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## **MODELS OF FORMATION OF PUBLIC POLICY**

**Olena Chaltseva**

*Donetsk National University  
Department of Political Science  
str. Universitetska, 24, 83001 Donetsk, Ukraine  
e-mail: helenchaltseva@mail.ru*

Models of formation of public policy existing in modern science explain specifics and order of making political decisions in the states. Depending on goals authors of these models focus attention on various aspects of development of political process. Models have the generalized character that gives the chance to apply them to the analysis of various systems, but considering contextual features of considered cases.

*Key words:* public policy, political strategy, model of political process, system.

The public policy tends to expansion and inclusion in process of formation of a large number both state, and non-state actors. Mechanisms of development of public policy thereby become complicated and it is shown more and more modern requirements to its implementation. In democratic systems planning and the realization of public policy is enabled under close attention of civil control which is differently presented in the state practice, but has one purpose is a social audit of all decisions made by the authorities. For the systems, which are in process of transformation formation of public policy gets special sense. Especially this question is particularly acute for modern Ukraine, which is in deep political crisis. The sharp and painful changes happening in the Ukrainian policy, caused by various internal and external conditions in combination with unstable political institutes, the collapse of legal system split by civil society and existence of external threat, demand a new format of public policy. Definition of possibility of application of existing models of formation of public policy for the analysis of transitional systems is a research objective of this article.

In political science there is some approaching to the description of models of development of political strategy and political programs which are based on allocation of subjective, standard, procedural, target and causing factors and their interrelation [2, p. 23]. Originally the idea of ideal model's formation of a political cycle was developed by the American political scientist Harold Lasswell. His model was rather ordering and standard, instead of descriptive and analytical. It included seven stages of strategic process: investigation, advance, instruction, request, application, end and assessment. In spite of the fact that this sequence was challenged on many points, in particular, as regards end arrives before an assessment, nevertheless, the model was very successfully used as the main structure for later researches and became a starting point for a set of scientific development and found the application in the theory of decision-making and the management theory [10]. Later this model was used in the versions of public political process: G. Brewer and P. de León (1983) [6], D.

Anderson (1975) [3] and others.

Models of development of political strategy existing in political science and political programs, are based on allocation of its subject, standard, procedural, target and causing factors of their interrelation. Thus, according to the right remark, L.V.Smorgunov has impact on creation of models, whether the researcher professes the theory of a rational choice or not [2, page 23]. Authors seek to consider all stages of process in generalizing model that on the one hand conducts to simplification of understanding of formation of policy, but with another gives the chance to understand logic of this process.

The generalizing administrative model was presented by Terence Morrison in the book "to Actionable Learning: A Handbook for Capacity Building Through Case Based Learning" where I devoted one of heads to a case of formation of public policy. Process of development of policy by it included the following provisions:

1. Forward Looking. Process of development of policy includes clearly certain results, which the policy tries to reach and where it is possible, considers future effects of policy.

2. Outward Looking. Process of development of policy takes the contextual and influential factors, which are out of the state jurisdiction and control into consideration.

3. Innovative, Flexible and Creative. Process of development of policy is innovative and flexible when in it the established ways of the solution of problems are called into question and new and creative ideas are developed. Whenever possible, process is open for criticism and for offers from other actors. Risks are defined and actively cope.

4. Evidence Based. Councils and decisions in the course of development of policy are based on the best available information from various sources, and all significant people are involved in process at the earliest possible stage of a formulation of the purposes.

5. Inclusive. Process of development of policy takes influence into consideration and reacts to needs of all people directly or indirectly influencing policy.

6. Joined Up. Process of development of policy includes the complete look leaving for an institutional framework of governmental strategic objectives, and is based on moral, ethical and legal factors of policy. Mutually being crossed purposes, which are clear, and the organizational structures necessary for a guarantee of their implementation, are considered in the beginning.

7. Review. The existing and already developed politicians as well as new political initiatives are subject to continuous control to provide realization in them the most effective and changeable.

8. Evaluation. Systematic estimation of efficiency of policy is built in process of its development.

9. Learns Lessons. Process of development of policy is constructed on ways and processes of continuous studying of introduction of policy and processes of its formulation [11, p. 205–206].

T. Morrison suggests considering formation of public policy, using relevant criteria for this process. Legality: feasible strategic alternative, which shouldn't break existing laws or the structures established by the law. Political acceptability: the pursued policy has to be politically accepted. Reliability: strategic alternatives have to be adequate to political reality.

Possibility of improvement: the good policy has to be flexible, i.e. capable to high-quality improvement through practice, instead of to be locked in initial design.

