what not to do.
- Even though a program works in another country, this is **no guarantee** that it can be applied at home.
- **If all other conditions are not equal**, then a lesson must be adapted in order to increase its chances of success.

# Conditions for successful application of a lesson

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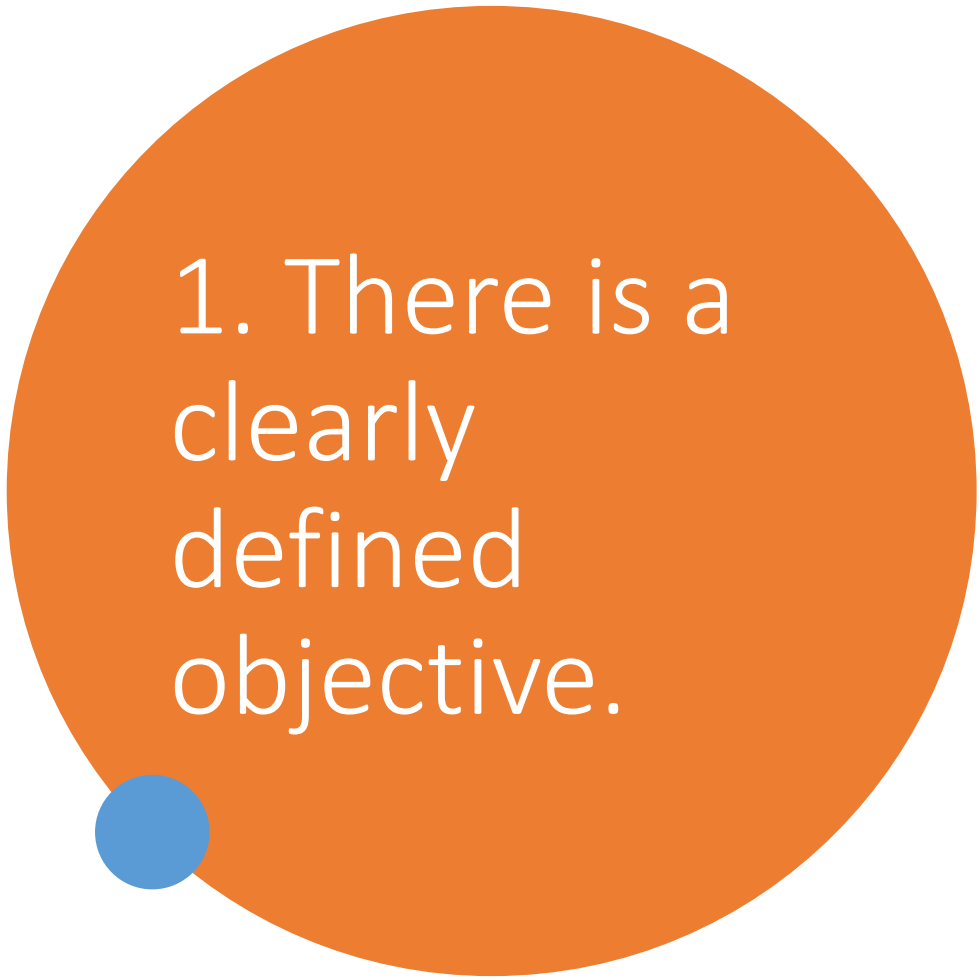
- Under what circumstances and to what extent a lesson can be successfully applied?
- From an instrumentalist perspective, the task is not only to **identify obstacles** to introducing a program, but also to **find ways of overcoming those obstacles.**



# Success in Lesson-Application

## **Box 9.1 Conditions increasing success in applying lessons**

- 1 There is a clearly defined objective.
- 2 There is a single goal.
- 3 The programme has a simple design.
- 4 It is based on tested social, political, and technical knowledge.
- 5 There is flexibility in relating the elements of a programme.
- 6 Political leaders are committed.



1. There is a clearly defined objective.

- A clear definition of the problem is the starting point of drawing a successful lesson.
  - «Do something about crime» versus «stopping credit card crime»
- When campaigning for office, Tony Blair responded to challenges about his program by **promising to do 'what works'**.
  - The answer was part of his strategy to attract the **broadest possible electoral support**.
  - However, a pledge to do what works can mean anything or nothing.



## 2. There is a single goal.

- If a program does not have a single primary goal, then these multiple intentions can lead to it being evaluated as **partly good** and partly **bad**.
- If a government department fails to do what it is particularly charged to do, it risks being **abolished as useless**.
- If it tries to encroach on the responsibilities of other departments, it invites a **turf war that can consume all its political capital**.



