



**NETAJI SUBHAS OPEN UNIVERSITY**

**STUDY MATERIAL**

**P.G.P.A.**

**PAPER V**

**MODULES : 1-4**

**POST GRADUATE  
PUBLIC  
ADMINISTRATION**

STUDY MATERIAL

PAPER

PAPER

NUMBER 1

STANDARD TEST

1980

ADMINISTRATION

## PREFACE

In the curricular structure introduced by this University for students of Post Graduate degree programme, the opportunity to pursue Post Graduate course in Subject introduced by this University is equally available to all learners. Instead of being guided by any presumption about ability level, it would perhaps stand to reason if receptivity of a learner is judged in the course of the learning process. That would be entirely in keeping with the objectives of open education which does not believe in artificial differentiation.

Keeping this in view, study materials of the Post Graduate level in different subjects are being prepared on the basis of a well laid-out syllabus. The course structure combines the best elements in the approved syllabi of Central and State Universities in respective subjects. It has been so designed as to be upgradable with the addition of new information as well as results of fresh thinking and analyses.

The accepted methodology of distance education has been followed in the preparation of these study materials. Co-operation in every form of experienced scholars is indispensable for a work of this kind. We, therefore, owe an enormous debt of gratitude to everyone whose tireless efforts went into the writing, editing and devising of a proper lay-out of the materials. Practically speaking, their role amounts to an involvement in invisible teaching. For, whoever makes use of these study materials would virtually derive the benefit of learning under their collective care without each being seen by the other.

The more a learner would seriously pursue these study materials the easier it will be for him or her to reach out to larger horizons of a subject. Care has also been taken to make the language lucid and presentation attractive so that they may be rated as quality self-learning materials. If anything remains still obscure or difficult to follow, arrangements are there to come to terms with them through the counselling sessions regularly available at the network of study centres set up by the University.

Needless to add, a great deal of this efforts is still experimental—in fact, pioneering in certain areas. Naturally, there is every possibility of some lapse or deficiency here and there. However, these do admit of rectification and further improvement in due course. On the whole, therefore, these study materials are expected to evoke wider appreciation the more they receive serious attention of all concerned.

**Professor (Dr.) Manimala Das**  
Vice-Chancellor

Second Reprint : December, 2010

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Printed in accordance with the regulations and financial assistance of the  
Distance Education Council, Government of India.



**POST GRADUATE : PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**  
**[P.G/P.A.]**

**Paper : PGPA - V**  
**Modules : I - IV**

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POST-GRADUATE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
RCP 21

Topic: Public Administration  
Subject: Public Administration

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## **Module : I**

### **UNIT 1 □ NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PUBLIC POLICY**

#### **Structure**

- 1.0 Introduction**
- 1.1 Objective**
- 1.2 Definitions of Policy**
- 1.3 Definitions of Public Policy**
- 1.4 Policy Typology**
- 1.5 Public Policy and Decision-Making**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

Public policy is a sub-field within the discipline of Political Science. Public policy is studied for the attainment of scientific understanding, professional advice, and policy recommendation. Policy studies can be undertaken not only for scientific and professional purposes but also to initiate political discussion, advance the level of political awareness, and improve the quality of public policy.

In addition to the government, researchers, and analysts, today, the average citizens need to understand how a societal problem evolves into a public policy so that her/his interests are protected. Every day national, state, and local newspapers carry stories that raise important public policy issues. Some examples are how government schools should be financed; are current welfare programs encouraging, are current environmental initiatives adequate, like the friction occurred regarding Book Fair at Maidan in 2006 in West Bengal; and, are current domestic security measures protecting us or chiseling away at fundamental freedom. Citizens need to understand that our public policies have a direct impact on the quality of our freedom. Thus, every person, not just social scientists and analysts, need to be even knowledgeable about public policy issues so that one may influence public policy if one so desires through formation of public opinion. Decision of the West Bengal government to shift the installation of Chemical Hub from Nandigram may be due to the pressure of such public opinion.

Public Administration is seen as a part of the Public Policy process. As specific fields within the social sciences they share several concepts and topics of study.



Generally, public administration refers to the implementation aspects of policy process. Public administration is seen as the mechanism through which policy goals/decisions are translated into action.

Public Policy is an interdisciplinary study that offers more comprehensive options and alternatives as a guide to policy making, which is not generally found in the mere study of public administration.

The study of public policy is a sub-field within the discipline of Political Science. The module has been organized into three units: *Unit 1*, provides an overview of public policy, its definition, nature and significance of public policy, difference between policy making and decision making. Through *Unit 2* students will learn about the evolution of Policy Analysis and in *Unit 3*, students will learn about policy cycle. Each unit provides highlights and a nexus of the text materials. There has been an attempt to connect the dots as students read the breadth of public policy making. However, students need to read the assigned pages so that they can obtain the details. Different aspects of the political systems that affect public policy, the actors in the policy making process, and a discussion of civil rights that helps encapsulate the policy cycle have been analysed in details.

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## 1.1 Objectives

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Public Policy is a study of how our society is/can be organized and how it operates.

Public Policy is the study of how we solve problems (or don't solve them). It is the study of the approach to define a problem, outlining a range of alternative solutions, designing specific programs to implement a given strategy, and last but not least, evaluate outcomes.

Policy studies are interdisciplinary at their core; Public Policy draws from economics, politics, philosophy, government, anthropology, engineering, environment and sociology.

Understanding societal change and public information is essential to public and private decision-making. This is reflected in the range of activities that comprise Public Policy, which includes subjects as varied as the assessment of local economic development, planning national investments, poverty alleviation, health and sanitation, social equity and justice, 'engendering' development, managing information technology for public agencies and balancing economic growth with the needs of ecological systems. Knowledge in Public Policy is the first practical step in the advocacy of a better society.

## **Reasons to study Public Policy:**

**Public Policy affects all of our lives, everyday.**

For example

- Education policy
- Health policy
- Infrastructure policy
- Development policies

**Public Policy helps us analyze and understand the controversial issues that affect our lives.**

For example

- Should public funds be used to support students that attend private schools?
- Should public money be used for nationalistic propaganda campaigns?
- Should the amount of agricultural lands be reduced to give way to industrial sector?

**Public Policy helps us to solve problems.**

For example

- How can we provide basic amenities like water, electricity, safety and food to every one?
- How can we best motivate and provide required skills for the unemployed to find gainful self-employment?
- How Self- help Groups can provide meaningful avenues for Women's Empowerment in India?

**Public Policy widens career horizons and develops a number of necessary job related skills.**

For example

- Analyze a situation
- Offer alternative solutions
- Implement the best strategies and measure outcomes
- Conceptualize and design projects
- Carry out monitoring and evaluation
- Program management
- Carry out Public Policy audits
- Analyze Information to disseminate through media etc

- Apply Interdisciplinary skills to solve problems
- A major challenge for the next generation of students of human development is to help shape the paradigms by which we analyze and evaluate public policies.
- This module suggests how traditional approaches to policy inquiry can be reconsidered in light of new research enquiries and communicative skills needed by all policy researchers.
- The module intends to suggest ways to conduct policy studies within a communicative framework.
- The module intends to provide the students with optimal understanding of few basic areas of policy science: decision making and policymaking behavior, normative policy theory, and institutional change.

The achievement of status and recognition of policy analysis as a profession in academic and public arenas depends upon critically examining its distinctive outlook. Such critical examination of policy analysis, its distinctive problem orientation and social process (or contextuality) frame of reference requires continuous search for parallels between disciplines.

The module focuses on the following:

1. Defining and understanding public policy
2. Typologies
3. Policy analysis
4. Approaches to policy analysis
5. The policy cycle

Policy is a plan of action to guide decisions and actions. The term may apply to government, private sector organizations and groups, and individuals. The policy process includes the identification of different alternatives, such as programs or spending priorities, and choosing among them on the basis of the impact they will have. Policies can be understood as political, management, financial, and administrative mechanisms arranged to reach explicit goals. Law as a guiding and controlling force in public-sector operations covers application of legal processes to administrative practices and situations, and administrative determination of private rights and obligations and this determines the nature of policy, specially public policy in a given environment.

The goals of policy may vary widely according to the organization and the context in which they are made. Broadly, policies are typically instituted in order to avoid some negative effect that has been noticed in the organization, or to seek some positive benefit.



Corporate purchasing policies provide an example of how organizations attempt to avoid negative effects. Many large companies have policies that all purchases above a certain value must be performed through a purchasing process. By requiring this standard purchasing process through policy, the organization can limit waste and standardize the way purchasing is done.

Public policy is a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a problem. Public policy is expressed in the body of laws, regulations, decisions and actions of government. For example, health policy involves the plans and actions of government and other organizations designed to maintain and improve public health, health care provision, and health care access. Policy analysis may be used to formulate public policy and to evaluate its effectiveness.

Civil Society has a role in policy formulation: They are to

- ensure that priority needs that are identified are addressed in policies and interventions
- assess sectoral submissions for their focus on definite issues and problems
- ensure that adequate public investments are allocated to community priorities and concerns
- determine benchmarks for policy monitoring.

Civil Society can contribute through:

- participation
- preparation of reports
- independent and credible policy research
- micro-level, non-policy oriented participatory research which presents issues from the point of view of common people.
- to create public awareness of results to stimulate citizen interest in keeping track of progress and changes in addressing priority issues.

The process may be designed to offer policy makers insights that are relevant to policy formulation and implementation of poverty reduction policy.

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## **1.2 Definitions of Policy<sup>1</sup>**

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Policy has been defined as :

- "what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes." – Thomas R. Dye
- "a projected program of goals, values, and practices." – Harold Lasswell
- "the impacts of government activity." – David Easton

- “a selected line of action or a declaration of intent.” – Austin Ranney

When the term policy is used, it may also refer to:

- Official government policy (legislation or guidelines that govern how laws should be put into operation)
- Broad ideas and goals in political manifestos and pamphlets
- A company or organization's policy on a particular topic. For example, the equal opportunity policy of a company shows that the company aims to treat all its staff equally.

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### 1.3 Definitions of Public Policy<sup>1</sup>

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Different authors' definitions are given to describe public policy :

- Thomas R. Dye defines public policy as the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity (Dye, 2002:3).
- Harold Lasswell defines public policy as “a projected program of goals, values, and practices.”
- David Easton sees it as “the impacts of government activity.”
- Austin Ranney sees public policy as “a selected line of action or a declaration of intent.”
- James Anderson defines the term as “a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern.”
- “The term public policy always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions”. Clarke E. Cochran, et al.
- Clarke E. Cochran, et al.: “Public policy is the outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what”.
- Thomas Dye: Public policy is “Whatever governments choose to do or not do”.
- Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone: “Public policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals”.
- B. Guy Peters: “Stated most simply, public policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the life of citizens”.

According to William Jenkins in *Policy Analysis: A Political and Organizational Perspective* (1978), a Public Policy is ‘a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle,



be within the power of those actors to achieve'. Thus, Jenkins understands Public Policy making to be a process, and not simply a choice.

The elements common to all definitions of public policy are as follows:

- The public policy is made in the name of the "public".
- Public Policy is generally made or initiated by government.
- Public Policy is interpreted and implemented by public and private actors.
- Public Policy is what the government intends to do.
- Public Policy is what the government chooses not to do.

All these various definitions are talking about a process or a series or pattern of governmental activities or decisions that are designed to remedy some public problem, either real or imagined. Perhaps, the simplest way to define public policy is to say that when the government chooses to solve a problem in society then that particular problem and designed measure to solve it, becomes a public policy.

For example, the Indian government knows that poverty can cause great turmoil in the country. In fact, a very high level of poverty over an extended period of years or decades can lead to civil unrest which could lead to civil war. Therefore, the government seeks to solve the problem of poverty through welfare policy. Indira Gandhi's government adopted a policy towards poverty eradication, named 'Garibi Hatao'. It was so designed as to generate employment and to initiate such other measures to this end. However, the government is not able to solve all problems in the country. Thus, some problems will not become a public policy, but rather the problem will remain a private issue to be solved by individuals or private groups or NGOs.

It is important to know that public policy is created at the national, state and local levels. The public policies that affect citizens the most directly are those implemented at the state and local levels. Public policies at the state and local levels range from such issues as the designing of school curriculum to issues that determine the amount a citizen pays when he/she registers her vehicle for license plates.

Public policy is the body of fundamental principles that underpin the operation of legal systems in each nation. This addresses the social, moral and economic values that tie a society together, values that vary in different cultures and change over time. Law regulates behaviour either to reinforce existing social expectations or to encourage constructive change, and laws are most likely to be effective when they are consistent with the most generally accepted societal norms and reflect the collective morality of society. Any legal system includes impartiality, neutrality, certainty, equality, openness, flexibility, and growth. This assumes that the true purpose of dispute resolution systems is to discourage self-help and the violence that often accompanies it, i.e. citizens have to be encouraged to use the court system. But this certainty must be

subject to the needs of individual justice, hence the development of equity. A judge should always consider the underlying policies to determine whether a rule should be applied to a specific factual dispute. If laws are applied too strictly and mechanically, the law cannot keep pace with social innovation. Similarly, if there is an entirely new situation, a return to the policies forming the basic assumptions underpinning potentially relevant rules of law, identifies the best guidelines for resolving the immediate dispute. Over time, these policies evolve, becoming more clearly defined and more deeply embedded in the legal system. Thus in almost every country, whether in USA or in India or it is in United Kingdom, public policy is indebted to judicial interpretation.

The most fundamental policy in the operation of any legal system is that *ignorantia juris non excusat*, the Latin for *ignorance of the law is no excuse*. All the main legislatures publish their laws freely whether in hard copy or on the internet, while others offer them for sale to the public at affordable prices. In India the government publishes the legislations in its Gazettes, available in government sales counters. Because everyone is entitled to access the laws as they affect their personal lives, all adults are assumed responsible enough to go through the law before they act. If they fail to do so, they can hardly complain if their acts prove unlawful, no matter how transiently they may be within the jurisdiction. The only exception to this rule excuses those of reduced capacity, whether as infants or through mental illness.

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## 1.4 Policy Typology

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Typologies are sometimes used to analyze public policy. It is a way of organizing phenomena into discrete categories for systematic analysis. For example, in 1964, Theodore Lowi proposed a typology that he thought could categorize public policy into three types: regulatory, distributive, and redistributive. There has been many other scholars who have developed more typologies that classify public policies.

Many types of public policies exist. For example, some policies seek to distribute benefits to everyone, such as highway policies that would help ease the traffic congestion. Other policies seek to redistribute benefits from the "haves" to the "have-nots." Policies such as welfare for the poor would fit this category and work toward solving the policy problem of poverty.

**Distributive**—distributive policy is designed to assist economic development with incentives in the form of tax reductions, cash payments etc. Thus, such a policy aims at promoting, usually through subsidies, private activities that are judged to be socially desirable. Accordingly, this type of public policy does not have winners or losers; there is no direct confrontation and everybody benefits equally. Examples include government policies that impact spending for welfare, public education,

highways, and public safety. In India, policies relating to the actions and operations of NABARD or policies like SEWA fall in this category, meant to generate self employment and capacity building of women, specially in rural and semi-rural sectors.

**Redistributive**—this policy type seeks to redistribute benefits from the “haves” to the “have-nots” such as land ceiling policies. Therefore, redistributive policy tends to be characterized by ideological concerns and often involves class stratification.

**Regulatory**—this policy type seeks to regulate behavior, such as labor policy, crime policies, or environmental protection policies. For example, Labour law and regulations imposed upon business to ensure maximum working hours and minimum wages for labourer in the conduct of business. These policies are generally thought to be best applied in situations where good behavior can be easily defined and bad behavior can be easily regulated and punished through fines or sanctions. An example of a fairly successful public regulatory policy is that of a speed limit to a vehicle or sound limit to 65 decible. Regulatory policies, or mandates, limit the discretion of individuals and agencies, or otherwise compel certain types of behavior.

### **Constituent policies**

Constituent policies create executive power entities, or deal with laws.

### **Miscellaneous policies**

1. **Liberal**—this policy type is used extensively to bring about social change, usually in the direction of ensuring greater levels of social equality, e.g. Bank Nationalization policies in the 1970s in India.

2. **Conservative**—this policy type generally opposes the use of government to bring about social change but may approve government action to preserve the status quo or to promote favored interests, e.g. U.S. Supreme Court's policy that defeated New Deal Policy (Liberal policy) of President Roosevelt designed to combat economic depression of 1930s. In India Privy Purse abolition policy or Bank Nationalisation policies were combated in the national courts of law respectively in the late 1960s and in early 1970s.

3. **Substantive**—this policy type is concerned with governmental actions to deal with substantive (considerable) problems, such as highway construction, environmental protection, or payment of welfare benefits, or policies like Jawahar Rojgar Yojna.

4. **Procedural**—this policy type relates to how something is going to be done or who is going to take action. An example would be the Industrial policies of 1948 and 1956, which describe the rulemaking procedures to be used for economic development.

5. **Material**—this policy type either provides concrete resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries or impose real disadvantages on those adversely affected. For example, welfare payments, housing subsidies, and tax credits are material.



**6. Symbolic**—this policy type appeals more to cherished values than to tangible benefits. Some examples of these policies are national holidays that honor patriots, policies concerning the flag, and religion in schools.

**7. Collective**—this policy type is concerned with collective goods and how such benefits cannot be given to some but denied to others. Some examples would be national defense and public safety.

**8. Public Goods**—this type of policy is referring to those goods that are available to everyone, and no one may be excluded from their use.

**9. Private**—this policy type is concerned with private goods and how such goods may be divided into units, and for which consumers can be charged. For example, food is, for the most part, a private good in the United States. Thus, private goods are divisible, in the sense that others may be kept from benefiting from their use or be charged for benefiting from their use.

**10. Areal**—that type of policy affects the total population of a geographical area by a single policy.

**11. Segmental**—this is a policy affects different people at different times in separate areas of a population.

**12. Adaptive**—are policies that are designed to meet the needs of a group.

**13. Control**—are those that attempt to direct the environment.

Policy addresses the intent of the organization, whether government, business, professional, or voluntary. Policy is intended to affect the 'real' world, by guiding the decisions that are made. Whether they are formally written or not, most organizations have identified policies.

Policies may be classified in many different ways. The following is a sample of several different types of policies.

- Crime policy
- Domestic policy
- Education policy
- Energy policy
- Environmental Policy
- Foreign policy
- Healthcare policy
- National defense policy
- Public policy (law)
- Sex policy

- Social policy
- Social welfare policy

Policies are dynamic; they are not just static lists of goals or laws. Policy blueprints have to be implemented, often with unexpected results. Social policies are what happens 'on the ground' when they are implemented, as well as what happens at the decision making or legislative stage.

There is often a gulf between actions the organization intends to take and the actions the organization actually takes. This difference is sometimes caused by political compromise over policy, while in other situations it is caused by lack of policy implementation and enforcement. Implementing policy may have unexpected results, stemming from a policy whose reach extends further than the problem it was originally crafted to address. Additionally, unpredictable results may arise from selective or idiosyncratic enforcement of policy.

