

**An Exploration into the Role of Organizations as Policy Entrepreneurs: the Case of the
UNFCCC Secretariat on the Road to the Kyoto Protocol**

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❖ Introduction

Agenda setting is one of the most important phases of the policymaking process, because it essentially determines which policy issues advance through the “agenda universe” to reach the government’s “decision agenda” (Birkland, 2006), and which issues do not. During that process, many actors are involved and powerful dynamics take place. According to Kingdon’s Model of Policy Streams, “policy entrepreneurs” are key figures active in the policy community, who take advantage of fleeting moments of open “policy windows” to advocate for a certain position. They invest their time, energy and resources, and they have no single formal or informal position in the political system. Their characteristics include having technical expertise, political connections and influence, and the ability to broker deals that lead to new policies or programs. Their role has been highlighted by Kingdon (1995) as central to moving issues up on the agenda. However, Kingdon has identified “policy entrepreneurs” in his work as individual actors; citing examples of cabinet secretaries, senators, economists, and others. Additionally, in so far, policy entrepreneurs are most often identified by researchers in the literature as individuals (Weissert, 1991), where scholars have predominantly focused on the micro level of analysis (individual) as opposed to the meso (organization) and macro (State) levels. The increasing role organizations are playing is thus often overlooked, despite their likelihood of impacting policymaking at both the domestic and global levels. According to Stone (2001), think tanks aid the cross-national policy transfer of ideas and policies by targeting legislatures and politicians as their primary audience. They also play mediation and brokerage roles. Therefore, this paper aims to contribute to the literature on “policy entrepreneurship” in two ways:

- systematically reviewing previous studies and creating a conceptual framework for the study of policy entrepreneurship; and

- applying the framework to explore the role that the Secretariat of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change has played in advancing the Kyoto Protocol on member states' domestic agendas leading to its ultimate adoption.

❖ **Research Significance and Contribution**

Conducting this research is important in several ways. First, it puts Kingdon's model that has become "the standard in policy studies", according to Howlett (1998), to further empirical testing. The continuous testing of a model or theory is imperative, due to the speed with which both the environment and the policy studies field are evolving. The more complex an environment becomes, the more it needs re-visiting to mine the new forces that have emerged and that might influence the policy process in the future. Therefore, there is continuous need to refine aspects of the initial model and to conduct further research to be able to better understand the phenomenon involved. Second, this further testing not only helps in refining Kingdon's initial model, but it also contributes to the literature on both organizational behavior and policy entrepreneurship. The rising influence of organizations and their greater significance makes it all the more important to examine the role they play in the agenda setting stage. Finally, this research can help pave the way for further studies of the role of think tanks, lobby groups, public relations firms, and others in acting as "policy entrepreneurs", especially in the United States context where such actors play a significant role in influencing the agenda setting process. This can help make up for the limited use - to date - of the concept of "policy entrepreneurship", according to Mintrom and Norman (2009).

This specific case was selected for its instrumental nature, where the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol was seen as an innovative policy change; quoted by some as an "unprecedented

experiment” and “initial step forward” on the long road to reducing the threats caused by global climate change (Aldy and Stavins, 2007).

❖ Main Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- Did the UNFCCC Secretariat play the role of a policy entrepreneur in advancing the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol by member States? If so, how?

