Narratives for or against change: a Narrative Policy Framework perspective on policy debates in Moscow

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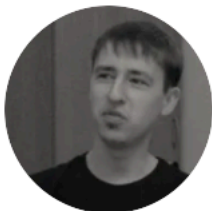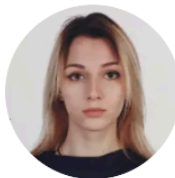
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POLICY NARRATIVES IN MOSCOW RESEARCH AND STUDY GROUP

Policy Narratives in Moscow Research and Study Group

Caroline Schlaufer
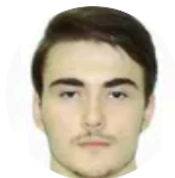
Кафедра публичной политики:

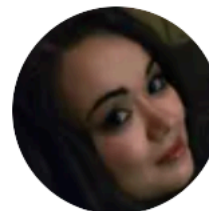**Artem Uldanov**

Кафедра публичной политики:

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Introduction

- Policy actors use stories – or narratives – to communicate and decide about public policy
  - Policy debates are full of narratives
  - Narratives can influence policy decisions

- Policy narratives have become increasingly important in public policy research ➡ development of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF)

Narrative Policy Framework (NPF)

- The NPF is a <u>theoretical</u> framework to explain the role of narratives in the policy process

- It provides guidance of how to <u>empirically</u> study narratives

- The NPF is a positivist, deductive, mostly quantitative approach.

Jones, Shanahan, McBeth, 2014;
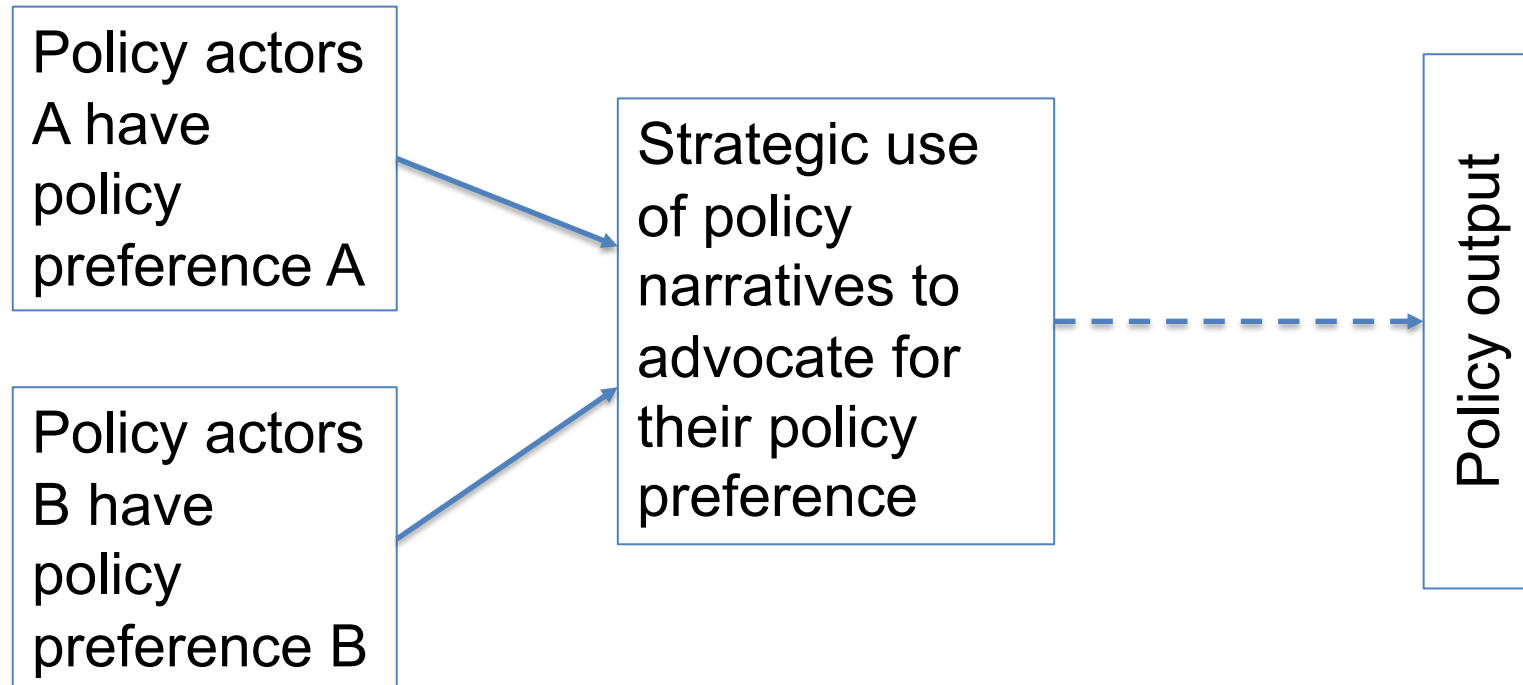Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, Radaelli, 2018

Purpose and research questions

<u>Purpose</u>: Apply the NPF to salient policy debates in Moscow.