## Example

1. Clearly defined objective?

2. A single goal?

← → C resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/03/20120320-16.htm

20 Mart 2012 SALI **Resmî Gazete** Sayı : 28239

**KANUN**

AİLENİN KORUNMASI VE KADINA KARŞI ŞİDDETİN  
ÖNLENMESİNE DAİR KANUN

**Kanun No. 6284** **Kabul Tarihi: 8/3/2012**

BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

Amaç, Kapsam, Temel İlkeler ve Tanımlar

**Amaç, kapsam ve temel ilkeler**

**MADDE 1 – (1)** Bu Kanunun amacı; şiddete uğrayan veya şiddete uğrama tehlikesi bulunan kadınların, çocukların, aile bireylerinin ve tek taraflı ısrarlı takip mağduru olan kişilerin korunması ve bu kişilere yönelik şiddetin önlenmesi amacıyla alınacak tedbirlere ilişkin usul ve esasları düzenlemektir.

### 3. The program has a simple design.

- Policymakers like simplicity, for the simpler a program is, the easier it is to relate a proposal to a desired goal.
- The simplest program has a **direct link between a single cause and a single effect.**



# Example: Limitations during COVID

## A simple design?

		20 altı	20-65 Arası	65 üstü	Rest - cafeler
Haftaiçi	10'dan önce	Yasak	Serbest	Yasak	Kapalı
	10-13	Yasak	Serbest	Serbest	Açık
	13-16	Serbest	Serbest	Yasak	Açık
	16-20	Yasak	Serbest	Yasak	Açık
	20'den sonra	Yasak	Serbest	Yasak	Kapalı
Haftasonu	10'dan önce	Yasak	Yasak	Yasak	Kapalı
	10-13	Yasak	Serbest	Serbest	Açık
	13-16	Serbest	Serbest	Yasak	Açık
	16-20	Yasak	Serbest	Yasak	Açık
	20'den sonra	Yasak	Yasak	Yasak	Kapalı

4. It relies on tested social and technical knowledge.

- Programs require **both social and technical skills**.
- The knowledge needed to conduct surgery, teach mathematics, or fight fires is technical, while organizing these skills in hospitals, schools, and fire departments is social.

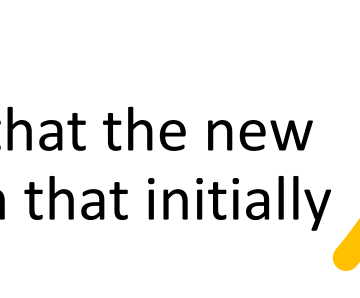




## Risk of innovators

- The first country that adopts an innovatory program is **at risk of learning the hard way about its shortcomings.**
- The risk is reduced for the subsequent countries adopting a program.
- While there remain cross-national obstacles in applying a lesson, they are usually less than the **innovator's risk of going first.**

## 5. There is flexibility in relating the elements of a program

- **Non-applicable lessons** are easy to create: all that is required is a **photocopier and insensitivity to contextual factors**, such as values and resources.
  - Policymakers responsible must make three types of alterations before it can be successfully applied
    - **Subtract** elements that constitute obstacles to adoption
    - **Add** fresh elements to make a proposal politically and operationally viable
    - **Link together all the elements** so that the new lesson will produce the satisfaction that initially made a foreign example attractive.
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# Ways of introducing flexibility when lesson-drawing

## **Box 9.2 Ways of introducing flexibility when lesson-drawing**

### **SUBTRACTION**

Eliminate irrelevant references to foreign institutions and laws.

Discard elements that invite controversy, such as a preamble that invokes non-consensual values.

Remove references to resource requirements that are absent in the adopting country, such as a national identity card.

# Ways of introducing flexibility when lesson-drawing

## ADDITION

Introduce functionally equivalent elements, such as a driver's license or social security number to compensate for the removal of references to a national identity card.

Add national features that make a programme more effective or politically more attractive.

Accept political demands for additions, as long as the cost of doing so is marginal rather than destructive of the programme's purpose.

Invent novel elements when confronted with a challenge for which standard operating procedures offer no solution.



# Ways of introducing flexibility when lesson-drawing

## LINKAGE

For every element removed from a programme, make sure a compensating change is made to avoid the loss of effectiveness.

Make sure that every element added to a programme has a net positive effect or is simply 'window-dressing' without a negative impact.

