The role of new actors in public policy making: an analytical study of conceptual framework

دور الفواعل الجدد في صنع السياسة العامة: دراسة تحليلية للإطار المفاهيمي

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Abstract:

The study aims to explain the interference of political networks in the public policy-making process, and the internal and external factors that affect the course and stages of various policy-making, which are usually in the form of pressures from the internal environment and the external political environment. The state was the main axis that the analysis began to focus on, as it represents the official actor who has the powers to make political decisions according to the legitimacy it possesses, but the increase in the influence of other countries and the increase in the number. From international organizations and institutions, leading to the transition to new levels of public policy analysis called political networks that engage the state in directing political choices, and influencing the political process.

key words:

Political networks, public policy, the state, formal actors, informal actors.

ملخص:

تهدف الدراسة إلى تفسير تدخل الشبكات السياسية في عملية صنع السياسة العامة، والعوامل الداخلية والخارجية التي تؤثر على مسار ومراحل صنع السياسات، والتي عادة ما تكون في شكل ضغوط على المؤسسات التي تتولى مهمة صياغة وتنفيذ السياسات العامة، في حين كانت الدولة المحور الأساسي الذي بدأ التحليل بالتركيز عليها باعتبارها تمثل الفاعل الرسمي الذي يملك صلاحيات اتخاذ القرارات السياسية وفق الشرعية التي تملكها، أدى زيادة نفوذ قوى أخرى، وعدد المنظمات والمؤسسات الدولية إلى الانتقال إلى مستويات جديدة من تحليل السياسة العامة تسمى الشبكات السياسية التي تشارك الدولة في توجيه الخيارات السياسية والتأثير على العملية السياسية.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الشبكات السياسية، السياسة العامة، الدولة، الفواعل الرسمية، الفواعل غير الرسمية.

Introduction:

Public policy is related to solving society's problems and satisfying the needs of citizens, by setting plans and programs to be implemented in response to those demands that come from society. The emergence of public policies as a scientific field has been linked to the field of political science, which developed from its interest in the form and inputs of the political system in the sixties to the study of political systems and political systems. This development represented a reason for the interest in analyzing the content and returns of policies, and the continuous search for the best mechanisms that would enable the decision maker to rationalize and exploit the available resources. Harold Lasswell is considered one of the most influential researchers in developing the concept of public policy thanks to his book "Who? What? How?" Where he presented and discussed the shift from focusing on the state to paying attention to the role of social groups and forces in the state. From here, new concepts emerged that affected the field of politics in its theoretical aspect, such as: behavior - groups - processes - systems - networks. Analytical tools have also been enhanced, facilitating the process of conceptual control due to the increased interest in socio-economic influences on political life, the increasing influence of other forces, the greater part of the influence being the emergence of civil society, the role of transnational corporations and the increasing role of organizations outside the state. Thus, the talk about public policy has transcended the role of the state in favor of external forces and influences that are no less important than traditional forces such as parties, pressure groups, and others. Hence, this paper asks: How do political networks affect public policy making?

Research Importance:

The research acquires great importance through its relationship with the issue of public policies, and the topic of new actors represented in political networks. By dealing with these two variables related to public policy-making at all levels of state agencies and their affiliated organizations, which also include networked actors to implement public policy.

Rsearch aims: The research objectives focus on the following:

A / Provide a conceptual presentation of public policies.

b/ Defining the role of political networks as actors in public policy making.

c/ Conclusion about the influence of political networks on public policy making.

First – Public Policy and political networks : Conceptual Framework

The field of public policy studies is quite new, and many of the fundamentals of public policy science have begun to be conceptualized over the past thirty years. There is still much debate about whether there is a single, coherent set of principles that can govern the study and understanding of what we call public policy-making. There are many possible ways to develop public policy. In academic studies of public

policy, we provide definitions of public policy to understand what the field we seek to study might look like.

