Understanding policy dynamics.
A critical confrontation of theories of the policy process
Chairs: Peter Scholten (EUR) and Arco Timmermans (ULeiden)

November 28, 2013

PROGRAMME

13:30-14:30   **Introduction** by **Peter Scholten** and **Arco Timmermans**

13:40-14:15   **Migration metaphors we live by: Image-venue interactions on CEE labour migration in the Netherlands** - *Mark van Ostaijen (EUR)*
Reviewer: Wenting Jiao

14:15-14:50   **Air policy change in Latin America: the role of international organizations** - *Jale Tosun (Heidelberg/Mannheim)*
Reviewer: Petya Alexandrova

14:50-15:25   **New media, new agenda setting dynamics? The interplay the social media agenda with the traditional media agenda and political agenda and their influence on local migrant integration policies** - *Rianne Dekker (EUR)*
Reviewer: Kutsal Yesilkagit

15:25-15:45   BREAK

15:45-16:20   **Upsetting the Agenda: The Clout of Focusing Events in the European Council** - *Petya Alexandrova (UL)*
Reviewer: Jale Tosun

16:20-16:55   **Policy Translation of Industrial Symbiosis in China** - *Wenting Jiao, Frank Boons, Geert Teisman (EUR)*
Reviewer: Mark van Ostaijen

16:55-17:30   **Agency reforms and issue dynamics** - *Kutsal Yesilkagit (Universiteit Utrecht) & Arco Timmermans (Universiteit Leiden)*
Reviewer: Rianne Dekker

ABSTRACTS

Migration metaphors we live by
Image-venue interactions on CEE labour migration in the Netherlands
By: Mark van Ostaijen (EUR)

Migration is of all times, but migration from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries has recently evolved into one of the main migratory flows within Europe. As more Western-European member-states, the Netherlands opened its borders for A8 countries since 2007 and will open its borders for A2 countries in 2014. This already had strong effects on the Dutch economy, on social services and on integration issues (WRR, 2013, SCP, 2012, WODC, 2013). But these effects are not limited to the national scale only. Especially on the local level, several governments try to regulate, facilitate or stimulate the inflow, effects and spinoff of CEE labour migration in various ways. Therefore within the Netherlands different governmental arrangements are active to get a grip on this new emerging reality.

But how is this 'reality' constituted? In other words, how do different Dutch authorities present this CEE labour migration? The presentation of this CEE labour 'reality' can be characterized as a struggle about the influential meanings of social constructions (Edelman, 1988). Between (and within) institutions this is an ongoing discursive competition about social constructions and how to resolve it (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

In their rhetoric on size, type and significance, Dutch governments also construct different perspectives on CEE labour migration. This discursive construction of metaphors, facts, figures and statistics is part of what can be called the creation of 'policy images' (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009). And these images continually differ, especially amongst specialized 'institutional venues', the authorities that can make decisions about these images (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009). By focusing on these 'image-venue' interactions this study tries to unravel the discursive struggle about this emerging 'labour reality'.

In order to do so, an interpretative discourse analysis will be done on Dutch governmental documents of authorities on CEE migration. With this type of qualitative desk research a special focus in put on the multiple governmental imagery on CEE migration. Since CEE migration has diverse consequences for different authorities, we take this institutional diversity of multiple authorities as starting point for the analysis. Therefore we question if there are differences or similarities in the Dutch images on CEE migration between national and local governmental venues? And we question if there are differences or similarities in the local images on CEE migration between urban and rural governmental venues?

The main research question therefore is: 'What are the differences and similarities in policy images on CEE labour migration between different governmental venues in the Netherlands and how can these be explained?'

Within these images we will look at the specific presentation of the size and type of migration, and also at the construction of problems and solutions connected with this phenomenon. In this way we will try to explain what the relationship is between certain images and venues. By doing this, we aim to unravel the discursive complexity of labour migration in general and CEE labour migration particular and to focus on the multiplicity of how governments try to cope with this.

