POLI 359 Public Policy Making

Session 10-Policy Change

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What is Policy Change?

- Policy change refers to adjustments whether minor or major to policies already in place in existing policy fields
- Policy change can be categorized into two groups:
- -Normal policy change
- -Atypical policy change
- The normal change involves relatively minor tinkering with policies and programs already in existing policy regimes
- Atypical change involves shifts in basic sets of policy ideas.



Policy Processes that Inhibit Change

- Agenda denial
- Closed networks
- Negative decisions
- Limited resources
- Non-learning

Policy Processes that Inhibit Change

- Agenda denial results in non-decisions
- Non-decisions culminate in policy stability
- Non-decision results in policy stability because:
- It creates situations in which public policy debates promote the status quo
- This is because alternatives are simply not considered. Examples of such instances include:
- -Failure to deal with issues important to the urban poor
- -Failure to deal with women issues

Policy Processes that Inhibit Change

- Closed networks also result in policy stability because all sub-systems tend to create monopolies.
- In these monopolies the interpretation and general approach to a subject is more or less fixed.
- Existing members prevent new members from entering the network.
- Thus new members do not participate in debates and discussions
- This occur ||heŶ go|'t refuse to appoint prominent critics to advisory boards, there no funding for hearings, etc.

Policy Paradigm

- The term policy paradigm is closely related to the traditional philosophical notions of ideologies, discourses or frames.
- It captures the idea that the established beliefs, values, and attitudes behind understandings of public problems and notions of the feasibility of the proposed solutions are significant determinants of policy content.
- Policy paradigms are only one of a number of distinct idea sets that go into public policy making.
- Others are program ideas, symbolic frames, sentiments.

PoliĐLJ Paradigŵ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Symbolic frames and public sentiments tend to affect perception of the legitimacy or correctness of certain courses of action.
- Policy paradigm in contrast represents a set of cognitive background assumptions that constrain action.
- It does this by limiting the range of alternatives that policy making elites are likely to perceive as useful and worth considering.
- Program ideas are the selection of specific solutions from
- among the set designed as acceptable by a paradigm.

PoliĐLJ Paradigŵ ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Individuals in a policy subsystem hold deep structure of basic values and beliefs.
- These values inhibit anything but marginal changes to program ideas and policy content.
- The deep structure generates a strong inertia to:
- -Prevent the system from generating alternatives outside its boundaries
- -Pull any deviation that do occur back into line
- According this logic, the deep structure must first be dismantled.

PoliĐLJ Paradigŵ; ĐoŶt'd?

- The dismantling leaves the system temporarily disorganized.
- This is necessary for any fundamental change to be accomplished.
- A policy paradigm does informs and holds in place a set
- of ideas held by relevant subsystem members.
- This subsystem is a doctrine or school of thought such a as Keynesianism or monetarism in the case of economic policy.
- These long-term dominant ideas shape policy content.



Policy Style

- Policy style refers to the interaction between:
- -The go|erŶŵeŶt's approaĐh to prod'leŵ sol|iŶg
- -The relationship between government and other actors in the policy process
- The terw polibly stlyle | as DoiŶed | heŶ aĐtors iŶ the policy process tended to take on, over a period of tiwe, a distiŶĐti|e stlyle | hiĐh affeĐts...polibly decisions, i.e. they develop tradition and history which constrains and refines their actions an outcomes (Simmons et al, 1974: 461).

- The first such studies argued that public policy outcomes varied according to the nature of the political system found in each country (Peters et al, 1978).
- Empirical evidence of substantial differences in patterns of outcomes was discovered in empirical test of this hypothesis.
- Nevertheless, it was soon suggested that the concept could be more fruitfully applied not to outcomes but to the policy process that obtained in a country.

- Each country or jurisdiction was said to have its own pattern of policy making.
- This pattern characterized its policy processes and affected the policies resulting from it.
- Several studies developed the concept of a national policy style and applied it to the policy making in various nations.
- However, it was soon found that national generalizations were difficult to make.
- Instead it found the concept more accurately described the realities of meso or sectoral level policy making.

- Richardson et al (1982: 13) who developed the concept of polibLJ stLJle distiŶguished d'et||eeŶ
 āŶtiĐipatorLJ/aĐti|e aŶd reaĐti|e as the t||o geŶeral approaches to problem solving by government
 - They also said the relationship between governmental and non-governmental actors can be divided into two:
 - -Consensus
 - -Imposition
 - According to this model for example, the German policy
 - style is anticipatory and based on consensus.

- While the British style was reactive, though also based on consensus
- The French policy style on the other hand, was anticipatory, but effected through imposition rather than consensus
- In contrast, the Dutch policy style was said to be both reactive and impositional
- Similarly, the Ghanaian policy style would be both reactive and impositional
- Some work on policy style still focuses at the national level.