- – Housing renovation program
- – Transport policy
- – Waste management policy

- Test applicability in a new context
- Examine these debates

<u>Research question</u>: What policy narratives and narrative strategies are used?

The NPF as theoretical framework

Policy actors A have policy preference A

Policy actors B have policy preference B

Strategic use of policy narratives to advocate for their policy preference

Policy output

The NPF as theoretical framework

- Policy narratives have generalizable structural elements:
  - Setting
  - characters (villains, heroes, victims, beneficiaries)
  - a plot
  - a moral of the story
- A policy narrative contains at least one character
- Opposing policy actors will use different narratives and narrative strategies

Hypotheses

Actors in favor of the official position will strategically:	Actors resisting the official position will strategically:
1. use heroes and beneficiaries	1. use villains and victims
2. use control stories	2. use decline stories
3. contain conflict: diffuse benefits / concentrate costs	3. expand conflict: concentrate benefits / diffuse costs

Data and methods

- 3 single cases and comparative analysis across cases
- Methods: quantitative and qualitative content analysis of text
- Data: Text on websites and social media
- Coded texts using a coding scheme to search for characters, policy problems and solutions, plots

Data and methods

| Websites and social media of the Moscow government, governmental media; experts & businesses working with Government | Websites and social media of NGO, opposition politicians, bloggers, citizens, experts (E.g., Москвичи против сноса, Greenpeace, РазДельный Сбор…) |

	Governmental position:	Critical position:
Renovatsiia	154	88
Transport	149	126
Waste	68	179
Total	**371**	**393**

In 2011, the Moscow Government developed an ambitious upgrade programme for the capital's transport infrastructure. We are now seeing the first results after eight years of our efforts – the growing popularity of public transport, reduced average trip duration in Moscow, increased average travel speed, and the decrease in the number of traffic incidents.

Moscow has become a safer and more comfortable city with enough space for pedestrians, passengers, motorists, and cyclists.

We are currently building a new transport system for the Moscow metropolitan area for decades ahead.

The construction of the largest solid-waste landfill in Europe threatens to permanently damage the health of Russia's rural citizens. In the Moscow region a dozen children were recently hospitalized due to air poisoning from a landfill. The authorities have responded in predictable and horrific fashion: with beatings, detentions, fines, arrests and criminal cases. Despite the protests, the authorities have not abandoned the intention to build a landfill.

Link	Date	C	Sou	Coder	Narrat	Hero	AmountHe	Villain	AmountVil	Victim	AmountVic	Beneficiari	AmountBene	moral	SolutionType	Proble	ProblemType	Plot	Benefit	Cost
https://www.m24	28.06.2019	3	10	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	separate waste collectio	0		2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	29.10.2019	3	1	dg	1	2,6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	recycling of constructi	1	concentration of constructi	2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	26.10.2018	3	1	dg	1	2,6	2	0	0	0	0	11	1	1	recycling of constructi	1	construction waste (problem	2	2	1
https://renovatio	26.10.2018	3	1	dg	1	2,6	1	0	0	0	0	6	1	1	"smart demolition"	1	construction waste (problem	2	0	0
https://mosreg.ru	21.03.2016	3	1	dg	1	2	1	6	1	4	1	4	1	1	rigid control by the staff	1	"spontaneously formed garb	2	0	0
https://www.msk	01.01.2020	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	10	1	1	separate waste collectio	1	up to 88% of Moscow's wast	2	0	0
https://www.msk	21.08.2015	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	containers for separate v	0		2	0	0
https://www.msk	16.08.2019	3	15	dg	1	2,6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		1	garbage by the Zhukovsky sta	2	0	0
https://www.msk	22.07.2019	3	15	dg	1	4,7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	closing down the incine	1	"use of such dirty methods a	2	0	0
https://www.msk	19.06.2019	3	15	dg	1	4,7	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	separate waste collectio	1	Moscow "just.. doesn't have	2	0	0
https://www.msk	24.04.2019	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4,9	2	1	raising awareness about			2	0	0
https://www.msk	30.03.2018	3	15	dg	1	2	1	6	1	10	1	0	0	1	holding those at the hea	1	violation of eco guidelines b	2	2	0
https://www.msk	12.12.2017	3	15	dg	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	making an official confir	1	Malinki landfill - is it really c	2	0	0
https://www.msk	26.06.2017	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	increasing the fines for u	1	the punishment existing cur	2	0	0
https://www.msk	29.03.2017	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	establising a monitoring	1	how to sufficiently monitor	2	0	1
https://www.msk	15.11.2019	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4,9	2	1	the city administration			2	0	0
https://www.msk	27.03.2018	3	15	dg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	possible establishment			2	0	0
https://stroi.mos.	6.20.2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	подобраны стартовые			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	30/11/2018	1	1	eg	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	строительство нового ж			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	6.4.2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	предоставление равно			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	11.29.2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	введение нового дома			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	4.30.2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	дом поставлен на кадас			2	0	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	10.12.2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	11,4	2	1	перепланировка терри			2	0	0
https://stroi.mos.	02.18.2020	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	11	1	1	включение дома в прог			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	11.2.2019	1	1	eg	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	переселение			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	01.28.2020	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4,11	2	1	утверждение новых до			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	17/10/2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	11	1	1	завершение строительс			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	8.9.2017	1	1	eg	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	утверждение стартовых			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	11.7.2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4,11	2	1	строительство новых до	0	-	2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	4.12.2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	расселение жителей			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	18/12/2018	1	1	eg	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	строительство новых до	0	-	2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	8.7.2019	1	1	eg	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4,11	2	1	строительство новых до			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	26/09/2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	переселение в новые до			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	18/3/2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4,11	2	1	строительства квартир			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	7.9.2018	1	1	eg	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	переселение по програ			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	30/11/2018	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	11	1	1	новые стартовые площа			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	21/08/2018	1	1	eg	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	переселение по програ			2	2	0
https://fr.mos.ru/	2.7.2019	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	переселение по програ			2	2	0
https://stroi.mos.	02.21.2020	1	1	eg	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	11	1	1	утверждение плана пла			2	2	0

