

# T04P03 / Policy Change: Revisiting the Past, Analyzing Contemporary Processes and Stimulating Inter-temporal Comparisons

**Topic :** T04 / Problems and Agenda Setting

**Chair :** Mauricio Olavarria-Gambi (University of Santiago, Chile)

**Second Chair :** Maria Velasco (UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID)

**Third Chair :** Verónica Figueroa Huencho (University of Chile)

## GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

The panel is aimed to analyze the characteristics or conditions leading to policy changes. The panel is open to accept proposals of analysis of policy changes occurred in the past, contemporary policy changes and/or inter-temporal comparisons of policy changes. In doing this, the panel seeks to set links to the emerging field of work of “History of Public Policies”.

The analysis focuses on how institutions – formal and/or informal – influence the policy process, on whether types of interchanges among policy actors persist over time and on whether informal institutions shape the way in which formal institutions operate or whether it is the other way around how the policy process develops.

Policy change may be understood as either adaptation processes (which basically maintains a same policy-configuration), or reform processes (addressing changes in their aims and ends, its organizational structure, and service delivery to its target populations). Adaptation would deal more with linear progression or evolutionary dynamics based on learning, cooperation or contingency. Reforms are here understood as planned proactive and even breaking-path processes, with a non-linear dynamics or a non-evolutionary change, that may be fostered both inside and/or outside its organizational dimension, and even due changes at policy the domain level.

The panel is aimed at discussing empirical evidence provided by case studies on policy change in different contexts. Although the panel is open to any cases, the presentation of case studies from Latin America, East Europe, Africa, Asia and Oceania is highly encouraged.

## CALL FOR PAPERS

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## Session 1 Policy Making and Implementation

Friday, June 30th 08:15 to 10:15 (Block B 3 - 2)

### Discussants

Verónica Figueroa Huencho (University of Chile)

Mauricio Olavarria-Gambi (University of Santiago, Chile)

### Indigenous Public policy implementation: changes and interaction between formal and informal institutions

Verónica Figueroa Huencho (University of Chile)

How indigenous public policies are implemented? Which variables have been relevant in this process? How institutions (formal and informal) influence the policy process? These and other questions acquire particular significance in light constraints that have public policy approaches when targeting culturally distinct peoples. Different studies have demonstrated how important the indigenous policy formulation phase is in the current living conditions of these indigenous people, which shows, as a rule, how isolated they have been from the State formulation and from those public policy processes which affect their development. This situation has meant incremental loss of land, failure of community economies, loss of rights and representation, and marginalization from the political process, among others. However, little is known regarding the process of implementation of indigenous public policy and the impact of formal and informal institutions in their outcomes, the role of managers and bureaucrats and their values, interests and beliefs, among others. The objective of this presentation is to provide a theoretical and empirical framework to a better understanding of the change process in indigenous public policies, with a special focus on Chilean case. The analytical model will be "representative bureaucracy" and the specific case of "Ley 19.253". This is expected contribute to the construction of new approaches, which promote proper analysis to the study of indigenous public policies in the current context, without losing sight of the dynamism that characterizes the political process when they operate in a context of cultural diversity.

### "Legislative Oversight and its Influence in Policy Making and Policy Reforms in the Philippine Education and Agriculture Sectors"

Portia Silang (Philippine House of Representatives)

**Portia P. Silang**, *"Legislative Oversight and its Influence in Policy Making and Policy Reforms in the Philippine Education and Agriculture Sectors"* (A Dissertation Research Proposal), University of the Philippines-National College of Public Administration and Governance

Legislative oversight remains a potent function of Congress which affect much the development of democracy and shaping of public policy. However, there is a dearth of studies on its influence on policy making, policy reform, and policy control. Much of the literature has discussed extensively what oversight is and its tools; its significance in properly functioning democratic regimes, and what conditions might favor oversight. Less attention has been paid to whether legislative oversight has any impact, and what kind of impact it has, on the functioning of political system (Pelizzo and Stapenhurst, 2006).[1]

The impact and effectiveness of the congressional oversight can be measured in terms of the quantity and quality of legislative policies formulated and the executive actions thereafter. With the lack of in-depth oversight studies in the Philippine context, the research proposal attempts to examine the dynamics between Congress and the Executive with regards to legislative oversight using the Principal-Agent Theory, and its conduct through an evaluation model which consider the contexts influencing its conduct; the mechanisms of congressional oversight; and the outcomes of oversight work.