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## 1.5 Public Policy and Decision Making

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A classic view of politics is who gets what, when, and how (Lasswell, 1958). Public policy is the result of the political process. Therefore, state policy is the result of the state political process. Public policy helps us understand who gets what, when, and how in terms of area specific needs and resources. One model to explain this is a political systems approach as per Thomas R. Dye, (1972)<sup>2</sup> and David Easton, (1965)<sup>3</sup>. In the most simplified version of this model, to understand policy one must consider inputs such as demands on the political system and environmental support for policy, the political system itself, and the outputs of the political system in terms of decisions and actions (Dye, 1972; Easton 1979). Added to this is the societal outcomes of policy, which are to be distinguished from outputs.

Easton describes two kinds of policy outputs: authoritative outputs (which include binding decisions and actions, such as laws, orders, and mandates) and nonauthoritative or associated outputs (which take the form of policies, rationales, benefits, favors, and incentives). Authoritative outputs often take the form of mandates. Associated outputs might take the form of competitive state grant programs for professional development. Feedback on the impact of outputs is important for policymakers in determining future support. Easton notes that heterogeneous outputs tend to produce heterogeneous responses. Conversely, homogenous outputs produce homogenous responses. A complicating factor in determining the value of policy outputs is the time lag between policy output, implementation, and feedback concerning the impact of policy. A further complexity in the policy process is that policy output does not have equal outcomes. Also, policymakers need to have a time frame in mind for when the intended results will be measurable. These issues and questions provide a framework for consideration of policy options.



Decision making refers to actions taken within governmental settings to formulate, adopt, implement, evaluate, or change environmental policies. These decisions may occur at any level of government. For example, at the most general level, environmental policies reflect society's collective decision to pursue certain environmental goals and objectives and to use particular means to achieve them. Public sector decision making incorporates a diversity of perspectives on environmental problems, from those of industry to the views of activist environmental organizations. Ultimately, policies reflect the inevitable compromises over which environmental goals are to be pursued and how best these may be achieved.

Environmental policy is complex. Beyond the laws, regulations, and court rulings on the subject, it is strongly affected by bureaucratic officials who are charged with implementing and enforcing environmental law. Their decisions, in turn, are influenced by a range of political and economic forces, including the policy beliefs of elected leaders, the health of the economy, anticipated costs and benefits of laws and regulations, centre-state relations, public opinion, media coverage of environmental issues, and efforts by corporations, environmental groups, and scientists to influence public policy.

Increasingly, these actions are linked to decision making in many related areas that also affect environmental quality and human health. These include such desperate concerns as energy use, transportation, population growth, and agriculture and food production. Scientists and scholars use the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development to link these varied human influences on the natural environment. Reports from the 1992 Earth Summit and the President's Council on Sustainable Development firmly endorsed this more comprehensive and integrated view of environmental challenges.

At an even more fundamental level, environmental policy concerns the protection of vital global ecological, chemical, and geophysical systems that scientists increasingly believe to be put at risk through certain human activities. Climate change and loss of biological diversity are examples of such threats. Thus, environmental policy decision making addresses both long-term and global as well as short-term and local risks to health and the environment. For all these reasons, it has become one of the most important functions of government in both industrialized and developing nations on these policy lines.

The public policies adopted by states have to take into consideration a number of issues. Some are aspects of the concept of sovereignty and reflect the essence of territoriality. Other policies are aspects of the social contract, and they define and regulate the relationship between a state and those citizens who owe it allegiance. To that extent, these policies interact with (and sometimes overlap) civil rights and human rights. A number of these rights are defined at a supranational level and it will

necessary for states to consider the extent to which international principles of law are to be allowed to influence the operation of law within their own territories. Independently of the work of the international community to produce harmonised principles, the courts in one country may sometimes be faced with lawsuits which either seek to evade the operation of foreign laws or seek the enforcement of international laws. This is becoming increasingly common as people now move with reasonable freedom between countries for education, international trade, services and markets. Such lawsuits will not be troublesome if the "foreign" law is the same as the domestic law. But serious difficulties will arise if the application of the "foreign" law would produce a different result considering the peculiarities of socio-political, economic and cultural environment.

The general rule is that all higher courts have an "inherent jurisdiction" or "residual discretion" to apply the public policies of their state to clarify or more properly interpret the letter of their domestic laws and procedural rules. In conflict cases, no court will apply a "foreign" law if the result of its application would be contrary to public policy. Thus, for the most part, courts while giving decisions in such cases are slower to invoke public policy in cases involving a foreign element than when a domestic legal issue is involved. In those countries that have adopted Treaty and Convention obligations involving human rights, (e.g., in the UK the Human Rights Act 1998 is now in operation) broader concepts of public policy may now be applied while making decisions.

International resolutions and agreements call for women to be at all policy making tables. This is an international working conference on the shaping of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace building policies when women are more engaged. Experts will present signs of influence on policy direction as women and men work jointly on peace and human security issues. Challenges to women's inclusion in, and within, decision-making bodies in multiple spheres of power are exposed within Indian decision making system. Delegates and speakers explore positive outcomes, as well as inherent roadblocks, in efforts to hold governments, political parties, armed forces, corporations, religious institutions and civil society accountable for progress in incorporating women as essential and equal partners and the hesitations are quite visible among male dominated decision making bodies while creating new provisions. Thus again a conflict arises between public policy and decision making. Peace building in the twenty-first century is a complex process. It is essential to understand how gender-inclusive decision making in four key sectors can affect and influence peace processes. Therefore the conflict should be resolved soon by incorporating internationally recognized policy into the decision of a country.

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## UNIT 2 □ EVOLUTION OF POLICY ANALYSIS

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### Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Harold Dwight Lasswell (February 13, 1902—December 18, 1978)
- 2.3 Yehezkel Dror
- 2.4 Herbert Simon
- 2.5 A Synthesis
- 2.6 An alternative view— Structured Interaction Model
- 2.7 Discourse Framework

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### 2.1 Introduction

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The study of policy (either in review or in planning new policy initiatives) is probably as ancient as the study of humankind; certainly a good case can be made that the Gita, Koran or Bible (especially the Old Testament) are at least partially an exercise in policy analysis (with, of course, one very major exogenous actor); Barbara Tuchman's *The March of Folly* (1984) uses the Trojan War and the American War for Independence as illustrations of policy activities from which she gleans contemporary lessons. Machiavelli's *The Prince* is a glaring example of policy analysis in his attempt to show path for creating a unified Italy.

While the study of politics has a long history, the systematic study of public policy, on the other hand, can be said to be a twentieth century creation. It dates, according to Daniel McCool, to 1922, when political scientist Charles Merriam sought to connect the theory and practices of politics to understanding the actual activities of government, that is public policy<sup>4</sup>.

But the systematic study of public policy with the intention of applying its lessons to become instrumental in policy change and learning is a distinctly 20th century and largely American phenomenon. Many scholars of policy history have identified Harold D. Lasswell and his colleagues (such as Daniel Lerner, Myres McDougal, and Abraham Kaplan) as the progenitors of the policy sciences in the early 1950s, a movement that was strengthened by the 1970s with the founding of several public policy schools.

As complicated and multi-dimensional as the study of public policy is, it has been formed by a singular progression of ideas and practices. The foundation of the



study of policy is, in fact, the same as the basis for nearly all American social and political science pragmatism. Recent developments in the public policy discipline are rooted in the work of Harold Lasswell and based on the theories of William James, Charles Pierce, and particularly John Dewey. For the American mind, to know is to do. The pragmatic tendency which predominates in America simply does not intellectually distinguish between knowing and doing. All knowledge must be useful for the pragmatist thinking. An academic expression of this intellectual leaning is the present orientation of public policy research, which is to utilize thought to provide solutions to political problems, presupposing that such solutions are possible. Working from the preponderant view that thinking must serve a practical purpose, current policy analysis aspires to solve, as well as define, public problems. The fact that this approach to the academic study of public policy has largely been a failure (no significant public problem has been solved by policy science) has not, thus far, been a deterrent.

The underlying philosophy of pragmatism unifies a field of study which is otherwise amorphous and fragmented. The academic study of public policy is animated by the desire to solve public problems, as there is a modest consensus that social research can and should be relevant to immediate policy concerns. In other words, policy concerns, which are, by definition, public, are proposals for government and social action. In this way, the emphasis is placed directly upon practical solutions of public problems. Pragmatism offers a theoretical justification for the policy scientist to prescribe a synthesis of ideas and action. The attempt to unite theory and practice is the unifying characteristic of approaches to policy as superficially different as Easton's 'post-behavioralism,' Lindblom's 'disjointed incrementalism,' and Dror's 'prescriptive-preferable policymaking.' The current orientation of policy study is part of an ongoing effort to make thought relevant, and to use it to solve practical problems, related to real world socio- economic and political cross currents and developments.

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## **2.2 Harold Dwight Lasswell (February 13, 1902—December 18, 1978)**

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According to Harold Lasswell (1936), politics is the decision-making process of who gets what, when, and how. If the institution of religion is ultimately responsible for meaning, the political institution is ultimately responsible for managing power.<sup>5</sup>

Harold Dwight Lasswell was a leading American political scientist and communications theorist. He was a member of the Chicago school of sociology. Lasswell studied at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, and was highly influenced by the pragmatism taught there, especially as propounded by John Dewey and George Herbert Mead. More influential, however, was Freudian philosophy, which informed much of his analysis of propaganda and communication in general. During World

War II, Lasswell held the position of Chief of the Experimental Division for the Study of War Time Communications at the Library of Congress. Always forward-looking, late in his life, Lasswell experimented with questions concerning astropolitics, the political consequences of colonization of other planets, and the "machinehood of humanity." Lasswell's work was important in the post-World War II development of behavioralism.

Lasswell rested the foundation of policy study on the pragmatism of John Dewey and his colleagues. Pragmatism is a uniquely American attempt to combine theory and practice, a synthesis central to Lasswell's development of what he termed the policy sciences. The policy sciences were to be concerned with knowledge of and in the decision process, and directed toward the development of a dependable theory and practice of 'problem solving' in the public interest. This approach to the study of public policy was grounded in the attempt to bridge the distance between theory and practice, knowledge and power, contemplation and action.

Along with other influential liberals of the period, such as Walter Lippmann, Lasswell argued that democracies needed propaganda to keep the uninformed citizenry aware about the policies made by the predominant class in their best interests. As he wrote in his entry on propaganda for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, we must put aside "democratic dogmatisms about men being the best judges of their own interests" since "men are often poor judges of their own interests, flitting from one alternative to the next without solid reason". He is well known for his comment on communications:

*Who (says) What (to) Whom (in) What Channel (with) What Effect and on politics :*

*Politics is who gets what, when, where, and how.*

Lasswell's model of communications is significantly different from those of engineers, including Claude Shannon, and his notion of channel is also different, since it includes different types of media. For example, newspapers, magazines, journals and books are all text media, but are assumed to have different distribution and readership, and hence different effects. All are however guided to channelise the demands of the society and politics and to communicate decisions to the common people, though upholding the predominant views of the ruling community.

Lasswell<sup>6</sup> suggested a "conceptual map [that] must provide a guide to obtaining a generalistic image of the major stages of any collective act," one Lasswell (1956)<sup>7</sup> articulated as the "decision process":

— Intelligence

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6. Lasswell, H. D., *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, 1971. p. 28.



- Promotion
- Prescription
- Invocation
- Application
- Termination
- Appraisal.

These "stages" became the seedling for what was later known as "the policy process" approach (Charles Jones' *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy* [1970, 1977, 1984 editions], James Anderson's *Public Policy Making*, and Garry Brewer and Peter deLeon's *The Foundations of Policy Analysis* [1983]), are generally characterized by a series of policy "stages". These were derived from the Lasswellian list. The following components for the policy stages (or phases) as proposed by Brewer and deLeon (1983) represent the approach of the Lasswell regarding policy analysis:

Policy Initiation: the recognition of a problem and the preparation of policy recommendations.

Policy Estimation: an estimation of the policy proposals to be or not to be successful.

Selection: a stage of selection of policies from among the policy alternatives by an authoritative policymaker.

Policy Implementation: that stage in which the selected policy option will be carried out.

Policy Evaluation: that stage in which the policy option chosen during Selection and Implementation is assessed in terms of minimum efficiency and results.

Policy Termination: that stage during which a poorly performing or unnecessary option is discontinued.

In one way or another, occasionally using slightly different terminologies, numerous authors have adopted this basic version of the "policy process" framework as a means of suggesting to their students and clients that different stages of the policy process have different requirements and skill sets. For instance, policy estimators engaged in cost-benefit analyses could operate in relative isolation, where policy implementers would (almost by necessity) be forced to engage the actual recipients of the intended policy.

It is important to recognize that Lasswell and his successors did not refer to the policy process as if it were a formal "model" or "theory" of the policy process, one conducive to the generation of specific "testable" hypotheses; rather, he spoke of the

policy process as an "approach." Lasswell (and, subsequently, Brewer and de Leon, 1983)<sup>8</sup> never framed the policy process as a "model," rather an approach, a means of viewing and categorizing an individual's observations.

## 2.3 Yehezkel Dror

"New professional role of analyst; systems plus political science, psychology, maturity, idealistic realism to make somewhat better decisions in public policy making"(Dror, 1967)

Yehezkel Dror's life work serves the cause for humanity. Dror - as a result of his research, publications, teachings and personal leadership over the past thirty years - has become widely regarded as the world's foremost pioneer of modern public policy studies. His *Capacity to Govern* work has been in development for years, been published to date in German, Spanish, Portuguese and English and is endorsed and sponsored, in the Foreword to the book by the President of The Club of Rome, which has been known as "The Conscience of Humankind". Yehezkel Dror has international respect for being one of the few founders of the Policy Sciences academic discipline and being the catalyst, since the 1960s, for the establishment of policy departments in universities and the creation of professional societies devoted to policy, such as the Policy Studies Organization (PSO) where he served as President. So, when Dror published it is taken very seriously.

Dror's *Capacity to Govern*<sup>9</sup> : A Report to the Club of Rome is his latest work - which reads: "While human capacities to shape the environment, society, and human beings are rapidly increasing, policymaking capabilities to use those capacities remain the same (Dror's *Capacity to Govern* p. 2)."<sup>10</sup> *Capacity to Govern*, drawing research covering centuries of data, provides the problem as being unprepared societies and obsolete governance (Dror's *Capacity to Govern* Ch 3), the requirements for redesigning governance (Dror's *Capacity to Govern* Chs. 6,7); and the resolution (Dror's *Capacity to Govern* Part Three). The work describes the imperative and the future steps to radically improve and redesign the capacity to govern of states, supra-state structures, and global governance. The overall goal is to increase the capacity to influence, or weave, the future for humanity's benefit (Dror's *Capacity to Govern* p. 215).

In *Capacity to Govern* Dror summarised that the 'We are living through an historically unprecedented age of radical global non-linear transformations in demography, science, technology, consciousness, culture, communications, geo-economic and geo-strategic configurations in regimes and in values. Those transformations are sure to accelerate in the 21st Century. Without improved capacity to govern the negative outcomes for society from those transformations have a real

probability for catastrophic impacts. Governance must acquire the capacity to prevent the use science and technology for mass killing initiated by actors beyond the control of presently available policy structures and tools(Dror's Capacity to Govern p.208)'. As long as the United Nations is unable to cope with major crises of global significance, the USA and the European Union, together with other willing states, should take appropriate action. But no single country should do so on its own and such action should be explained and justified before United Nations forums and limited to the minimum necessary to prevent human catastrophes (Dror's Capacity to Govern p.209). Dror's notion is well applied by the said countries of the world as evident in the events like Gulf war, Afganistan War etc., though question of humanitarianism or survival of human race as a whole is still unanswered. The extent to which Dror's prescriptions match the intention of domination by the Western powerful nations is to be judged on the basis of following conclusions drawn by Dror:

1) "Countries in serious transformation crises should be helped to avoid extreme breakdowns, with special attention to states having continental and global significance. But care must be taken not to give one-dimensional and dogmatic advice likely to cause serious social harm" (Dror's Capacity to Govern, p.208);

2) "Regarding international interventions to prevent evil rulers from acquiring and using mass killing weapons .... my own tendency is to prefer the risks of global over-intervention to those of under-intervention; but global systems are not yet ripe for coping with the issue" (Dror's Capacity to Govern, p.208). That issue related to Iraq's Saddam Hussein is getting global attention since September 2002;

3) "One cannot rely ... on a rapid improvement in the quality of candidates entering politics and reaching top positions. Intense efforts to enhance the quality of the politicians produced by existing selection and promotion processes are therefore required as a 'second best' approach" (Dror's Capacity to Govern p.122);

4) Moral democratic rule is preferred. But, "... the maximum advisable scope for direct democracy is quite limited in the foreseeable future (Dror's Capacity to Govern p.111);

5) "The qualities demanded of senior politicians and governance elites should be radically revised, with emphasis on virtues and character.

These requirements should become a basic canon of democratic theory and political culture (Dror's Capacity to Govern , p.101). Some proposals are crash programs while others are long range notions, requiring considerable longer times and implementation cycles. They may be selected according to their importance in terms of impact and feasibility, but inevitably also reflect the personal interests, biases and limitations of the policy maker/s.

Above proposals suggest that there is still hope in dealing with global dangers



such as terrorism. Dror calls the governing elites to stop "a world of the war of all against all" as envisaged by Thomas Hobbes.

Dror presents his argument in *Ventures in Policy Sciences: Concepts and Applications* in three parts: (1) case studies drawn from Israel and Netherlands; (2) a general systems approach to using behavioral science in policy-making; and, (3) the role of the behavioral sciences in meta-megapolicies.

First, with respect to case studies, the author notes that such studies are an important research method of policy science, essential for understanding the policy-making reality. For reliable findings and to permit inductive conclusions a large number of such studies, to permit inductive conclusions, are necessary. From the case studies presented the author draws four conclusions:

(1) Contributions of Sociologists to Policy-making: Three contributions are identified: (a) a general educational contribution, by sensitizing policy-makers to the social aspects of their operations; (b) policy contributions by assisting in the choice of major guidelines for operations; and, (c) tactical contributions, by providing specific intelligence and ideas applicable to concrete and detailed issues.

(2) Conditions for Contribution: Four conditions are identified: (a) the availability of sociological knowledge directly applicable to substantive activities of the organization; (b) close communication between the social scientist and the chief executive; (c) the capacity of the social scientist to operate in a non-academic organization; and, (d) the active involvement and interest of the major executives.

(3) Role Conflicts: The social scientist is involved in a conflict between organizational identification, and, the professional norms of his discipline.

(4) Conflicts with Administrators: Four conflicts with administrators are identified: (a) conflict due to differences in the time perspectives of the administrator (short-term) and the social scientist (long-term); (b) conflict due to differences in tolerance for ambiguity of the administrator who requires clarity and certainty, and, the social scientist who recognizes the relativity of research results; (c) conflict due to differences in the professional self-image and norms of the administrator and social scientist; and, (d) conflict due to differences in organizational location of the line administrator and the staff social scientist.

