Małgorzata Radomska

Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, Science – Po
Centre d'études européennes (CEE)

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND MIGRATION POLICY:
THE ANALYSIS OF POLICY CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

By the end of 2009, the total number of Polish emigrants had reached about 1.9 million, with 1.5 million of them heading to the countries of the European Union, according to Poland's Central Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny 2010, p. 3). However, as the research has shown, Poland, which has long been an emigration country (ex. Janowska 1981; Kołodziej 1982; Kraszewski 1995; Kicinger 2005a; compare Stola 2010), is becoming an increasingly attractive destination for foreigners. In what has been described as a "not [so] obvious transformation" (Górny *et al.* 2010), Poland is starting to being classified as an emigration-immigration country. On the other hand, article 79 § 5 of the Treaty of Lisbon stipulates that, despite the harmonization of immigration policy within the EU member states, each of the member states is entitled to decide on the volume of labour immigration of third-country nationals to its territory. Thus, paraphrasing Theda Skocpol (1985) one could say that "the state [stays] in" the political analysis of migration policy.

In the literature on the subject, researchers have asked whether Poland has developed its own migration policy since 1989 (ex. Iglicka 2003; Kicinger 2005b; see Kicinger and Weinar 2007), or whether the country's policy has simply evolved in response to EU integration requirements. Questions have also been raised about the extent to which Polish migration policy has been active or efficient. A number of scholars have called for the formulation of a comprehensive migration policy for the country (Głąbicka *et al.* 1998), and for a conceptualization its aims and instruments. The first comprehensive descriptive and chronological studies on migration policy of Poland after 1989 started to appear in the mid-1990s (Okólski 1994; Korcelli 1994; Lewandowski and Szonert 1997). Some authors focused

on describing selected migration policy actions, such as asylum or repatriation (Florczak 2003; Kaczmarczyk 2001; Hut 2002; Iglicka 1998; Kurenda 1999; Nowiński 2000). A second group of researchers focused exclusively on the state's migration policy instruments, including their development and their normative changes (Łodziński 1999; Stachańczyk 1998; Łodziński 2001; Białocerkiewicz 1999, 2003; Chlebny and Trojan 2000; Chlebny *et al.* 2006; Jagielski 1997, 2001; Mitrus 2003); or on comparisons between Polish and European migration and asylum laws (Łodziński 1997, 1998; Sznoret 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Iglicka *et al.* 2003, Iglicka 2003, 2004; Mazur-Rafał 2004). Anioł (1992, 1995, 1996) attempted to look beyond these narrow categories, focusing on external determinants of migration policy in Europe after 1989. Iglicka *et al.* (2003) identified the actors in the development of migration policy and described the preliminary debate on the subject. However, the first comprehensive studies on migration policy, which looked at both the policies and the politics, were undertaken by Kępińska and Stola (2004) and Kicinger (2005b). They identified the institutional actors, and described their roles and interactions within the process. An extremely valuable study was conducted by Koryś (2004), who contributed significantly to our knowledge of the policy-making process by applying the methodology of in-depth interviews with migration policy makers. Szczepański (2010) also made a valuable contribution to the study of migration policy analysis, analyzing the political discourse on the attitude of the Polish state towards the remigration of its citizens, as well as the interests and positions of the actors involved. In addition, Duszczyk (2002) produced an important study on the Europeanization of Polish migration policy. The author presented an overview of the negotiations on EU membership for Poland and on the freedom of movement regulations, identifying the actors and explaining the positions they took during the negotiation process. On the subject of the Europeanization of various subfields of Polish migration policies, the valuable work of Kicinger *et al.* (2007) must be mentioned. Special attention should be given to the studies by Weinar (2003, 2006) on the legislative process that led to the Europeanization of the Polish policy regarding immigration, where she analyzed Europeanization and policy transfer theories, creating the first Polish immigration policy model in the process. This model describes the dichotomy between exogenous factors and endogenous interests, without the involvement of public opinion.