# Example: Sensitivity to contextual factors

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**SABAH**

**Başkan Erdoğan'dan başıboş köpek sorunu mesajı: Mutlaka çözüme kavuşturacağız!**



**Başkan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Haliç Kongre Merkezi'nde "Dünya İnsan Hakları Günü İnsanlığın Yüzü Programı'na katıldı. Önemli açıklamalar yaptı. Gündeminde sokak köpeklerinin yol açtığı vahşet vardı. Şikayetlerin farkında olduklarını belirten Başkan Erdoğan, "Bu sorunu inşallah inancımıza, kültürümüze ve şefkat medeniyetimizin bize vazettiği ilkeler çerçevesinde mutlaka çözüme kavuşturacağız" ifadesini kullandı.**

Başkan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Haliç Kongre Merkezi'nde "Dünya İnsan Hakları Günü İnsanlığın Yüzü Programı'na katıldı. Önemli açıklamalar yaptı.

## 6. Political leaders are committed.

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- The most carefully designed lesson will be put into effect only if there is political commitment.
- If a lesson is primarily technical, the formal endorsement of elected officeholders is needed to provide legitimacy.





# Manipulating foreign symbols

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- Once politicians are committed to a lesson, **politics takes over from policy analysis.**
- To put a lesson into effect requires shifting from policy design to the **politics of marketing**, which is about **mobilizing support** for or against a program.

# Manipulating foreign symbols

- To market a lesson, proponents must tell a story and use symbols that is appealing and compelling.
- When the object is to market rather than design a program, vague symbols are an asset, for the **great majority of the public is uninterested in the details of programs.**



## No Child Left Behind Act

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“IS OUR CHILDREN LEARNING?”

-PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

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# Step 10: Looking ahead

Rose, Chapter 11



# Looking ahead

- There is one thing that policymakers cannot control: the future.
- Even if policymakers **explain the failure** of a new program as learning from experience, **voters can still punish them** for their mistakes.
- Therefore the primary demand of policymakers is **not** for **after-the-fact (retrospective) evaluation** of what they have done; it is for **prospective evaluation**, that is, a **before-the-fact forecast** about whether a proposed program will succeed or fail.

# Absence of evidence & speculation.

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- Standard forecasting methods cannot be used to make a prospective evaluation of a novel program, **since there is not yet a stream of evidence about its performance.**
- Some politicians welcome this, for the absence of evidence removes all bounds on **speculation.**
- When a new program is based on a lesson from abroad, then speculation is bounded because it is evidence-based.





# Evaluation: Prospective & Retrospective

- An evaluation can focus on **what has happened in the more or less recent past**, or else it can be directed at **what may happen in the future**.
- There is often lots of evidence available to make retrospective judgements.
- By contrast, evidence of the future will only become available well beyond the time horizon of the politicians' attention.

A row of wooden figures, with one red figure standing out among several white ones. The figures are simple, rounded shapes with a spherical head and a conical body. The red figure is positioned in the center of the visible row, while the white figures are on either side. The background is a light, neutral color.

# Evaluation: Prospective & retrospective

- Retrospective evaluation explains **what went wrong after the fact**, that is, when it is **too late for policymakers to do anything**, except admit their mistake or shift the blame to others.
- By contrast, prospective evaluation is an **early warning system** about the risk of failure; or it highlights **steps that can be taken now to produce success in future**.
- If nothing can be done to rectify shortcomings, it is an argument for **not applying a lesson**.

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## Evaluation through the rear-view mirror

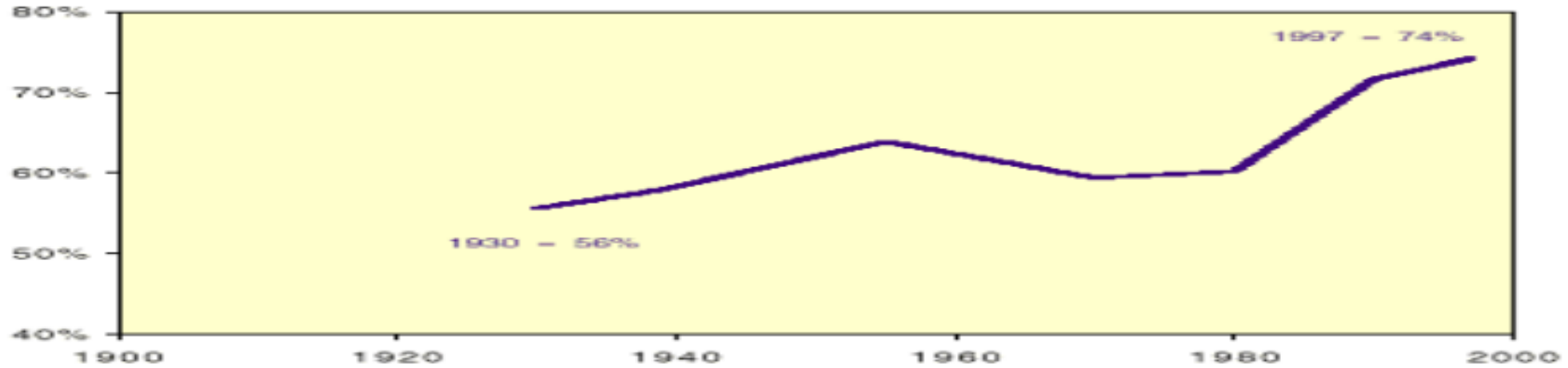
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- Social science evaluation views programs through a rear-view mirror.
- But the time horizon is usually much shorter than a historian's, because of demands that today's programs be evaluated on the basis of statistical evidence.