Air policy change in Latin America: the role of international organizations
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This paper illustrates changes in air quality regulations in 17 Latin American States between 1990 and 2011. In doing this, it first provides a descriptive analysis of the events of policy change over the course of two decades. Second, it assesses to what extent changes in air quality regulations are determined by domestic and international factors. With regard to the latter group of explanatory factors, the main focus is on the role of the World Health Organization that has promoted air quality standards since the mid-1980s. Empirically, this paper can potentially improve the understanding of policy dynamics because of its use of original cross-country data for emerging market democracies that it unrestricted in terms of the scope policy change (that is, either incremental change or policy punctuations). Theoretically, the study seeks to combine explanatory factors advanced by both comparative policy analysis and comparative political economy. In this way, the paper aims to bring together the more specific study of policy change (often associated with the Punctuated Equilibrium Framework or the Advocacy Coalition Framework) with more generic models offered by comparative policy analysis and comparative political economy.

New media, new agenda setting dynamics?
The interplay the social media agenda with the traditional media agenda and political agenda and their influence on local migrant integration policies
By Rianne Dekker (EUR)

Media and politics have a key role in bringing issues to the government's attention. They are often regarded as bearers of the public sphere, elevating public opinions to the policy agenda (Cobb & Elder 1972). Therefore, they are central to the democratic system of representation. More recently, major and minor examples of online activism show that social media have become successful in mobilizing support for issues among the general public and bringing them to the attention of the authorities (Howard & Parks 2012).
Media and politics are not mere communication channels, but they actively contribute to the creation of shared meaning of what issues are important and how they should be defined (Lievrouw & Livingstone 2002). In other words, they have their own agenda logic of prioritizing and framing issues. Agenda setting theory explains what issues and frames are successful in gaining the government's limited attention (Jones & Baumgartner 2005). While agenda setting studies have mostly focused on the mass media agenda of newspaper and television publications and the political agenda such as political party programs or parliament hearings (Walgrave & Van Aelst 2006), I argue that it is important to also take the social media agenda into account and evaluate how this agenda relates to the mass media and political agenda and how they spur policy change.
Several expectations on the role of social media for agenda setting have risen (Weare 2002; Coleman 2004; Albrecht 2006). Social media have in common that they are web-based, have an infrastructure of a network of networks, they are user-generated and interactive (Lievrouw & Livingstone 2002; Boyd & Ellison 2008). Based on these characteristics, it can be

expected that social media offer an agenda that is closer to citizens' opinions because the threshold of editorial gatekeeping is absent. This will lead to (1) an increased amount of available content with shorter issue attention cycles (cf. Downs 1972); (2) more fragmented and diverse issue prioritization and framing (3) increasing interlinkages and spillover with traditional media, making the source and quality of content less transparent.

During my PhD research, I study to what extent the local policy agenda on migrant integration in Rotterdam is influenced by the interplay of the political agenda, traditional media agenda and social media agenda and how these are determined by their institutional context. The proposed paper entails a qualitative analysis of the social media agenda and its correspondence with the political and traditional media agenda regarding one issue of migrant integration in Rotterdam. Data on the social media agenda will be gathered by the social media analytics tool that we are developing within the UniteEurope research project. Traditional media data will be collected through LexisNexis and other media archives. Minutes from the Rotterdam city council and relevant council committees will offer insight in the local political agenda.

I will conduct frame analysis (Schön & Rein 1994) to analyze to what extent frames of social media discussions and traditional media reports and political debates differ or align. I evaluate the prioritization and framing of the issue on the three agenda's by looking at problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or recommendation for a solution (Entman 1993: 52; Snow & Benford 1988). I will offer insight in the logic of the social media agenda and its correspondence with the traditional media and political agenda. As social media agenda analysis is in its early days, the paper will also address some methodological issues of this new field of research – setting the stage for further steps in my research.

Policy Compounds on the European Council Agenda
Petya Alexandrova

The linking of issues in politics is a regular aspect of policy making, which occurs in different institutions, especially those which are able to decide upon a wide spectrum of policy themes. The European Council, the top informal agenda-setting body of the EU, is a supreme example thereof. It has often been the initiator of integration in new policy domains following the spill-over effect but also experienced furious struggles between diverging national interests, which have been appeased by cross-issue compromises. This project aims to shed more light on the dynamics behind cohabiting by expounding the evolution of substantive issue linkages or 'policy compounds' on the European Council agenda. It sets to disentangle the elements and stages of a selection of linkage relationships, and discover the driving forces behind the process, as well as the contextual factors that facilitate or hinder policy compound formation.

