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# Looking back to look towards a more power-sensitive approach of policy implementation

Investigating planning policies in Zurich and Geneva

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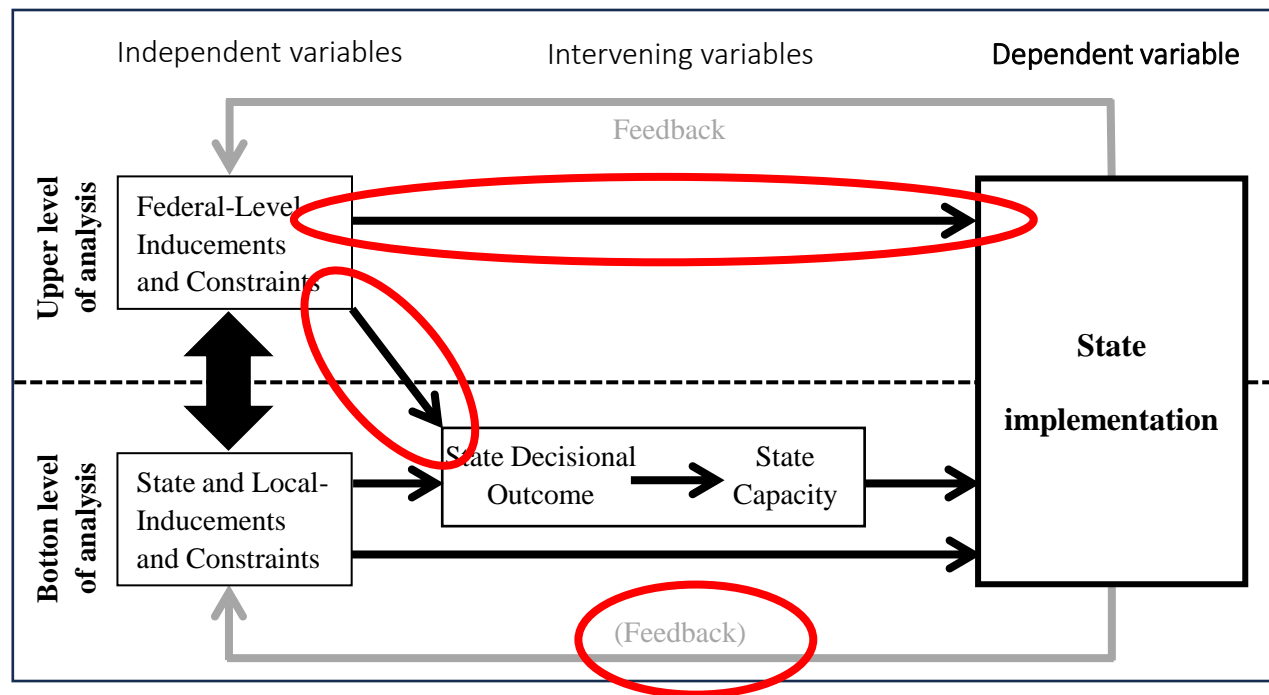
1. Addressing 2 weaknesses of the 3rd gen. of implementation studies
  - a) The biases of a top-down prescriptive view of policy implementation
  - b) Power relations barely considered or in an unrealistic way
2. Solutions drawing on various theoretical concepts / analytical tools
  - Combining the multi-level approach of 3rd gen. with the bottom-up perspective of the Garbage Can Model (GCM) & the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF)
3. Empirical investigation in Switzerland: how Zurich and Geneva reacted to federal policy changes affecting land-use planning and urban governance
4. Concluding remarks

