

‘Designing for Policy Success’: Supporting information for online publication

The core features and brief case summaries of the 33 cases under investigation are presented in Appendix 1. A description of the coding protocol and justifications are reported in Appendix 2 (further coding justifications are available upon request). All the material used in the coding of these cases can be found in Compton and ‘t Hart (2019) and Luetjens et al. (2019).

Appendix 1: 33 Policy Success Cases

(reported and sourced in Compton and ‘t Hart, 2019 and Luetjens et al, 2019)

Overview of cases

Feature	Cases
Majoritarian democracies (two-party systems)	24
Consensus democracies (multi-party systems)	6
Federal systems	16
Unitary systems	16
Global governance	1
National governance	29
Local/urban governance	3

Note: Brazil’s *Bolsa Familia*, Singapore’s healthcare performance and the Montreal Protocol are not included in the majoritarian/consensus classification. The Montreal Protocol is not included in the federal/unitary classification.

Brief case summaries

1. *Brazil’s Bolsa Familia scheme* – The world’s largest conditional cash transfer scheme that lifted millions out of extreme poverty.
2. *Healthcare performance in Singapore* – How Singapore has drastically increased its health outcomes while keeping costs low.
3. *Cutting waiting times in the NHS* – Combination of resolute political leadership and judicious policy analysis that enabled Britain’s National Health Service to process its millions of clients much quicker.
4. *UK’s tobacco control regime* – How the UK designed and implemented innovative policies which framed tobacco as a health concern to successfully build support around the initially unpopular tobacco ban.
5. *The GI Bill* – How the United States provided social support to soldiers returning from the Second World War to ensure macro-economic security, and had the unintended consequence of building social capital.
6. *Finland’s secondary school system* – How a small nation on Europe’s northern periphery’s school system became a global brand in ‘how to do public education’.
7. *Estonia’s digital transformation* – How a post-communist state forged a global reputation as a leader in digital government.
8. *The Los Angeles region’s Alameda rail corridor project* – A balanced governance and creative financing arrangement transforming a tangled web of rail lines into a single corridor that relieved traffic congestion and reduced air and water pollution in the Los Angeles region.

9. *The new Dutch Delta strategy* – How a nation in which two-thirds of the population live below the current sea level secures its future by reinventing its famed water management strategy so as to enable proactive and creative adaptation to the effects of climate change.
10. *Copenhagen's Five Finger Plan* – How the Danish capital successfully avoided urban sprawl and overly sense and chaotic urbanization through early adoption and sustained adaptation of a comprehensive urban planning regime.
11. *Norway's Petroleum Fund* – How Norway's policymakers purposefully dodged the bullet of the 'resource curse' and channeled its oil revenues into what has become the world's biggest national pension fund.
12. *Germany's labour market reforms* – How Europe's biggest but notoriously rigid and sluggish post-reunification economy was lifted into the economic powerhouse it has since become.
13. *The Montreal Protocol* – How the world managed to negotiate and implement a global regulatory regime that helped the stratospheric ozone layer recover from the damage sustained by decades' worth of ozone depleting substances.
14. *'Marvellous Melbourne'* – How the once staid state and struggling capital of Victoria, Australia transformed itself into a cosmopolitan metropolis named 'The World's Most Liveable City' six times in a row (from 2011 to 2017) by *The Economist's* Intelligence Unit.
15. *Australia's response to HIV/AIDS* – How an effective national policy response to HIV/AIDS evolved across challenging social, political, epidemiological, medical and generational contexts.
16. *Australia's Higher Education Contribution Scheme* – The first national income-contingent university tuition fee loan program that saw enrolments triple and inspired similar loan schemes around the world.
17. *Australia's economic crisis management* – Massive pre-emptive macro-economic policy response to the Global Financial Crisis in 2008 which led to the avoidance of recession but caused heated debate about its methods.
18. *Australia's Child Support Scheme* – Increasing the proportion of children of separated parents receiving financial support as well as increasing the contributions paid to government by separated parents.
19. *Australian water markets* – A transformative and widely supported change to water allocation processes in the Murray-Darling Basin
20. *Australia's National Competition Policy* – A sustained and impactful program of product market liberalization hailed as an example of successful collaboration between Australia's federal and state governments.
21. *Australia's gun control reform* – Following a mass shooting in Tasmania, the federal government swiftly implemented a national firearm policy that turned Australia into a world leader in the prevention of armed violence.
22. *Australia's Goods and Services Tax* – A once highly contentious tax policy reform that was well-designed, effectively implemented and enjoyed broad political and public support.
23. *Australia's Medicare* – The foundation of Australia's universal health care system that evolved into a widely popular institution.
24. *Australia's avoidance of financial institutions' collapses in 2008-9* – Good luck, a sound regulatory environment and the adherence of banks to 'boring but safe'

business models allowed Australian financial institutions to dodge the bullet of the Global Financial Crisis.