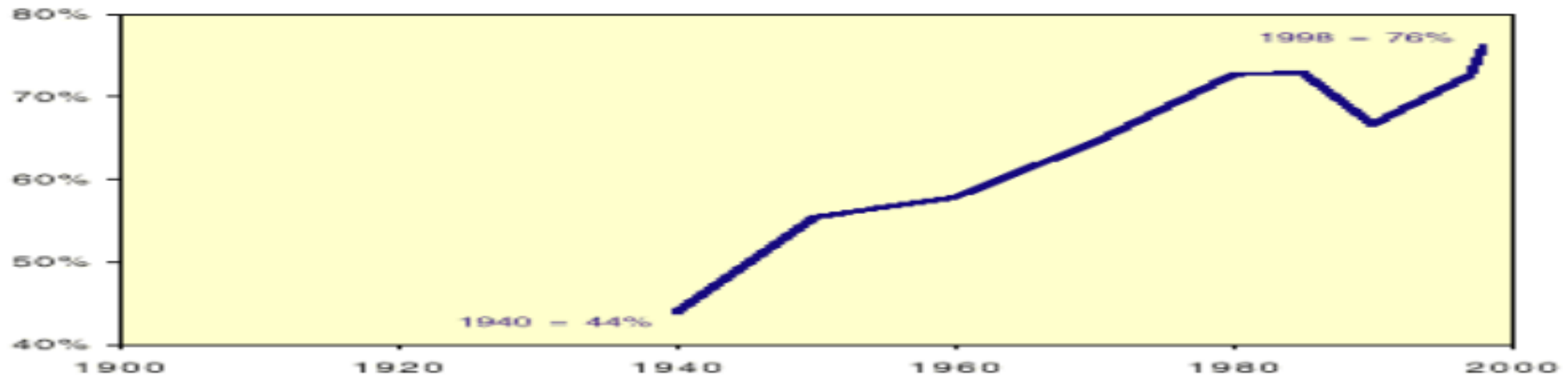


«The First Measured Century: The Other Way of Looking at American History» is a documentary, used numerical tools to examine America.