1)-Public Policy : Definition and Characteristics :

a)-The concept of public policy :

According to Clarke E. Cochran[1] "Public policy always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions and actions" and "Public policy is the outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what,

Public policies are an expression of the government's desire to act (or refrain from acting), and public policy can be defined as: built, coherent groups of intentions, decisions, and achievements that can be attributed to a public authority (local, national, or supranational). As Thomas Day defined it: "Public policy is the government's choice of what to do and what not to do within a specific field," meaning that public policy is choices and alternatives that do not remain in the theoretical framework but rather what the government actually does. Thomas Dye considers public policy to be "whatever governments choose to do or not do"[2], This definition makes public policy into positive decisions, regardless of negative ones. Policies do not always represent what the government does, but can express what it refrains from, which is known as negative policies, such as reservations and governments refraining from making their decisions in a certain field. From another perspective, Eloise F. Malonec and Charles L. Cochran consider that "public policy consists of policy decisions to implement and programs to achieve societal goals"[3].

b)-Public Policy Features:

We can never have a single definition of public policy, but we can distinguish the main features of public policy [4]:

- The policy is developed in response to a type of issue that requires attention.
- The policy is created on behalf of the "public".
- The policy is directed toward the goal or desired situation, such as solving a problem.
- Policy is ultimately set by governments, even if ideas come from outside government or through the interaction of state and non-state actors.
- Policy is interpreted and implemented by public and private actors who have different interpretations of problems and solutions and their own motivations.

2)-The relationship of political networks with public policy-making :

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[1]- Clarke E. Cochran., American Public Policy: An Introduction. 10th ed. Boston, MA: Cengage Wadsworth, 2010.

[2]- Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy. 14th ed. Boston, MA: Pearson, 2013.

[3]- Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone, Public Policy: Perspectives and Choices. 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010.

[4]- Thomas A. Birkland, An Introduction to the Policy Process Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making, Fourth edition published by Routledge, New York , 2016,p2 – 8.

A network is the structure and system of interconnected nodes, and the nodes are formally the points where the curve intersects itself. Networks are open structures that develop by adding or removing nodes according to the changing requirements of programs that define performance goals for networks, of course these programs are socially determined from outside the network. But once they are recorded in network logic, the network will actively follow these instructions, with adding, deleting, and reconfiguring, until a new program replaces or modifies the codes that govern its operating system[1].

Figure01: Intersection of networks
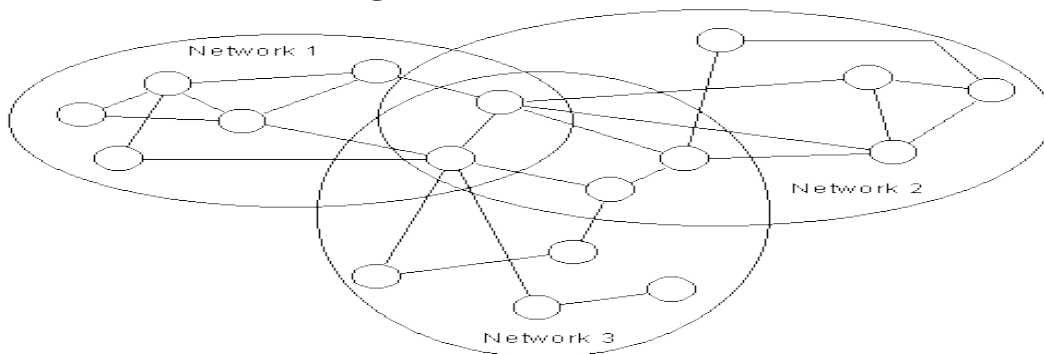
Source: Jorge Gil Mendieta, Samuel Schmidt, Jorge Castro, Alejandro Ruiz, "A Dynamic Analysis of the Mexican Power Network", http://www.analytictech.com

The topology of a network shows the flow of information and pattern of relationships. Networks can be more or less centralized, and network analysis helps identify cliques, the number of connections, paths (shortest, longest), groups, factions, etc. A very centralized network usually shows cohesion and includes influential cliques. The influence individuals have within the network is determined by their centrality, which results from participation, simultaneously or over time, in various networks. Individuals who participate in the intersection of networks (Fig.1) have more influence because they become a central node with different resource mobilization capabilities. Among them, Public policy actors are: "the individuals or groups (formal and informal) who participate in the formulation of public policies, directly or indirectly". Thus, political networks are: "a series of groups and actors in or outside the government that are linked formally and informally among them, in order to achieve common interests that are negotiated and interacted between them to implement them and take them out as a public policy, The political network affects through its relations and the use of its material influence, and its influence is due to its extension within the political decision-making units, which makes it part of the political system".

a)- Theoretical explanation of the interaction of networks to influence the making of public policy:

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[1]-Manuel Castells**,** The Network Society From Knowledge to Policy, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins Center for Transatlantic Relations, 2005, P7.