The study endeavors to explore how legislative oversight can be utilized to become an effective instrument of policy making and policy reforms using the outcomes of the congressional reviews by the Congressional Commission on Education (EDCOM) and Congressional Commission on Agriculture (AGRICOM). EDCOM and AGRICOM's experiences illustrated an almost complete cycle of legislative review (ex post), enactment of necessary legislations (ex ante), and then ex post oversight to guarantee the legislative intent of the law. Tracking the legislative policies formulated by the Philippine Congress from the 9th to 15th Congresses (21 years tracking) based on their recommendations will be done and validated, especially those which radically changed existing policies in the two sectors. Those recommendations which remained unacted will be also analyzed.

Three important questions will be addressed by the study: How was legislative oversight made to work, through ex ante and ex post mechanisms, as an effective instrument of policymaking and policy reform in the Philippine education and agriculture sectors? How does the confluence of the individual, institutional and environmental factors determine Congress' behaviour to oversee? What does Congress accomplish in its efforts to oversee? These, though behavioural as they may seem, sum up the more specific questions with regards to the effectiveness of legislative oversight as a democratic accountability tool in administrative reforms and the influence congressional oversight has in policy making and policy reform.

This abstract is being submitted to this panel because of the changes in policies governing the education and agriculture sectors brought about by the oversight of Philippine Congress with the Executive.

[1] R. Pelizzo and R. Stapenhurst. (2004). "Tools for Legislative Oversight: An Empirical Investigation", World Bank Policy Research Working paper 3388.

## **The Morrill Land Grant Acts and the Roots of Higher Educational Opportunity for African-Americans**

Deondra Rose (Duke University)

Since 1837, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have provided one of the most significant sources of higher educational opportunity in the United States, especially for African Americans. Extending valuable educational opportunities to free blacks and newly freed slaves after the Civil War, HBCUs were an integral part of the nation's rebuilding efforts during the Reconstruction era. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the federal government played a central role in the development of black colleges, and the creation of the Morrill Land Grant Acts of 1862 and 1890 was crucial to this development. Although the first Morrill Act of 1862 led to the establishment of higher educational institutions that disproportionately catered to white students, Black students would gain targeted support under the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1890. Under this policy, lawmakers provided funds to support the creation of nineteen land grant HBCUs and required states operating segregated college systems to offer equal institutional opportunities for white and black students, thereby generating additional growth in the number of colleges serving African Americans. Given African-Americans' marginalized status in American politics and public policymaking institutions during the period, the extent to which the second Morrill Land Grant Act expanded educational opportunity for black Americans represents an interesting puzzle. Why did lawmakers create an empowering system of higher education for African-Americans in 1890—a post-Reconstruction political moment characterized by violently repressive backlash against black Americans, especially in the South? Using a combination of primary and secondary sources including the Congressional Globe, the Congressional Record, memoirs, and historical newspapers, and other historical documents, this paper investigates the political development of the Morrill Land Grant Acts and the features of policy design that shaped their impact on educational opportunity for African Americans. In analyzing the development of these path-breaking programs, this paper takes seriously the political factors shaping the government's role in establishing what would constitute the core of higher educational opportunity for African-Americans for nearly a century.

## **Are urban policies all changing? Changes and continuities after the new local government in Madrid**

Rosa M. De la Fuente (Complutense University of Madrid)

Maria Velasco (UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID)

One of the typical factor considered as a driver for the public policies' change is the arrival of a new government. In Madrid City, the triumph of a coalition of civil organizations and political parties, called Ahora Madrid, was enveloped with the halo of introducing deep changes in the priorities of the local government. New discourses about the city model, "a city for the citizens not for profit", and also new ideas about how to improve urban policies and provisioning services were spread.

After two years of governing, it is already possible to analyze to what extent, in different arenas, the new government has been able to modify the content of previous urban policy actions. The main aim of this paper is to compare several sectoral policies in order to analyze factors and strategies developed by decision makers.

Reforms are here understood as planned proactive and even breaking-path processes, with a non-linear dynamics or a non-evolutionary change, which may be fostered both inside and/or outside its organizational dimension, and even due changes at policy the domain level.

The study case will let us to observe the factors usually considered in the literature as change drivers and its real influence in order to get conclusions about resistance and change in relation with urban and local public policies.

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## Session 2 Policy History

Friday, June 30th 10:30 to 12:30 (Block B 3 - 2)

### Discussants

Maria Velasco (UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID)

Verónica Figueroa Huencho (University of Chile)

### Tackling Structural Change: the Evolution Industry Policy in Australia - a Historic Institutional Perspective

Flavia Hanlen (Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis at the University of Canberra)

Much has been said about the current rapid rate of technological change, globalization, de-industrialization and structural change. But technological change is ubiquitous and structural change is an ever-present feature of capitalist systems. What role does public policy play in continuous economic transformation? How does public policy respond to or promote continuous structure change? How does this role change over time and what are the key ideational, institutional, political, social and economic factors that underlie such policies and generate particular policy solutions. These policies form the realm of industry policy and aim to promote particular activities, technology change and facilitate structural change (Rodrik 2014).