**Women's Earnings as Percentage of Men's Earnings**  
Year-round, full-time employment



**Black Earnings as Percentage of White Earnings**  
Year-round, full-time employment of men

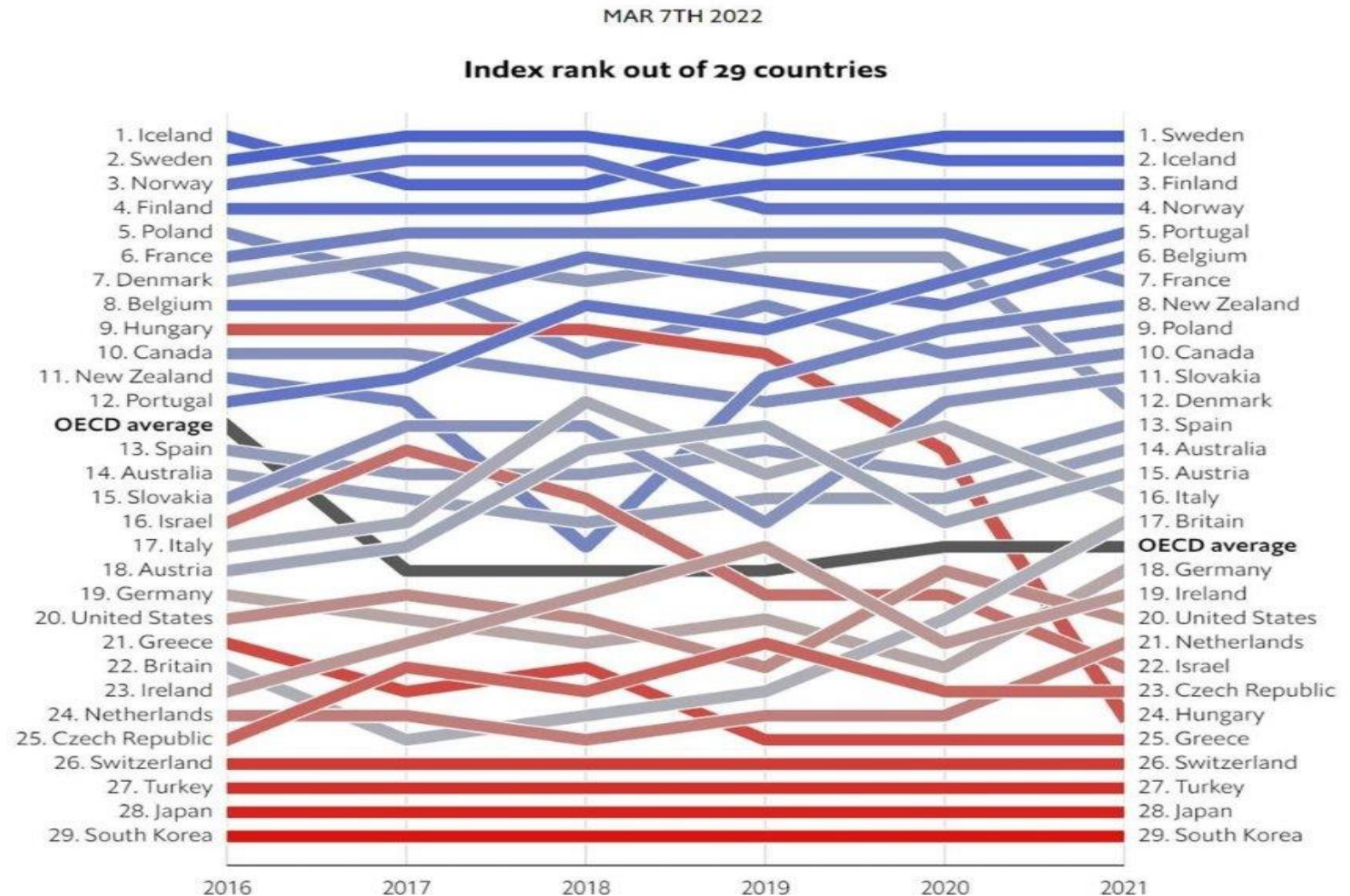


# The Economist's glass-ceiling index

Our annual measure of the role and influence of women in the workforce

## Trend analyses

- A trend analysis can be undertaken when a program has persisted for years.
- This analysis will show whether its performance is steady, improving, or deteriorating.



# Social change changes programs

- When making a prospective evaluation, policy analysts calculate the probable changes that a program will introduce in its **target environment**.
- But the outcome of a program depends not only on how it is designed and implemented, but also on **what is happening within society**.
- Furthermore, the results of **intermestic programs** are affected by what happens in other societies and in the international economy as well as by what is done by a particular government department.
  - For example, if a new youth employment program is launched when a world recession is starting, youth unemployment is bound to rise.

- For politicians, the extent to which satisfaction is due to circumstances outside their control is politically irrelevant.
- The immediately important point is that the success of the new program is increased and politicians can claim fresh credit.

# Political responses to feedback from society

## **Box 10.1 Political responses to feedback from society**

	<i>Society</i>	
	Changes	Static
<i>Programme feedback</i>		
<i>Satisfaction</i>	CLAIM FRESH CREDIT	ROUTINIZE
<i>Dissatisfaction</i>	ADAPT	RECONSTRUCT, ABANDON



# Lesson-importing countries becoming lesson exporters

- A country that was once an importer of lessons from abroad can become an exporter, or vice versa.
- For example, in the past century and a half, Japan has gone through multiple role reversals.
  - In late 1800s and early 1900s, Japanese public officials were sent to Europe to learn how to introduce a modern postal service and create a modern army.
  - In 1970s and 80s, the success of Japanese industry was held up as an example from which Western governments could learn.
  - In the 1990s and 2000s, the Japanese economy began to stagnate, and today people study Japan in order to learn what not to do.

# Importance of timing

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- Timing is critical for adopting a lesson from abroad.
- Whatever the quality of the evidence and reasoning in favor of applying a lesson, nothing will happen as long as citizens are satisfied and governors have no motive to depart from the status quo.
- Advocates of new programs must wait for a conjuncture of events to make change possible.
- People who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. You get out there, you have to be ready to go.