There have been many interpretations of policy making as a comprehensive compilation of the performance of governmental, private and social institutions at various levels, and it has developed into theories that are:

Theory 1: The Advocacy Coalition Framework :

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) argues that "advocacy coalitions" operate within a "policy subsystem." Subsystem participants with similar policy beliefs form advocacy coalitions comprised of: people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers, etc.) who share a particular belief system – for example, a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions – and who show a nontrivial degree of cooperation over time.

Theory 2: Policy Entrepreneur Models

Importantly, concepts of policy entrepreneurs as "brokers" and "bridgers" of policy information have strong precedent in the networks literature. Social capital theory – the conceptual foundation of social network analysis – asserts that mutual trust and commitment can often emanate from group norms, from frequent interaction, or both (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000).

Networks are critical to the formation of social capital because they can strengthen ties between disparate actors that lead to norms of reciprocity and collective trust (Putnam, 2000) – a pattern that appears hold in policy networks One of the central arguments of network theory – Granovetter's "strength of week ties" hypothesis (Granovetter, 1973) – suggests that individuals are often better off nurturing their relationship with acquaintances (or 'weak ties') rather than their friendships (or 'strong ties'). Because acquaintances serve as "bridgers" between disparate cliques within policy networks, weak ties constitute the primary means of information diffusion (Carpenter, Esterling, & Lazar, 1998). According to Robert Burt's theory of "structural holes"– a prominent theme in social network analysis – dense ties within networks create holes, limiting the interaction of actors in different clusters. Consequently, some network actors, referred to as "network brokers", are able to take advantage of structural holes by bridging between the clusters[1].

Theory 3: Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

Punctuated Equilibrium Theory instead deals with broader signs of policy change – a process that can be observed by examining fluctuations between longer periods of policy stability, or "equilibriums," and relatively short periods of change. for example, base their typology on three criteria: institutional strength (stable/unstable), the scope of policymaking (trans-sectoral/sectoral), and constraints on participation (restricted/open). Meanwhile, Adam and Kriesi (2007) present a two-

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[1]- Sarah Galey, Peter Youngs, Moving Towards an Integrated Theory of Policy Networks: A Multi-Theoretical Approach for Examining State-Level Policy Change in U.S. Subsystems, WORKING PAPER 45, The Education Policy Center or Michigan State University, December 2014, p.16.

dimensional typology of network structure based on observable compositional (i.e., actor types) and relational (i.e., frequency/quality of network ties) characteristics. They posit that these dimensions produce different "interaction modes," such as conflictor collaboration-oriented modes that lead to different types of policy outcomes – a policy subsystem with high levels of conflict, for example, will be associated with rapid (serial) policy shifts, while those with a bargaining structure will experience more incremental policy change[1]. Börzel defines policy networks in general terms "as power relationships between the government and interest groups, in which resources are exchanged". However, the policy network concept in the field of public policy and administration comprises a number of specific approaches. These models emerged from two different schools of thought: the interest intermediation school and the governance school respectively (see especially Börzel 1998)

Table 1: Two Approaches to the Study of Policy Networks

Interest Intermediation School (Policy Networks as an Analytical Toolbox)	Governance School (Policy Networks as a Form of Governance)
Definition: An overarching framework for analysing changes in state/society relations in public policy making.	**Definition** : A particular form of governance, a real change in the structure of polity that reflects changes in state and society relationships.
Explanatory Power: Used to explain all kinds of relations between public and private actors in public policymaking. Actors form linkages (business-like relationships/mutual interests) to negotiate and implement policies. • Linkages make up the structure of policy networks. • Linkages analysed within this framework. • Policy networks reflect the status and power of particular interests. • Influences the effectiveness of policy making processes and outcomes **Prospects** A relatively simple, straightforward	**Explanatory Power**: A combination of relevant theories (a metatheoretical approach) is used to explain specific kinds of relations between public and private actors in public policymaking. • Actors form flexible relationships to share resources and collective action in policymaking. • Flexible relationships are part of an ongoing process of making policies. • Acknowledges the difficulty in determining the influence of policy networks on the effectiveness of policymaking processes and outcomes **Prospects** A model that can help describe policy

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[1]- Ibid, p11.

model that can effectively describe policy networks as they are. • Descriptive •Practical.	networks as they ought to be. • Prescriptive •Theoretica.
Problems • Static • Cannot help explain how policy networks change. • Cannot systematically link the nature of a policy network with the character and outcome of the policy process.	**Problems** • Idealistic • Does not constitute a proper theory and so still has limited explanatory power. • Does not account for resistance to change and other ambiguities and deficiencies.