Data and methods

- 20% of texts coded to assess inter-coder reliability ➡ satisfactory-good

- Analysis using descriptive statistics
  - Distributions: Chi-squared test ($\chi2$), t-tests
  - Correlation: Cramer's V

- We will add qualitative analysis

First results

Governmental actors use statistically significantly more:	Critical actors use statistically significantly more:
• heroes and beneficiaries • control stories	• villains and victims • decline stories

Next steps

- Continue statistical analysis
- Comparative analysis across cases
- Add qualitative analysis

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION! QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS ARE WELCOME!

	Governmental side Mean use of characters	Opposing side Mean use of characters
Heroes	1.35	0.61
	t = 14,203; p < 0.001	
Villains	0.06	1.41
	t = -29,837; p < 0.001	
Victims	0.09	1.30
	t = -24,034; p < 0.001	
Beneficiaries	1.01	0.42
	t = 13,181; p < 0.001	

Heroes

Governmental side			Opposing side		
Government	289	58.62%	NGOs	52	22.22%
Sobyanin	110	22.31%	citizens	50	21.37%
Business	35	7.10%	Opposition politician	38	16.24%
Citizens	31	6.29%	Government	31	13.25%
NGOs	11	2.23%	Business	15	6.41%
experts	5	1.01%	Bloggers	11	4.70%
media	3	0.61%	Sobyanin	9	3.85%
opposition politician	3	0.61%	experts	7	2.99%
activists	2	0.41%	activists	6	2.56%
others	4	0.81%	media	5	2.14%
		100.00%	urban environm	4	1.71%
			foreign countries	4	1.71%
			others	2	0.85%
					100.00%

Villains

Governmental side			Opposing side		
citizens	8	32.00%	government	278	50.18%
business	5	20.00%	business	108	19.49%
others	5	20.00%	Sobyanin	83	14.98%
government	3	12.00%	police	21	3.79%
opposition politician	2	8.00%	garbage mafia	18	3.25%
media / journalists	1	4.00%	citizens	15	2.71%
activists	1	4.00%	media / journalists	9	1.62%
	25	100.00%	opposition politician	8	1.44%
			experts	5	0.90%
			others	5	0.90%
			bloggers	3	0.54%
			urban environment	1	0.18%
				554	100.00%

Victims

Governmental side			Opposing side		
environment	14	41.18%	citizens	254	50.20%
citizens	13	38.24%	urban environment	75	14.82%
opposition politician	2	5.88%	environment	72	14.23%
urban environment	1	2.94%	opposition politician	26	5.14%
Sobyanin	1	2.94%	NGO	19	3.75%
government	1	2.94%	buiness	17	3.36%
others	1	2.94%	media	14	2.77%
	34	100.00%	government	12	2.37%
			activist	6	1.19%
			others	5	0.99%
			bloggers	2	0.40%
			experts	2	0.40%
			Sobyanin	2	0.40%
				506	100.00%

Beneficiaries

Governmental side			Opposing side		
citizens	280	75.07%	citizens	45	27.95%
environment	38	10.19%	Business	45	27.95%
urban environment	38	10.19%	Government	29	18.01%
Business	6	1.61%	urban environment	13	8.07%
opposition politician	6	1.61%	media/journalists	8	4.97%
Government	3	0.80%	garbage mafia	7	4.35%
media/journalists	1	0.27%	opposition politician	7	4.35%
NGO	1	0.27%	environment	4	2.48%
	373	100.00%	Sobyanin	2	1.24%
			NGO	1	0.62%
				161	100.00%

Plots

	Governmental side	Opposing side
story of decline	0 (0%)	165 (46.0%)
story of control	360 (99,7%)	101 (28,1%)
Illustion stories	0 (0%)	68 (18,9%)
stymied progress	1 (0,3%)	25 (7,0%)
Total	361 (100%)	359 (100%)

$\chi2 = 400{,}663$, *p < 0.001*

Cramer-V = 0.746, *p < 0.001*