Second, with respect to a general systems approach to policy and behavioral sciences, the author notes that while the behavioral science contributes some relevant facts, and, sensitize policy-makers, they also increase subjective uncertainty and feed a multiplicity of interests. Using a simple version of general systems theory, the author views public policy as an output of the public policy-making system and an input into various "target" systems such as health, education, transportation public order and the international system. Similarly, the author considers the behavioral



sciences as a system, the components of which include personnel, organizational structures, information storage, rules of behavior and patterns of adjustive dynamics. With respect to improvements of the Policy-making and Behavioral Sciences Systems the author makes the following recommendations:

**(1) Redesign of the Policy-making System :**

The author makes five recommendations: (a) behavioral science advisors should be installed throughout the system, particularly near organizational decision centers in order to insure close integration with analysis and planning units; (b) budgeting should permit multi-year funding of policy-oriented behavioral research; (c) special programs to initiate junior and senior behavioral scientists with the problems and realities of policy-making; (d) realities of policy problems should, with suitable safeguards, be open to behavioral examination; and, (e) basic understanding of behavioral research should be disseminated throughout the executive and legislative branches through new management training courses.

**(2) Redesign of the Behavioral Sciences System :**

The author makes three major recommendations: (a) new graduate programs, including interdisciplinary studies, emphasis on decision theory and internships, should be established; (b) a new professional concept of 'behavioral sciences policy advisor' should be developed; and, (c) changes in research orientation, methods and subjects so as to focus on the history of social problems, social experimentation, time-compressing research, identification of leverage points in target systems, and, prognostic technique.

**(3) Redesign of Intertransport between Systems :**

The author makes two recommendations: (a) policy-relevant behavioral research must be presented in a language intelligible to policy-makers; and, (b) the social distance between policy-makers and social scientists reduced.

Third, by behavioral sciences meta-megapolicies, the author uses the terms meta-megapolicies to embrace both metapolicy, to define policies on making policies, and, megapolicies, to define master policies regarding goals, basic assumptions, conceptual frameworks, policy instruments, implementation strategies and similar interpolicy directives. With respect to behavioral sciences meta-megapolicies, the author makes the following suggestions:

(1) an explicit behavioral approach to policy-making is required, in order to advance efforts in policy sciences;

(2) such explicit behavioral approach to policy-making will require both new and special organizations, both permanent and ad hoc, and, as well, interdisciplinary personnel

(3) information is needed concerning persons able and willing to participate in

such a behavioral approach/ science oriented policy-making process;

(4) sequential decision-making on an international scale seems a preferable method;

(5) the goals of policy sciences are mainly instrumental- normative policy-making, within the bounds of morally acceptable values;

(6) an initial operational goal is establishment of a policy sciences infra-structure including research organizations, teaching, professional communications, and recruitment of financial support for developing behavioral approach/ science oriented policy science;

(7) policy science directed behavioral science should be very innovative, with a significant propensity to take risks, and, with the presumption of designing a scientific revolution; and

(8) policy science directed behavioral science should show a preference for the intermediate future, five or more years ahead, with main results anticipated in the longer term.

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## 2.4 Herbert Simon

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Herbert Alexander Simon was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on June 15, 1916. He studied in the University of Chicago and received a Ph.D. in 1943. He stayed on at Chicago for two years as a research assistant before becoming a staff member of the International City Managers Association and assistant editor of the *Public Management and Municipal Year Book* (1938-1939). In the following year he joined the University of California as director of administrative measurement studies. Simon was a consultant to the International City Managers Association (1942-1949), the U.S. Bureau of the Budget (1946-1949), the U.S. Census Bureau (1947). After a teaching post at the Illinois Institute of Technology (1942-1949), Simon joined the teaching staff of the Carnegie-Mellon University, first as professor of administration and psychology (1949-1955) and later as professor of computer science and psychology (1956 to the mid-1980s). Simon was a consultant to the Cowles Commission for Research in Economics (1947-1960); chairman of the board of directors of the Social Science Research Council (1961-1965); member of the President's Scientific Advisory Committee (1969-1971); chairman of the Committee on Air Quality Control of the National Academy of Sciences (1974); chairman of the Committee on Behavioral Sciences of the National Science Foundation; winner of the Award for Distinguished Scientific Contributions of the American Psychological Association (1969), and Distinguished Fellow of the American Economic Association (1976). He lectured extensively around the world and received nine honorary degrees. Simon died on February 9, 2001, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, of complications following surgery in January at the age of 84.

Simon's notion of "bounded rationality" is explained by analogy to the search for a needle in the haystack. The neoclassical approach would be to search for the sharpest needle in the stack (a maximization process). Simon's approach is to find the first needle which is sharp enough to handle the contemplated sewing tasks (a "satisficing" process). In another example, he considered a chess game: every move involves potentially millions of calculations about alternative actions. Since it is impossible for players to examine all the possibilities, they Herbert Simon is famous for his study of decision-making behavior, especially in large organizations, which pioneered the development of new theories in economics, psychology, business administration, and other fields. He was awarded the Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics in 1978. He was also the first social scientist elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

In his work Simon provided us with a more realistic approach to neo-classical economic models. The idealized vision of the "rational" consumer, businessperson, or worker, to him, makes all of these participants "satisficers." Instead of maximizing their welfare, profits, or wages on the marketplace, Simon laid more stress on dissemination of proper information about alternatives and providing them with more opportunities for foreseeing the future. Their rational behavior is "bounded" by the cost of obtaining information and uncertainty; hence Simon proposed the concept of "bounded rationality." Simon argues that individuals would be acting rationally by "satisficing," given real learn to follow promising lines of play and to utilize "rules of thumb" in decision-making. Over time these rules of thumb change as outcomes are evaluated.

In 1957 Simon released a second edition of *Administrative Behavior*. In the new edition, Simon built on his original contention that because of the complexity of the economy, business decision-makers are unable to obtain all of the information they need in order to maximize profits. As a result, he had argued, most companies try to set goals that are acceptable but less than ideal—a behavior he termed "satisficing." In the second edition, Simon pointed out that his findings undermined a basic assumption of classical economic theory that the decision maker in an organization has access to all of the information needed to make decisions and will always make rational decisions that maximize profits. Simon's conclusions met with resistance from many economists, although those specializing in business operations were more accepting.

Decision-making, as Simon saw it, is purposeful, yet not rational, because rational decision-making would involve a complete specification of all possible outcomes conditional on possible actions in order to choose the single best among alternative possible actions. In challenging neoclassical economics, Simon found that such complex calculation is not possible. As a result, Simon wanted to replace the economic



assumption of global rationality with an assumption about actual decision-making process, which was more in correspondence with how humans actually make decisions, their computational limitations, and how they access information in a current environment, thereby introducing the concepts of *bounded rationality* and *satisficing*.

Satisficing is the idea that decision makers interpret outcomes as either satisfactory or unsatisfactory, with an aspiration level constituting the boundary between the two. In neoclassical rational choice theory decision makers would list all possible outcomes evaluated in terms of their expected utilities, and then chose the one that is rational and maximizes utility. According to Simon's model, decision makers face only two possible outcomes, and look for a satisfying solution, continuing to search only until they have found a solution that is good enough. The ideas of bounded rationality and satisficing became important for subsequent developments in economics.

Any decision involves a choice selected from a number of alternatives, directed toward an organizational goal or sub-goal. Realistic options will have real consequences consisting of personnel actions or non-actions modified by environmental facts and values. In actual practice, some of the alternatives may be conscious or unconscious; some of the consequences may be unintended as well as intended; and some of the means and ends may be imperfectly differentiated, incompletely related, or poorly detailed.

The task of rational decision making is to select the alternative that results in the more preferred set of all the possible consequences. This task can be divided into three required steps:

- (1) the identification and listing of all the alternatives;
- (2) the determination of all the consequences resulting from each of the alternatives; and
- (3) the comparison of the accuracy and efficiency of each of these sets of consequences.<sup>11</sup>

Any given individual or organization attempting to implement this model in a real situation would be unable to comply with the three requirements. It is highly improbable that one could know all the alternatives, or all the consequences that follow each alternative. According to Simon "The human being striving for rationality and restricted within the limits of his knowledge has developed some working procedures that partially overcome these difficulties. These procedures consist in assuming that he can isolate from the rest of the world a closed system containing a limited number of variables and a limited range of consequences"<sup>12</sup> to achieve approximately the best result. Administrative Behavior, as a text, addresses a wide range of human behaviors, cognitive abilities, management techniques, personnel policies, training goals and procedures, specialized roles, criteria for evaluation of



accuracy and efficiency, and all of the ramifications of communication processes. Simon is particularly interested in how these factors directly and indirectly influence the making of decisions (Chapter VII—The Role of Authority<sup>6</sup>, and in Chapter X—Loyalties, and Organizational Identification.<sup>13</sup> ).

Authority is a well studied, primary mark of organizational behavior, and is straightforwardly defined in the organizational context as the ability and right of an individual of higher rank to determine the decision of an individual of lower rank. The actions, attitudes, and relationships of the dominant and subordinate individuals constitute components of role behavior that can vary widely in form, style, and content, but do not vary in the expectation of obedience by the one of superior status, and willingness to obey from the subordinate. Authority is highly influential on the formal structure of the organization, including patterns of communication, sanctions, and rewards, as well as on the establishment of goals, objectives, and values of the organization.

Decisions can be complex admixtures of facts and values. Information about facts, especially empirically proven facts or facts derived from specialized experience, is more easily transmitted in the exercise of authority than are the expressions of values. Simon is primarily interested in seeking identification of the individual employee with the organizational goals and values. Following Lasswell he states that "a person identifies himself with a group when, in making a decision, he evaluates the several alternatives of choice in terms of their consequences for the specified group"<sup>14</sup>. A person may identify himself with any number of social, geographic, economic, racial, religious, familial, educational, gender, political, and sports groups. Indeed, the number and variety are unlimited. The fundamental problem for organizations is to recognize that personal and group identifications can either facilitate or obstruct correct decision making for the organization. A specific organization has to deliberately determine and specify in appropriate detail and clear language its own goals, objectives, means, ends, and values.

Chester Barnard pointed out that "the decisions that an individual makes as a member of an organization are quite distinct from his personal decisions"<sup>15</sup>. Personal choices may determine whether an individual joins a particular organization, and continue to be made in his or her extra-organizational private life. But, as a member of an organization, that individual makes decisions not in relationship to personal needs and results, but in an impersonal sense as part of the organizational intent, purpose, and effect. Organizational inducements, rewards, and sanctions are all designed to form, strengthen, and maintain this identification.

The correctness of decisions is measured by two major criteria: (1) adequacy of achieving the desired objective; and (2) the efficiency with which the result was obtained. Many members of the organization may focus on adequacy, but the overall

administrative management must pay particular attention to the efficiency with which the desired result was obtained.

March and Simon pointed out that the basic features of organization structure and function are derived from the characteristics of rational human choice. Because of the limits of human intellectual capacities in comparison with the complexities of the problems that individuals and organizations face, rational behavior calls for simplified models that capture the main features of a problem without capturing all its complexities."<sup>16</sup> The book is now considered a classic and pioneering work in organization theory.

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## 2.5 A Synthesis

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Dye defined public policy as "Anything a government chooses to do or not do"<sup>17</sup> "Public policy is, at its most simple, a choice made by a government to undertake some course of action"<sup>18</sup>. Public policy is primarily an output of the political process, the responsibility for which rests with governments.

Advocates of the classical definition readily acknowledge that: policies usually involve a series of interrelated decisions, not merely a single decision-maker, many different people at different levels and scattered throughout government organisations make public policy decisions; policies are shaped by earlier policy decisions and environmental factors; policies are mediated through their implementation; policies involve both actions and inactions; policies cannot be analysed apart from the policy-making process; policies have outcomes that may or may not have been foreseen; policies are subjectively defined, and may be defined retrospectively; policies extend beyond the formal records of decisions; and policies need resources and action to be differentiated from political rhetoric.

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## 2.6 An alternative view— Structured Interaction Model

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In addition to the classical view of policy, Colebatch<sup>19</sup> argues that there is fundamentally different conception that he labels as the structured interaction model:

"The *structured interaction* perspective does not assume a single decision-maker, addressing a clear policy problem: it focuses on the range of participants in the game, the diversity of their understandings of the situation and the problem, the ways in which they interact with one another, and the outcomes of this interaction. It does not assume that this pattern of activity is a collective effort to achieve known and shared goals."<sup>20</sup>

The interactional view recognizes that policy is an ongoing process with many participants, most of whom do not have a formal or recognized role in policy-making. They include ministers of state, their advisers, politicians, public servants,

party members, street level delivery staff, peak bodies, interested members of the public, media and academics. The policy of West Bengal government to reduce the burden of Calcutta university by establishing other universities in the district level has been formally approved in the WB legislative Assembly, as well as has been accepted by the civil society in the surrounding areas. The most recent attempt to establish a state university in Barasat, 24, Parganas(N) has been endorsed by the ruling party in the assembly, by the academicians of the district, by the people of the concerned district. Involvement at all levels can make a policy to become a successfully implemented decision. According to this view, policy is not about the promulgation of formal statements but the processes of negotiation and influence; indeed, "much policy work is only distantly connected to authorized statements about goals: it is concerned with relating the activities of different bodies to one another, with stabilizing practice and expectations across organizations, and with responding to challenge, contest and uncertainty".<sup>21</sup>

Policy is the continuing work done by groups of policy actors who use available public institutions to articulate and express the things they value. It is the interplay of deals, alliances and attempts at finding solutions involving individuals and groups including elected officials, bureaucrats, political parties, the media, interest groups and social movements. Behind every policy issue there is a contest over conflicting, though equally plausible conceptions of the same abstract goal. Similarly, behind every policy issue there is also conflict about how the problem should be defined. And completing the picture, policy solutions are little more than temporary resolutions of conflict.

Colebatch, argues for a synthesis between the classical and interactional views of policy, seeing them as the vertical and horizontal dimensions of policy<sup>22</sup>. In the vertical dimension the focus is on authorities making decisions in the context of problem identification, identifying and comparing possible solutions, and checking that policies have been implemented correctly and that they are achieving the desired results. In the horizontal dimension the focus is on the range of participants, the diversity of their agendas, and the activities of negotiation, coalition building, and the ratification of agreed outcomes. The essence of Colebatch's synthesis is that the rational model has considerable symbolic importance. The role of the rational myth is that it frames the appropriate behaviour of the actors - from ministers to bureaucrats, from academics to interest groups and from service providers to service users.

In this context, Colebatch explores what people are trying to achieve when they label something as policy. He says, "to describe something as 'policy' is to give it special significance"<sup>23</sup>. Use of the term, policy, implies organised activity that is coherent (all the bits of the action fit together), hierarchical (a course of action that is officially endorsed), and instrumental (a course of action that is deliberately in



pursuit of particular purposes, rather than erratic or random. Policy statements imply authority; they have the endorsement of some authorised decision-maker, be it Cabinet, the Minister or senior public servants); expertise (they invariably draw on a body of experts - policy requires knowledge); and order (policy responses create order - they define how something should be done).

Drawing on Foucault's motifs of power/knowledge, bio-power and governmentality, one can make similar observations. The label of 'official policy' objectifies decision-making and conceals the decision-makers. It legitimises the arguable and irrational; and by aligning them with 'experts' and collective, universalised objectives (for example, family values, democracy, respect for tradition or individual free choice) it makes disagreement impotent. Thus, policies work as instruments of governance, as ideological vehicles, and as agents for constructing subjectivities and organising people within systems of power and authority.

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## 2.7 Discourse Framework

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Discourse concepts can be used by evaluators and policy analysts for evaluation and policy analysis to enhance their profession's accomplishment of three tasks: (a) considering what gets defined and who does the defining, (b) contributing to qualitative insights, and (c) articulating variable interpretations of policy contexts and outcomes. Policy researchers may find that the concepts are useful in day to day work on a variety of projects. For example, as individuals involved in a particular project begin to work with each other, they begin constituting events in the formulation, design, and conduct of a policy study. While some may consider such events as simply routine, discourse research provides insight into the resources individuals rely upon to define the situation and establish their work within participant structures, as well as insights into the social and cognitive processes embedded in the enactment of routines.

The following concepts are used in discourse studies to identify and explain variation in functions, forms, and features of communication across home, community, business, school and other institutional settings.

*Functions of language.* The question of how individuals communicate information and persuade others in actual situations is still far from being resolved. Some have observed that it is not words which mean things but individuals who, by words, mean things; that a statement does not represent a fact but that individuals, by a statement, mean facts. Yet discourse researchers argue that finding answers to questions about how information and persuasion are used to create certain rhetorical effects and how they can be analyzed requires paying attention to how ordinary forms of communication are empty by themselves. As in architecture, form is function, and is meaning as well. They attempt to persuade human service professionals that it is possible to develop



understanding of how day to day talk and writing is a composite of all these aspects.

Functionally the choice of a word or phrase may have one meaning, its repetition another and its location in structure yet another. More specifically, there is a professional development benefit which is derived from awareness of the functions and formats of special languages or codes across participant structures; it is an appreciation of the multiple resources which results from the variations possible in both oral and written discourse forms, and the resources we can use to meet the myriad demands made on participants' communicative competence.

*Language per se is ambiguous.* Discourse researchers have presented some interesting examples of miscommunication that can be traced to the ambiguity of language. For example, a study at the Center for Distance Education may illustrate how educational policy analysts can create opportunities to analyze a large number of different reform policies aimed at inducing change by targeting major components of the instructional methods that are at the core of distance education (i.e., assignments, tests, grades, distribution criteria). Among the choices identified to date are: (a) begin by summarizing an event and then giving details, or (b) build up details and then present the summary at the end. These discourse forms—or arrangements of sentences—are just another way of demonstrating and illustrating compilation of findings across ethnographic studies of language use: first, that language forms are necessarily incomplete in specifying the full intentions of writers and speakers and so individuals choose schemas to help guide their selection for an answer; and, second, that language per se is ambiguous and so to comprehend an oral and written text individuals must necessarily initiate some interpretative frames to fill in needed information.

In other words, when the concept of language per se is ambiguous the next generation of policy analysts consider (a) that what is not said is as important as what is said, (b) the importance of ambiguity for creating choices or options, and (c) the evolving nature of meaning.

*Interpretative frames.* The concept of interpretative frames can be effectively used to develop inquiry statements for studying communication and change across the time frame of educational evaluation and policy analysis. This goal, of course, sounds quite ambiguous. However, identifying and using language and policy concepts in research essentially involves making it explicit.

*Schema/ frames.* Discourse theory and research address the consequences of background and other interactive experiences apparent during particular institutional routines in educational, health, and social services. Notions of knowledge structure and interpretation have been the object of study for a long time, and recent formulations of the concepts of frame and schema try to capture cognitive and socio-cultural dimensions of variations in and across contexts. The idea of static schemas as personal

understandings, relationships, values, goals, and interests held by individuals was combined with the idea of interpretative frames to investigate the ways in which activities are conducted and actions are taken in comprehensive services.