Source : Graham Thompson and Christof Pforr, Policy Networks and Good Governance – A Discussion, Curtin University of Technology School of Management Working Paper Series, 2005-1, p.2

Table 1 provides an overview of the approaches to the study of policy networks taken by both the intermediation and governance schools. It highlights the advantages and disadvantages of policy network models from both schools of thought, in terms of their capacity to be used as frameworks for analysis. In particular, contrasts are made between a descriptive approach and a normative approach to policy network research. It suggests that the normative approach adopted by the governance school, notwithstanding its shortcomings, considers better the processes of change and the nature of relationships in policymaking and associated networks, as opposed to the intermediation school that focuses more on the structure of networks[1].

b)- The increasing role of new actors in setting policy priorities :

Recent studies focus on the evaluation process of public policies, as colin knox points out that taking the opinions of beneficiaries of policies requires answering the following questions: Who are the beneficiaries? What is the value of their opinions? At what stage in policy-making is taking their opinion most helpful? What are the costs of taking the opinions of beneficiaries into evaluating public policies?[2]

The traditional test that political scholars used to distinguish between the different political systems was the "distribution of power" between those who represent one political system or another, but relying on this classification criterion alone means ignoring many of the similarities that exist between political systems in which the form and extent of power distribution varies within them. That is why we find that Parsons has provided us with what is known as "pattern variables" in order

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[1]- Graham Thompson and Christof Pforr, op;cit, p.3.
[2]- Salwa Shaarawi Gomaa, Analysis of Public Policy in the Arab World, Center for Studies and Consulting in Public Administration, Cairo, 2004, p.36.

to better analyze social systems and thus political systems. As for Almond, he saw classifying political constructions in light of criteria such as[1]:

The extent of differentiation of the sub-system components.

The extent of crystallization and clarity of the pattern.

- The degree of stability of the jobs entailed in the different roles.

Picture of force distribution and dynamics.

- The ability of the system to redistribute and change roles.

In fact, we find that the exercise of influence in the political system of the various powers requires the expenditure of political resources, but the resources are limited, and hence the exercise of influence is a costly matter, and therefore the ruler who has even a degree of rationality will not benefit from his resources to the extent that they sacrifice value The earnings he expects to receive are less than he spends,thus, the purpose of introducing networks into the political process in general, and allowing them to influence public policy-making is to increase the gains that are expected to be obtained by less than what is spent, that is, according to the rationalistic model, to increase the expected gains over the expected costs, and for those who are subject to control (networks They seek to maximize the costs of controlling them[2].

In general, network relationships give three types of learning between actors: cognitive / technical / social / political and institutional[3]:

-Cognitive or technical learning: it refers to basic learning about the nature of the problem, the assumptions about the causal relationships involved and the advantages and disadvantages of measures aimed at addressing the problem.

-Social or political learning: it means that network actors learn how to operate within a network and implement strategies aimed at cooperation and negotiation.

-Institutional learning: revolves around developing common and lasting arrangements, procedures and rules, such as values and trust that reduce risks and costs of fluctuations and support negotiations and cooperation.

Second - Analyzing the role of networks in political decision-making

Modern concepts of public policy have been linked to the concept of Network Policy. This concept refers to the presence of more than one active group in public policy making, which changes with the change of public policy topics, or from one period to another, that is, the presence of several non-governmental communication

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[1]- Ahmed Sulayman Abu Zaid, Social Policy, Definition, Scope and Strategies, Suez Canal: University Knowledge House, 2006, p. 111.

[2]- Robert Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Translation and Publishing, 1993, p. 56.