It is not the aim of this paper to contribute to the discourse on the aspirations of Polish migration policy or on its possible gaps. Instead, our goal is to explore potential approaches to analyzing the state's migration policy. The studies mentioned above have focused on the normative analysis of Polish migration policy development, without looking at the dynamics of this policy and examining it from a pure political science perspective. We explore a different set of questions here. First, if the Polish migration policy has changed, how can we conceptualize

these changes? Second, what are the dimensions and types of changes taking place? Third, if and how can we differentiate between minor and major changes? Does political science provide us with sufficient tools? What are the limits of these tools? The goal of this paper is to provide an overview and a discussion of the tools that might be used in migration policy change analysis, both within political science and within its public policy sub-discipline. Migration policy in this paper is treated broadly, and is defined as encompassing the overall principles and actions of the state at the central, regional, or local levels regarding international migration to and from Poland; i.e., regarding any emigration and immigration movements. While it is widely known that the emigration policy of a sending state is shaped by the immigration policies of the receiving states, it is also clear that the sending state needs to take appropriate positions in relation to the receiving states. The sending state therefore shapes the receiving states' emigration policies through its migration regulations. In this paper, we are especially interested in the different positions adopted by the government in response to the question of how migration policy changes over time.

The paper is divided into three parts. In the first part, the policy changes and the scope of analysis undertaken in this paper are defined. The second part looks at endogenous factors of policy change, including the minor and major changes that are observed. The third part examines the exogenous factors of the changes, looking at the shifts that have occurred in the international context. The paper is based on the international literature on the subject from the leading public policy centres.

1. SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE CHANGE

Starting in the 1950s, with the publication of the work of Lerner and Laswell (1951) and Laswell (1951), studies on public policy have been evolving in different directions. The term was defined most broadly by Dye (1972), who said that public policy was "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (Dye 1972, p. 18). Heclo also defined public policy quite broadly, arguing that the term should apply to something 'bigger' than particular decisions, but 'smaller' than general social movements" (Heclo 1974, p. 84). A much more precise definition was suggested by Frederich: "A proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose" (Frederich 1963, p. 79). However, even using this definition, it is difficult to set up a clear and unequivocal scope of analysis. Thus, some researchers define public policy as a social and scientific construction (Meny and Thoenig 1989; Muller and Surel 1998). Based on May and Wildavsky

(1978), and, following Knoepfer *et al.* (2001), the following components of the policy cycle can be identified (see Fig. 1): '*agenda setting*'- which includes defining the problem and formulating the policy; '*policy formulation*'- formulating a political program for administration and implementation; '*policy implementation*'- implementing the action plan; '*policy evaluation*'- evaluating the impact of the policy, including the effects of the policy on the target groups and the policy outcomes; and '*policy (re)definition*'- where the policy and the problem is being newly defined through policy feedback. While such a breakdown of the policy process is useful, the scope is still too broad. Thus, most empirical studies do not focus on all of these levels, but instead examine just one of them. Because we are interested in answering the question of what tools of political analysis may be used in explaining migration policy changes, we will focus on the level of policy formulation.
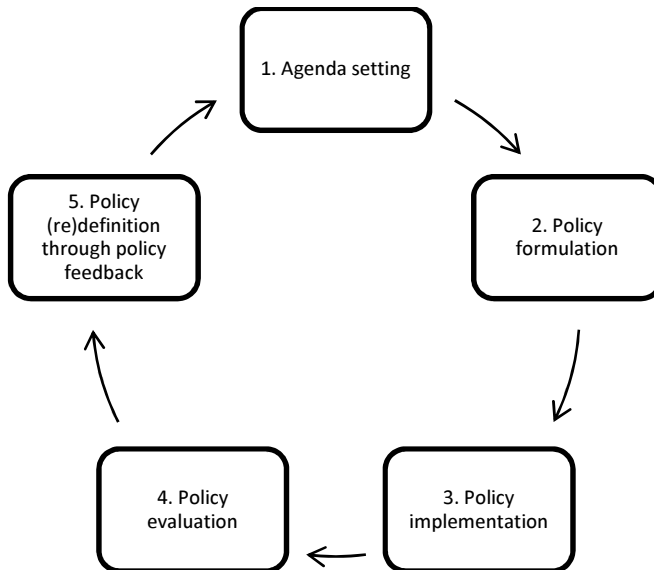

Fig. 1. The components of the policy cycle

Sources: based on May and Wildavsky (1978), Knoepfer *et al.* (2001)