*Participant structure.* There are several possible ways to arrange silence or articulation of multiple schemas and interpretative frames within the basic framework of verbal and nonverbal communication used in public life, including attempts to plan and deliver comprehensive services. These arrangements are referred to as "participant structure." These structural arrangements of discourse may fall into many different categories. In one type of participant structure one individual may address the entire group, or the talk may flow as if first - come - first - served reporting basis. Other participant structure arrangements include attention focused on one-to-one encounters between individuals, or attention focused on specific materials.

Studies of participant structures have identified an extensive set of context cues and strategies individuals use to constitute participant structures. At the same time such studies point to the use of a variety of meanings or interpretations for these context cues by both the researchers conducting the study and those participating in the project. Understandings of variant features of language use have led to new descriptions of the most common ways people verbally or nonverbally acknowledge and incorporate, or fail to incorporate or ratify. Identifying and considering these cues and strategies can provide understandings of the links between the enactment of a particular policy and the participant structures in use during a project.

*Construction of social norms.* Giving recognition to identifying and considering the social and cognitive processes related to presenting information and group problem solving across participant structures centers on recognition of individuals as interpreters of their world(s) and as sources of influence on others. The concept of construction of social and cognitive norms as process is proposed in discourse studies to contrast the view of norms as a discrete set of rules inculcated into passive participants. Norms and rules are arbitrary in the sense that definitions of the meanings of social situations, and situations are ever changing and different situations and different meanings. In order to establish and maintain social interaction, the participants must have agreed upon signals for beginning and ending a single social occasion.

*Enactment of Routines.* One routine interpretation task that flows from attempts to construct social norms through changes in policy is the placement of children, youth, and adults in a host of human service programs. The way in which such everyday decisions are reached, cannot be described simply by adding a few more factors to a comprehensive services model or to a model of social operation. The next generation of policy researchers can be the benefactors of advances in understanding the benefits and constraints of variations in language use.

*Style shifts.* One basis for understanding participant structures and enactment of

routines is semantics: How do people communicate and interpret meaning in everyday action and conversation? Each person's decisions about which communication strategies to apply across different situations results in her/his characteristic style.

In terms of written discourse, we can arrive at new qualitative insights and new notions about our own and our colleagues' extensive communicative competence through the consideration of multiple definitions of style found in the literature, and the multiple approaches which have been created for understanding patterns established in a spoken or written text and the functions of the text.

*Communicative competence.* Studies of communicative competence have helped to widen the lens of both theory and research on what components of communication resources are essential in everyday life. Since speech activities are realized in action and since their identification is a function of ethnic and communicative background, special problems arise in modern society where people have widely varying communicative and cultural backgrounds. How can we be certain that our interpretation of what activity is being signaled is the same as the activity that the interlocutor has in mind, if our communicative backgrounds are not identical?

Individuals and social groups have constructed a variety of conventions to deal with the resource and constraint features of language. Such conventions are visible in individuals' and social groups' ideology and values regarding communication standards; what is considered "clear and precise" in one code may not be considered "clear and precise" in another's code of socialized correct conduct. Therefore, a key to understanding the organization of and social practices of oral and written discourse functions in a particular policy project is to learn how to become aware of the "rules" or conventions clients and audience have about the use of language.

A key to the organization of language in a particular culture or period is restriction of free combination of "whats" and "hows," the things that must be said in certain ways, the ways that can be used only for certain things. The admissible relations comprise the admissible styles. In effect, the study of language is fundamentally a study of styles. Other Policy Analysis Approaches:

- Policy Analysis
- Policy Research
- Applied social science Research
- The Process Approach
- The Substantive Approach
- The Logical-Positivist Approach
- The Econometric Approach
- The Phenomenological (Post Positivist or Naturalistic) Approach



- The Normative (Prescriptive) Approach
- The Participatory Approach
- The Ideological Approach
- The Historical Approach
- The Scientific Policy Approach
- The Professional Policy Approach
- The Political Policy Approach
- The Administrative Policy Approach
- The Personal Policy Approach



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## UNIT 3 □ THE POLICY CYCLE

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### Structure

- 3.1 Conceptual Overview
- 3.2 Summary
- 3.3 Exercise

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### 3.1 Conceptual Overview

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A common theoretical device that appears in the literature on the classical model of policy is the notion of a policy cycle that has its foundation in systems theory and scientific method.

In political science the policy cycle is a tool used for the analysing of the development of a policy item. It can also be referred to as a "stagist approach". According to Colebatch<sup>24</sup>, the policy cycle imagines the policy process as an endless cycle of: policy decisions; implementation; and performance assessment. Howlett and Ramesh<sup>25</sup> conceive of a similar cycle but with more steps: agenda setting (problem recognition), policy formulation (proposal of a solution), decision-making (choice of a solution), policy implementation (putting the solution into effect), and policy evaluation (monitoring results). Policy cycle may take following steps: identify issues; policy analysis; policy instruments; consultation; coordination; decision; implementation; and evaluation. Policy cycle may be like, issue search or agenda setting, issue filtration, issue definition, forecasting, setting objectives and priorities, options analysis, policy implementation, evaluation and review, and policy maintenance, succession or termination.

Easton was the first to use systems theory to explain political processes. Easton argued that, like biological systems, political systems could be understood as open, adaptive systems where inputs (essentially political demands and public support in Easton's schema) are converted to outputs (decisions and actions) through a political process. Policy impacts (or outcomes) are distinct from policy outputs. A modern, sympathetic rendition of the systems theory conceptualisation of policy is one where governments direct inputs at specific process in order to produce outputs that will lead to desired outcomes in the client population or in the society as a whole<sup>43</sup>; where each of these terms - inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes - has a specific meaning within this model.

"Inputs - includes money, staffing, skills, experience, physical facilities;

"Processes - are the tasks, activities, strategies, etc. - what is done;

"Outputs - what programs actually produce (goods, products, services); and

"Outcomes - the differences in a consumer's life or the changes to society as the result of outputs (there is a hierarchy of outcomes; some changes are more immediate, others are more significant and/or take longer to manifest)."

Public policymaking is often viewed as a conveyor belt in which issues are first recognized as a problem, alternative courses of action are considered, and policies are adopted, implemented by bureaucratic personnel, evaluated, changed, and finally terminated on the basis of their success level. The term process can be defined as "a progressive forward movement from one point to another on the way to completion (Webster)." Accordingly, the Lester and Stewart provide 6 stages to explain the public policy process<sup>26</sup>

**1. Agenda Setting**—the list of subjects or problems to which government officials...are paying some serious attention at any given time.

**Policy Formulation (or Adoption)**—defines as the passage of legislation designed to remedy some past problem or prevent some future public policy problem.

**Policy Implementation**—describes what happens after a bill becomes a law.

**Policy Evaluation**—is concerned with what happens after a policy is implemented.

**Policy Change**—refers to the point which a policy is evaluated and redesigned so that the entire policy process begins anew. Thus, it absorbs several stages of the policy cycle, including policy formulation, policy implementation, policy evaluation, and policy termination.

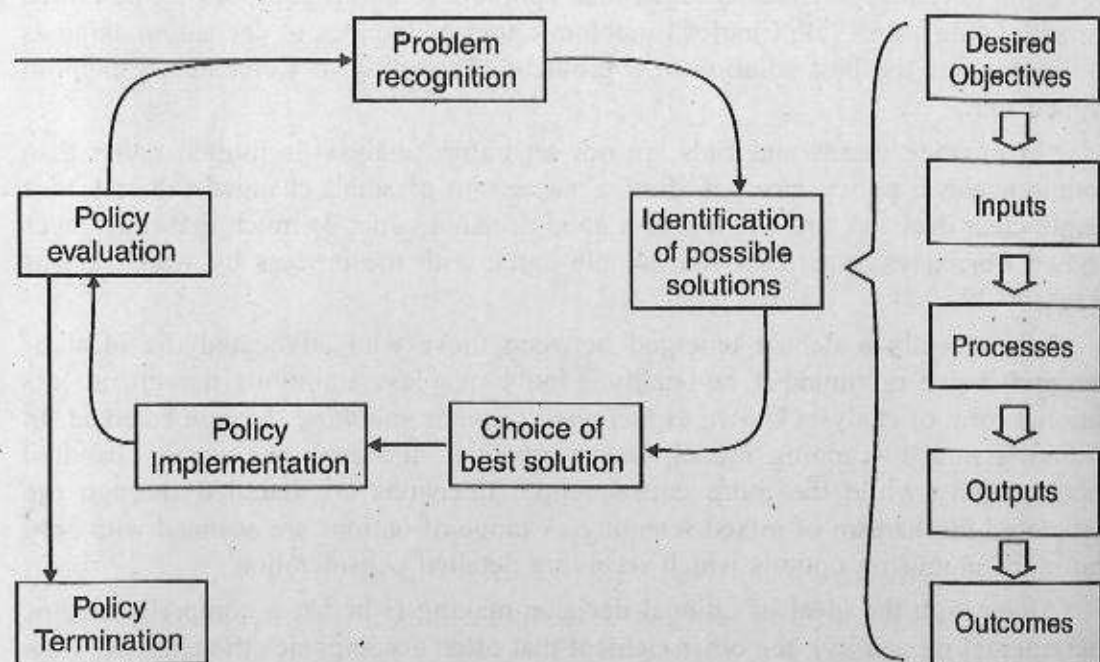
**Policy Termination**—it is a means of ending outdated or inadequate policies.

Strategies constitute a neglected dimension of administrative reforms. In the sense of overall guidelines or "mega-policies," strategies should provide more to design a framework both for behavioral analysis of historic administrative reforms and for prescriptions on how to improve future administrative reforms. Main administrative strategy dimensions for consideration and decision include: overall goals, boundaries, preferences in time, risk acceptability, incrementalism vs. innovation, comprehensiveness vs. narrowness, balance-oriented reform vs. shock-oriented reform, relevant assumptions on the future, theoretic bases, resources availability, and range of reform instruments. Detailed strategy recommendations depend on particular circumstances; but every decision concerning an administrative reform should explicitly consider the strategy dimensions and decide on a preferable mix of strategies.

It has its advantages, first of which is that it permits the policy scholar to identify policy research issues, such as evaluation or implementation (or their conjunction or distinctions) with some clarity. A second advantage is that it encourages the

introduction of emerging and innovative perspectives and methodologies to the policy research community. Finally, C.E. Lindblom and others have long argued that "lay probing" and "muddling through" and "usable knowledge" have their places in the policy sun (Lindblom, 1990; Lindblom and Cohen, 1976; also Wildavsky, 1988). Lay knowledge activities are to be included in a policy process framework.

Implicit in this systems approach is a causal model of the policy process, from inputs to outcomes. This causal model can be thought of as a hypothesis. It is the belief that if the policy-maker does a particular thing it should achieve a desired change in the wider population. This hypothesis provides the link from systems theory to scientific method in the policy cycle, through the process of developing and testing hypotheses in order to find the best solution to a problem. Policy-makers develop a hypothesis about the best way to achieve an objective (the causal model from inputs to outcomes noted above). They then test their hypothesis (that is to say, they implement their policies and analyse the impacts of their policies). From their analysis, policy-makers can come to a conclusion about how well their policies work and whether they should be continued, improved, implemented in another way or terminated. Diagrammatically, the policy cycle is depicted in the following chart.



It should be noted that proponents of the policy cycle readily admit that this model is idealised and not isomorphic. Howlett and Ramesh<sup>27</sup>, for example, argue that the model does not explain why decisions are made or what drives policy from



one stage to the next. The model fails to embrace the complexity of the policy-making process. In reality policy rarely proceeds as a linear progression. Stages are often skipped or compressed and the interests and preset ideological dispositions of the people involved often usurp the process. It is, therefore, obvious that the classical view of policy cycle is not very practical.

In the policy literature, the notion of a policy cycle are often associated with two cognate discussions. The first is what Colebatch calls "the set-piece encounter in policy texts and courses between 'rational' and 'incremental' decision-making"<sup>28</sup>. The second is about the range of possible solutions (policy interventions or policy instruments) that can be applied to a problem.

The ideal of rational decision-making underpinning policy-making goes back to Herbert Simon's *Administrative Behaviour*, first published in 1945. In Simon's ideal model, a policy-maker establishes clear goals, identifies a complete range of options and then selects the best one following a comprehensive analysis of the alternatives and their consequences. However, this ideal has difficulties in practice, which Simon recognised at the time, and some of which Simon addressed when he proposed his 1957 theory of "bounded rationality", in which decision-makers use practical rules-of-thumb to choose satisfactory rather than optimum solutions (a process he described as 'satisficing'). In 1959, Charles Lindblom criticised the idea of decision-making as the search for the best solution to a problem. According to Colebatch, Lindblom argued that

"In practice means and ends are not separable, analysis is limited rather than comprehensive, policy emerges from a succession of small changes rather than a single clear decision, and the test of a good decision is not so much that it achieves known objectives, but rather that people agree with the process by which it was reached."<sup>29</sup>

Subsequently a debate emerged between those who advocated the ideal of comprehensive or bounded rationality. Lindblom's less ambitious though no less rational form of analysis known as *incrementalism* or *muddling through* emerged. In Etzioni's mixed scanning model, inconsequential decisions are usually handled incrementally while the more consequential decisions are handled through the structured mechanism of mixed scanning. A range of options are scanned with only the more promising options which receiving detailed consideration.

Along with the ideal of rational decision-making (whether a comprehensive or incremental rationality), the other element that often accompanies the classical view of policy is a discussion of the range of policy instruments that can be applied to a problem. Between the extreme voluntarism and outright coercion, there may be other broader types of policy instruments: encouragements (including education), economic incentives and disincentives (spending and taxing), government provision and

legislation/regulation. Policy instruments may include rule making, direct provision, grants, and taxes and charges. Howlett and Ramesh<sup>30</sup> provide a larger taxonomy with instruments ranked according to their level of state involvement: family and community; voluntary organizations; private markets; information and exhortation; subsidies; auction of property rights; tax and user charges; regulation; public enterprises; and direct provision. It is complicated in that while most instruments are technically substitutable, each has "varying degrees of effectiveness, efficiency, equity, legitimacy, and partisan support"<sup>31</sup>.

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### 3.2 Summary

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Public policy is the business end of political science. It is where theory meets practice in the pursuit of the public good. Political scientists approach public policy in various ways. Some approach the policy process descriptively, asking how the need for public intervention comes to be perceived, a policy response formulated, enacted, implemented, and, all too often, subverted, perverted, altered, or abandoned. Others approach public policy more prescriptively, offering politically-informed suggestions for how normatively valued goals can and should be pursued, either through particular policies or through alternative processes for making policy. The units touch upon institutional and historical sources and analytical methods, how policy is made, how it is evaluated and how it is constrained. In these ways, the module shows how the combined wisdom of political science as a whole can be brought to bear on political attempts to improve the human conditions.

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### 3.3 Exercise

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#### LARGE QUESTIONS -

1. What is public policy ? Elucidate the scope of public policy as a subfield of public administration.
2. Highlight the reasons behind the study of public policy.  
or
3. Why the study of public policy is necessary for the better understanding of administrative and political system
4. Write a note on the nature and significance of public policy.
5. Define public policy with suitable examples.
6. Write short notes on the various types of public policy.
7. Write down the differences between public policy and decision-making
8. Write an essay on the evolution of public policy as a discipline.
9. Write an essay on the theory and idea of public policy as conceived by Yehezkel Dror.
10. Write an essay on the theory and idea of public policy as conceived by Lasswell.
11. Write an essay on the theory and idea of public policy as conceived by Herbert Alexander Simon.
12. What is Structured Interaction Model ?
13. What is Discourse Framework ?
14. Write an essay notion of a policy cycle. Do you think that it is a systems approach and a scientific tool ?

#### SHORT QUESTIONS

Write short note on the stages to explain the public policy process

How public policy widens career horizons and develops a number of necessary job related skills?

**Write short notes :**

Distributive public policy

Redistributive public policy

Regulatory Public policy

Constituent policies

Miscellaneous policies



Why the classical view of policy cycle is not very practical ?  
What are the two cognate discussions in the notion of a policy cycle?  
What is simon's ideal model?  
What is "bounded rationality"?  
What is the process he described as 'satisficing' ?  
What is lindblom's *incrementalism* or *muddling through*?  
What is Etzioni's mixed scanning model?  
What is policy analysis approaches:  
What are the different types of policies ?  
How the civil Society has a role in policy formulation ?

**Write short notes :**

1. Redesign of the policy-making system:
2. Redesign of the behavioral sciences system:
3. Redesign of intertransport between systems:
4. An explicit behavioral approach to policy-making

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### UNIT 4 □ RATIONAL MODELS OF POLICY PROCESS

#### Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Objective
- 4.2 Rational Approach to Policy Process
- 4.3 Comprehensive Rationality
- 4.4 Bounded Rationality / Satisficing

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#### 4.0 Introduction

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The controversy over the process of decision-making has been long and explosive. One reason for this condition results from the fact that each approach to decision-making has its own set of values, goals, objectives, criteria, standards, biases.

In the academic disciplines of psychology, public policy, and political science, macro-level theories addressing the planning of comprehensive community initiatives come from the professional field of planning. It is often called "social planning", developed in response to the need to engage in planning activity for the delivery of social services. Unplanned aggregate of social services and institutions that arose in an ad hoc or disjointed manner, are often insufficient, inefficient, ineffective or unresponsive to the needs of citizens. Social planning is an organized, structured, systematic effort of matching means to goals, or calculating actions to achieve objectives. Social planning theory emerged as a way to understand, explain, and prescribe the decision-making process of planning on a community level.

Earliest planning theory was rooted in the rationalist paradigm, which applies the principles and methods of science to the analysis of human social activity and individual behavior in an effort to explain, predict, and thereby control social life. Rational planning is described as a process of examining problems from a systems viewpoint, using conceptual or mathematical models relating ends to means i.e., resources and constraints, which heavily relies on numbers and quantitative analysis. Rational planning methods could be applied by trained "expert" planners to solve any problem or set of problems. If rational planning methods are applied regardless of settings, it would result in optimal outcomes. Thus, rational theory is prescriptive, delineating a structure within which planning activity should occur.

In the 1960s and 1970s Rational planning, and the positivist paradigm in which

it is rooted, came under attack. During this period positivism was criticized in the United States and Europe and the limits of rationality were upheld. The classic rationalist model, particularly in the area of social planning, was shown to have numerous limitations.

All information necessary to understand a problem could never be fully accessible or comprehensible.

All possible options could never be identified.

The planner's claim to "value-free" objectivity was suspect.

The rational approach upheld status quo.

It ignored indigenous knowledge, valuable personal insights and understanding of poor and disenfranchised citizens, and therefore served the needs of elites. Thus, the rationalist paradigm valued only the expert planner.

The rational approach rested on the assumption that actors in planning endeavors always behaved rationally.

Instead, irrational behaviors, personal interests, and political biases were found to supersede "rational" concerns or behaviors in planning interests.

Fourth, rationalist planning denied the role of values in decision-making.

This planning paradigm could not help planners make choices in which the evidence for two or more solutions was equally valid and compelling, nor could it acknowledge competing value claims.

Rationalist planning did not offer its own normative base to mediate these claims, as the only super ordinate "value" it recognized was that of efficiency.