[3]- Michael Howletta,b, Ishani Mukherjeea and Joop Koppenjanc, "Policy learning and policy networks in theory and practice: the role of policy brokers in the Indonesian biodiesel policy network", Policy and Society, VOL. 36, NO. 2, 2017, p.235.

patterns, the latter enjoying a degree of independence from the government. , which can in fact direct these networks in indirect ways[1].

1)-political decision-making actors :

The realization of public policy decided by the higher authorities depends on the position of cooperation, which represent important actors with a heavy influence. Fritz Sharp used the phrase "vertical political entanglement" to name this picture of the grouping of actors. Four modes of cooperation enable decisions to be reached in joint decision systems, namely[2]:

a)-Negative coordination:

The decision expresses the lowest common denominator among the actors, as each of them is keen to avoid cases of veto use by the other, and with this decision there is a possibility of falling into stalemate and the entrenchment of the existing conditions. Nevertheless, little has changed in the way Australian governments make policy. The past 10-15 years have seen governments struggling with the implementation of the 'new public management'. This has seen dramatic reforms to the personnel and financial management of bureaucracies and profound changes to the nature and extent of government involvement in delivery of services. However, change to the actual process of making policy has been marginal[3].

b)-Bargaining:

In order to reach a consensus of the participating actors, it seeks to compensate the actors affected by the decision taken, by paying material benefits or promises to support the currently losing actors in future decisions related to other issues ... etc, what is more important is to explore whether the older political elite members who have longer experience of being in power become more central due to their more extended connections, or the level of influence is observed due to accumulation of the other forms of capital. For instance, YanukovychVF—leader of 'opposition' in the Parliament for several years after the 'Orange Revolution' in 2004, term and pre-term parliamentary elections of 2006 and 2007, and one of the candidates during the presidential elections—started his career inside regional political elite ten years ago, and he had been a director of coal-mining enterprise for ten years before that. Thus, horizontal mobility between elite positions made a great impact into formation of his social (network) capital. Instead, Akhmetov who is the most 'central' person within economic subset of ties is claimed to be the richest person in Ukraine and even among the billionaires in CEE states. He is a shareholder in the range of enterprises

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[1]- Abdellatif Bari, "Public Policies and Development in the Malaysian and Algerian Models", Journal of Human Sciences, No. 38/39, March 2015, p. 151.

[2]- Salah Belhadj, Public Policy Analysis, Theories, Approaches and Approaches, Algeria: Cordoba House for Publishing and Distribution, 2017, pp. 44-45.

[3]- David Hazlehurst, Networks and policy making: from theory to practice in Australian social, Discussion Paper No.83, July 2001, p4.

in energy, metal industry, coal-mining sectors as well as an owner of mass media companies and a President of a football club. He can directly lobby his business interests in the Parliament being a deputy for the last four years[1].

c)- Solving problems:

This is when the actors in a joint decision system are not concerned with the distribution of costs and benefits among them, unlike what is in the bargaining, but rather focus on crystallizing actions that represent a gain, given that each of the actors controls all the resources necessary to solve the problem in a correct way, according to our analysis, representation is connected to participation and leverage as network targets of legitimation. Participation as a legitimation target refers to becoming involved in particular activities in a network. It relates to situations in which an actor seeking legitimacy possesses some level of familiarity with the situation and the activity it wants to engage with (e.g., a government entering into negotiations with ethnic groups). Participation is also about being able to take concrete actions in relation to certain actors (e.g., consulting foreign firms' market entry). In terms of active membership in a network, several legitimation episodes depict participation in either decision-making or social and business development as the primary target of legitimation. Becoming active participants in the official decision-making processes is important for some NGOs as well as for the many ethnic groups without official political status in Myanmar/Burma. Actors who, to some degree, are already part of a network, seek legitimation through representation[2].

d)-Positive coordination:

This would be if the concerned actors succeeded in deliberating on the best solution to a problem while at the same time negotiating the bets related to the distribution among themselves of the costs and benefits associated with a particular action. There is a fundamental difference in policymaking by state or state institutions that are seen as policymakers, certainly as far as the simple characteristics of the policy are concerned, insofar as special claims are made about the legitimacy of state policy and its precedence over other policies. This takes us to two levels, one about the nature of the state, and the other about the special justifications used for the state's role as a policy provider[3].