Taking into account the scope of the change, the literature on policy change can be divided into three categories based on the questions they address. First, what is being changed in the policy? Second, how is the policy being changed? Third, why is the policy is being changed? In the analysis of policy change, different aspects can undergo this process. Some of the authors have focused on the changes in the political agenda, such as Kingdon (1984), Baumgartner and

Jones (1993). A second group has concentrated their research on the formulation of policy instruments (Hood 1986; Salamon 2002; Palier 2002). Still others have studied the change in the policy paradigm, which can have a cognitive policy dimension (Hall 1993), or a dimension of a core belief system (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993).

In the conceptualization of change, two approaches can be distinguished: first, the analysis of the level of change; and, second, the analysis of the type of the change. In the literature on the subject, there is also a clear dichotomy regarding the level of change, as we will see in the sections that follow. We can distinguish between minor change and major change. Some studies, however, take into account the whole policy cycle, pointing out the different types of policy change according to the level of the cycle where the change appears (see Bardach 1976; Hogwood and Peters 1983). In such studies '*a change*' is a continuous process taking place over the whole political cycle. However, this assumption does not contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the policy change, and is, moreover, problematic taking into account its operationalization in the empirical research. This is why the majority of researchers analyzing policy change discuss the conditions under which the policy is being continued, albeit with small changes; or the conditions under which the policy undergoes major and radical change (see Palier and Surel 2010). This approach is also adopted in this paper.

2. ENDOGENOUS CHANGE

2.1. MINOR CHANGE

The notion of incrementalism is connected with the studies of Lindblom (1958, 1959) on the decision-making process. This concept serves as our point of departure for further developing our analysis of public policy change, and as a prism through which the dimension of a change is to be evaluated. In this approach, policies change gradually, through minor and largely insignificant adjustments to the previous accepted policy trajectory, in order to maintain the current *status quo*. This is attributable to the so-called '*bounded rationality*' of the actors taking part in the decision-making process. First, the actors are limited in their decisions by existing policies, because these policies do not provide them with a wide range of alternatives. This view is in line with that of Heclo (1974), who argued that public policies are dependent on the past experiences of the state. Second, even if the actors want change, they would be required to start negotiations and bargaining processes with all of the (numerous) actors interested in the field of discussion in order to achieve change. This is why the approach of incrementalism is more useful in explaining the continuity of the policy than policy changes.

So far, the most influential theoretical perspectives on change in policies have come from historical institutionalism. This is one of the three new institutionalisms described by Hall and Taylor (1996) (see Fig. 2), which they derived from the group theories of politics and structural functionalism. Since the 1980s, when it was first developed, this approach has mostly, although not exclusively, been used for studying welfare state politics (ex. Katzenstein 1996). The main assumption of this approach is that the historically constructed set of institutional constraints and policy feedbacks structure the behaviour of political actors and interest groups in the policy-making process (Immergut 1998). Whereas incrementalism attributes the passivity and inertia of public policy to the numerous actors involved in the decision-making process, historical institutionalism attributes the lack of change in the public policy field to the significant influence of institutions and choices made in the past. At this point, we should explain the basic notion of '*an institution*', as the definition differs according to the type of institutionalism. What is meant by this term in our general approach? Historical institutionalists definite institutions broadly "as formal or informal procedures, routines, norms or conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity as they can be ranged from the rules of a constitutional order or the standard operating procedures of a bureaucracy […]" (Hall and Taylor 1996, p. 938), which "are seen as relatively persistent features of the historical landscapes and one of the historical development along a set of paths" (ibid., p. 941). It is the aim of this approach to explain how these institutions produce these paths. '*Path-dependency*' is the central concept of this approach, and, as in the case of incrementalism, the continuity of policy is explained (Pierson 1993, 2000; Palier 2004).