This paper aim examines the changes of industry policy in Australia as a result of the tension between local, historic embedded institutional framework and the hegemonic ideas framework, creating a particular political economic nexus that potentially evolves within path dependent processes. It uses the Historical Institutional Framework to capture long-term policy development and change. Shifts in policy preferences and policy change are embedded in temporal processes and occur in a policy space that is already populated with existing practices, institutions, expectations, networks and ideas.

As Peters, Pierre, and King (2005, p.1297) argues, “understanding policy change in a historical institutional perspective requires a careful analysis not only of the ideas that drive change but also the larger social, economic and political context in which these ideas are situated.”. The challenge is to explain the trajectory of policy development by understanding the relationships between institutions, ideas and agency.

This paper maps the change in the role, objectives and institutions of industry policy in Australia between 1970 and 2015, as well as the underlying ideational, economic and political factors of this change. Using document analysis and historical statistical data, this paper aims to explore:

- The relationship among institutions, ideas, and agency in explaining the trajectory of policy development;
- Public policies as institutions;
- Industry policy as embedded in an institutional, political and socio economic framework;
- The use of political and economic discourses (as tools of authority and legitimacy) to enable and constrain industry policy development and change;
- How ideas about the role of the state in the economy influence industry policy in Australia;

References:

Peters, B. Guy, Jon Pierre, and Desmond S. King. 2005. "The Politics of Path Dependency: Political Con?ict in Historical Institutionalism." *The Journal of Politics* 67 (4): 1275–1300.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00360.x>.

Rodrik, Dani. 2014. "Normalizing Industrial Policy." [http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/drodrik/Research papers/Industrial Policy \\_Growth Commission\\_.pdf](http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/drodrik/Research%20papers/Industrial%20Policy%20_Growth%20Commission_.pdf).

## **MANAGEMENT REGIMES OF RIVER BASIN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES**

Catherine Roween Almaden (Asian Institute of Management)

Like most countries, the Philippines has implemented the integrated river basin management approach. The management of river basins is operationalized through the river basin organizations (RBOs). Five management regimes have been implemented, reflecting specific functions, needs and opportunities, from the widely autonomous agency to a variety of commissions, councils and committees, as well as multi-sector project management offices. The paper provided an assessment of the management regimes of various existing and abolished or inactive river basin organizations in the country. The chosen RBOs represent the five management regimes. The paper discussed the legal and institutional framework, the outcomes of the projects of the various RBOs, the best practices implemented and challenges encountered. The experiences of the various RBOs invariably confirm the benefits of water resources management founded on strong policy, regulatory and institutional frameworks, inter-sectoral coordination, inter-agency collaboration and functional public participation.

## **Revisiting the trajectory of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines: Consequences for modern-day institutions and policy development**

Gonzalez Eduardo (University of the Philippines)

### **The project**

As often as not, colonial rule led to long term harmful consequences, including the varying incapacity of former colonies to adjust to self government or the incontestably negative effects of resource extraction. Yet, at the same time, colonialism shaped their ability to perform through a considerable history of Eurocentric state structure and bureaucratic culture. Colonialism was not simply an instrument of repression and constraint—according to Foucault—but creatively gave particular form to institutional subjectivities in ways which had enduring postcolonial implications (James & Schrauwers, 2003).

The paper explores the role of the colonial experience as an exogenous determinant of modern outcomes across countries in general and in the Philippines, in particular. From the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in 1565 until 1898, the Philippines was the only Spanish Catholic colony in Asia. The paper also examines the consequences of colonizer influence for regional policy coordination.

### **The research question**

Taking off from Feyrer & Sacerdote (2006), the study hypothesizes that current progress in former colonies varies exogenously by the identity of the colonizer: an apparent pecking order amongst the colonial powers had large consequences for the colonial institutional building they pursued, and, in due course, the developmental policy legacies they left behind—with years under British, French and Dutch rule having more advantageous effects than Spanish rule. The paper also theorizes that the periodization of colonialism matters, that is, institutional quality improved as colonialism progressed, consistent with the rise of the European Enlightenment and 19th century modernism.