# 1a. Top-down prescriptive view of 3rd gen.

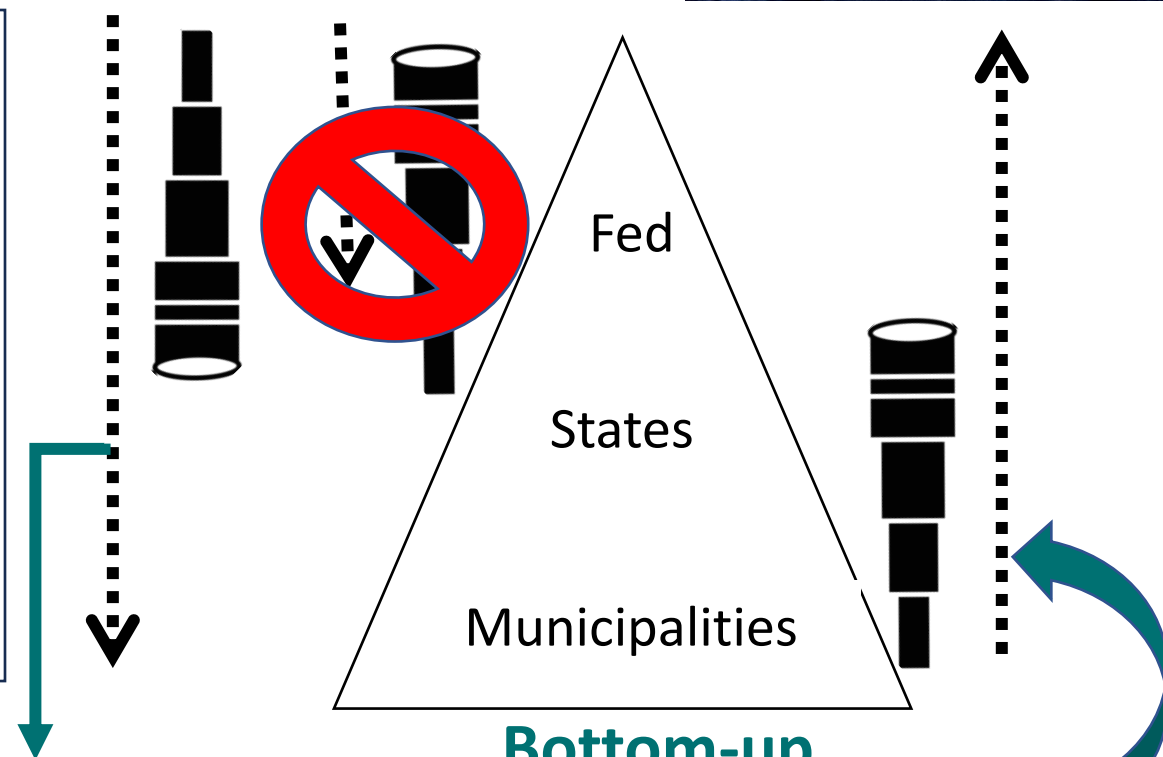
Biased synthesis of 2 first generations of policy implementation (PI)



The Communications Model of Goggin et al. (1990 :32) → multi-level



**Only 2 arrows whose inputs are controlled by federal authorities**  
**State-level feedback loop overlooked**



Done when analyzing policy formulation

**Bottom-up perspective (1st gen) = prioritized**

# 1b. Power relations overlooked by 3rd gen.

Going back to the 1st gen. of implementation studies allows for a more realistic and pragmatic vision of power relations throughout implementation

*“We suggest that [...] the policy-action relationship needs to be regarded as **a process of interaction and negotiation**, taking place over time, **between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends**”.* (emphasis added)  
Barrett & Fudge (1981:4)



Source: Van Noordwijk et al.(2011:89)

- Stop considering implementation stakeholders as "agents"
- Take uncertainty & unpredictability as granted
- Moving beyond «Carrots, Sticks & Sermons» (Bemelmans-Videc et al. 1998)



### 3. Empirics: 5 fed. policy changes in 2 cantons – 1980-2019

Federal policy changes	1980 Federal Spatial Planning Act (FSPA)	1987 Rail 2000	2001 Federal Agglomeration Policy	1999 /2003 Railways (SBB) liberalized	2014 FSPA revised
		Federal zoning introduced with 3 main zones	Billions invested for railway infra.	New funding scheme for urban areas	SBB have to make real estate profit
Impl. in Zurich	Long & complex: local - cantonal conflicts	<b>WOP</b> fully exploited. S-Bahn network is dev.	<b>WOP</b> fully exploited. <b>TOD</b> + pragmatic vision the policy	<b>WOP</b> fully exploited. <b>TOD</b> as a huge asset	No big change. Dev. model remains <b>TOD</b>
Impl. in Geneva	Cosmetic changes ex-post	WOP poorly exploited. Weak invest. in railway	WOP partially exploited. No TOD & institutionalist vision	WOP partially exploited. Only 1 major project (CEVA)	No big change. BUT dev. model puts into ?

WOP = Window of opportunity; TOD = transit-oriented development

# Concluding remarks

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- Implementation depends mostly on the cantonal context: how does the federal policy change matches with the cantonal agenda  
→ **Bottom-up perspective is key**
- In Zurich, most policy changes are anticipated & integrated through the **solution stream** (policy stream) of MSF  
→ windows of opportunity = created & fully exploited
- In Geneva, federal policy changes are barely anticipated → they are integrated through the **problem stream** of MSF  
→ windows of opportunity only partially or poorly exploited

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