❖ Literature Review

▪ The Agenda Setting Process

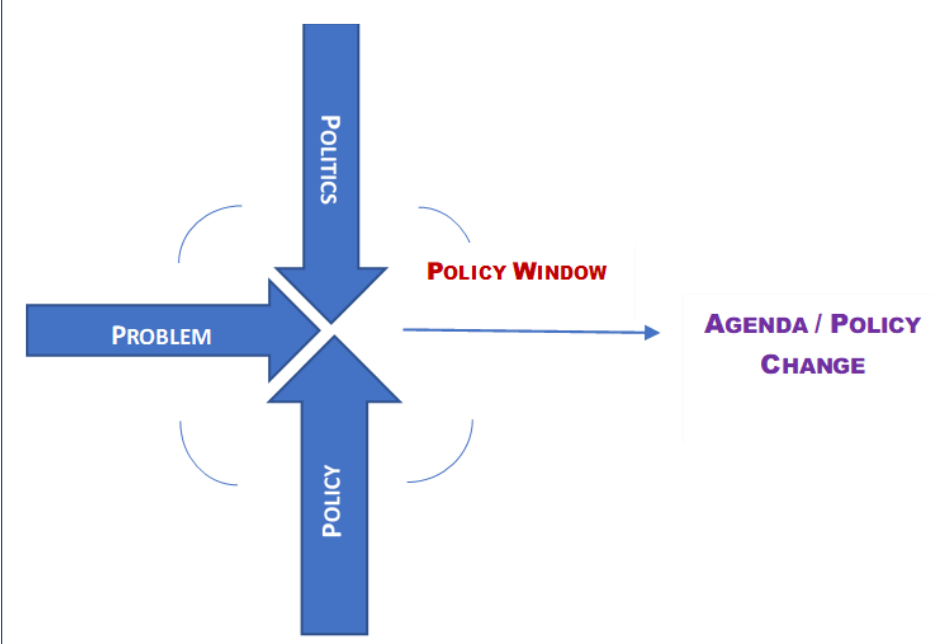
While the term “agenda” has many uses, in the policy field it generally refers to the list of issues or problems that government officials, NGOs, the public, and other parties, are paying close attention to at any given time (Birkland, 2006; Kingdon, 1995). According to Birkland (2006), an agenda may be a concrete list of bills to be proposed to the legislature, or a series of beliefs shared about the main problems or issues at hand. Since there is a limit to the set of issues and problems that can gain public and elite attention at the same moment in time, the “agenda setting process” narrows down this set to one that becomes the focus of attention (Kingdon, 1995). During this process, groups compete fiercely to impose their issues on the government agenda, and to keep other issues off of it (Birkland, 2006).

▪ Kingdon’s Model of Policy Streams (1984)

In his model, Kingdon (1995) has argued that certain issues gain agenda status, to be considered for alternative solutions, when three streams meet: *the policy stream*, which includes solutions and proposals; *the political stream*; which involves issues such as national mood, election results, pressure group campaigns, and others; and *the problem stream*, which comprises

characteristics of the problem itself (Birkland, 2004). During an open “policy window”, which acts much like a window of opportunity, the streams may meet signaling the possibility of policy change (Birkland, 2004). A policy window may open as a result of a change in either of the streams. However, policy windows do not stay open for long. As Kingdon (1995) argues, the fleeting moment of opportunity may pass if it is not taken advantage of. Therefore, “policy entrepreneurs”, which is a term first mentioned by David E. Price in 1971, play an important role in taking advantage of this critical fleeting moment.¹

Figure 1: Kingdon’s Model of Policy Streams



- Kingdon’s Policy Entrepreneurs

Policy entrepreneurs play an important part in placing issues onto the government’s formal agenda by taking advantage of open policy windows (Howlett, 1998; Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 1995). They play this key role by linking or ‘coupling’ policy solutions to problems; taking advantage of political opportunities; and overcoming constraints by redrafting proposals (Howlett et al., 1995; Kingdon, 1995).

¹ A search through the database JSTOR reveals that Price first introduced this term in 1971.

According to Kingdon, policy entrepreneurs can exist in any location in the political system; whether in formal or informal positions (Howlett, 1998). They may be academics, lobbyists, lawyers, bureaucrats, or others. Some of the examples cited by Kingdon (1995) include Paul Ellwood, who was a pediatric neurologist and brought about significant changes to the health care system in the United States; Ralph Nader; who began his career as a consumer advocate; and others. According to Kingdon (1995), entrepreneurs invest their resources, whether energy, money, reputation or time, in the promotion and advocacy for their proposed policies. They lie in wait for a policy window to open and soften up policy communities to their new ideas and proposals. Additionally, a policy entrepreneur, as depicted by Kingdon (1995), is known for his/her political connections and has a claim to a hearing, because of his/her expertise, authoritative decision-making position, and/or ability to speak for others. He/she is driven by simple pleasure to participate in “the game”; genuine concern about the problem; and/or has expectation of future gain (Kingdon, 1995).

❖ **The Policy Entrepreneurship Framework**

The following conceptual framework was developed based on Kingdon’s seminal work (1995) and a systematic review of the literature that has been written on the topic of policy entrepreneurship over the span of 29 years (1971 – 1999), since its first mention in 1971. The review was conducted to develop a more comprehensive and rigorous understanding of who policy entrepreneurs are; how they behave; and what kind of incentives drive their actions. The systematic review relied on JSTOR’s online search tool, because it provides access to 2,000 academic journals in the diverse social sciences and humanities field; thus, allowing for a wider span of search beyond public policy journals only. Items were retrieved based on a single keyword search (“policy entrepreneur”); written in quotations; anywhere in the title, text or

abstract; and/or in any language and format. This search produced an initial total of 126 journal articles. Subsequently, two rounds of refining took place: the first round excluded irrelevant items, such as meeting programs, un-downloadable items, and others, while the second round excluded items which had irrelevant content to the topic of the study; i.e. contained mere keyword mention, but no substantial content. Hence, 58 journal articles were finally analyzed using NVivo. Among the 58 articles, 4 articles were empirical, while the rest were theoretical (see appendix for full listing).