Since the early 2000s, corporate philanthropists have poured large sums of money into the expansion of both Teach For America (TFA) and charter schools. Most notably, in 2010, the now prominent charter management organization,

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[1]- Tetiana Kostiuchenko , Central Actors and Groups in Political Elite: Advantages of Network Approach, polish sociological review, 2(174)2011, p202.

[2]- Jan Hermes, Tuija Mainela, Actor legitimation in emerging markets: A network-embedded process, Journal of World Busines 57, 2022, p6.

[3]- Michael Hill, The Public Policy Process, Routledge, New York, Sixth edition published ,2013, p34.

Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) received 24 million $ from 9 of the 15 major donors in education. In the same year, TFA received 44.5 million $ from 13 of the 15 major donors, As TFA and the charter school reform movement matured, philanthropic funding ties were reinforced by other resource exchange relationships embedded in these education policy networks. Namely, TFA and charter school programs evolved into as "feeder organizations" for entry into powerful, elite networks of leaders and groups that work across multiple policy domains.These networks form the bedrock of a rapidly growing bureaucratic structure, albeit informal, that owns, operates, and staffs charter schools. Further, by all accounts, this informal charter school bureaucracy is intent on expanding by continuing to supplant local, public school systems with networks of charter schools[1].

But the variation in policymaking challenges the unitary character of modern states and other political organizations, an assumption that many political science relies on, especially in Europe with strong national governance structures, and fails to analyze at the national level even in federal states, such as the analysis of Congress and the President in the United States. Once researchers develop the assumption of a political system, they can observe the different types of political actors and institutions in the field of politics in all its complexities, depending on the type of issues, the pattern of bargaining, the structures of opportunities and constraints within each sector, and the making of certain types of policies that are not similar to those involved in them. National political traditions and constitutional norms, and may extend across institutions to other levels of government at the sub-national or supranational level.

The relative influence of politicians, bureaucrats and representatives of interest groups varies according to the sector of activity, whether it is, for example, health, education, or transportation. Each policy sector differs according to the extent to which actors cooperate to achieve their goals. Also, policy sectors differ in the way in which decision-makers can achieve results and whether the success or failure of a policy belongs to the rest of the political community[2].

For example, health policy produces a certain type of relationship between professionals and politicians due to the specialized and technical nature of health care. Politicians find it extremely difficult to regulate medicine because they lack expert information, something they seek to overcome, often by reforming the institutional and legal framework. Policy sectors differ according to the tools and

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[1]- Sarah Galey-Horn , Joseph J. Ferrare, Special issue using Policy Network Analysis to Understand Ideological Convergence and Change in Educational Subsystems, Education Policy Analysis Archives Vol. 28 No. 118, 2020, p14.

[2]- Peter John, Analyzing Public Policy, Second edition published by Routledge, New York, 2012,p5.

resources available to decision-makers. Tools, for example, can have various forms: they can be legal, allocate funds to encourage organizations and people or punish perpetrators, institutional with the aim of creating rules to facilitate coordination and effective decision-making, regulatory. To apply bureaucratic power to solve problems, and information to convey encouraging signals to individuals and organizations, or a network characteristic to allow the center to persuade others to achieve its goals. Environmental management tools differ greatly from those used for agriculture, for example: it is difficult to legislate in the environment because it is difficult to influence outcomes due to the scale of the problem, the environment includes many organizations and participants. There are contrasting local, national and supranational dimensions of environmental problems, and in contrast, agriculture involves fewer representatives of interest groups, particularly farmers and representatives of the agricultural industry (although other groups, such as environmentalists and health professionals, have become more important in recent years). It is relatively easy to apply financial instruments to achieving limited policy goals, such as encouraging more land cultivation and protecting rural income (although farming problems are now less easy to solve with crises of overproduction, poor hygiene, and growing concerns about the wider environment)[1].

2)-Factors of the emergence of the concept of global public policy :

In the past decade, there has been an increasing use of the term "global public policy" due to the intertwining of the policies of states with each other and with the interests of others

a)-The impact of the concept of global politics and its actors on national policy-making :

Other terms and concepts are better defined in the lexicon, one of the most current terms is "global governance", the alternative term is "governance without government". At other times, "global politics" is equivalent to financing and delivering global public goods. Another synonym is the idea of "global public-private partnerships" or "global programs" sponsored by the World Bank, "transnational constitutionalism" is a phrase you rarely encounter; Indeed, these constitutional processes have only appeared in the European Union, in classical political science, public policy takes place within nation-states. In the field of international relations, a "realist" view would also stipulate that states are the dominant party in the international system and that international policies are set between states because of their strong inclination to "systematic nationalism"[2].