New Institutionalisms		
Historical Institutionalism	Rational Choice Institutionalism	Sociological Institutionalism

Fig. 2. The three new institutionalisms

Source: based on Hall and Taylor (1996)

The concept of '*path-dependence*' was first used by Pierson (1994) in trying to understand the reason for the policy gap; i.e., the gap between the stated objectives and the real outcomes of the social reforms initiated by the governments of Thatcher and Reagan. A lack of policy change is determined not only by the existing policy, but also by previous policy choices, and, unlike in incrementalism, through the existence of institutions. The past influences future policy choices (also Rose 1990; Rose and Davies 1994). As Pierson has noted, "preceding steps in a particular direction include further movement in the same direction," an observation which is captured well by the concept of increasing returns imported from economics (Pierson 1994, 2000, p. 252; Palier 2004). Because of these increasing returns processes, policy changes are to tend to follow the pre-existing paths, and therefore remain largely limited to and characterized by minor changes only.

2.2. MAJOR CHANGE

Baumgarten, True, and Jones (Baumgarten and Jones 1991, 1993, 2002, True *et al.* 2007) focused on explaining why a policy process can be incrementally conservative, and thus have long periods of stability, and yet can also undergo radical phases in which crises occur (True *et al.* 2007, p. 97). Their '*punctuated-equilibrium theory*', borrowed from biological studies, seeks to explain in a single theory both punctuations and stasis. Two related elements of public policy are taken into account in their analysis: issue definition and agenda setting. The model states that policy usually changes incrementally because of '*policy monopolies*' and the '*bounded rationality*' of decision-makers, established institutional cultures, and vested interests during periods of stability. However, this period of stasis may be followed by periods of instability, in which major policy changes are initiated by critics of the policy monopoly. Policy problems and the institutional context are challenged during times of instability, and may be reconsidered or destroyed, which can result in major policy change. A change in perceptions or in the dominant institutions can lead to rapid and radical changes, especially when the political processes are marked by the phenomenon of '*positive feedbacks*', in which the rapidity of change increases once it has started. The proposed model of punctuated equilibrium enables the researcher to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the incrementalism or path-dependency approach. This is because it accounts for both minor and major changes during the periods of both stability and instability. On the other hand, the authors have pointed out that "a complete [punctuated-equilibrium] model will not be locally predictable, since we cannot predict the timing of the outcomes of the punctuations. […] [it] predicts a form of systems-level stability but it will not help us to make specific predictions for particular policy issues" (ibid., p. 111–112).

Since the state was '*brought back in*' to the political analysis (Stockpol 1985), some researchers have focused on the process of how the state learns from past experience and adapts to the environment, regardless of social pressure. This approach, referred to as '*policy learning*', has been developed as a partial corrective to theories of policy change based on the notion of power and conflict (Heclo 1974; Bennett and Howlett 1992). It is, however, a complementary, rather than an alternative hypothesis (Hall 1993). According to Heclo, '*learning*' "may be regarded as representing a relatively durable change in behavior that results from experience, usually the change is considered a change in response to perceived *stimuli*" (Heclo, 1974, p. 306).

The notion of '*learning*' not only encompasses the forms of change, but also its contents. According to Bennett and Howlett (1992), there are three types of learning (see Table 1). '*Government learning*' refers to an adjustment of the instruments within a specific program. '*Lesson-drawing*' is a concept developed mainly by R. Rose (1990), and involves a partial redesign of the apprehension of a problem. Finally, '*social learning*' is presented as a broad normative and cognitive reappraisal on the part of all social actors.

Table 1. Types of learning according to Bennett and Howlett

LEARNING TYPE	WHO LEARNS	LEARNS WHAT	TO WHAT EFFECT
Government learning	State officials	Process-related	Organizational change
Lesson-drawing	Policy networks	Instruments	Program change
Social learning	Policy communities	Ideas	Paradigm shift

Source: Bennett and Howlett (1992, p. 289)

The approach of policy learning is useful when explaining minor policy changes, as policy changes take place during a long and progressive process of learning. In this context, the change does not present itself as a fact, but rather occurs through '*small steps policy*'; i.e., through the accumulation of small, phased adjustments induced by the dynamics of learning. As in incrementalism and neo-institutionalism, in the policy learning approach, policy changes can be minor only. Two researchers, Hall and Sabatier, have developed in separate studies a more general framework analysis of policy change which could explain not only minor, but also major change (Hall 1993; Sabatier 1987, 1988; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 2007). These two approaches have some common characteristics as well as differences that need to be indicated. Both of the researchers focus on the learning process, which is occurs inside the coalition of actors within a specific policy area. They also both agree that major policies need be analyzed over the long