Following, the Qualitative Analysis Software “NVivo” was used in the content analysis of the selected articles. Deductive closed-coding was done using three broad categories: qualities, activities, and incentives, followed by inductive open-coding. Qualities were operationally defined as ‘characteristics attributed to the entrepreneur’; whereas activities were operationalized as ‘actions undertaken by the entrepreneur’; and incentives as the ‘motivations underlying the entrepreneur’s role’.

- Qualities:

According to the analysis of the extant literature, policy entrepreneurs are described as: (1) *leaders*, who do not only ‘exhibit’ leadership, but are also ‘perceived by others’ as leaders and experts in the field (e.g. Beam, Conlan, & Wrightson, 1990; Nelson, 1987; Owens, 1985; Sandholtz & Zysman, 1989; Shibuya, 1996); (2) *political strategists*, who have a clear plan on how to achieve their policy objectives (e.g. Johnson & Kraft, 1990); (3) *communicators*, who understand well the value of propaganda and publicity; master the art of drawing the media’s attention; know how to take advantage of their privileged positions to make news headlines; are passionate spokespeople, who articulate well what they want to say; and are tireless campaigners

(e.g. King & Roberts, 1992; Owens, 1985); (4) *champions of policy ideas*, who are able to stimulate others to take interest in their ideas, and who are central in moving issues on the agenda (e.g. Kingdon, 1995; Mintrom, 1997a; Roberts & King, 1991; Skok, 1995); (5) *negotiators* (e.g. Kingdon, 1995; Pollack, 1997; Williams-Crowe & Aultman, 1994); (6) *advocates of change*, who believe in an idea, and are committed to the continued search for policy gaps, innovative ideas and opportunities in support of it (e.g. DeGregorio, 1988; Price, 1971b); and as (7) *diligent and persistent* in the pursuit of their policy proposals (e.g. Holbrook & Percy, 1992; Loomis, 1984; Tanner, 1995).

- Activities:

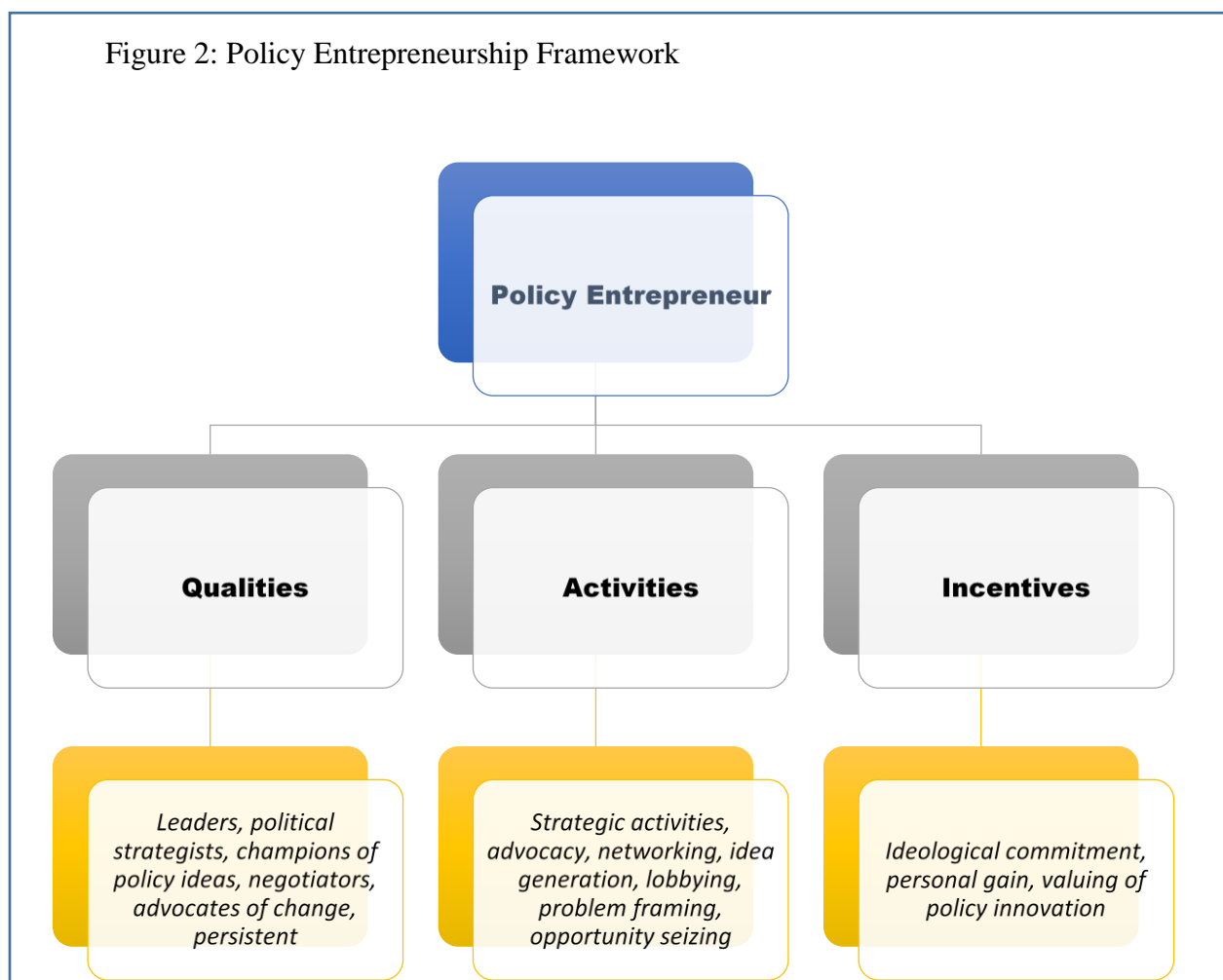
The main activities associated with policy entrepreneurs include *strategic activities*, *advocacy*, *networking*, *idea generation*, *lobbying*, *problem framing* and *opportunity seizing*. With regards to (1) *strategic activities*, they include developing operational roadmaps, and long and short term goals (e.g. Doig, 1983; Roberts & King, 1991); whereas (2) *advocacy activities* include (a) educating the general and specialized public; (b) crafting arguments for the different audiences; (c) promoting for the issue and keeping it alive in the media; (d) mobilizing popular concern by appealing to widely shared values and painting opponents as selfish; (e) using various dissemination mechanisms (reports, position papers, books, newspaper columns, newsletters, radio and TV discussions...etc); (f) capitalizing on strong media connections; (g) softening up the policy community and building acceptance for the proposal; (h) and prompting public feedback about government performance in the form of letters, complaints, official visits, and/or others (e.g. Garrett, 1998; Kingdon John, 1995; Lutabingwa, Gray, & Skinner, 1997; Mazzoni, 1986; Sharp, 1994; Shavero, 1990). Thirdly, *networking activities* involve (a) cultivating bureaucratic insiders, high profile/elite groups, elected officials, and others, by keeping in touch

with them and keeping them informed; and (b) neutralizing existing and potential opponents (e.g. Doig, 1983; Roberts & King, 1991). Fourthly, *idea generation* activities encompass (a) trading ideas, either by inventing new ones or brokering others' ideas; (b) scanning the environment in search of models and projects that could be transposed; (c) staying tuned to the local policy conversation; (d) developing proposals in advance of policy windows; and (e) redrafting proposals to overcome constraints (e.g. Mintrom, 1997a; Roberts & King, 1991). Fifthly, *lobbying activities* involve (a) mobilizing supporters; (b) influencing the circle of advisers around the president; and (c) selling the idea to the legislature and the public (e.g. Drumwright, 1994; Nelson, 1987). Sixth, *problem framing activities* involve (a) pushing for one kind of definition of the problem rather than another to convince policymakers; (b) establishing a link between the problem and proposed solution; (c) commissioning studies to outline performance declines; (d) collecting evidence to support proposals; (e) fostering a sense of alarm regarding the current situation by highlighting indicators that dramatize the problem; and (f) diffusing symbols that would capture the problem in a nutshell and control the prevailing image of the problem (e.g. Baumgartner & Jones, 1991; Kingdon John, 1995; Mintrom, 1997b). Finally, *opportunity seizing activities* undertaken by policy entrepreneurs include (a) turning crises into opportunities; (b) lying in wait for policy windows to open; (c) expending effort to couple policy streams; and (d) exploiting open windows (e.g. Cortell & Peterson, 1999; Kingdon John, 1995; Tanner, 1995).

- Incentives:

With regards to the motivations' underlying entrepreneurs' roles, scholars have cited (1) *ideological commitment* to serve the public interest and to seek community interconnectedness; and personal concern about the problem or issue they are advocating (e.g. Cortell & Peterson,

1999; Di Lorenzo, 1994; Pollack, 1997); (2) *personal gain*, including material or political benefits, such as maximizing influence in a certain policy sphere or bureaucratic territoriality; advancing political positions; and/or gaining electoral advantage (e.g. Cortell & Peterson, 1999; Di Lorenzo, 1994; Kingdon John, 1995; Mezey, 1978; Pollack, 1997; Price, 1971a); and the (3) *valuing of policy innovation* (King & Roberts, 1992).