- For example, Knill (1999) considers the existence of ŶatioŶal adŵiŶistrati|e stLJles. He suggests these are of critical importance in:
- -Understanding the development and reform of systems of public administration.
- -The role these systems play in the public policy process
- While useful, however, other scholars found that:
- -Few governments were consistently active or reactive.
- -They also found that government do not always work through either consensus or imposition.

 TheLJ didŶ't thiŶk of poliĐLJ stLJles as edžistiŶg at the

national level.

- Rather they argued that a focus on the sectoral level would be more accurate and more productive.
- Yet describing the policy styles at the sectoral level is more difficult since policy sectors are far more numerous.
- One way to conceptualize such sectoral styles is to draw on the insights into the work of each stage of the policy cycle.

- The stages model allows for the identification of a small number of variables responsible for typical processes found at each stage of the cycle
- Combining the styles found at each stage thus generates a useful description of the overall policy style found in a sector
- At the agenda setting stage two critical factors are:
- -The level and extent of public participation in an issue
- -The response and pre-response of the state in directing, mediating and accommodating this activity.

- The resulting agenda setting styles were outside initiation, mobilization, inside initiation, and consolidation
- Policy formulation styles are also significantly affected by the kinds of actors interacting to develop and refine policy options for government
- At the agenda setting stage the public is often actively involved
- At the policy formulation stage, however, participants are

restricted to:

-Those who have an opinion on a subject



- Those who have some minimal level of expertise in it
- In this view, the likely results of policy formulation are contingent on:
- -The nature and configuration of the interest networks
- -The discourse coalitions that comprise a sectoral policy subsystem:
- Together these two factors affect the willingness and ability to propose and accommodate new policy ideas and actors

The four policy formulation styles identified by Howlett and Ramesh (2003) are:

- Policy tinkering, in which closed subsystems would consider only options involving instrument components
- Policy experimentation, in which resistant subsystems would also consider changes in instrument types
- Program reform, in which contested subsystems would also review changes in program specifications
- •Policy renewal, in which open subsystems would also consider options involving changes in policy goals

- The decision making stage too is characterized by four different styles
- These different styles are influenced by:
- -The nature of the actors present at this stage
- -The nature of the time, information, and resource constraints under which actors operate
- -The complexity of the policy subsystem involved in and affected by the decision
- -The severity of the constraints under which decision makers are operating

- The four decision making styles identified by Howlett and Ramesh (2003) are:
- -Incremental
- -Optimizing adjustment
- -Satisfycing
- -Rational searches

- At the implementation a combination of instruments are used to put policy into effect.
- Some scholars argue that many nations and sectors combined various kinds of instruments into more or less coherent implementation styles (Hawkins and Thomas, 1989; Kagan and Axelrad, 1997).
- These and other studies emphasized the degree to which choices of instruments were affected by:
- -The nature of the policy targets
- -The resourĐes go|'ts Đould de|ote to implementation

- Four basic implementation styles have been identified by Howlett and Ramesh (2003):
- -Institutionalized voluntarism
- -Representative legislation
- -Directed subsidization
- -Public provision with oversight

- The evaluation stage suggests that what is significant is:
- Not so much the ultimate success of policy outcomes
- Not so much the ultimate failure of policy outcomes
- But rather whether or not policy actors and the organizations and institutions they represent can:
- -Learn from the formal evaluation of policies in which they are engaged
- -Learn from the informal evaluation of policies in which they are engaged.



- Factors affecting the propensity to learn are:
- -The absorptive capacity of government
- -The kind of boundary-spinning links that exist between governments and their publics
- The basic evaluation styles identified by Howlett and

Ramesh (2003) are:

- -Social learning
- -Limited learning
- -Poor learning
- -Non-learning



- At each stage a large number of potential policy styles can:
- -Result from the combination of the possible styles found at each stage
- The type of style that emerges is affected by:
- -The nature of the policy subsystem
- -Various aspects of the capacity of the administrative system involved
- Whatever styles exist is likely to be relatively longlasting

- Thus, the concept of a sectoral policy style is useful in:
- -Helping to describe typical policy processes.
- -Capturing an important aspect of policy dynamics
- These dynamics are the relatively enduring nature of these arrangements.

Policy Regime

- The combination of policy paradigms with policy styles into a single construct is referred to as a policy regime.
- The policy regime is different from, and should not be confused with:
- -Political regime
- -International regime
- -Implementation regime
- -Regime of accumulation
- The idea of a policy regime helps to capture the more or less permanent nature of both policy process and content.

PoliĐLJ Regiwe;ĐoŶt'd?

- The term policy regime attempts to capture how:
- -Policy instruments
- -Policy actors
- -Policy ideas
- Tend to congeal into relatively long-term, institutionalized patterns of policy interaction.
- These patterns and interaction combine to keep policy contents and processes more or less constant in each sector.