Finally, rationalist planning could not address larger social, political, and economic changes; it did not include or acknowledge contextual issues.

In sum, the classic rationalist planning paradigm did not address the role of emotions, values, community, or context in social planning.

In the face of these criticisms, planning theorists responded in five ways:

- ignoring the critiques;
- reforming the theory in an effort to overcome critiques;
- creating normative theories unrelated to larger social theories;
- creating normative theories based on larger social theories;
- and offering an alternative paradigm for planning theory.

Many planning theorists continued to support, teach, and apply the rationalist planning model, with only minimal recognition of the limitations of the model. Others, such as Herbert Simon (1976/1945), Amitai Etzioni (1968), and Charles

Lindblom (1959), perpetuated the flawed model by proposing bounded rationality, strategic planning methods, and a recognition of the need to weigh values(conditionally). Yet, Simon's "satisficing", Etzioni's "mixed-scanning", or Lindblom's "incrementalism" were not sufficiently comprehensive to replace rational theory as a planning paradigm, nor did these decision-making theories answer all of the criticisms regarding rational planning theory's lack of attention to emotions, values, and context. These theories did not offer a normative base for resolving value conflicts. Just like rational planning theory, these theories unquestioningly supported the status quo of the planning process in mainstream society.

Davidoff's (1965) "advocacy planning" and Friedmann's (1973) "transactive planning" emerged in the social activism of the sixties and seventies to suggest a role for the planner as moral agent, working for social justice. The ultimate goal is to make the final plan more responsive to the needs of disenfranchised populations. Success is determined by examining the quality of the lives of the people who take part in, and are affected by, the planning process. Advocacy planning has been criticized as more negative than positive, focused on vetoing actions desired by groups in power, without creating an alternative plan that meets the needs of the entire community. Advocacy planning can also be criticized for its adherence to an elitist, individualistic notion of "the planner". In advocacy, planning power remains inaccessible to the disenfranchised citizens.

Transactive planning, on the other hand, focuses on the decentralization of power from the professional planning structures to disenfranchised residents, looking to affect larger social change from these smaller interactions. Yet, Friedmann's transactive planning theory is not linked to any larger social theory, which would offer a vision of the optimal society toward which transactive planning works.

Radical planning theories challenge the structure of society and the notion of the individual professional planner from a position rooted in macro-level social theories. There are two streams of radical planning theory.

Radical planning theories were rooted in the normative base of utopian and anarchist theories. They advocated small self-help efforts, the creation of separate communities, and the development of alternative social structures in order to reconstruct society from the outside. Separatist feminist collectives, emerging the radical branch of the American Feminist Movement in the 1970s, are one example of this type of planning, as they challenged mainstream patriarchal systems using nonhierarchical structures, consensus decision-making, and individual consciousness-raising among women. The second stream of planning theory, steeped in Marxism and Neo-Marxist normative theories, emphasizes large-scale political struggle in order to transform existing relations of power. Both streams of radical theory promote a fundamental



restructuring of society through the actions of the disenfranchised masses to bring about a more just culture.

Both utopian and Marxist radical theories provide blueprints for social change. They based their theories on assumptions about human behaviour. The divisions within Feminist, Marxist-New Leftist, Civil Rights, and Poverty Rights and social movement organizations, point to some inherent contradictions in the theories.

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## 4.1 Objectives

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Decision-making is the activity of making specific choices from among competing alternatives. The purpose of decision-making is to maintain or change existing political, social and policy elements by reallocating and redistributing resources under conditions of conservative risks.

Traditional decision-making models, for the most part, American policy and decision-making concentrated on - what decisions to make and what decisions should have been made. The first decision model is **comprehensive rationality**. A similar, classic decision model is that of **bounded rationality**. The third model is that of **incremental decision-making**.

Several questions come to mind in relation to these models:

- to what extent can traditional decision-making models accurately assess the critical contemporary problems and issues?
- is the organizational success of today's complex organizations still dependent upon traditional decision models?
- are there any contemporary decision-making model capable of dealing with massive social, political and economic conditions?

This Module is designed to assess the practicality of traditional decision-making models in contemporary organizations and ecosystems.

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## 4.2 Rational Approach to Policy Process

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Rational theorists have a long tradition in the policy field. Early policy analysis developed in the early 20th century with its intellectual traditions in both welfare economics and social psychology, grounded in traditions of positivism, empiricism and enlightenment rationalism. This analysis linked empirically proven facts about the social world to policy formulation to provide answers to problems. It is grounded in realism, functionalism and the sociology of regulation. A major assumption in the rationalist framework is that policy-making is a rational process of decision-making. Writers in this framework provide a logical, hierarchical model of policy analysis

based in psychological behaviourism to explain how policy is formulated, implemented and evaluated. These writers also provide a range of tools for actors in the policy domain to use to regulate measure and control the policy process. These prescribed techniques and practices are designed to assist government and organisations to operate more effectively. These seek to remove 'politics' from administration, indeed to remove politics from the whole policy process. It lays claim to being free from personal bias and prejudice. Based in scientific empiricism, these techniques assume that decision making is guided by proven fact and guided by scientific experiment. Everything can be understood as the result of antecedent condition. It is the exercise of reason.

Despite considerable criticism models developed in the rational policy framework still are by far the most prolific and generally acknowledged models of policy analysis.

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### **4.3 Comprehensive Rationality**

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Comprehensive represents the classic economic decision model. It is designed to maximize utility among values. In that sense, economic man uses his finest understanding to follow his goals. This task is accomplished by placing the least possible resources into a given unit of production.

In term of a specific alternative:

- value is the basic point of reference.
- a goal is the translation of that value into a clear, comprehensive statement.
- an objective is the translation of the goal into a clear, concise statement that can be objectively monitored and measured in physical reality.
- criteria is the translation of the objective into a rule from which to judge the process or performance.
- a standard is the translation the criteria into a minimum level of acceptable performance.

The ideal procedures of the comprehensive-rational decision process are listed below :

- list all values in their order of preference
- rate all possible policy outcomes relative to their ability to achieve the stated values
- state all possible alternatives
- contrast outcomes relative to their value
- utilize a classification theory of public policy
- select an alternative that will maximize values.

It stresses on—

- cost-benefit analysis,
- and cost-effective analysis

Comprehensive rationality is given the appearance of being objective and value-free. Comprehensive rationality is not favorite decision tool among practitioners. This attitude stems from comprehensive rationality's need for seemingly infinite amounts of knowledge, time, money and energy. Practitioners never have the luxury of full knowledge, lots of money and ample time to implement a policy.

### **Limitations Of Comprehensive Rationality**

- unable to discriminate facts from values
- unable to discriminate means from ends
- unable to gain initial goal consensus among decision-makers
- variable administrative goals
- variable political goals
- unable to make timely decisions
- unable to limit decision-maker subjective database
- unable to provide a specific, singular focus
- requires infinite database
- possesses a poor communications system
- provides uncertain outputs
- creates resource competition among decision-makers
- requires the investigation of many elements of an issue
- unable to measure cost and benefits accurately
- unable to control the choice of alternative and level of resources in turbulent socio-political environment.

Apart from its subjective value judgments, another major obstacle to the implementation of comprehensive rational decision-making is the requirement of an efficient decision tool capable of manipulating a large database in a short time frame.

The comprehensive rational decision-making process can never really reach the point of establishing an action plan for it has not been possible to:

- consider complex problems and issues because of the many options available
- assume a decision-maker possessed appropriate intellectual knowledge
- assume the existence of all necessary data and information



- assume the appropriate levels of time, money available for the investigation of a given problem
- assume the primacy of defining goals and objectives before making policy decisions
- assume the acceptance of consequences that are not politically relevant
- assume the acceptance of consequences that are unpredictable
- assume the existence and availability of an appropriate theory for all policy areas.

Stated differently, a decision-maker is required to have the appropriate knowledge necessary to fully apply the logic of comprehensive rational decision-making. He is therefore, required to allocate the required amounts of time, money and energy necessary to acquire all the information relevant to all decision alternative values, goals, objectives, criteria and standards. Rational model assumes that humans are capable of obtaining and processing an almost infinite amount of information, decision makers know all the preferences and utility functions of their constituents, and only value-maximizing behavior is found. In the 1940s Simon demolished all these assumptions.

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#### 4.4 Bounded Rationality / Satisficing

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Elements of the rational model are often associated with Herbert Simon and his discussions of rational decision making in *Administrative Behavior* (late 1940s). Theoretical economist, Herbert Simon, merged the works of Harold Lasswell with his own to build a proposition that altered the notion of comprehensive rationality. Simon proposed that humans are controlled by forces that extend beyond pure rationality. He then built the decision theory of bounded rationality upon this foundation.

According to Simon, individual decisions made by the rank and file are equally as important as formal decision-makers. In fact, the implementing personnel ultimately determine the level of organizational success. The consensus then is that decision-making is a group activity within a command-oriented organization. Based on this perspective, formal organizational authority and informal organizational influence cannot flow from the top to bottom. Instead, it flows in all directions. Since this behavior is an unconscious reflex, no human within the organization can be considered rational. Simon states that organizational decision-making is what he called 'satisficing'. An administrator reaches a decision that is satisfactory on the one hand and produces benefits that suffices a decision-maker's conditional needs.

The term, satisfactory, is reduced to 'satis' and suffice is reduced to 'ficing'.

When these terms are placed together, they form the term called 'satisficing'. Total data and information are often not possible to obtain within a limited time. Moreover, people at the middle management levels of the organization manipulate that same information. By the time the information reaches the policy-makers, it has been changed into a different form. Considering the fact that past decisions impact present reality, and that it is not possible to achieve all possible courses of action and also considering the fact that the boundary of the external environment is limited, humans and organizations cannot function rationally.

Simon pointed out that the rational model has limitations. People are not always rational. People cannot evaluate all alternatives. People do not have perfect information to evaluate means and ends. In other words, while the model may suggest a valuable process, humans are limited or bounded in their rationality or their ability to be rational. True rationality demands an all-knowing aspect of existence that can only be likened to that of God. People are incapable of rationality as defined by Simon.

Realistic decision behavior is thereby a compromise that is driven by faith, practicability and imagination. Personal ethics and values play a major role in this type of decision-making process. For example, instead of fully dealing with four decision alternatives, Simon suggests the administration to focus his efforts on two or lesser number of the four decision alternatives. Moreover, he suggests that the data gathering activity be defined in respect of political and economic goals and contexts. It must be sensitive to time limits, money, administrative authority and personnel energy levels.

Lindblom described the rational model as one in which a rigorous process is followed in making a decision. First the problem is clearly identified and defined. Then all alternatives for dealing with it are articulated. These alternatives and their consequences or outcomes are rigorously analyzed by means of cost-benefit analysis or some other detailed method. Finally, the single best alternative is chosen and implemented. It is the one alternative that maximizes the values desired. After implementation, evaluation occurs. The process repeats itself.

While Simon pointed out that the rational model has value in its pursuit of rational goals, its weaknesses severely detract from its ability to describe decision making, according to others like Lindblom. This understanding paved the way for Lindblom to offer incrementalism as an alternative.

In the article entitled "The Science of Muddling Through.", in 1959 Lindblom articulated the rational-comprehensive model and offered the incremental model as a more viable alternative.

## UNIT 5 INCREMENTALISM : CHARLES EDWARD LINDBLOM (BORN 1917)

### Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Rationality and Incrementalism – A Comparative Assessment
- 5.2 A Synthesis-Mixed Scanning (Amitai Etzioni—1967)

### 5.0 Introduction

Lindblom is one of the early developers and advocates of the theory of *Incrementalism* in policy and decision-making. This view (also called *Gradualism*) takes a “baby-steps”, or “Muddling Through”, approach to decision-making processes. In it, policy change is, under most circumstances, evolutionary rather than revolutionary. He came to this view through his extensive studies of *Welfare* policies and Trade Unions throughout the industrialized world.

Together with his friend, colleague and fellow Yale professor *Robert A. Dahl*, he was a champion of the *Polyarchy* (or *Pluralistic*) view of political elites and governance in the late 1950s and early 1960s. According to this view, no single, monolithic elite controls government and society, but rather a series of specialized elites compete and bargain with one another for control. It is this peaceful competition and compromise between elites in politics and the marketplace, which drives free-market democracy and allows it to thrive.

Early in their long academic careers, Lindblom and Dahl dedicated themselves to try and write in a clear style, free of unneeded jargon, which the average, interested reader could understand. By and large they have succeeded in this aim, in a field overrun by obfuscation.

As described by Lindblom, incrementalism is a process of “successive limited comparison” (branch method). Instead of evaluating everything all over again, decision makers accept a set of “givens” and go from there. These “givens” may represent past decisions or brokered agreements between competing interests. It is far easier to accept them and simply evaluate the change at the margin from these “givens.” Thus, only the increment of change is evaluated. We can once again bring Simon into the picture. People evaluate the increment until they find something that works, that satisfies or suffices. Simon calls this “satisficing” since the search is not for the single best option, but for one that works and can be agreed upon. Herbert Simon’s “bounded rationality” and other contributions to decision-science divide the past from the future regarding budget decision-making. Simon’s “bounded rationality”



provides the basis for our understanding of incremental decision-making, while Lindbloom's "disjointed incrementalism" provided a firm foundation for its evaluation. However, "bounded rationality" also provides the point of beginning for policy-based decision-making systems. As mentioned above, "bounded rationality" also provides the beginning point for policy based systems. Simon identified the existence of "bounded rationality," while Lindbloom built a model of disjointed incrementalism. Lindbloom's incremental model is incremental, but that an incremental decision using high understanding was grounded in rational-comprehensive techniques.

### INCREMENTALISM FUNDAMENTALS

1. There are various actors involved in policy-making and implementation - politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups, and the public at large
2. Because there are many individuals and groups involved in the policy process - there is a lack of consensus on identifying which issues policy should address
3. Divergent views on how goals should be pursued because agreement upon strategy is "possible only to the extent that values are agreed upon"
4. As a result of the various views about ends and means, incrementalism alleges that actors use their political power to negotiate what and how something should be done - **bargaining**

- Ultimately consensus leads to the lowest common denominator
- Policies, therefore, tend to be watered down or modest in resources and scope

Incremental policy-making "is a process of mutual adjustment among a multiplicity of actors having different self-interests and divergent conceptions of the public interest - according to this model, decision-making produces policies that depart ever so slightly from previous ones - hence, this type of decision-making is "incremental" in nature.

Weaknesses are noted also. There is debate over the strength of empirical evidence for incrementalism in budgeting. Such an incremental system requires little professional staff, since it has a limited focus. It reduces the time required by the elected decision-makers by focusing only on the margin or "increment" of change from the prior year. It is also serial allowing for change to occur over many cycles which allows for slowly building a base for support among those involved, while mitigating the "unintended consequences" of unstudied change.

Although incrementalism has enjoyed widespread acceptance within political science, it has not spawned a lively research tradition leading to cumulative refinement and amplification of the core concepts. Nor has it provided much guidance for policy making, in part because scholars never attempted to clarify how decision makers could become better incrementalists. This is due in part, we suggest, to the fact that

understanding of the concept of "incrementalism" has become extremely muddled, conceivably to the point where the term may have outlived its usefulness; but the problems which motivated the early scholarship remain at the heart of political theory and practice. Most of the enduring criticisms of incrementalism fall into four broad categories. First, it is alleged to be insufficiently goal oriented and ambitious. Incremental steps are said to mean proceeding 'without knowing where we are going', 'leading nowhere'. Moreover, incremental learning is "strictly a posteriori and passive".

Nothing in the logic of incrementalism would lead to such conclusions. Political participants obviously have goals, use analysis where convenient, formulate policy trials as best they can given their partisan aims and skills, engage in learning, and try to improve outcomes that matter sufficiently to them. Yet something about Lindblom's formulation encouraged or allowed a large number of scholars to waste a great deal of time over a matter on which no thoughtful person could possibly disagree, a point to which we return.

A second criticism holds that incrementalism is an overly conservative approach, which would tend to neglect basic societal innovations and would limit social scientists' ability to serve as a source of social innovation. It is said to favor organized elites over the poor and disorganized, because weaker actors are not able to protect values that stronger actors choose to discount. More generally, incrementalism does not take sufficient account of crucial factors that are not powerfully represented in the bargaining process, e.g., the future.

A third criticism holds that incrementalism is appropriate in only a narrow range of decision situations: where the environment is stable, no crisis is impending, the organization's survival is not at stake, available resources are not desperately short, and where current policy problems resemble previous ones for which the organization has experience. Certainly, there is good reason to suppose that the above conditions make policy making more difficult.

Finally, threshold and sleeper effects are said to undermine the usefulness of incrementalism. Serial adjustment to revealed error presupposes that errors are reversible or compensable, and that the resources required to do so are not out of line with the original cost of the program.

But Lindblom never claimed that incremental analysis would be useful only in the context of policy processes relying on partisan mutual adjustment. Clearly incremental analysis has wider applicability. Indeed, since reconciliation processes in even feebly democratic systems will tend to narrow the scope of feasible options in much the same way that a disjointedly incremental strategy would, incremental analysis arguably is more important in polities that are less democratic. For it is precisely where authority is monopolized by a small number of actors that bold, poorly framed actions are most likely. Since feedback processes usually are worse in non-demo-

cratic systems, moreover, error correction will be slower and the total cost of mistakes may be larger. Hence, even a sensible dictator would use incremental analysis.

One of the criticisms of incrementalism was the possibility that policy trials could produce unbearable errors, before error-correction could occur. While the problem afflicts all decision theories, not just incrementalism, it is well worth addressing. Even in highly uncertain endeavors, it is possible at the outset partly to foresee and protect against some of the worst risks. Homeowners, for example, do not have to calculate the likelihood of their house burning down.; merely knowing that it is an unacceptable possibility is enough to warrant obtaining insurance as an initial precaution against catastrophic loss.

A second problem with trial-and-error learning is that by the time serious flaws become apparent, a policy may have become quite resistant to change - deeply enmeshed in implementers' careers, in organizational routines, and in the expectations of those comprising a policy network. In framing policy moves, therefore, partisans who actually seek to solve a social problem can improve their odds by developing policy options capable of being altered fairly readily, should unfavorable experience warrant.

The model has shown much power in its ability to be broadly applied to both policy and budgeting situations. Lindblom, Wildavsky, Kettl, Gosling, LeLoup, Clynych have employed the incremental model in their work.

**Economy** - The incremental model is relatively simple, especially when compared to some of the assumptions required in the rational model, for example. It is relatively easy to obtain quantitative and qualitative data for testing.

**Understandability/Organization.** - Incrementalism provides a framework that builds on Simon's notion of "satisficing." It appears to contribute to our ability to identify or model or make sense out of the decision making process. Incrementalism remains the most complete explanation for the public policy decision making process, particularly those relating to budgeting; the incremental model has contributed greatly to our understanding of the way politics and budgets work.