- The UNFCCC Secretariat and the Kyoto Protocol: *Background and Discussion*

In the 1970s, the global community began to realize the imminent dangers of global warming as a result of the past 150 years of industrialization. The first fruitful step taken to address this

issue was the creation of the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988. The IPCC played an important role in highlighting global warming as a potential threat to the global community by releasing technical assessment reports; the first of which came out in 1990. As a consequence, negotiations within the United Nations General Assembly started to take place to call for a global treaty that would effectively tackle the problem of climate change. Hence, in 1992, an international treaty was created, entitled the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC Secretariat was set up in Bonn, Germany; supported by 500 staff members and employees. The Secretariat's role was to help signatory countries cooperatively consider alternative proposals to limit average global temperature increases that cause climate change, and to cope with the ensuing inevitable impacts of it. More than 180 countries committed to the long-term goal of stabilizing their "greenhouse gas concentrations at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system" (UNFCCC, 2013a). However, by 1995, countries realized that the emission reduction provisions assigned in the UNFCCC were inadequate. Therefore, negotiations started again to increase the effectiveness of the global community's response to climate change. These negotiations led to the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, which became an international agreement linked to the UNFCCC that legally bound developed countries to emission reduction targets; i.e. reducing their collective emissions to 5% below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012, and 18% below 1990 levels between 2013 and 2020 (Harrison & Sundstrom, 2007; UNFCCC, 2013e). The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto-Japan in December 1997 and entered into force in February 2005. According to the Protocol, countries were expected to meet their assigned targets through national measures as well as market-based mechanisms such as: international emissions trading; clean development mechanism (CDM); and joint implementation

(JI). These mechanisms were developed to help stimulate green investment, as well as help signatory countries meet their emission targets in a cost-effective and practical way (UNFCCC, 2013a, 2013e). Additionally, the Protocol called for monitoring the actual trades and emissions of each nation, while the Germany-based UNFCCC Secretariat maintained a transaction-database to ensure that trades were in compliance with the Kyoto Protocol regulations (UNFCCC, 2017).

How did the UNFCCC advance the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol by member states? Can we deduce that in that context it played the role of a policy entrepreneur? To answer this question, content analysis was undertaken of secondary sources, including the UNFCCC's official website, which includes information on the process that took place up to the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol. This was done in order to determine which broad themes identified in the Policy Entrepreneurship Framework were satisfied in the case under examination, and which were not.

In terms of *activities*, and in the lead up to the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, the Secretariat undertook *advocacy* activities, where it engaged in educating both the general and the specialized public, through the release of publications, technical papers, and special reports. It also committed governments, as part of the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol, to educate all stakeholders and major groups on policies relating to climate change in order to improve awareness and understanding of the problem (UNFCCC, 2013i). In addition, it engaged in *strategic activities* in putting short and long-term goals to deal with the problem of climate change. The Kyoto Protocol created two commitment periods to legally bind countries to emission reduction targets; the first period from 2008 to 2012, and the second from 2013 to 2020 (UNFCCC, 2013a). Furthermore, the UN engaged in *networking* and *lobbying* activities, where it collaborated with NGOs, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the World Economic

Forum, to encourage and persuade decision makers to support immediate climate action (UNFCCC, 2013g). Moreover, it engaged in *idea generation* through bringing together the views of thousands of experts and climatologists from across the globe; assembled by the IPCC to guide policymaking. It also redrafted and incorporated a proposal in the Kyoto Protocol that allowed countries to engage in emissions trading, so as to facilitate their implementation and compliance; in a clear effort of re-crafting proposals to overcome constraints, which is one of the idea generation activities identified in the Policy Entrepreneurship Framework (UNFCCC, 2013c, 2013d). As for *problem framing* activities, the UN highlighted indicators that would dramatize the problem and address universal interests, such as quoting “an increase of one degree Celsius in the global average temperature by the year 2025 is predicted if greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions were not subjected to controls and business continued as usual” and “the threat of human-induced change to the earth's climate due to increased emissions of (GHGs) is one of the greatest challenges confronting the international community” (Breidenich et al., 1998). In addition, it attempted to incite action through quotations such as: “global warming was happening and something had to be done about it” (UNFCCC, 2013c). Finally, the UN engaged in *opportunity seizing*, such as in the case of the IPCC releasing a report entitled “AR4” directly after a series of unusual severe weather-related disasters that had taken place and some of the hottest years that had been on record, which could also be considered a manner of capitalizing on the climate events to drive further impact (UNFCCC, 2013c).