Practical realization of formation of public policy assumes the following steps:

The first step. This step demands that were defined and analysed the maintenance of policy (realized or estimated). For this purpose it is necessary: to identify main goals of policy, to define the mechanism, which is intended to achieve each objectives, which is on the agenda. The second step, assumes definition of key players and their roles in political process. Own position of actors in policy, their interests, imperious opportunities, consequences, network and coalition configurations is analyzed. The third step: opportunities and obstacles. This step includes an assessment of opportunities and obstacles on policy introduction. The fourth step: strategy. It includes design of strategy. At this stage the help of expert community for improvement of feasibility of political strategy is offered. The fifth step: influence. This step includes an assessment of impact of strategy concerning provisions, the power and interests of the mobilized players identified earlier. The program allows to estimate the current and future programs of implementation of political decisions [11, p. 222] through comparison.

T. Morrison's model has the general more likely technical character therefore it can be applied not only to theoretical judgment, but also in practice considering contextual features of that political system which is taken for the analysis and realization of political process.

One of basic models of political process – "the model of open systems", was created by Richard Hofferbert. The model constructed on idea "causality funnels" assumes consecutive transition from wider and uncertain conditions to concrete politically choice of elite issued in political decisions. Political process includes consecutive components of a chain: historical and geographical conditions – socioeconomic structure – mass political behavior – governmental institutes – behavior of elite in the course of the issued discussion of policy – the developed policy [7]. This model received popularity at researchers of public policy though in the course of application demands correction of components of a chain and inclusion in the analysis of country specifics.

In the 80th years of the XX century the model of "political streams" gained distribution, making John Kingdon is considered process of development of policy by which author [9]. It includes the description of three "streams", first of which, consists of information on real problems and results of the previous governmental activity. The second flow - "community" of researchers, experts, representatives of NPO, journalists, etc., which analyze problems and formulate various alternative versions of their decision. The third stream - "political" consists of elections, activity of politicians, the competition during adoption of laws, etc. When three streams unite, then there is a window of "opportunities" for adoption of political decisions. This model finds application for the analysis of formation of public policy in different systems and allows to investigate questions of bad realization of this policy, to reveal problems in decisions of political actors, to analyze and introduce amendments through operating windows of "opportunities" in the political agenda. Model restriction at an explanation of public policy consists in the absence of attention to a problem of participation of the public in this process. Thus, considering the vertical characteristic of formation of public

policy, there is a restriction at research horizontal the practice that doesn't give the chance to consider this process fully.

One of the most demanded models in political science was presented by P. Sabatye and H. Jenkins-Smith in works 1988, 1993, 1999гг. They represent the synthesized model of "the competing protecting coalitions" (Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)), which is focused on public policy in dynamic systems, i.e. change of a political policy and a choice of the new. Replacement of a new course with another is carried out under the influence of three main sets of factors: 1) interaction of the competing coalitions in subsystem of a choice of policy; 2) external changes in relation to the first subsystem; 3) rather stable public parameters. The subsystem of the competing coalitions consists of the actors representing many public and private organizations at all levels of management who divides a set of basic ideas and beliefs (political goals, opinions, feelings) and who tries to manipulate rules of various administrative institutes for achievement of political goals over time. The conflict between the coalitions is mediated by "political brokers", i.e. actors who are connected more likely with conditions of system stability, than with actually political goals. External changes in relation to coalition system include motions in social and economic conditions, changes in ruling coalition, the decisions resulting from other areas of policy. It can be goods prices and services, changes of the general economic environment in the market, the new elections, the made decisions in the field of social policy which influence economic strategy, etc. Stable system parameters include basic social structures and the constitutional rules. They limit actions of actors and influence their resources [8, p. 27–28]. Model of the coalitions is successfully applied together with the network analysis, at research of problems of a web-formation and interaction of participants of political process on the basis of their resource interdependence [13]. However at all advantages of this model to apply it at research of transitional and unstable systems it is problematic. The reason for that is the third component of this model (rather stable public parameters) which in the transformational states constantly is in a condition of change. First of all it concerns legal and valuable parameters. The constitutional bases are exposed to systematic reforming. Political values have the changeable nature and depend from socializing the practice of the concrete state.