PoliĐLJ Regiwe ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Specific institutional arrangements are adopted by societies in the pursuit of work and welfare.
- A given organization of state-economy relations is associated with a particular social policy logic (Rein et al, 1987).
- Some scholars argued that such regimes were linked to:
- -Larger national patterns of state-economic relations
- -The organization of state and market-based institutions.

PoliĐLJ Regiwe ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Harris and Milkis (1989: 25) defined a policy regime as a constellation of:
- -Ideas justifying government activity
- -Institutions that structure policy making
- -A set of policies
- Similarly, Eisner (1994) defined a regime as a:

 Historically specific configuration of policies and institutions which establishes certain broad goals that transcend the problems specific to particular sectors
- Regimes could be found in different policy sectors

PoliĐLJ Regiŵe ;ĐoŶt'd?

The sectoral regimes include:

- Labour market regime
- Pension regime
- Distribution regime
- Employment regime
- A policy regime can be thought of as combining:
- A common set of policy ideas (a policy paradigm)
- A common or typical policy process (a policy style)
- Thus, it is a useful term for describing long term patterns

PoliĐLJ Regiwe ;ĐoŶt'd?

- These long term patterns are found in both the substance and process of public policy making in a particular sector
- The general idea is that sectoral policy making tends to develop in such a way that the same:
 - Actors
 - Institutions
 - Instruments
 - Governing ideas
- Tend to dominate sectoral policy making for extended periods of time

PoliĐLJ Regiwe ;ĐoŶt'd?

- This arrangement infuses a policy sector with:
 - A consistent content
 - A set of typical policy processes or procedures
- Understanding how:
 - styles, paradigms and regimes form
 - they are maintained
 - they change
- Therefore is an important aspect of the study of public policy.



Policy Feedback

- Policy feedback refers to information stakeholders of the policy making process return to the policy environment regarding how policy has behaved on the ground.
- New policies create new policies (Schattschneider, 1935).
- That is, the events and occurrences in a policy making process tend to feedback into the policy making environment.
- This alters important aspects of that environment.
- The aspects of the environment it alters include:
- Institutional rules and operations

PoliĐLJ FeedďaĐk ;ĐoŶt'd?

- The distribution of wealth and power in society
- The nature of the ideas and interests relevant to policies and programs
- This feedback process can easily affect:
- The distribution and interpretation of policy problems
- Assessments of the feasibility of potential solutions
- Judgment of the nature of, and responses from, target groups
- These factors together alter the conditions under which policies are developed and implemented.

PoliĐLJ FeedďaĐk ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Policies can create new spoils for policy actors to argue over
- They can also result in the mobilization or countermobilization of actors who feel they have not benefited from an existing policy or program
- Hence, it is not unusual at all, in fact it is very typical, for policy making to reiterate the policy process
- It reiterates the process based on the outcomes of the evaluation stage
- Subsequent rounds of policy making build on earlier ones.

PoliĐLJ FeedďaĐk ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Although dramatic shifts may occur but a more typical pattern is for only fairly minor aspects of earlier policies to be altered.
- This is because the general overall configuration of the major elements of the policy process will not have been altered.
- These elements that will not have changed include subsystem membership and state capacity.
- Typical feedback processes from evaluation underscore and explain the path dependent nature of policy making.

Policy Termination

- Policy termination means ending a policy or program.
- Policy termination envisions a complete cessation of the policy cycle at a very near point in the future
- Thus, policy termination is different from other policy changes like minor adjustment to existing policies or simply maintaining the status quo.
- Decision makers are usually reluctant to adopt the termination option.
- This is because of the inherent difficulties of arriving at an
- agreement on what constitutes policy success or failure.

PoliĐLJ TerŵiŶatioŶ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Other reasons why policy termination is a rare option are:
 - Existing policies and programs would have established beneficiaries
 - The programs would have become so institutionalized and hence so expensive to end
- Their cessation would be costly in legal, bureaucratic and political terms
- The literature emphasizes the need to develop political coalitions and circumstances allowing these costs to be overcome.

PoliĐLJ TerŵiŶatioŶ;ĐoŶt'd?

- These all underscore the extent to which termination represents, in effect, an effort to overcome:
 - Path dependencies in the policy making process
 - Policy legacies in the policy making process
- Achieving policy termination is very difficult.
- It requires an ideological shift in government and society
- Such shifts allow for uniform judgments of success or failure required for uncontested termination to be made.
- A successful termination in the short run does not guarantee a similar long term result. Slide 42

PoliĐLJ TerŵiŶatioŶ;ĐoŶt'd?

- Thus, if a perception of a problem persists, a termination will feedback into:
 - A reconceptualization of problems
 - A reconceptualization of policy alternatives
- If no other suitable alternative emerges in this

deliberation this can result in:

- The reversal of a termination
- The reinstatement of a terminated policy or