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[1]- Peter John, op ;cit, p5.

[2]- Diane Stone, Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities, and Their Networks, University of Warwick institutional repository, publication 2008,p08.

Global public policy refers to the outputs of international agencies, international organizations, institutions, and all bodies that contribute to managing human affairs and needs on a global level. If the public policy is a response to the problems of society, then the global public policy is a response to the problems and issues of the global community, and that is by agreement between governments, their representatives, or organizations at the global level regarding whether or not to act towards or mitigate global public policy issues[1].

Salwa Al Shaarawi Gomaa gave two main factors to the emergence of the concept of global public policy[2]:

- The growing role played by United Nations conferences, such as the Earth Summit "Priio de Janeiro" in Brazil in 1992, which placed environmental issues on the ladder of international and global concern. The International Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995 added women's issues to government agendas, as for the United Nations Population Conference. Development, which was held in Cairo in 1994, introduced the issue of reproductive health to the agenda of countries.

- The material and financial support provided by states and organizations in return for their intervention in directing domestic policies, as studies show that the policies related to the economy are affected by children and motherhood clearly in the programs of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Health Or ganization, UNICEF, and international bodies. The financial resource is an effective pressure factor in determining political priorities, in addition to the public or societal push for the decision-maker to deal with an issue or problem of concern.

b)- Factors affecting the emergence of world politics :

Global politics is defined as the result of the following factors[3]:

- Globally relevant risks and collective actions of various kinds (such as common environmental problems)

-work to promote equal rights and international standards in many different types of policy is evolving for several reasons, including the growing interconnectedness of public opinion and economic forces.

- Normative theories of global governance are evolving and changing rapidly,
additionally, the emerging powers on the global stage (for example India, China,

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[1]- Abdallah Ashouri, Global Public Policy Actors and Their Reflections on the Role of the State after the Cold War - Master's Memorandum in Political Science, Haji Lakhdar University Batna, 2014, p.29.

[2]- Riyad Borisch, Global Public Policy and the Concept of Global Governance, The Mediterranean Dialogue, Issue 13-14, December 2016, p. 365.

[3]- What is Global Policy? By: Global Policy Journal London School of Economics and Political Science www.globalpolicyjournal.com (25/02202213h).

Russia, and Brazil) often have different and competing notions of what constitutes the global order.

-A change from the national level to the level of political coalition occurred in two main areas: First, the European Union is undergoing a wonderful experiment in "joining national policy approaches," which has already introduced significant changes in how the 27 member states of the Union develop public policies through Many sectors. Second, we have seen complex or regional patterns develop, often involving greater integration of economic policy, in North and South America, Asia and the Pacific and sub-Saharan Africa. These patterns have emerged partly as responses to globalization and partly as attempts to shape it.

-In the second half of the century, it will see the emergence of many regional blocs, around the European Union, the USA, China, India and Latin America, along with multiple pillars of advanced political innovation. Each of the different regional blocs will develop different approaches and policy approaches, some of which are likely to have important implications.

-Innovations in global management in recent decades have sought to address emerging global risks and challenges. They often represent attempts to overcome weak or fragmented forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Specifically, these include the various forms of intergovernmental arrangements, for example the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization.

Third - Justifications for the perspective of convergence between global and national politics

1)-levels of affinity :

Colin J. Bennett defined the convergence of public policies as: "a dynamic process that results in an increasing number of countries with disparate public policies taking place in the same field and in front of the same betting category, and the same problem, by gradually adopting one public policies." This convergence can be seen on a number of different levels of public policies[1]:

- ✓ In the objectives of public work, the convergence here is epistemic, and it refers to methods of building the problem and defining the priority goals in directing public policies and thus establishing legitimacy for them.
- ✓ In the content of public policy, this convergence is related to the connection and methods of linking the goals and tools that characterize a public policy at a particular time.
- ✓ In general work tools, the convergence here is limited to the approved tools and the pattern of their use, for example, the European-American

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[1]- Salah Belhadj, Public Policy Analysis, Theories, Approaches and Approaches, Algeria: Cordoba House Publications, 2017, p. 232.

rapprochement to support Ukraine with weapons and equipment in its war with Russia.