25. *Australia's Tobacco Plain Packaging* – The first nation to implement tobacco plain packaging laws, effectively encouraging current smokers to quit and dissuading potential new smokers from starting.
26. *New Zealand's economic turnaround* – A country at the brink of economic collapse in the 1980s transformed its fortunes through a radical, consistent and impactful suite of reform strategies.
27. *New Zealand's Accident Compensation Scheme* – Unique universal accident-insurance system, based on compulsory contributions into a state monopoly with no right to sue.
28. *Nuclear Free New Zealand* – How despite major power pressures to desist, a small state adopted and sustained a nuclear free stance that has attracted widespread support across the political spectrum.
29. *Treaty of Waitangi Settlements* – New Zealand's policy to address, negotiate, and settle historical grievances arising from the Crown's Treaty of Waitangi breaches.
30. *New Zealand's 1994 Fiscal Responsibility Act* – Engraining the principle of fiscal responsibility in New Zealand budgetary practices and constitutional arrangements.
31. *New Zealand's Early Childhood Education Pathways* – Comprehensive policy plan that greatly increased young children's participation in care and education.
32. *New Zealand's KiwiSaver pension scheme* – Delivering one of the world's lowest rates of poverty for the population aged 65 and over, while offering citizens flexibility to react to financial events throughout their lives.
33. *New Zealand's Whānau Ora* – Implementing values-based innovative solutions for Māori communities, building their capacity for self-management.

Appendix 2: Coding Protocol and Exemplars

As discussed in the text, each author was responsible for coding a third of the cases. As these cases emerged from two broader collaborative projects, each author had extensive familiarity with the contents of each case, having been closely involved in the production phase. Each author had been involved in workshops where the case authors presented drafts of their cases. The authors then discussed and edited these drafts for inclusion in the two broader collaborative (edited volume) projects. The case authors were identified and selected as a result of their extensive experience either directly with the design and implementation of the policy under consideration, or given their subject matter expertise. The case authors drew on previous interview material, their published works, and/or their direct experience in developing the case chapters. The case authors were given guiding questions for their case analysis (these can be found in Compton and 't Hart (2019) and Luetjens et al. (2019)). The result of these guiding questions is that the diverse set of cases are explored with a common set of reference points. This approach offers many opportunities for comparisons to be drawn out from across the whole set.

This common set of reference points facilitated the coding of these cases for the purposes of this article. Below, we offer three examples of our coding decisions. To justify the score, the authors relied heavily on supporting material found in each case. As noted in the text, the authors first scored a third of the cases and then scored an additional set of cases that had previously been scored by a different author. The scores were then compared to identify discrepancies in the coding decisions. Few discrepancies were found. The main issue that emerged was during the initial round of coding. This had to do with the way in which the conditions and outcome were initially conceptualized. To rectify this, and to ensure that all cases (except Australia's response to the Global Financial Crisis) could to be coded, the authors revisited the operationalization of their conditions and outcome(s). The operationalization(s) arrived at in Tables 1 and 2 represent the outcome of this effort.

Finnish Comprehensive Education		
<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Score (1-4)</i>	<i>Explanation/consideration</i>
<i>Programmatic</i>	4	Performance of the Finnish comprehensive education system is demonstrated in at least two dimensions: "economic growth aided by human resources; and...upward social mobility education affords." Evidence points to success in both economic and equality terms. Since the 1990s, the Finnish system "has basked in international glory, being called one of the best in the world. This reputation is largely due to the successful performance of Finnish teenagers in the Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA), run by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)."
<i>Process</i>	4	The process of adopting the education system was long and deliberative. Drafting the legislation was done by "independent, broadly politically representative, and expert-based committees served as <i>ad hoc</i> organs in producing reports and drafting laws." The eventual compromise on design of the program was based on expert research and deliberation.
<i>Political</i>	4	Initial implementation of the program resulted in a lasting compromise around which different parties and interests eventually agreed. Stakeholders and policymakers associated with the system receive external (international) recognition, as well as domestic political rewards.
<i>Endurance</i>	4	"Despite repeated criticism, institutional frame survived and is now a recognized and almost unchallenged part of the Finnish education landscape." Continuation of the program was in part due to the

		frequency of coalition governments in Finland, which almost always included some parties from the previous administration in the new government. What changes have occurred were minor calibrations of existing instruments. "...[I]n the last sixty years there has been no initiative to change the fundamental principles of the original policy establishing the comprehensive school system (Kauko et al. 2015; Simola et al. 2017)."
<i>Process Inclusivity</i>	4	Over the decades of continued implementation, ideologically heterogeneous coalitions continued the program. The process of designing the program in the first place was deliberative and inclusive of multiple differing viewpoints. The process "could be seen as fair in the sense that the opinions of the opposition were considered and deliberated in parliamentary decision making. However, disputes arise during the implementation phase concerning what had actually been agreed to in the policy."
<i>Pace of Change</i>	1	"The political process leading to the complete reorganization of the formerly bipartite school system and the establishment of the comprehensive school and its implementation took more than three decades—and even longer if we track the origin of some of its constitutive ideas. " "Incremental advances eventually resulted a critical juncture in which the comprehensive school was created in the late 1960s."
<i>Degree of Innovation</i>	3	Though the author does not explicitly discuss the innovativeness of the 1967 government bill that would create the comprehensive school committee. The degree of attention from external/international actors suggests that the Finnish system was innovative and remains unique.