term (which is, according to various empirical researchers, about a decade), while minor policy change happen more often during the normal policy-making process. Lastly, they also both depicts the policy change process using three different degrees based on the dimensions of the policy to be changed, thus they do answer our questions about what and how. However, even though they are both concerned with the mechanism of major and rapid change, each of them conceptualizes the process of change differently. Sabatier focused on a dynamic of policy-oriented learning processes which, according to him, take place within a so-called '*advocacy coalition*'. By contrast, Hall focused on types of social learning process. Both of these frameworks merit attention and therefore are overviewed below.

According to Sabatier (1987, 1988) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993), the dynamic of policy-oriented learning taking place within a specific policy subsystem

Table 2. Sabatier's system of belief of policy elites

	DEEP CORE	NORMATIVE CORE	SECONDARY ASPECTS
Defining characteristics	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic strategies for achieving normative axioms of deep core	Instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement policy core
Scope	Part of basic personal philosophy; applies to all policy areas	Applies to policy area of interests (and perhaps a few more)	Specific to policy area/ sub-system of interests
Susceptibility to change	Very difficult; akin to religious conversion	Difficult but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies	Moderately easy, this is the topic of most administrative and even legislative policymaking
Illustrative components	Nature of man	Scope of governmental vs. market activity	Most decisions concerning administrative rules, budgetary allocations, dispositions of cases, statutory interpretation, and even statutory revision
	Relative priority of various ultimate values	Identification of social groups whose welfare is most critical	Information concerning program performance, seriousness of the problems, etc.
	Basic criteria of distributive justice	Orientation on substantive policy conflicts	
		Basic choices concerning policy instruments	

Source: Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, p. 31.

composed of an advocacy coalition—defined as "the set of actors who are involved in dealing with a policy problem" (ibid, p. 24)—that regularly seeks to influence policies is the key variable in understanding policy change. The public policies are conceptualized in empirical governmental programs in line with the actors' belief systems and casual assumptions about how to achieve their objectives. Each of the advocacy coalitions shares a particulate belief system, which is characterized by the '*core*'; the '*normative core*'; and '*secondary elements*' or '*secondary aspects*' of the policy (see Table 2).

Each sub-system is in strong competition with other coalitions. The competition concerns systems of belief about how a given problem is structured and how it should be resolved. Core elements of belief are stable over time, but secondary beliefs can be altered through a learning process. It is assumed that there is a connection between policy change and modifications in the belief systems of the policy actors. Policy change is possible only if such shifts occur. The theoretical framework proposed by Sabatier suggests that policy learning is relevant when exploring minor policy changes, but that major policy changes tend to respond to larger factors and struggles for power. Therefore, a paradigm shift takes place when one dominant coalition is replaced by another. The changes in the secondary aspects of the policy are a result of the dynamic of the policy-oriented learning. These are minor policy changes, which are quite frequent and change core aspects of the policy. On the other hand, we have major policy changes. These occur through a shift in the dominant advocacy coalition or through the process of learning by the coalition, resulting from external pressure on the sub-system.

In line with Sabatier, Hall observed that "the process of first and second order change in policy corresponds quite well to the image of social learning […] However, the process of third change […] was quite different" (Hall 1993, p. 287 – 288). The primary aim of Hall's article was to "examine the nature of social learning and the more general process whereby policies change" (ibid., p. 276), asking what kind of changes public policy might undergo. His theoretical investigation led him to develop the concept of the '*three orders of change*', according to which changes can be classified based on the type of a change observed: minor or major (radical). What does Hall mean by first-, second-, and third-order change? How is his approach to social learning different from that of Sabatier? And how does third-order change differ from the others? Hall was interested in understanding not just policy objectives and instruments, but also the character of the problem the policy seeks to address. Hall noted that "the presence of a policy paradigm generated long periods of continuity punctuated occasionally by the disjunctive experience of paradigm shift" (ibid., p. 291). The author therefore clearly saw a dichotomy between minor changes that occur in normal times and radical changes that take place in exceptional circumstances.