With regards to the *qualities* exhibited by the Secretariat throughout the process, the Secretariat not only *took the lead* in negotiations pertaining to the adoption of the Kyoto climate deal, but it was also seen as a leading expert on the topic, through its release of periodic technical assessment reports on the state of climate change, which were the by-product of the observations

of thousands of scientists and reflected the global scientific consensus on the topic (Breidenich, Magraw, Rowley, & Rubin, 1998; UNFCCC, 2013c). Based on this technical expertise and due to its position in the international arena, the Secretariat *had a claim to a hearing* among member States. In addition, throughout its work leading to the ratification of the Protocol, the Secretariat played the role of a *communicator*, where it conversed with the media through different channels and dissemination mechanisms, such as newsletters, press headlines, speeches, workshops and others. In annual conferences and meetings related to the Kyoto Protocol, up to 4,000 media representatives attended to report on events (UNFCCC, 2013b, 2013h). Furthermore, it played the role of a *champion*, by being a central player in the process. It also continued to be a core component, where countries reported their emissions measurements to the Secretariat and relied on it for the methodologies to be used in measurement (UNFCCC, 2013e). It also exhibited *diligence and persistence* in pursuing a process that started since 1979, when the first World Climate Conference (WCC) took place, and spanned till the first international treaty, the UNFCCC, was ratified in 1992. The Kyoto Protocol itself took more than two years of preparatory discussions and eleven days of intense negotiations, during which the Secretariat was at the heart of negotiations (Breidenich et al., 1998; UNFCCC, 2013a). Finally, it played the role of *advocate of change*, when it pursued change in what was considered to be at the time an innovative policy field.

In terms of incentives, it can be said that the Secretariat was motivated by two main points: (1) the need *to achieve a certain policy outcome*, which included the reduction of 5-18% of GHG emissions by signatory states within a certain timeframe (UNFCCC, 2013f); and (2) *ideological commitment* to serve the public interest and community interconnectedness through its recognition that climate change was a complex problem that had border-crossing consequences

that went far beyond the environment, and through seeking to address it through global cooperation (UNFCCC, 2013a).

Therefore, it is evident that the UNFCCC Secretariat played the role of a policy entrepreneur in advancing the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol by signatory states. In doing so, it has helped move the Protocol onto countries' domestic agendas. As Harrison and Sundstrom (2007) argue; while the issue of climate change has mostly been studied from an international relations perspective, domestic politics has a great impact on it. At the end of the day, delegates have to return to their domestic constituents for approval, and decisions whether or not to ratify international agreements to mitigate climate change are "in the end domestic political decisions, taken in the context of home-grown electoral interests, national discourses, and domestic political institutions". Since 84 States signed the Kyoto Protocol, it is safe to conclude that the Secretariat was able to move the issue onto their domestic agendas leading to its eventual adoption (UNFCCC, 2013j). In doing so, it has acted as a policy entrepreneur, by exhibiting most of the incentives, qualities and activities presented by the policy entrepreneurship framework. According to Clarke (2012) and Chang (2010), the Protocol achieved actual progress in reducing GHG emissions, and was considered a vital step in the context of global climate diplomacy.

❖ Conclusion and Study Implications

This paper has discussed one of the most important stages of the policy making process; the agenda setting stage. While Kingdon's Model of Policy Streams, which has become the "standard of policy studies" presents policy entrepreneurs as individuals, who are central figures in moving issues on the agenda, this paper has argued that organizations can equally play this role. It has relied on a systematic review of the literature spanning 26 years to develop a

conceptual framework; aimed at aiding the study of policy entrepreneurship. Additionally, it attempted to empirically test the framework by exploring the case of an organization. Through its analysis of secondary sources, the study has demonstrated how the UNFCCC Secretariat played the role of a policy entrepreneur in advancing the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol on signatory States' domestic agendas.

This study, thus, has several implications for future research. Researchers interested in Kingdon's Model of Policy Streams can capitalize on this finding by reaching beyond the current paradigm of thinking to include organizations such as lobby and PR groups, consulting firms, think tanks, multi-lateral organizations, and others in their analysis. A comparative study may be conducted using a large N sample to raise the results' generalizability. Further, the question of why some organizations may be more successful than others in acting as entrepreneurs may be posed, in addition to an examination of whether all or some of the categories presented by the framework need to be exhibited by an entrepreneur. Finally, while JSTOR is an extensive database, a more expansive search may be done to include books, and articles in other databases, and to cover the period beyond 1999.

❖ Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful for the guiding comments of Prof. Michael Howlett throughout the conceptualization and development stages of the paper.