### **Methodology**

Econometric exercises involving years of colonization and the nationality of the colonizers as well as contemporary growth, human development and environmental governance variables will form the basis for scrutinizing the institutional trajectory of an "inferior" Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, and how it significantly contributes to the explanation of marked differences in governance and policy development between the Philippines and its key Asian neighbors, particularly, Indonesia, Malaysia, and an emergent Vietnam, whose Dutch, British and French colonial legacies, respectively, are supposedly more favorable for latter-day progress. If the hypotheses hold, the study will suggest ways on how the Philippines can wend its way through a "noodle bowl" tangle of varying colonial policy traditions within Southeast Asia.

### **Relevance**

The paper hews closely to the panel objective of analyzing the characteristics or conditions leading to policy changes. The paper will do it along historical lines, examining how institutions that developed over time influence the policy process in the Philippines and neighboring Southeast Asian countries. It will explore options on how path-dependent policy traditions can progressively embrace path-breaking processes.

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## Session 3 Policy Change

Friday, June 30th 13:45 to 15:45 (Block B 3 - 2)

### Discussants

Mauricio Olavarria-Gambi (University of Santiago, Chile)

Verónica Figueroa Huencho (University of Chile)

### Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change: A Critique of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

Gordon Shockley (Arizona State U.)

What is the role of policy entrepreneurship in punctuated equilibrium theory (PET) for policy studies? In their powerful development of PET for policy studies, Baumgartner and Jones seem to place policy entrepreneurship front and center. Building on William Riker's and John Kingdon's earlier groundbreaking work on the idea of policy entrepreneurship, Baumgartner and Jones depict policy entrepreneurs in *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (p. 42) as the manipulators of policy images and venues so as "to alter other people's understandings of the issues in which they deal" (p. 42). Similarly, in their subsequent edited volume *Policy Dynamics* (2002a), Baumgartner and Jones more closely specify policy entrepreneurship as "the willingness of a political actor to invest resources in a given lobbying struggle is likely to be related to two things: The probability of success (which is related to expected behaviors of other actors involved), and the expected benefits" (MacLeod, 2002, p. 22). Yet, a careful reading of Baumgartner and Jones' theoretical work on PET reveals that policy entrepreneurship seems at most incidental in Baumgartner and Jones' PET. This paper will develop this argument as a critique of Baumgartner and Jones' PET for policy studies by exploring the role of policy entrepreneurship and its relationship to policy change in their model. Crucial insights will also be gleaned by assessing PET's development in other fields, most notably in the paleobiology of Stephen J. Gould and Niles Eldredge (Eldredge & Gould, 1972; Stephen Jay Gould, 1992, 2002) from which the idea of PET originates.

### Who cares about Reddit? Historical institutionalism and the fight against SOPA and PIPA.

Cartwright Madison (University of Sydney)

On May 12th 2011 the Protect Intellectual Property Act (PIPA) was introduced to the United States Senate boasting 31 sponsors from both the Democratic and Republican Party and a list of approximately 190 supporters, including pharmaceutical companies, Hollywood studios, software companies, manufacturers, unions, sporting codes among many others. By January 2012 PIPA, along with counterpart in the House of Representatives known as the Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) had become politically toxic and was indefinitely shelved. Many have attributed this dramatic shift to the widespread backlash against these 'internet breaking' bills that had emerged from online organising spaces and technology news blogs. A single post on the popular forum Reddit resulted in a boycott of SOPA-supporting internet domain registrar and web hosting company Go Daddy that saw the company lose 21,000 domains in a single day, forcing it to abandon its support some 48 hours later. This is one example of the sort of organising and actions that emerged from these so-called 'netizens', activists dedicated to a free and open internet. While the anti-SOPA and PIPA actions do show a genuine phenomenon of the growing political impact of the internet



this paper argues that their role in the failure of the bills was actually quite limited. Applying a historical institutionalist approach the paper argues that the bills failed primarily due to the decision of the internet industry, which had at the time emerged as a political coalition with its own distinct interests, to veto the reforms. This fits with how copyright in the United States has been reformed to address new technologies for over a hundred years. Under this analysis, the failure of PIPA and SOPA is not surprising or particularly unusual.

## **The role of technocrats in the Chilean Public Management Modernization Policy of 1920s**

Mauricio Olavarria-Gambi (University of Santiago, Chile)

It is commonly said that one main characteristic of the new Chilean democracy, that re-emerging in 1990, is the technocratic influence in the policy making process and that the old Chilean democracy, the one that existed from 1925 to 1973, had been more open to citizen's participation and with no technocratic influence. However, new evidence shows that technocrats have been similarly influential in both Chilean democratic periods. The paper focuses on the policy-making process of the public management reform of the 1920s and discusses on the role played by the Kemmerer Mission and the Chilean technocrats in this policy endeavor.