Within a neo-institutional paradigm the American researcher Eleanor Ostrom developed with colleagues model of "an institutional rational choice". On the basis of the analysis of collective use of natural resources of mountain meadows in Switzerland and Japan, water use systems on Philippines and in California, fishery in Canada and Turkey, Eleanor Ostrom showed effective mechanisms of management of the public benefits [12]. The model based on individual conditions and conditions of decision-making of actors, represents the interconnected chain of actions of development of policy. Individual conditions include values and the resources of individuals allowing them to influence process of development of the purposes. The situation of decision-making is presented as set of the conditions connected with institutional rules, the nature of the corresponding benefits and characteristics by communities (social and economic conditions and public opinion). Under "institutes", E.Ostr understands a set of the working rules used for establishment of the one who and at what level is competent to make the decisions, what actions are admissible and what are limited, what rules of aggregation

will be used, what procedures will need to be followed, what information has to be provided and what - No, as well as for what actions will be rewarded individuals. Rules can coincide with the legal laws adopted in the state, and can be actual, but legally not issued. Thus they share on operational rules (rules of decision-making actors), collective rules (the collective norms, operating agents), the constitutional rules (the constitution operating a choice of collective norms) [1, p. 111–112]. Thanks to mediation of institutes, there is a choice of political priorities individuals who depending on a situation will act differently. Success of such action is achieved not due to the state or market strategy, and at the expense of a combination of activity of the voluntary organizations and the public management, which are carrying out functions of self-organization, self-government and supervision of implementation of decisions [1, p. 121–198]. On the example of concrete cases of use of natural resources it proved that public character of institute "smoothes" individual preferences. As this model is presented rather as a set of conditions, instead of as universal model therefore its use is possible as some kind of reference point on the general idea of cooperation and the public management.

Since the 90th of XX century development of models of formation of public policy without use of the theory of a rational choice begins. The model of "fluctuating balance", developed by Frank Baumgartner and Brian Jones, differently called by model of "political changes" can serve one of such examples. It is obliged by the origin to the biological theory of quantum evolution. Model essence that after the long periods of stagnation inevitably there are fast changes in political life of society which are caused by various conditions of institutional and cultural and valuable character [4]. Complexity of application of this model consists in not developed concrete criteria of political changes.

Out of the theory of a rational choice the model of "strategic innovative distribution" was developed. This model not monolithic, and represents the whole complex of models which give the chance to study practice of innovative changes in area of public policy. It enter: model of regional distribution, model of the leader – lagging behind, isomorphism model, model of internal determination, etc. One of authors of model of "strategic innovative distribution" Francis Stokes Berri and David Berri, using existential categories, raise in research questions: "What combination (1) it is state – political, economic and socio-demographic a determinant, and (2) interstate factors make models of strategic decision-making?" [5]. On the example of decision-making by separate states in America it was proved that the regional governments make innovative solutions when their political, economic, social environment is favorable.

Concerning the states, the authors leaning on this model, came to a conclusion that the rich, economically developed countries, with a big share of urban population, a high education level, and the developed electoral system (assuming alternativeness of a choice) carry out innovative strategy quicker. Such option of model of innovative strategy can be applied at research of the countries with favorable economic conditions and stable parameters of social and political-right character. The regional model of distribution which attributes strategic innovations of the state strategic behavior it geographically the next neighbors can be useful to transitional systems.

Thus, the developed models of formation of public policy are more generalizing. Authors place emphases on institutional or subject characteristics, and also at stages of this

process. The above-considered models can't be applied to the analysis of public policy of transitional political systems in full volume and without changes. It is explained by instability of many components of system character, the conflictness on different stages of development of decisions, lack of practice of regulation of contradictions in society, unavailability of participants of public process to dialogue. However, correction of the presented models taking into account national contextual features of the considered states, with specification of criteria and the indicators allocated for research is quite possible.

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## ТЕОРЕТИЧНІ МОДЕЛІ ФОРМУВАННЯ ПУБЛІЧНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ

**Олена Чальцева**

*Донецький національний університет,  
історичний факультет, кафедра політології,  
вул. Університетська, 24, 83001, м. Донецьк, Україна  
e-mail:helenchaltseva@mail.ru*

Моделі формування публічної політики, які існують сьогодні в сучасній політичній науці, пояснюють специфіку і послідовність ухвалення політичних рішень у державах. Залежно від поставлених цілей, автори цих моделей акцентують увагу на різних аспектах розробки політичного процесу. Моделі носять узагальнений характер, що дає змогу застосовувати їх для аналізу різних систем, але з урахуванням контекстуальних особливостей кейсів, що розглядаються.

*Ключові слова:* публічна політика, політична стратегія, модель політичного процесу, система.

## ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ МОДЕЛИ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ПУБЛИЧНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

**Елена Чальцева**

*Донецкий национальный университет  
Исторический факультет, кафедра политологии,  
ул. Университетская, 24, 83001, г. Донецк, Украина  
e-mail:helenchaltseva@mail.ru*

Существующие в современной науке модели формирования публичной политики объясняют специфику и последовательность принятия политических решений в государствах. В зависимости от поставленных целей авторы этих моделей акцентируют внимание на различных аспектах разработки политического процесса. Модели носят обобщенный характер, что дает возможность применять их для анализа различных систем, но с учетом контекстуальных особенностей рассматриваемых кейсов.

*Ключевые слова:* публичная политика, политическая стратегия, модель политического процесса, система.

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