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## 5.1 Rationality and Incrementalism—A Comparative Assessment

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"Rational" decision making is a good way to begin discussion of decision-making. "Rationality" in an ideal sense is not possible, it is inherent in the rhetoric of governmental approaches. So of course since it is often viewed as an ideal type, then alternatives are devised by discussion of its limitations. This process is most associated with Simon's bounded rationality or "satisficing", and Lindblom's incrementalism. The main presented difference between them is that Simon's approach is presented as an attempt to get as close to the rational ideal as possible (hence his focus on



improving methods of analysis and training), while Lindblom argues that incrementalism is not only necessary but also in some sense desirable or that decision-makers should focus on ways to improve their rules of thumb.

Lindblom provides a similar critique of rationality. Its failures are based on limitations in:

- Cognitive/ problem-solving ability
- Available information – especially of future consequences and future conditions
- The cost of research
- The ability to distinguish between facts and values
- The dynamics of the policy process and the way in which issues arise

The solution, then, is a focus on “successive limited comparisons” based on:

- A recognition that values and empirical analysis are intertwined – even for an individual. In “The Science of Muddling Through” Lindblom demonstrates this well in discussions of the context of inflation and even in cases where what to do when an initial decision has been made.

- There is no widespread agreement on the cause and hence the solution of the problem. This is a major point – that rationality for a decision-maker is different than rationality for society.

- A rejection of the distinction between means and ends in favour of agreement/negotiation between various policy analysts and decision-makers

- A very limited analysis of policies, which is not already in place.

The incrementalism is more realistic, more focussed on the problem at hand. It is based on trials and error. It is less costly and less disruptive.

- Incrementalism contributed much to our understanding of how policies are made and implemented

- human intellectual capabilities are simply insufficient to understand and solve most of the problems that confront policy makers

- lack of resources (i.e., time and financial means) limits the options available to policy makers

- conflicting values in the policy arena

- bargaining, therefore, is a central tenet

In part, Lindblom's analysis relies on some sense of dispersal of power for his ideas about:

- a “watchdog”-if one policy decision affects another then the latter has means to readdress and act on the situation

- mutual adjustment – policy decisions are arrived at through negotiation or mutual adjustment.

In other words, we could argue that Lindblom's arguments rely on a defence of pluralism. Put simply, if resources within society were dispersed (significantly) unequally, then it would be less legitimate to talk of "mutual" adjustment instead of coercion or dominance.

Another exercise is to break down a policy problem/ solution into its constituent parts. Lindblom's discussion of inflation is a good start.

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## 5.2 A Synthesis- Mixed Scanning (Amitai Etzioni—1967)

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In 1968, noted sociologist, Amati Etzioni, developed an abstract decision model called, mixed scanning. This model represents a protest of the failure of incrementalism to clearly differentiate between functional and nonfunctional decisions.

In effect, incrementalism was only capable of dealing with nonfunctional decisions that tended to focus on critical, trouble shooting types of problems. For instance, a functional decision was achieved by investigating the primary alternatives in relation to a specific set of goals. Details were eliminated in order to maintain the character of the broad perspective. Incremental decisions are formulated within this broad perspective.

Mixed scanning was designed to deal simultaneously with a problem or issue from a perspective that was both:

- comprehensive,
- and incremental.

The sequence by which an administrator would approach a problem or issue from a mixed scanning perspective is listed below: The elements of the problem or issue would be:

- identified through their respective goals, objective, criteria and standards.
- assessed by comparing the respective goals, objectives, criteria and standards among one another.

For example, the mixed scanning process can best be understood by relating Etzioni's high altitude weather satellite analogy. Consider the existence of a two-camera weather satellite orbiting above the earth's surface. One camera is designed for narrow angle photographs and thereby focusses on specific weather patterns within a narrow land area. The other camera is designed to capture major weather patterns. Analysis of the narrow weather pattern is dependent on its previous discovery by the wide angle camera of the weather system itself. This position enables an administrator to see the weather system's:

- size,
- location,
- and boundaries.

In contrast, the wide angle camera is dependent upon the narrow angle camera for a detailed analysis of weather storm centers and related weather activity. Both cameras are mutually dependent upon one another for the transfer of relevant data and information.

Much like other decision theories, mixed scanning has its shortcomings. For example, Lindblom's statements about incrementalism suggest that his model is based on limited forward incremental improvements, however, are dependent upon, political influence, the actors involved and the time in history. At one point, the increment might be small and at another point, the incremental improvement might be large.

Since the size of incrementalism's alterations is a matter of perspective and content, it cannot be considered as a decision-making model whose output is always small.

Lindblom further suggests that whenever rational decision-making and its inherent assumptions are utilized, that poor decision analysis results. With this approach, a decision-maker cannot completely analyze complex problems and issues.

Though it may be fairly easy to identify a functional decision, narrowly based nonfunctional problems and issues may quickly develop into broad functional problems and issues. When this occurs, can it still be classified as a narrow nonfunctional problem? Until this condition can be resolved, mixed scanning continues to exist as an abstract decision-making model without a practical application.

Two types of decisions that have to be made

1. Fundamental
2. Incremental

- If policy making involves a fundamental shift, then the comprehensive model should be used

- If policy making involves adjusting existing policies, then save time, money and resources by using incrementalism

The individuals in an organization are simultaneously engaged in all four modes of scanning. They view the environment broadly in order to see the big picture as well as to identify areas that require closer attention. At the same time, they are searching for information on particular issues in order to assess their significance and to develop appropriate responses. Etzioni compares this "mixed scanning" to a satellite scanning the earth by using both a wide-angle and a zoom lens: "Mixed scanning ... is akin to scanning by satellites with two lenses: wide and zoom. Instead of taking a close look at all formations, a prohibitive task, or only at the spots of previous trouble, the wide lenses provide clues as to places to zoom in, looking for details." Effective environmental scanning requires both general viewing that sweeps the horizon broadly and purposeful searching that probes issues in sufficient detail to provide the kinds of information needed for decision making.



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## UNIT 6 □ PUBLIC CHOICE THEORY/POLITICAL ECONOMY

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### Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Objective
- 6.2 Context of Emergence of Public Choice Theory

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### 6.0 Introduction

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Public choice theory is the use of modern economic tools to study problems of constitutional democracy, traditionally the province of political science. A more general term is 'political economy', an earlier name for 'economics' that evokes its practical and theoretical origins but should not be mistaken for the Marxian use of the same term. In particular, it studies the behavior of voters, politicians, and government officials as (mostly) self-interested agents and their interactions in the social system either as such or under alternative constitutional rules. These are represented with whatever tools fit the problem, including standard constrained utility maximization, game theory, or decision theory. Public choice analysis has a strong root in positive analysis ("what is") but is used for normative purposes ("what ought to be") to identify a problem or suggest how the performance of the system could be improved by changes in constitutional rules. A key formulation of public choice theory is in terms of rational choice, the agent-based proportioning of scarce means to given ends. An overlapping formulation with a different focus is positive political theory.

The modern literature in Public Choice began with Duncan Black, who in 1948 identified the underlying concepts of what would become median voter theory. He also wrote *The Theory of Committees and Elections* (1958). Gordon Tullock refers to him as the "father of public choice theory." James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, of George Mason University, coauthored *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy* (1962), considered one of the landmark works that founded the discipline of public choice theory. Kenneth Arrow's *Social Choice and Individual Values* (1951) influenced formulation of the theory. Among other important works are Anthony Downs's *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957) and Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965). Development of public choice theory accelerated with the formation of the Public Choice Society in the United States in 1965.

Public choice theory is often referenced when discussing how individual political decision-making results in policy that conflicts with the overall desires of the general

public. One way to organize the subject matter studied by Public Choice theorists is to begin with the foundations of government itself. According to this procedure, the most fundamental subject is the origin of government. Although some work has been done on anarchy, autocracy, revolution, and even war; the bulk of the study in this area has concerned the fundamental problem of collectively choosing constitutional rules. This work assumes a group of individuals who aim to form a government. Then it focuses on the problem of hiring the agents required to carry out government functions agreed upon by the members. The study of how legislatures make decisions and how various constitutional rules can constrain legislative decisions is a major sub-field in Public Choice.

Another major sub-field is the study of bureaucracy. The usual model depicts the top bureaucrats as being chosen by the chief executive and legislature, depending on whether the democratic system is presidential or parliamentary.

A field that is closely related to public choice is "rent-seeking." This field combines the study of a market economy with that of government. Thus, one might regard it as a "new political economy." Its basic thesis is that when both a market economy and government are present, government agents are a source of numerous special market privileges. Both the government agents and self-interested market participants seek these privileges in order to partake in the monopoly rent that they provide. When such privileges are granted, they reduce the efficiency of the economic system. In addition, the rent-seekers use resources that could otherwise be used to produce goods that are valued by consumers.

Rent-seeking is broader than Public Choice in that it applies to autocracies as well as democracies and, therefore, is not directly concerned with collective decision-making. However, the obvious pressures it exerts on legislators, executives, bureaucrats, and even judges are factors that Public Choicers must account for in their effort to understand and assess collective decision-making rules and institutions. Moreover, the members of a collective who are planning a government would be wise to take prospective rent-seeking into account.

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## 6.1 Objectives

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Public choice theory attempts to look at governments from the perspective of the bureaucrats and politicians who compose them, and makes the assumption that they act based on Budget-maximizing model in a self-interested way for the purpose of maximizing their own economic benefits (e.g. their personal wealth). The theory aims to apply economic analysis (usually decision theory and game theory) to the political decision-making process in order to reveal certain systematic trends towards inefficient government policies. There are also Austrian variants of public choice theory (suggested by Mises, Hayek, Kirzner, and Boettke) in which it is assumed that bureaucrats and politicians are benevolent but have access to limited information.

The assumption that such benevolent political agents possess limited information for making decisions often results in conclusions similar to those generated separately by means of the rational self-interest assumptions. Positive public choice theory focuses on the question of what government policies are *likely* to be implemented in a given political setting, while normative public choice theory considers what policies *would* produce a desirable outcome if they *were* implemented.

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## 6.2 Context of Emergence of Public Choice Theory

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The Weberian conceptualisation of bureaucracy has dominated the public administration stream since its very beginning. To Weber, 'bureaucracy is the rational-legal authority, and hence most efficient, whereas the traditional (hereditary tribal chief) and charismatic (spontaneous leadership) authorities are primarily irrational and extra-legal'<sup>1</sup>.

Weber suggested some very significant attributes of bureaucracy : fixed and official jurisdiction, hierarchy, written files, training, full-time and permanent assignment, rule bindedness, discipline, impartiality. He laid stress on efficiency, precision, certainty, impersonality and neutrality.

Bureaucracy's strict adherence to the principles of hierarchy, specialisation and impartiality often is considered to be contrary to the democratic values of equality, participation.

In early liberal democracies the bureaucracy was assigned only a limited role, restraining itself only to the role of implementing the policies, predetermined by the political executives. It was accepted that value-laden decisions are in the domain of politicians while public servants merely implement these decisions with no room to influence policy-choices.

In course of time, with the changes in socio-economic scenario the concepts of police-state and laissez-faire economy suffered a setback. Challenges from different quarters evolved a newer concept of welfare state, where the bureaucracy was expected to perform a more positive role through a variety of education, health and rural development programmes. In the context of the developing countries, the administration was desired to be more responsive to the popular demands.

Administration is now going to confront some new challenges in this millennium. From 1990s, instead of traditional public administration, new public management, better known as entrepreneurial government has come to dominate the field, aiming at efficiency, economy and effectiveness. The traditional bureaucratic hierarchy and centralisation of authority have now been subject to severe criticism, in the context of liberalisation and globalisation.



Since 1980s a view is emerging that similarities in public and private administration is greater than the differences. Richard Parry argues in this context that '..... the preferred strategy for improving the quality of public service is the private sector notion of doing simple things well according to the competitive advantage of the producer.'<sup>2</sup> Thus originates the basic notion of 'public choice', which is actually an attempt to apply the rules of economics in the study of politics and of public administration. The public choice theory challenges the traditionally established social utility services of a democratic government. Public choice theorists argue that career bureaucracy neither can be responsive to social welfare, nor can respond to market needs.

Bureaucratic excesses and bureaucratic inefficiency now have been found to be intolerable and therefore debureaucratisation and decentralisation of the decision-making process are thought to be more convenient to deal with the variety and uncertainty.

Western developed countries since late 1970s have sought to introduce a policy of state-minimalism. Reducing the scope of bureaucratic interference in the process of development state investment has been tapered, leaving a wider scope for the private sector to contribute in the course of development. This process of thought is not at all foreign in the developing and under developed countries.

The question of public choice is getting enormous importance in view of the fact that in this post-industrial phase, polity and economy is supposed to come closer to facilitate the process of growth.

In this connection it has been maintained that efficiency is no longer defined as following the rules, but as causing of effects. Welfare state administration now becomes dependent on the substantive realisation of some values (rather than compliance with rules) and upon the resulting processes of empirical consensus formation. This is how the public choice theorists discard the bureaucracy as 'rational' and 'efficient'; rather they think that bureaucrats prefer self-interest to public interest.

The chief proponents of this school are Duncan Black, Kenneth Arrow, M. Buchanan, Gordon Tullock, Vincent Ostrom, William Niskanen etc .

Dennis Mueller defines public choice approach as 'simply the application of economics to political science'. Its focus is on efficiency and rationality. The public choice theorists like Niskanen have argued that bureaucrats are always very keen to maximise their own departmental budget and to expand their scope of activities. Niskanen in his book 'Bureaucracy and Representative Government,' argues that to raise the quality of performance of bureaucracy, it is required to reduce the monopoly of bureaucracy in supplying public goods and services. Increasing competition both

within the bureau and outside in the market and change in the system of incentive can make the government effective. The politicians are merely power hungry. So they are actually interested in fostering narrow individual desires, instead of distributing public benefits. Therefore, public enterprises should now be asked to lower their investment and to leave it to the private sector. Public sectors only increase expenditure and fail to maintain the quality of the work and products. The government should no longer exist as the doer of public activities, but should be the distributor of benefits and facilitator of change. Questioning the very efficacy of bureaucracy, Ostrom suggests that when the central problem in public administration is viewed as the provisions of public goods and services, alternative forms of organisation may be available for the performance of those functions apart from an extension and perfection of bureaucratic structures. Bureaucratic structures are necessary but not sufficient structures for a productive and responsive public service economy. Public choice theory introduces competitive approach in the understanding of public administration. It advocates plurality in the institutional setup of providing public goods and services, the thing now being introduced in India, in the areas of air travel, telecom etc. The individual now has his choice as per his rationally designed self interest.

The basic assumption of public choice is that an individual actor, whether he is the manager or the consumer, is a utility maximiser, who will act in accordance with his self interest in order to maximise his net benefits. So a rational man selects the best course of action from among the available alternatives and he tries to minimise the amount of risk and uncertainty on the basis of relevant information remaining within the limits of lawful conducts.

Therefore, political action must be understood as the outcome of the actions of motivated atomistic individualism. For that the initial constitutional requirement is to construct the political institutions that will best suit the cause of individual liberty. The public choice theorists regard the notions of organic views of social and political organisation or that of "general will" or "public interest" as mystical, even they are not ready to accept Marxist idea of class domination. Their primary concern is the utility-maximising individual. Niskanen is of the view that 'a better government would be a smaller government'.

Public choice theorists believe that each individual in search of maximising his net benefit, contribute to public good. For instance, defence, law and order fall in this category which individual would not like to disturb for the sake of his own interest.

Sometimes, public goods become private goods when they benefit only a section. For example, industries are necessary for economic prosperity, but they may create pollution. The government is desired to regulate the process of industrialisation in a

way to maximise the utility and minimise the undesirable effects, and thus to respond to consumer's demand. One may think of the resemblance of the theory to the conceptual framework suggested by early individualists. But main difference may be in the fact that along with outright privatisation drive, the responsible government may strive for regulating the private sector in a way to realise the value of sustainable development, instead of adhering to the path of traditional development.

Public choice theorists prefer decentralisation, democratisation and organisational competitiveness. It is not just people's easy access to governmental units, rather it creates opportunity for the individual to have a choice from among several political organisation, performing similar functions. Moreover, they hold that authority should be divided to limit arbitrary use of power by the government organs and to control their corruptibility. Ostrom suggests to stimulate healthy and democratic competition among government agencies, multi-organisational arrangements are better than monocentric administrative apparatus structured hierarchically. Ostrom stresses on individualistic, consumer-oriented organisational design to maximise efficiency at least possible cost and resources. He mentions that producer efficiency in the absence of consumer utility is without economic meaning. So the need of the hour is to increase administrative effectiveness, as David Beetham viewed it and to ensure the quality of service at least possible cost. To that extent Ostrom observes that administration can never be indifferent to politics.

The public choice theories are not free from its negative effects on the socio-economic setup of a political system and from its inbuilt contradictions.

- The public choice theorists are never clear as to how alternative organisational structures will evolve and how they will serve public interest. Public interest is general interest, i.e., not just the sum of some individual's interest.
- Public choice theory's assumption is that man is a rational being and he is in a position to recognise his self interest, that can be realised with the help of market-like organisational arrangement. To what extent it is applicable in the context of developing and underdeveloped nations is doubtful.
- State minimalism and market-friendliness minus social utility programmes can never be adequate for the course of development in the developing world countries. Diversity of interests may be very dangerous and even it can be disastrous for country's stability.
- Even in the Western developed countries it can produce benefit only for the dominant class, a high-income group pursuing a high-tech consumerism. If the self-seeking bureaucrat and the vote seeking politician are to be replaced by the utility maximising individual, it will not only be a very simplistic



understanding of the politico-administrative process, but as well be understood as the current global sweep of capitalism. To take an extremely negative view of the behaviour pattern of the politicians & the bureaucrats is also supposed to be very cynical.

- Market can never be the substitute of good governance; rather in view of growing dissatisfaction among the people, both the politicians and the bureaucrats must learn to behave more efficiently, ethically and effectively.

In view of growing public awareness and mounting grievances, the government should do actual service for the benefit of the people. Both the politicians and the bureaucrats must be much more informative with a sound technological knowledge and the size of the bureaucracy should not be so large as their salaries and allowances would eat away most of public revenues. 21st century public administration wants to get rid of the over loaded ever growing bureaucrats. People of cybernatic states have started thinking of debureaucratization. So what is needed is perfectionist performance orientation on part of the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats should realise the course of global economy. The bureaucrats must keep in mind that

- Effectiveness generates output
- Productivity is the only thing that can ensure sustenance in the global economy
- Mobilisation and utilization of resources in an effective manner are the prime considerations for development
- The bureaucrats must be aware of the fact that effectiveness means selecting the best task to perform from all the alternatives available and then doing it in the best possible manner in order to generate desired output.

To combat the challenge of debureaucratization, the bureaucrats are required to promote efficiency and effectiveness not only in public services, but also within government. To face the challenge of globalization competitiveness and productivity have to be increased.

1) Hughes, O.K : *Public Management and Administration. An Introduction*, London, Macmillan Press, 1994 : P. 28. And individuality.