❖ Appendix

List of JSTOR Articles Analyzed by NVivo						
	Article Title	Author	Year	Citation Frequency	Empirical/Theoretical	Journal

1	The Politics of Sugar	David E. Price	1971	None	Empirical	Review of Politics
2	Professionals & Entrepreneurs	David E. Price	1971	14	Empirical	Journals of Political
3	Comparative Legislative Studies Newsletter	Michael L. Mezey	1978	None	Theoretical	Legislative Studies Quarterly
4	U. S. Congressman as Enterprise	Robert H. Salisbury and Kenneth A. Shepsle	1981	23	Theoretical	Legislative Studies Quarterly
5	"If I See a Murderous Fellow Sharpening a Knife Cleverly...": The Wilsonian Dichotomy and the Public Authority Tradition	Jameson W. Doig	1983	12	Theoretical	Public Administration Review
6	Congressional Careers and Party Leadership in the Contemporary House of Representatives	Burdett A. Loomis	1984	6	Theoretical	American Journal of Political Science
7	Extreme Advocacy Leadership in the Pre-Reform House: Wright Patman and the House Banking and Currency Committee	John E. Owens	1985	1	Theoretical	British Journal of Political Science
8	State Policy Making and Public School Choice in Minnesota, from Confrontation to Compromise	Tim L. Mazzoni	1986	None	Theoretical	Peabody Journal of Education
9	Regulatory Issue Networks in a Federal System	William T. Gormley, Jr	1986	26	Theoretical	Polity
10	Economics Profession and the Making of Public Policy	Robert H. Nelson	1987	17	Theoretical	Journal of Economic Literature
11	Steering the Ship of State: One Tiller but Two Pairs of Hands	Richard Rose	1987	8	Theoretical	British Journal of Political Science
12	Professionals in the U. S. Congress: An Analysis of Working	Christine DeGregorio	1988	4	Theoretical	Legislative Studies Quarterly,

	Styles					
13	1992: Recasting the European Bargain	Wayne Sandholtz and John Zysman	1989	25	Institutional	World Politics
14	Solving the Riddle of Tax Reform: Party Competition and the Politics of Ideas	David R. Beam, Timothy J. Conlan and Margaret T. Wrightson	1990	1	Theoretical	Political Science Quarterly
15	Beyond Public Choice and Public Interest: A Study of the Legislative Process as Illustrated by Tax Legislation in the 1980s	Daniel Shaviro	1990	5	Theoretical	University of Pennsylvania Law Review
16	Bureaucratic Whistleblowing and Policy Change	Roberta Ann Johnson and Michael E. Kraft	1990	None	Theoretical	The Western Political Quarterly
17	Policy Entrepreneurs: Their Activity Structure and Function in the Policy Process	Nancy C. Roberts and Paula J. King	1991	2	Theoretical	Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory
18	Environmental Dispute Resolution and Hazardous Waste Cleanups: A Cautionary Tale of Policy Implementation	Robert T. Nakamura, Thomas W. Church, Jr. and Phillip J. Cooper	1991	3	Theoretical	Journal of Policy Analysis and Management,
19	Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems	Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones	1991	13	Theoretical	The Journal of Politics
20	Exploring Variations in State Laws Providing Protections for Persons with Disabilities	Thomas M. Holbrook and Stephen L. Percy	1992	6	Theoretical	The Western Political Quarterly
21	After Maastricht: Hard Choices for Europe	George Ross	1992	None	Institutional	World Policy Journal
22	An Investigation into the Personality Profile of Policy Entrepreneurs	Paula J. King and Nancy C. Roberts	1992	1	Theoretical	Public Productivity & Management Review

23	Ideas, Institutions, and the Gorbachev Foreign Policy Revolution	Jeff Checkel	1993	5	Theoretical	World Politics
24	Health-Care Workers and HIV: Policy Choice in a Federal System	Mark Rom	1993	1	Theoretical	Publius
25	The Twenty-Seventh Amendment and Constitutional Change by Stealth	Ruth Ann Strickland	1993	None	Theoretical	PS: Political Science and Politics
26	Legislative Chaos: An Exploratory Study	Vincent Di Lorenzo	1994	1	Theoretical	Yale Law & Policy Review
27	The Daily Newspaper as Political Agenda Setter: The Charlotte Observer and Metropolitan Reform	Timothy D. Mead	1994	2	Institutional	State & Local Government Review
28	The Nature of Congressional Committee Jurisdictions	David C. King	1994	7	Theoretical	The American Political Science Review
29	Irony and "Europe": Disintegrating Theories of Integration	Eric Gorham	1994	None	Institutional	Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal
30	Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner	Janice Gross Stein	1994	8	Theoretical	International Organization
31	State Health Agencies and the Legislative Policy Process	Sharon M. Williams-Crowe and Terry V. Aultman	1994	None	Theoretical	Public Health Reports
32	Socially Responsible Organizational Buying: Environmental Concern as a Noneconomic Buying Criterion	Minette E. Drumwright	1994	24	Theoretical	Journal of Marketing
33	Organizing for Policy Innovation in Public Bureaucracy: AIDS, Energy and Environmental Policy in Canada	James A. Desveaux, Evert A. Lindquist and Glen Toner	1994	1	Theoretical	Canadian Journal of Political Science