The assumptions of the model presented by Hall are as follows. First, the major factors affecting policy at time t_1 is policy at time t_0. Second, the principal actors, as well as the main driving force, in the learning process are experts and specialists within the given policy area. Third, the state acts independently of societal pressure. Finally, social learning is defined as "a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information" (ibid., p. 278), whereas policy-making is shaped by a process with three variables: overarching goals, policy instruments, and instrument settings. As according to Hall, we can talk about learning if the changes in policy occur as a result from this process. However, this process can take different forms depending on which of the three variables of policy-making are involved in the change (see Table 3).

Table 3. The three orders of change according to Hall

FIRST ORDER CHANGE	SECOND ORDER CHANGE	THIRD ORDER CHANGE
The levels/settings of policy instruments are changed (experience and projection), while the goals and instruments of policy remain the same.	The instruments of policy and settings are altered, while the overall goals of policy remain the same (past experience + science).	All of the components of policy are changed (past experience + politicians not experts are dominant → ideas not science matter).

Source: based on Hall (1993)

First-order change is the most frequent type. It includes routine decision-making involving small adjustments to public policy; i.e., modifications of the settings of policy instruments within the field of policy. Second-order change refers to launching either new policy instruments or changing the settings of instruments, where the policy objectives remain unchanged. These first two orders of change are classified by Kuhn (1962) as normal or routinized policymaking, in which a policy is adjusted without challenging the overall terms of a given policy paradigm. Kuhn called this '*normal science*'. By contrast, third-order change is defined as a radical shift in policy goals and objectives away from the received policy paradigm. All three components of policy are changed. One need to be aware that such radical changes occur very seldom, but when they do, the taken decisions are based on reflection on gained in the past experience, and thus are called third-order changes. In these types of changes, politicians, not experts, are dominant. Hall defined the paradigm of common public policy as "a framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kinds of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing. Like a *Gestalt*, this framework is embedded in the very terminology through which policymakers communicate about their

work, and it is influential precisely because so much of it is taken for granted and unamenable to scrutiny as a whole" (Hall 1993, p. 279). It is, however, important to analyze not only the scale of the third change, but also the way it occurs; that is understood as social learning. When policy is changed because of an evolving societal debate and not because of independent actions undertaken by the state, we usually observe then significant involvement of the media, outside interests, and contending political parties. In other words, in this case, ideas (politicians) matter, not science (experts).

Most literature on public policy does make distinctions between '*major*' policy changes, which happen less frequently, are more difficult to achieve, and alter fundamental aspects of the policy; and '*minor*' policy changes, which are definitely more frequent and less difficult to achieve. However, as it has been shown, researchers differ when it concerns the definitions and perceptions of major and minor change. Differences also concern the perceptions on the usage of policy instruments. Hood (1986) treats policy instruments as a device through which the set up policy objectives are to be achieved, including influencing and modifying the behaviour of a target group. For Varone (1998), Salamon (2002) and Lascoumes and Le Galès (2004) appliance of chosen policy instruments is treated also as a way of expressing political choices by the decision-makers.

3. EXOGENOUS FACTORS

The focus of the approaches presented is on explaining the policy change looking at the endogenous factors. However, the change can also result from exogenous factors. These can be such external events as socio-economic or ecological changes in the structure of the policy process, which require adjustments of the policy to the new circumstances (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993), or the change can result from the international context, such as adoption of policies from neighbouring countries, international organizations, or supra- international institutions. The latter process, in which we are more interested in this paper, is sometimes referred to as '*policy transfer*' (Bennett 1991, 1992; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000; Evans and Davies 1999; Stone 2000; Lodge and James 2003), '*policy diffusion*' (Dolowitz and Marsch 2000), or '*lesson drawing*' (Bennett and Howlett 1992; Rose 1993; Lodge and James 2003). As the definitions and categorizations of the different degrees of policy transfer process overlap, we will rely upon the division proposed by Rose (1991, 1993) and modified by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, 2000, p. 13). According to these authors, the policy transfer process can have one of the following degrees: '*copying*', or a direct and complete transfer involving the adoption of a more or less intact program already in effect in another jurisdiction; '*emulation*', or the transfer of the ideas behind the policy