2) Parry, Richard : *Concepts and Assumptions of Public Management in Colis Duncan (Ed.) The Evolution of Public Management: Concepts and Techniques for the 1990s*, London, 1992 :

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## UNIT 7 □ OTHER APPROACHES TO THE MODELS OF POLICY PROCESS

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### Structure

- 7.1 Theory of Communicate Planning Practice
- 7.2 The Bottom-up Model
- 7.3 The Top-Down Model
- 7.4 Welfare Economics Theory
- 7.5 Theories of Institutional Change (Evolution)
- 7.6 Impact Analysis
- 7.7 Summary
- 7.8 References
- 7.9 Exercises

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### 7.1 Theory of Communicate Planning Practice

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As the tide in academe turned toward postmodernism and issues of representation over the last fifteen years, Habermas' (1984, 1987) theory of communicative planning practice has emerged as an alternative to rationalist, decision-making, advocacy, transactive, and radical planning theories. Communicative practice theory is a normative theory that offers a way to understand the intersubjective political, social, and historical processes involved in planning in a diverse society. Planning, in Habermas' view, is comprised of three components: (1) instrumental work, that looks at the "objective realities" of the community, using rational-empirical scientific methods; (2) communicative action, through which we interpret subjective meanings attributed to these "realities" by the different stakeholders, using historical-hermeneutic approaches; and (3) emancipatory interests, that examine the power relations underlying these objective and subjective realities, using critically-oriented sciences. All three of these components should be considered by people engaged in planning on a community level, as well as those researching planning.

"Habermas' theory of communicative competence assumes that human discourse presupposes and anticipates an ideal speech situation, which is then connected to an ideal form of life"; therefore, truth in communication is ultimately linked to freedom and justice. In the ideal planning/speech situation, participants would plan from a position of shared consensus, in which they would be able to: (1) share complete understanding of one another, establishing true *comprehensibility*; (2) offer statements

free of misinformation, establishing *truthfulness*; (3) participate sincerely without manipulation or deception, establishing *trust*; and (4) speak in a manner that is appropriate within existing norms, establishing *legitimacy*. Thus, in order to work toward a just end in planning and a democratic planning process, all people involved in the planning must be engaged in an ongoing discourse, in which participants are seeking objective information, actively self-reflective, critically questioning the dynamics of power in the sociohistorical context of the planning process, and working toward validating the underlying consensus<sup>1</sup> in a "free, symmetrical, unconstrained discourse."

Albrecht and Lim (1986) elaborate the ways in which Habermas' theory of communicative action is an improvement on both rational planning theory and normative theories. Rational planning theory, which privileges technical and practical interests in planning, does not provide opportunity for planners' self-reflection. Normative planning theories, such as radical and advocacy planning theories, do not allow planners, or those citizens involved in planning, the opportunity to critically analyze the ideologies shaping their planning processes. Habermas' theory provides a role for technical knowledge (knowledges of causes and predictions of social processes), practical knowledge (interpretations of meanings attributed to social processes), and critical knowledge (understanding of ideological manipulation and distorted communications shaping technical and practical knowledges).

Albrecht and Lim (1986) explain the utility of communicative theory to planning practice and theory as follows:

By understanding communication theory, planning theorists can put themselves in a position to perceive how communications structure the planning process. Also, by accepting the norm of free and symmetrical discourse, planners can perform tasks such as disseminating information and educating the public in a more democratic way. In a pluralist democracy, such as that in the United States, planners must encompass varied interests and values without losing sight of the general public interest. Only a social theory capable of distinguishing historically caused relationships from structural regularities in society can unmask ideological distortions and provide a framework for dealing with public interest issues. The role of communicative action seems to be important in solving this issue.

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1. Habermas' use of consensus is related to the more common social work notion of consensus, yet it is not the same. Habermas invokes an unstated basis underlying all communicative action in which all four claims to validity are guaranteed. Albrecht and Lim (1986) explain, "When one or more claims to validity becomes problematic, the background consensus is called into question and the claims, previously only implicit, now require specific forms of problem-solving" (p.125). The resolution of this overt form of validation is the process that we more commonly understand as "consensus-building" in social work practice, the creation of a shared set of norms, values, goals, and ideals through democratic interactions.



Habermas' communicative planning practice seems to be the best macro-level theory to address the planning of comprehensive community initiatives. These initiatives have multiple constituencies and stakeholders, who hold divergent values, norms, and purposes which are historically, politically, and geographically specific. Under Habermas' theory, these groups must work together to assess those issues labeled "social problems", develop explanatory theories that identify deceptive legitimizations of inequalities and the influence of ideologies on problem definition, and then plan and implement new initiatives, in ways that substantiate true consensus and further emancipatory interests. This theory also provides researchers a way to examine whether participants have worked together toward true consensus, through an evaluation of claims to comprehensibility, truthfulness, sincerity, and legitimacy, as will be discussed at greater length in the methods section.

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## **7.2 The Bottom-Up Model**

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The bottom-up model has been around since the beginning of the American Republic. Alexander Hamilton as Treasurer employed a type of bottom-up approach for budgeting in the 1780s. Irene Rubin writes that prior to the 1960s, most of the states have used a bottom-up model in which the agencies made budget requests and reported directly to the legislature.

In bottom-up states and local governments, the line-item type of budget has often been employed. This budget format lists every item on its own line and gives the legislature a great deal of control over individual appropriations since they can add or strike out provisions at will. There is no need on behalf of the agency to justify or report performance measures. The legislature runs the process. The executive is essentially left out of the process and is reduced to responding at best. Under bottom-up notions of budgeting, value is placed on fragmenting power and multiple access points and players in the process. This aspect of democracy suggests that the lower levels are closer to the "grass roots" and so should be responsible for directing the purse strings. As it works out, incremental processes seem to prevail in such an environment so as to preserve one's budget base, protect "sunk costs," and save bargaining time.

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## **7.3 The Top-Down Model**

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As the good government movement took hold, my other model—the top-down model—began to become a reality in many governments. As stated above, it was largely reform-motivated. The means of securing a top-down approach was through executive budgeting. Here, the president or governor was empowered to receive the budget requests directly from the agencies. Congress and state legislatures adopting this process were reduced to budget responders taking their cues from the executive.

The motive for much of this reform was to improve efficiency and reduce corruption and waste. The values of control and rationalization were sought after. Various budgetary schemes were employed to inject rationality into the system. On the federal level, the old line-item method gave way to performance budgeting and program budgeting. In the 1960s, these methods were essentially combined into what became known as planning-programing budgeting or PPB (Gosling sometimes calls it planning programming budgeting system or PPBS).

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## 7.4 Welfare Economics Theory

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This theory tries to provide a scientific guide to the question, which institution, right or rules is better (optimal or whatever)? The concept of externality is central to the question. Externalities arise whenever economic activity on the part of one individual (in consumption or in production) generates an effect (beneficial or detrimental) on some other individual who is not party to the activity.

To develop an economic theory of the state is one way to characterize part of our task. Warren Samuels in Fundamentals of the Economic Role of Government writes, (1) Government is deeply involved in the definition and in the creation of the economy. (2) Efforts are continually being made to obfuscate the role of government in defining and creating the economy so as to selectively channel both the definition and the (re)creation — efforts which are willy-nilly a part of the process of definition and (re)creation itself. (3) The proximate critical matter is almost always the legal change of law, that is, the change by law of the interests to which government is to give its support: Government is inexorably involved in the status quo, and the question is the change of the details of that involvement. (4) Although the economy and polity are typically comprehended as essentially self-subsistent and independent — albeit interacting — spheres or processes, there is a “legal economic nexus” in which both originate in an ongoing manner.

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## 7.5 Theories of Institutional Change (Evolution)

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How did institutions evolve in the past and where are they going? What can we do with such knowledge other than satisfy our curiosity? There are desired outcomes that can not be achieved by changing the relative cost of alternative behaviors. Only if people's preferences and cognitions change can we get some performances. We often choose a certain rule to achieve a certain performance in the short run and later discover that it started us down a path we don't like. Learning is essential to any theory of institutional evolution. Preferences and technology change. These changes are the focus of several of our class periods including: Behavioral concepts; The economic development themes of North; Technology; and New Institutional Alternatives.

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## 7.6 Impact Analysis

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This theory is concerned with predicting the substantive performance of an alternative proposed institution and not with predicting what institutions are coming next. There are a number of similarities in the theoretical constructs being employed in the institutional economics literature: The transaction as the unit of analysis and emphasis on the relation among people rather than commodities of the production function; Utilization of a situation, structure (institutions), behavior, performance paradigm. While recognizing the need for simplification in theory building, we will try not to make grossly counterfactual assumptions especially about human behavior.

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## 7.7 Summary

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Herbert Simon's "bounded rationality" and other contributions to decision-science divide the past from the future regarding budget decision-making. Simon's "bounded rationality" provides the basis for our understanding of incremental decision-making, while Lindbloom's "disjointed incrementalism" provided a firm foundation for its evaluation. Wildavsky would later write one of the definitive works on incrementalism as a budget process and partial political theory. However, "bounded rationality" also provides the point of beginning for policy-based decision-making systems.

**Rational approach based on economic models for decision making assumes decision makers are able to:**

specifically state the ends

analyze the means to attain them

wants least possible input of scarce resources per unit of valued output utility value and cost benefit analysis.

The rational model stresses on:

comprehensive analysis

clarity of objectives

quantifiable data

efficiency

heavy reliance on theory

Such an incremental system requires little professional staff, since it has a limited focus. It reduces the time required by the elected decision-makers by focusing only on the margin or "increment" of change from the prior year. It is also serial allowing for change to occur over many cycles which allows for slowly building a base for support among those involved, while mitigating the "unintended consequences" of unstudied change.



As mentioned above, "bounded rationality" also provides the beginning point for policy based systems. Simon identified the existence of "bounded rationality," while Lindbloom built a model of disjointed incrementalism. Lindbloom's incremental model is incremental, but that an incremental decision using high-understanding was grounded in rational-comprehensive techniques. Now, in this usage both Lindbloom and Wildavsky seem to believe that incrementalism reflects the political theory of pluralism—at that time the predominant theory.

**The Incremental model is characterized by:**

Simplification (comprehensive analysis is impossible)

Limited comparisons

Incremental change

Multiple pressures

Mutual adjustments

Competing values

"Clarifying objectives in advance of policy selection is...impossible and irrelevant."

Ends and means are intertwined and not distinguishable

Choices are made at the MARGINS

Agreement on the policy is the test of good policy

"eyes open"

Successive comparisons

Policy is not made once and for all, choices proceed in a chronological series

**Steps of incrementalism:**

1) Problem definition - choices are framed in terms of marginal or incremental differences in value

2) Formulation of solutions - through simplification, only those policies that differ in relatively small degrees from present policies are considered. This is incremental change.

**Advantages of incrementalism:**

Past sequences of events given knowledge of probable consequences

avoids serious, lasting mistakes

"big jumps" not required

you can test previous predictions as you move ahead and adjust for them

adjustments made with each step are quick and agile

### **Shortcomings conceded by Lindblom**

- arbitrary exclusions
- fragmentation
- may overlook excellent policies not suggested by the chain of successive policy steps

### **Other critiques :**

Yehezkel Dror - 1) May not suffice to meet real growing demands; may miss the mark entirely. It lacks responsiveness to large scale needs.

2) Makes acceptable the forces that tend toward inertia and maintenance of the status quo. It lacks innovativeness in seeking solutions.

Amatai Etzioni - suggests as an alternative the analogy of mixed scanning (two types cameras)

Emphasis on troubleshooting means incrementalists tend to decide only non-fundamental matters.

Rational models or methods of policy analysis have evolved over time and can broadly be grouped into three stages. The first is comprehensive rationality which presents an "ideal" and straight forward view of the function of policy.

As early as the 1940s, comprehensive rationalist models of policy formulation were questioned as analysts recognized limits to human rationality and the rational process. In 1947, Simon developed a model of 'bounded rationality', which acknowledged some limitations to the use of scientific method and rational decision making as analytical tools for organizational decision making. The complex role of decision making was understood as an essential element in the policy process. Etzioni (1961) recognised the importance of placing this decision-making process in a context and others who argued that the context in which decisions take place has to be reviewed if we are to understand these decisions. Perhaps the most important theory, which modified the basic tenets of the Rationalist Framework, was Lindblom's (1959) incrementalism. A critic of the rigidly rationalist model of public policy making, Lindblom described a policy process which proceeded incrementally and which changed in response to external pressures. His theory of public policy, which underpins his theory of incrementalism, is summed up by Gregory (1989), as follows: Public policy making contains little understanding of the relationships between variables, policy makers confine themselves to what suits them and what they know; and policy making is a process that is impacted upon by different groups with different interests and is not intrinsically goal driven. These writers acknowledged that policy occurs in a political context and that this influences the decisions made by policy actors.

There are a number of other models of decision making and public policy.

Lasswell's call in 1951 for more work in this area has been richly rewarded. In the 1960s, Amitai Etzioni combined the rational model and the incremental model in what he calls mixed scanning. He compared mixed scanning to the weather satellite approach of employing a wide range lense to get the big picture or capture everything while simultaneously employing another satellite with a zoom lense to closely capture and scrutinize important areas.

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## 7.9 Exercises

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### LARGE ANSWER-BASED QUESTIONS

1. What are the limitations of classic rationalist model particularly in the area of social planning ?
2. What were the responses of the planning theorists to these limitations ?
3. What are the traditional decision-making models and to what extent they were found successful in addressing the contemporary problems and issues ?
4. What are the basic tenets of rational models of policy process ?
5. What is meant by comprehensive rationality ? What are its limitations ?



6. What is meant by Bounded Rationality or 'Satisficing' ?
7. How Amitai Etzioni derived a synthesis ?
8. What are the fundamentals of Incrementalism?
9. Do you think that public choice reflected new political economy
10. Write an essay on some other models.

#### **MEDIUM/SHORT ANSWER-BASED QUESTIONS**

1. What are the procedures of the comprehensive-rational decision process ?
2. What are "baby-steps", or "Muddling Through" ?
3. What are incrementalism fundamentals ?
4. What is known as 'bargaining process' ?
5. Make a comparative assessment of Rationality and Incrementalism.
6. What is known as disjointed incrementalism ?
7. How Lindblom provides a critique of rationality and suggests solution ?
8. Do you think that incrementalism is more realistic ?
9. What is known as Top-Down Model ?
10. Explain the theory of communicative planning practice.

## Module : III

### UNIT 8 □ THE POLICY PROCESS—A BROADER CONCEPT

#### Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Objective
- 8.2 Steps of Policy Process

#### 8.0 Introduction

A policy is a plan of action adopted by, for example, an individual, group, business or government following some kind of formal decision(s.) *Public* policy is the formal or stated decisions and actions of government bodies.

The policy process relates to mechanisms through which public/government policy is made; and it links *intentions* (what government says it will do) to *actions* (what government actually does) and actions to *results* (the consequences (impact) of government action on society). Policy consists of the *output* of the political process and reflects the ability of government to make things better or worse.

Three parts to the process:-

- a) the evaluation of current conditions and policy;
- b) the decision-making process, its effectiveness and efficiency;
- c) analysis of the effects of these decisions on the society.

Four theories are there to help us understand the policy process under different situations:-

a) *Rationalist* models: These models lay stress on human rationality, full information and consider the presence economic man. The ideas of these models centre around the self-interested pursuit of material satisfaction calculated in terms of utility.

b) *Incremental* models: These models consider that decisions are often made with inadequate information and low levels of understanding; so decision-makers have to be cautious. It is based on trials and error. It is less costly and less disruptive. Incrementalism contributed much to our understanding of how policies are made and implemented.

c) *Bureaucratic organization* models: These models highlight impact of the values, assumptions and patterns of behaviour found in large organizations on decisions.

d) *Belief system* models: These models emphasize role of beliefs and ideology; and thus argue that decisions are structured by perception, which is determined by the concepts and values they use or hold.

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## 8.1 Objectives

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As it has come to be understood since the 1960's policy analysis tends to focus on the 'how' of government – the way in which policy is made – rather than the what of government – the substance of policy itself and its consequences. The understanding of the policy process highlights some normative considerations:—

❑ there are the countless individual decisions and evaluations; fewer 'public' options towards achieving 'good society', but the government cannot make you happy but sets parameters within which individuals choose and act.

❑ Policy analysis tends to focus on the 'how' of government. This is because it is understood as a mechanical process of responding to articulated wants (preferences) by aggregating them rather than responding to wants and needs by them in the light of other human needs and goods. The understanding of the policy process helps us to solve the question as to what extent government decisions are responding to citizens' wants or determine their needs.

❑ Different phases of policy: policy formulation; policy implementation; policy evaluation; and so on are focused while dealing with the policy process.

❑ Public policy and power, the setting of agendas, the ability to structure policy debate are well covered by the understanding of the policy process.

❑ The specific areas of policy concentration like

- Governance
- Environment
- Development Economics
- Globalization
- Decentralization
- The Non-Profit Sector
- Poverty
- Rural Development
- Gender Studies may be better clarified by understanding the policy process

This module explores the function and influence of public policy. It begins with an overview of the "rules" to policy process, and then move on to explore the points



of vulnerability in the process, and the policy actors, including the institutional actors — the Bureaucracy, the Legislature, the Courts and the non-institutional actors - the media, parties, interest groups, and political consultants. Finally, the module explores a glimpse of policymaking India.

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## 8.2 Steps of Policy Process

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Four activities - policy analysis, formation, decision, and political analysis of policy are considered as steps in the policy process. But such a view is misleading, because these activities are never fully discrete in practice and they do not occur in any persistent sequence. Nevertheless, there is a distinction of practice corresponding to each activity, and each practice has its distinct kind of theory.

**Policy Analysis:** Policy analysis can be defined as the rational or technical assessment of the net marginal trade-offs between different policy choices. Clients want low cost, high safety, ease of handling, and durability. If they go for greatest durability, then cost will likely to be higher and there will be less ease of handling. If it is the lowest cost possible, then durability and safety are likely to be sacrificed. The problem is to discover a balance between these competing values. Such an analysis gives us the possibilities or a set of choices, but it does not pick out any preferred answer from within the set. Clients need a market decision, and getting a market decision is, no doubt, going to require a market analysis. But then again, the market decision might be to go for the whole range of the market, representing the full range of choices revealed by the analytic exercise.

Merely setting forth the marginal costs and benefits of a range of choices is one thing—policy analysis. Selecting one balanced choice or a range from within the possibilities is another thing—policy formation. The decision as to which choice or choices to make is still a third—policy decision and performing the market analysis needed for that is yet a fourth—political analysis.

For example financial educational assistance can be distributed either to students directly or to institutions. If the government wants to distribute it to students on the basis of need, government requires access to financial information from each individual applying for the same and in the name of distributing social justice, individuals will have to reveal personal information. Two values conflict. Therefore, for social justice, in some measure, privacy is sacrificed. Policy analysis asks about the net marginal gain. A truly refined policy analysis tell about the net gain, though it rarely exists. However, no such analysis, no matter how refined, will tell us whether the gain is worth it. To resolve that question, we need something corresponding to a market analysis and a market decision. We need a political analysis and a political decision. "Policy" implies "polity" and "politics" implies a structure for marketing analysis and marketing decision.