34	The Dynamics of Issue Expansion: Cases from Disability Rights and Fetal Research Controversy	Elaine B. Sharp	1994	None	Theoretical	The Journal of Politics
35	The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union	Matthew Evangelista	1995	5	Theoretical	International Organization
36	How a Bill Becomes a Law in China: Stages and Processes in Lawmaking	Murray Scot Tanner	1995	1	Empirical	The China Quarterly
37	Between Regimes and Realism--Transnational Agenda Setting: Soviet Compliance with CSCE Human Rights Norms	Sandra L. Gubin	1995	1	Empirical	Human Rights Quarterly
38	Policy Issue Networks and the Public Policy Cycle: A Structural-Functional Framework for Public Administration	James E. Skok	1995	4	Theoretical	Public Administration Review
39	Intellectuals or Technicians? The Urgent Role of Theory in Educational Studies	Stephen J. Ball	1995	5	Theoretical	British Journal of Educational Studies
40	Bridging the Gap between Research and Practice	Maureen T. Hallinan	1996	2	Theoretical	Sociology of Education
41	The President and the Subcontractors: The Role of Top Level Policy Entrepreneurs in the Bush Administration	Martin Laffin	1996	2	Theoretical	Presidential Studies Quarterly
42	"Roaring Mice Against the Tide": The South Pacific Islands and Agenda-	Eric Shibuya	1996	None	Empirical	Pacific Affairs

	Building on Global Warming					
43	Officer Discretion and Minority Ethnic Housing Provision	Richard Tomlins	1997	None	Theoretical	Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment
44	Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community	Mark A. Pollack	1997	21	Theoretical	International Organization
45	The State-Local Nexus in Policy Innovation Diffusion: The Case of School Choice	Michael Mintrom	1997	5	Theoretical	Publius
46	Policy Entrepreneurs and the Diffusion of Innovation	Michael Mintrom	1997	43	Theoretical	American Journal of Political Science,
47	Parting at the Crossroads: The Development of Health Insurance in Canada and the United States, 1940-1965	Antonia Maioni	1997	1	Theoretical	Comparative Politics
48	NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa: Developing Critical Capacity for Policy Advocacy	Jesse Lutabingwa, Kenneth R. Gray and Elliott P. Skinner	1997	None	Theoretical	International Journal on World Peace
49	The Politics of EPSDT Policy in the 1990s: Policy Entrepreneurs, Political Streams, and Children's Health Benefits	Alice Sardell and Kay Johnson	1998	None	Theoretical	The Milbank Quarterly
50	Policy Networks and Innovation Diffusion: The Case of State Education Reforms	Michael Mintrom and Sandra Vergari	1998	22	Theoretical	The Journal of Politics
51	Harnessing Politics: The Dynamics of Offset Requirements in the Tax Legislative Process	Elizabeth Garrett	1998	6	Theoretical	The University of Chicago Law Review
52	From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational	Erik Bleich	1998	2	Theoretical	Comparative Politics

	Multiculturalism in England and France					
53	Contested Terrains and Regime Politics: Thinking about America's Trial Courts and Institutional Change	Roy B. Flemming	1998	None	Theoretical	Law & Social Inquiry
54	European "Federalism" and Its Encroachments on National Institutions	Vivien A. Schmidt	1999	3	Institutional	Publius,
55	A Watershed on the Rhine: Changing Approaches to International Environmental Cooperation	Marco Verweij	1999	None	Theoretical	GeoJournal,
56	Altered States: Explaining Domestic Institutional Change	Andrew P. Cortell and Susan Peterson	1999	8	Theoretical	British Journal of Political Science
57	External Shocks, Conflict and Learning as Interactive Sources of Change in U.S. Security Policy	Gerald B. Thomas	1999	None	Theoretical	Journal of Public Policy
58	Policy as Product: Morality and Metaphor in Health Policy Discourse	Ruth E. Malone	1999	None	Theoretical	The Hastings Center Report

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