Policy Translation of Industrial Symbiosis in China
Wenting Jiao, Frank Boons, Geert Teisman (EUR)

Since 1989, the Kalundborg exemplar has been followed by many paths to pursue industrial symbiosis (Chertow, 2007) and rising academic literatures to understand the variety of practices that are summarized under the label of industrial symbiosis (e.g.,Van Berkel, et al., 2009;Mirata, 2004). The concept of industrial symbiosis spreads around the world, most often taking the definition as the starting point: "Industrial symbiosis engages traditionally separate industries in a collective approach to competitive advantage involving physical exchange of materials, energy, water, and/ or by-products. The key to industrial symbiosis are collaboration and the synergistic possibilities offered by geographic proximity (Chertow 2000)". For this widespread diffusion, governmental policy is regarded as an important factor, through which the concept of IS is translated differently into policy decisions, and further translated into practices in different countries, or even within one country. So a variety of policies emerged to stimulate IS, however, thus far the impacts of policy on industrial symbiosis are not completely clear, and a dynamic process perspective, which is crucial to reveal the actual mechanisms of policy interventions on the evolution of industrial symbiosis, lacks in existing literatures (Jiao and Boons, under review).

Policy is essentially a dynamic process, and it is inevitably developing and evolving over time (Hill, 2005; Pressman and Wildavsky 1984; Sabatier, 2007). An example is the three phases of Korean EIP master plan for 15 years, which is a progressive process of improvement and optimization(Park and Won, 2007; Behera, et al., 2012). Furthermore, industrial symbiosis is preferred to investigate as a process (Boons and Spekkink, 2011). So the relations between policy and industrial symbiosis are not static, but changes. The central contribution of this paper is conceptualizing and investigating policy as a dynamic process, and there is no direct and stable relation between policy and its contribution to industrial symbiosis. It is better to reveal the impacts of policy on industrial symbiosis in a process perspective, otherwise, it goes to take their relations as fixed, and the role of policy on industrial symbiosis for granted. For instance, Chertow (2007) propose the roles of policy to reveal and nurture industrial symbiosis development according to different stages of industrial symbiosis development.

To investigate the diversity and dynamic nature of policy, the so-called 'translation' perspective, developed by Callon (1975; 1980; 1986), Latour (1986; 1992) and Czarniawska and Sevon (1996), provides a conceptual background, that adds to the existing ones on policy development and policy evolution. The translation theory captures the fact that a concept can be interpreted and implemented in many different ways by heterogonous actors in policy process to address local factors and actors' properties, and actors all together influence policy outcomes. It is the ongoing translation with the continuity transformation and displacement that cumulatively and progressively leads to the evolution of policies.

The research takes China as the studied case. In China, the concept of industrial symbiosis is translated into concept of Eco-industrial Parks (EIPs) implemented mainly through National Demonstration EIP Program and National Circular Economy (CE) Pilot Industrial Parks. For their implementation, the Central Government does hold a rather strong position (Zhang, et al., 2010). With China's various inquires to CE and EIPs (Shi, 2012; Zhang, et al. 2010), the concepts of CE and EIP have evolved for more than 10 years, and disseminated quickly and widely (Su, et al., 2013) through their materialization in a large amount of industrial parks. In 2005, two coordination systems of industrial parks have been established at the national level. The emerging and evolving processes of two policy channels to stimulate EIPs are separated yet intertwined, and the core concept are

interpreted differently and reshaped over time in the two channels. Furthermore, the two channels lead to distinguished spatial dissemination patterns of EIPs. This provides us the chance to investigate how different and dynamic policy processes impacts the spread of the concepts in the locals within the same institutional context.

The main research questions are:
→ How the two translation channels of policy regarding EIPs emerging and evolving over time? And to what extent do the translation patterns and dynamics differ of the two channels?
→ To what extent do the impacts of the two policy translation channels on the diffusion of EIPs differ from each other?

Agency reforms and issue dynamics
Kutsal Yesilkagit (Universiteit Utrecht) & Arco Timmermans (Universiteit Leiden)

Public agencies come regularly under the pressure of politicians - their formal principals - when issues in the media report negatively on the outcomes of a policy executed by the agency. That is, the success of agencies in performing their tasks is to large extent dependent on the agenda dynamics and issue cycles. Under certain circumstances, the saliency of the issue may increase such levels that politicians decide to reorganise the agency. This can either through terminating the agency or, less radically, merging the agency with other agencies or administering cosmetic changes, i.e. name changes, to the agency. In this paper, we examine the conditions under which issue dynamics causes politicians to take reorganise public agencies.