or program; '*adoption*', which involves the adjustment to different circumstances of a program already in effect in another jurisdiction; '*combination*', mixtures of several different policies that combine familiar elements from programs in effect in three or more different places; or '*inspiration*', in which a policy from another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original program, and in which the policy may be used elsewhere as an intellectual stimulus for developing a novel program (Rose 1991, p. 22).
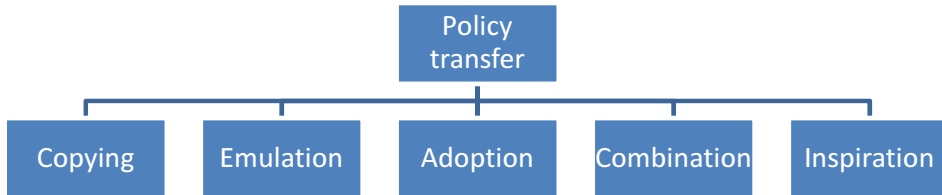
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Fig. 3. Types of 'policy transfer'

Source: based on Rose (1991, 1993), Dolowitz and Marsch (1996, 2000)

The question that needs to be asked is not to what extent these theoretical frameworks are valuable for further empirical research, but rather how we can prove empirically that the change has happened through policy transfer and through '*inspiration*', and not through '*adoption*'. While one option might be to interview policy-makers about the action taken, their answers could be biased. Therefore, as it has been pointed out by Evans and Davies (1999), these conceptual frameworks cannot be used as a theoretical model but rather as a heuristic device only. This is because the transfer analysis still does not yet have a full explanatory status.

A special case in which policy change occurred via exogenous factors is that of Europeanization. Huge amount of literature has been already devoted to this issue, and the connected issue of policy convergence, just to mention Radaelli (2000), Risse *et al.* (2001) or Hértier *et al.* (2001) (compare Weinar 2006). The term '*Europeanization*' refers to a policy transfer process, which can be characterized as either voluntary or coercive, with the unidirectional vector changing when transferred from the Europe an policy field to the domestic level. The literature of the Europeanization approach borrows its main notions from the policy transfer concepts mentioned in this paper, such as those involving degrees of transfer and lesson drawing (see Rose 1993; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000). As Hértier *et al.* (2001) state, in the literature on policy transfer and on Europeanization the main difference is that the latter approach puts more attention at European institutions rather than the policies. It focuses on the Europeanization of both political institutions and structures (Colwes *et al.* 2001), where the state

is not treated as an independent decision-maker on its policies. Nevertheless, it is important for a researcher to distinguish already at the preliminary state of research whether the change occurs as a result of obligatory or voluntary transfer in order to refer to appropriate research tools and literature.

SUMMARY

The aim of this paper was to present an overview of the international literature on public policy change that could be applied to the analysis of migration policy and its development, focusing on the question of how policies change, and how we should conceptualize this change. We have discussed tools that may be used for the analysis and understanding of minor policy changes, like incrementalism and path-dependency; and major policy changes, like punctuated-equilibrium theory, policy learning, including the advocacy coalition framework and the three orders of change described by Hall; as well as of the change that arises from the international context in public policy analysis. These tools could be used in empirical research, either on Polish migration policy as a whole, or on just one of its components, for instance towards its immigration component in the following years. These changes could be analyzed at the state level (migration policy as a whole state's policy) or at the regional level. For example, the policies applied in different provinces could be analyzed to show how a remigration movement of citizens living abroad might be stimulated. Looking from the longitudinal perspective, the analysis could be conducted of how the aims of the Polish migration policy changed since the country gained its interdependence until today, looking at the Second Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Poland, and the Republic of Poland after 1989. Choosing another interesting period for the migration policy analysis, but one that is long enough (i.e., about a decade, according to previous research) could also result in interesting studies, as could studying migration policy using the available political science tools, while going beyond descriptive and chronological research.

The most pressing need is for research that positions Polish migration policy within the theoretical framework of political science. This would involve the use of all of the available sources. Research of this kind would enable us to compare the different migration policies of the state, at different state's levels or between different countries. In addition, it would help us to answer the questions of whether Polish migration policies have changed, and, if so, how they have changed, and why. Finally, this literature overview could prove to be especially useful as a prism for following future changes within the Polish migration policy field.

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