✓ In the pattern of public policy approval, convergence relates to decision processes and classifies the interaction between public policy actors.

✓ Public policy audience, rapprochement relates to subjects targeted by public policy, for example the Climate Summit 2022 in Sharm El-Sheikh on climate change that affects all the world's population.

✓ In terms of public policy effects, convergence concerns the results of implementing the public policy in terms of outputs.

✓ The dominant actors in a public policy. At this level there is a convergence of actors who play a fundamental role in defining the problem, directing the policy, clarifying its content, clarifying its content, approving and implementing it.

2)-Public Policy Transfer Analysis Tools :

The tool of analysis used at present to explain transnational public action is policy transfer. Dolowitz David and David Marsh define the concept of public policy transfer as: the process by which knowledge of public policies or administrative structures or institutions existing at another moment or elsewhere is used," and public policy communicators are transnational actors. Most of them are experts from international institutions and high-ranking international officials, examples of which are shown in the following table:

Table 02: Clarifies the discursive strategies employed to promote public policy orientations

Actor	Transfer principle	Transfer model
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OCDE)	Use of statistics	Its data in the field of health is the only quantitative source for international comparisons: indicators included in its statistics made the diagnoses calling for the liberalization of disease protection systems in European countries.
The World Bank	Perfect upgrade cases	As a Chilean pension reform. It serves as successful evidence of the validity of the triple-grade retirement model called for by the World Bank.
The World Bank	Resort to a standard repeated statement or	The speech of the World Bank on the subject of economic reforms (the power of influence and the spread of faith in its call by ratifying hypotheses and establishing them in certain

	letter	situations in light of uncertainty and lack of clarity of vision due to conflicts and disagreements)
forums and meetings	The sociological study of transport actors	Transnational actors spread their perceptions in contact with national actors.

Source: Salah Belhadj, Op;cit, p.237 .

If the global public policy is distinct and separated to some extent from the national processes of policymaking, then the places in which such a political action takes place do not need to link the sovereign structures for decision-making, this does not mean a divorce between the global and national political processes. However, national public institutions are no longer the only center of regulation of politics. Instead, it is necessary to "consider restructuring the playing field itself," that is, historical and structural changes to "state" and "sovereignty". By reinventing a Greek political term that denotes this restructured playing field as "global agora". The idea of "agora" is a more familiar concept in studies of Athenian history and politics, but theoretically it extended to the world stage. In its simplest form, the term is intended to mean a market or a public square[1].

Despite Held's acceptance of Holsty's assessment, he believes it is unrealistic, given the fact that the supreme policy is not exclusive to the state (the growing role of some organizations and bodies such as the United Nations, NATO, the European Union, and the African Union in dealing with trends of a security nature), and that is based on the return of Activating and reviving the role of supranational governmental organizations that have become interfering in matters of peace and war, in addition to the fact that the overall policy is not only at a global level but within the member state with regard to human rights and development issues, political reforms, democracy and minorities, which actually indicates the multiplicity and diversity of actors in politics. International politics, or rather global politics, which James Rosenow affirms through his indication that focus should be placed on his study of international politics post, which is the same global politics as he refers in his book Turbulence in World Politics in which he referred to the beginning of the vanishing of the world of states that arose with the Convention Westphalia and the beginning of the emergence and spread of actors outside the framework of sovereignty[2].

Conclusion :

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[1]- Diane Ston,op;cit,p04.

[2]- Abdellatif Ashouri, op;cit, p25.

The need to interpret some policies based on new national and international actors who have become interfering in the policies of the regimes in various political, economic, social and even cultural fields, especially since multinational companies And human rights organizations have great influence in political decision, so the public policy is nothing but the outcome of the take-and-pull relationships between the actors at the local and central level on the one hand, and between the aforementioned networks. We conclude that the policies of states, whether in Europe or in the Arab region, and even in America and Asia, are subject to internal and global forces, and this became clear with the Corona Covid 19 pandemic, as well as with the energy crisis and gas or food crisis due to the Russian-Ukrainian war. The state cannot move on its own as it affects and is affected by its environment.

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