Australian Higher Education Contribution Scheme		
<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Score (1-4)</i>	<i>Explanation/consideration</i>
<i>Programmatic</i>	3	HECS achieved its intended social outcomes by successfully facilitating expansion of the higher education and graduate population without compromising access. It's role in facilitating an affordable and equitable means of funding higher education has created considerable public value: "The tide of expanded participation lifted all boats." However, the costs on students are still quite considerable. The debate as to the correct level of student charges versus public funding is ongoing. Determining how costs should be distributed has proved problematic.
<i>Process</i>	2	Highly centralized process; use of handpicked committees and external experts; the policy design process "occurred quickly, providing limited time or chance for opponents to disagree." At that time, the innovative scheme had no international precedent: "it was untested and there was no empirical evidence that it would succeed." There was no published research paper setting out the idea that the government could refer to.
<i>Political</i>	2	Both major parties now view HECS as an essential component of the higher education system. The model has been exported around the world. The architect, Bruce Chapman, has received international and national recognition and accolades. However, the Coalition was initially opposed, only coming around to the idea 5 years later. Similarly, the ALP Party Platform was initially opposed to fees – national student and staff unions lobbied the ALP Caucus. In its early years, it took time and resources to defend.
<i>Endurance</i>	3	Following the 1996 election, the Howard government "chose its retention." The goals of the policy have largely remained intact. However, HECS has been subject to changes often driven by the political attraction of budgetary savings. While HECS has been resilient and endured for the past 30 years, the rising stock and cost of debt and calls to reform the higher education sector pose challenges.
<i>Process Inclusivity</i>	2	"The Government was faced with the task of consulting with and convincing stakeholders and the public of the merits of the proposal." The ACTU was brought on board after the development of the proposal. The policy decision process was set and controlled by the education

		minister: He handpicked committee members and secretariat staff. "The consultation process was brief, but it was particularly well focused."
<i>Pace of Change</i>	4	The process moved quickly with HECS becoming law only 18 months after the proposal was developed, well within one term of government.
<i>Degree of Innovation</i>	4	Bruce Chapman's report included the novel idea of an income contingent charge to be repaid through the tax system following graduation, something no other country had previously implemented. "HECS was introduced on a Greenfield policy site, policy constraints and conflicts did not exist to divert the development process."

German Labour Market		
<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Score (1-4)</i>	<i>Explanation/consideration</i>
<i>Programmatic</i>	3	The reforms were successful in that they "enabled the effective tackling of unemployment even during the worst recession in post-war history which acted as a major test for the economy's robustness (Rinne and Zimmermann 2013)." Macroeconomic indicators suggest the policies were successful in meeting goals, but evidence of the effectiveness of compensatory measures is less clear.
<i>Process</i>	4	Choice of policy mixes were also well suited to the existing economic model in Germany and have been updated (through continuous trial and error) in the face of changing circumstances. The designers—a 'strategic centre'—relied heavily on the experiences of similar countries in making evidence-based policy decisions. Also, procedural success is evidenced in the Hartz Committee's ability to enhance problem-solving capacity and to circumvent a 'stalemate in corporatist policy making.'
<i>Political</i>	2	The passage and impacts of the Hartz reforms were highly contentious. "While business and employer associations as well as conservative and liberal parties supported the Hartz reforms, unions, social welfare organisations, leftist parties, and parts of the public criticised social cutbacks." However, "over time, both the inclusiveness (a process component) and breadth and depth of the societal legitimacy (a political component) of German labour market policies have improved." Today, "there is no societal consensus on the core objectives of labour market policies, and there is a widespread sense of injustice."
<i>Endurance</i>	3	The initial Hartz reform instruments are no longer in place, and have been replaced by subsequent reforms. The Hartz IV law has not been terminated or changed. These changes reflect evolution in economic circumstances in Germany, rather than changing principles or goals.
<i>Process Inclusivity</i>	1	As Spohr writes, "the composition of the Hartz Committee was not about inclusion and consensus but about expertise and a will to compromise." Several important societal actors were left out of the design stage. This process "reduced procedural justice since social partnership negotiations serve the legitimisation of government actions; governments especially incorporate trade unions into policy making and implementation for their own political support (Hassel 2009)."
<i>Pace of Change</i>	1	The first reforms were passed in 2002, with laws coming into effect between 2003 and 2005. The second wave of reforms were passed amid the great recession in 2009. Together these changes took place over more than 2 government terms.
<i>Degree of Innovation</i>	1	The Hartz Reforms relied heavily on the experiences of others. As Spohr writes, "policy mixes like the Hartz reforms – activating the unemployed, improving their employability and making low-skilled labour productive – had already been implemented quite successfully in social democratic Scandinavian welfare states such as Denmark and Sweden as well as in liberal Anglo-Saxon systems such as the UK and the US since the 1980s"