Policy analysis can ask about the net consequences of the proposed policy, can also compare those net consequences some alternative policy consequences. The question for policy analysis is not whether doing X is a net improvement over doing Y, but simply, what are the net effects? It requires a marketing decision. Similarly, whether given the different consequences, it is better to do X than Y in public policy will not be determined by a policy analysis. It will be determined by a political decision resulting from a political process involving a political analysis.

In short, policy analysis is that rational, technical, analytic performance in which the central question is not whether X is a good thing to do, but simply what are the marginal effects of doing X, and what are the marginal effects as contrasted with doing something else instead? Hence, policy analysis is simply an activity whose theory is the theory of marginal utilities.

**Policy Formation:** Indeed, policy analysts are not typically in a position to actually formulate policy. For the latter, we need to engage in conversation, persuasion, argument, and in meetings with those who will actually draft the regulation, mark up the bill, establish the procedures, write the guidelines, etc. The theory of policy formation can then be discerned as one aspect of the theory of governmental management and rhetoric. The same policy that under one name, say, Government spending may face political difficulties; it may be passed under another name without objection, like "public investment".

**Policy Decision:** Policy decision can be described as the authoritative action of some office, administrative or legislative, by which a line of action, for the moment at least, is established. Policy decision is not so much an activity or process as it is a momentary end in the continuing conduct of government. It is that end point that is sometimes supposed by the naive to entirely capture the policy process, as though making policy could be reduced simply to an act of will or the result of divination. The theory of policy decision is simply the theory of the polity itself, the political and legal theory by which authority is distributed, obligations for decision are assigned throughout the structure of political institutions, and agents of authority are enjoined to act.

**Political Analysis:** Unlike policy analysis, political analysis is concerned not with determining the net benefits of a given course of action, but with measuring their political weight. The aim is not so much to determine the net social benefits of a particular policy, but to determine its constituency. If policy analysis is concerned with establishing what course of action has greatest worth in the utilities of public goods, then political analysis is concerned with estimating who will vote for it. The theory of political analysis is the theory of political behavior.

● The theory of policy analysis is the theory of marginal utilities. It might rank policy choices according to the estimated net utilities of each.

- The theory of policy formation is the theory of inter-agency politics. It is the governmental process by which a course of action comes to be selected and actually framed.

- The theory of policy decision is nothing less than the theory of the polity itself, the theory underlying the placement of authority.

- Finally, the theory of political analysis is the theory of political behavior.

All of these activities together, not as discrete steps in the policy process, but as distinct facets of a social process make it clear about the practices of evaluation and policy research, about the relevance to the creation promulgation and implementation of public policy and about the virtues required for the actors in the socio-political system. It is obvious that one feature predominates over another and sometimes it is reversed.

The rational standards of policy analysis are the standards of theoretical reason, but the rational standards of policy decision and political analysis are the standards of political judgment. These are practical activities. In short, the exercise of political judgment is a practical activity, also an evaluation activity. Nevertheless, the result of that activity may differ from or even contradict the results of policy analysis. The perception as to what ought to be done or even the best thing to be done, turns out to be one thing by policy analysis and a very different thing when it comes to political decision.

The professional evaluator and policy researcher can contribute in the context of government, but his/her contribution will be substantial and complete in respect of all these activities only when he/she becomes also politicians and political advisor. For example, in case of policy formation the evaluator, as professional, can contribute, but that contribution will be most substantial when he or she becomes a high-level bureaucrat and a trusted advisor to authoritative leadership. The evaluator, as evaluator, is likely to contribute only to the conduct of policy analysis. However, in government the possession of knowledge can bring with it a certain kind of power. The evaluator and policy researcher with superior knowledge also earns the confidence of political leaders, can exercise political judgment, and acquires the additional skills of a practiced political observer of the present administration and will contribute to every facet of the policy process. However, in doing so, he or she will also become less an evaluator or researcher in any limited professional sense and more a political leader or public servant in a quite old-fashioned and conventional sense.



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## **UNIT 9 □ ARCHITECT OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING**

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### **Structure**

- 9.0 Introduction**
- 9.1 Institutional Actors :**
  - 9.1.1 Legislature**
  - 9.1.2 The Bureaucracy**
  - 9.1.3 The Courts**
- 9.2 Non-Institutional Actors**
  - 9.2.1 Political Parties**
  - 9.2.2 Interest Groups**
  - 9.2.3 Media**
  - 9.2.4 Political Consultants**

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### **9.0 Introduction**

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The major actors in policy making process are:

- The Legislature
- The Bureaucracy
- The Courts
- Political Parties
- Interest Groups
- Media
- Political Consultants

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### **9.1 Institutional Actors :**

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#### **9.1.1- Legislature**

The Legislature is the central institution in the policy process because of its legislative authority. Within the Legislature, it is the committees where power is centralized in most of the countries. Committee chairs have disproportionate influence over policy because of their power to analyse policies. Similarly, certain committees have more policy influence than others do. The committees which are responsible for reviewing any legislation that requires funding hold more powers than some others in the policy process.

Legislative personnel who act as "policy entrepreneurs" are important in the areas of the policy process. First, they explain the policy. Second, they are the real experts behind the legislation. With hundreds of bills introduced in an average session, legislators rely more and more on staff to analyze legislation, negotiate compromises, research issues, and meet with lobbyists. In their roles as legislative analyst and policy negotiators, as well as their role as political confidant and counselor, senior staffs have significant policy influence.

The President is mandated by the Indian Constitution as a partner in the policy process. But he can only approve or disapprove legislation, he or she has no power to amend. Further following the 44th amendment of the Constitution (1978) of India he can disapprove the policy only once. His recommendations may or may not be heard.

The idea of a vibrant, independent and accountable parliament is central to making democracy work. In a parliamentary democracy like India, the responsibilities, roles and function of the parliament increase manifold. One of the biggest achievements of early postcolonial India was the establishment and institutionalization of the parliament. Over the decades, the parliament has been one of the most crucial pillar of Indian democracy. Except a brief spell in the mid seventies, the Indian parliament has remained a key site for holding the government accountable and providing it with a progressive legislative work. However, in the recent past, the parliament is failing in performing its role in the policy process and increasingly reflecting the rapid down slide of Indian democracy.

**Parliamentary Committees and Missing Members** - The continuing absenteeism at these Committee meetings should be a cause of worry. On an average, most of the committees record only about 45 to 50 per cent attendance. During the 12 th session of the 13 th Lok Sabha, for example, the financial committees recorded an average attendance of 51 per cent. Among the standing committees, the Committee on Railway recorded the lowest attendance during the year a mere 14 per cent.

**Debates and discussions on issues affecting the Country** : The shrinking time available to Parliamentarians can be seen in the number of notices for short duration discussion under Rule 193 on those 'matters of urgent public importance' that do not make it to the session. During the budget session of Lok Sabha, for example, 280 such notices were received by the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Out of this, only six could be admitted. And even out of this six, discussions on only four could be completed.

**Question Hour and Shortage of Time** : During the budget session of Lok Sabha, 702 starred questions were put down in the question lists for oral answers. But eventually, only 131 questions could be orally answered. During the monsoon session, out of the 440 starred questions put down in the list of questions for oral answers, only 44 were answered orally.

**Time lost on account of unruly behavior :** The Lok Sabha lost over 60 hours to disruptions. The cost of Parliament is currently estimated to be Rs. 18,430 per minute. The loss to the public exchequer can well be imagined. The only thing that can be said in favour of MPs is that the time lost due to disruptions was less in 2003 as compared to 2002. One can perhaps attribute this marginal improvement to the increasing media attention to disruption of Parliament and the mounting public displeasure over the way MPs are squandering public money.

**Decreasing number of sitting:** For 36 years from the time of its inception in 1952, the Lok Sabha sat for over 100 days every year. In fact it averaged 138 sittings in a year for several years and came down to 102 days in 1988. Since then, it has fallen to just about 80 days in a year. But the year 2003 saw a further decline- the Lok Sabha sat for only 74 days during the year.

**Unfinished Business- pending Bills :** In Rajya sabha more than 30 bills are pending, which include bills pending for more than 10 years like the Indian Medical Council (amendment) bill introduced in 1987. In the Lok Sabha, the end of every session during the year 2003 saw about 30-40 pending Government Bills. At the end of 14 th session, the number of pending Private Member's Bills stood at 261.

**Time spent on Legislative Business :** During the budget session, the Lok Sabha spent considerable amount of time discussing government bills-a total of 56 hours, i.e. 23.33 per cent of the total time of the session. This percentage however came down drastically during the monsoon session, when the house spent only 12 hours and 45 minutes, i.e. 11.28 per cent of the total time of the house on government bills. A total of 64 Bills were passed by both houses of Parliament during the year 2003 (including the second part of the winter session in the beginning of 2004). Some of the important Bills passed by both the houses include: the Constitution (Ninety Seventh Amendment) Bill; Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Bill; the Central Vigilance Commission Bill; the Election and other Related Laws (Amendment) bill; the Railway Protection force (Amendment) Bill; the Indian Telegraph (Amendment) Bill etc.

### **9.1.2-The Bureaucracy:**

Though the implementation of public policy is the most visible and obvious part of the policy making process for the bureaucracy, it is only one of several phases. Making public policy encompasses additional processes that stand outside of the three core functions of policy implementation (rule making, rule implementation and rule adjudication. To gain a fuller understanding of the role of the bureaucracy in the political system, we need to place the implementation of policy in a broader context.

In most models, the policy-making process includes the following five steps:

Agenda setting



Policy formulation

Policy adoption

Policy implementation

Policy evaluation

The primary actor in implementing public policies is the bureaucracy, that is, administrative personnel agencies. Regulatory agencies inspect workplace safety or automobile emissions, for instance, while other types of departments or agencies develop programs to provide public services to the citizens, including social services, education, highways, etc.

While the legislature is charged with making all laws or statutes, the bureaucracy usually must take the general enabling legislation created by the legislature and build real programs and administrative rules for implementing corresponding public policy. When the enabling legislation deals with regulation (e.g., regulating environmental quality or building standards), the bureaucracy's authority to develop programs and rules is critical to carrying out the letter and the spirit of the law.

But bureaucracies inevitably become involved in actual policy making as they develop experience, accumulate information, and gain expertise on matters of public policy. This experience enters not only the policy implementation process, but also the process of review, assessment, and revision. Any organization, whether public or private, must evaluate and revise its policies and programs in order to continue to thrive, or at least survive. This can happen on a variety of different levels, from individual evaluation and revision of how best to execute a specific task or job, to agency-wide evaluation. Organization-wide evaluations generally may occur on an annual or biennial basis, depending on the country. Often internal bureaucratic review is coordinated with legislative oversight.

Somewhere in between the daily evaluation and revision on the individual or group level and the organization-wide scheduled evaluation of the bureaucracy lies an incremental approach to program evaluation and revision.

Whatever the combination of types and frequency of formal and informal evaluation and revision, the policy process that begins with proposed ideas and ends with revisions becomes a series of cycles over time. The policy process starts with new ideas, but once policies are implemented, subsequent policy cycles occur as revisions of earlier policies. Many policy proposals and the processes they spawn, consequently, are revisions of earlier policies.

The policy process is also shaped by the political organization of the executive branch, which selects several bureaucratic leadership positions. These executive officials come into office seeking to create changes that can subsequently be identified as major personal innovations when the next election comes around. Thus Brajesh

Mishra was criticized as the acting foreign minister during NDA rule. He was asked to represent in policy discussion with China, while Chinese representative was its deputy foreign minister. Narayanan replacing Sri Mishra in PMO also is performing a very important role in the policy process. These political dimensions of the process, equally inevitably, lead to recurring calls for some degree of control and accountability over the bureaucracy. For example Ranen Sen, now the diplomat in USA, may be asked to replace Narayanan during 2007 Congress rule for cutting short the excessive power and influence of Narayanan in the policy process. The policy process that takes place inside the vast administrative apparatus inevitably has political dimensions – that is, it involves competition for resources and influence.

Most people don't think much about the government bureaucracy, except to gripe about it: it's too big, too slow, too inefficient, et cetera, et cetera. But the bureaucracy is more than just a faceless processor of government policy. It wields considerable influence over public policy, and its leadership plays a critical role in complex relationships between the various parts of the government, economic elites and the public. On the infrequent occasions the bureaucracy comes under the spotlight, though almost every group of political professionals are aware of the central role played by these bureaucrats. In the mid-1990s, for example, the idea of "reinventing government" focused on the bureaucracy, emphasizing a broad range of measures intended to make executive branch departments and agencies more efficient, streamlined, and responsive to the needs of citizens and society as a whole. By using new information technologies, cutting dreaded "red-tape," empowering civil servants to make decisions, eliminating redundancies, and outsourcing services that might be performed more efficiently by private sector vendors, the bureaucracy could do more for less cost. According to the re-inventors, reinvention would be driven by purely logical assessment of needs and available resources and analysis of the benefits and costs, accomplished in a largely non-political attempt to serve the public interest.

The executive policy is a result of the "stream of people and ideas" that flow through the executive office. If public policy is a process of identifying problems, identifying solutions, and implementing those solutions, the identification of problems and solutions, is tied to the assumptions held by players in that stream. The policy stream must accommodate the issues that percolate up through the systemic agenda, as well as those issues that may be on the executive agenda. Cabinet officers and agency heads have wide latitude in defining, implementing, and enforcing policy.

Once the Legislature has enacted a public law and the president has signed it, the next step is for various administrative agencies to begin the process of implementation. Although administrative organs are the primary actors in public policy implementation, the legislature, the courts, pressure groups, social and political organizations also participate in this phase of the policy cycle. The role of bureaucracy in the policy

process can also be cited from its failure in implementing policies. In late November 2001 the Supreme Court had directed the state governments to implement Mid Day Meal Scheme (MDMS) by providing every child in every Government and Government assisted primary schools with a prepared mid day meal with a minimum content of 300 calories and 8-12 grams protein each day of school for a minimum of 200 days. While noting that some states were implementing the directions of the court, it was also seen that some other states had not even made a beginning despite the fact that over 1 ½ years had elapsed between November 2001 till May 2003. Particular reference was made to the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh and the Court noted that while the counsel for Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand could not give any satisfactory reason for non-implementation and did not even file any affidavit in this regard, the affidavit filed by Bihar 'could not be more vague than what it is'. The Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act provides special provision for function of Panchayats so as to protect and promote the tribal interests in accordance with the spirit of the scheduled areas as enshrined in the constitution. However, the actual implementation of the Act tells a story of non-performance of an institution due to lack of support and resistance from government and the bureaucracy.

The bureaucratic reorganization is always a highly politicized process, with multiple actors pursuing a wide range of goals that might not be directly related to the issues at hand, and rarely are focused on serving the interests of the public at large. Policy initiatives related to "reinventing government" tended to focus on the national government rather than state government with few exceptional states in India. State programs related to education, transportation, public health and social welfare are all shaped at least in part by rules, regulations and funding on the national level. The bureaucracy's degree of invention or reinvention is shaped largely by national level thrust in the policy process, often creating contradictions in the context of the peculiarities of the particular state. In the state the bureaucracy appointed by the UPSC is criticized for being critical to the implementation of the wishes of elected politicians who propose and pass legislation. At the same time, in both the centre and the states governmental bureaucracy often takes a beating from politicians and the public at large. Because of this contradiction, the bureaucracies and bureaucrats that we rely on to implement public policy occupy a thoroughly ambiguous position in modern political culture. They are essential components of the public policy system, but are seemingly fated to suffer the slings and arrows of critics from all camps when they disappoint people's exacting expectations, or when they otherwise implement hard policies. Effective policy implementation cannot be separated from "management for results" and continuous monitoring. This requires all staff to be performance- and results-oriented, and internal management procedures must provide an appropriate incentive structure to make the more effective



### 9.1.3-The Courts

The judges' interpretation of laws can significantly change the dimension of policy and this impact is not free of political influence. Often the judges, specially at state level, both in USA and in India are said to be vulnerable to political scrutiny. This was most dramatically demonstrated in the expulsion of Chief Justice Rose Bird in 1984 in USA(California) or elevation of justice A.N. Ray in Indian apex court in 1973 for getting favourable verdict in Bank Nationalisation case during Indira Gandhi's Congress regime. The policy rôle of the judiciary is not universally appreciated. The current debate over judicial activism and judicial restraint is only the most recent in a long discourse. It is argued that judicial activism infringes on democratic policy institutions, and that an activist court erodes the respect and trust people hold for the judiciary. Still, whether a court is active or passive, there are significant policy implications. Non-action is in itself a policy decision with substantial policy implications.

The functioning of a democracy is dependent on the autonomy and efficacy of the three systems of the state, namely, parliament, executive and the judiciary. India in the last two decades has seen rapid erosion of the functioning of the parliament and the executive. In this scenario of failure of the state in ensuring its constitutional obligation and rights to the citizens and initiating social-economic transformation, the judiciary has often played a significant role in upholding the rule of law and thereby protecting the fundamentals of democracy in the country. Calcutta High Court's decision regarding the role of the police in Nandigram of West Bengal in 14th March 2007 is an exemplary note in this regard.

The Supreme Court in India observed that "it is apparent that to a large extent, the Prenatal Diagnostic Techniques Act 1994 is not implemented by the Central Government or by the State Governments." The Supreme Court in September 2003 gave separate directions to Central Government, Central Supervisory Board, State Governments and appropriate authorities to take all possible remedial action including creating public awareness against the practice of prenatal determination of sex and female foeticide through appropriate programs in the media.

In the context of the social and economic rights, it is important to note that the Supreme Court has made clear in 2003 that financial stringency may not be a ground for not issuing requisite directions when a question of violation of fundamental right arises. In fact the Supreme Court has been highlighting this aspect in the matters concerning fundamental rights and maintenance of ecology. In some other cases, the Apex Court has held the 'financial difficulties of the institutions can not be above fundamental rights of a citizen'.

The Supreme Court has in recent past interpreted and included the right to work as one of the positive rights guaranteed under Article 21 of the Constitution of India.

Specifically it has held that "income is the foundation of the many fundamental rights and when work is the sole source of income, the right to work becomes as much fundamental".

While deciding the controversial Tehri Dam case, the Supreme Court observed in a significant judgment in September 2003 that 'right to health is the fundamental right under article 21. Protection of this is inextricably linked with the clean environment. Clean and healthy environment itself is a fundamental right.'

Nevertheless, it is important not to burden the judiciary with expectations of playing the role of the executive by expecting it to directly perform the tasks of effective governance. This is critical for the long-term health of Indian democracy because of two reasons. First, the judiciary has its role and organizational limitation and can not perform the role of day-to-day governance. Second, the fundamental principle of division of power needs to be respected and strengthened for making democracy vibrant.

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## **9.2 Non-Institutional Actors**

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Public policy is not merely the result of independent policy making institutions. Non-institutional actors also play a significant role: the people elect legislators and executives; the media influences policy through its inherent agenda setting function; parties, in their role in drafting and electing candidates, influence policy through influencing the composition of legislative and executive bodies; and, organized interest groups lobby elected officials and non-elected policy makers. Policy, then, is a result of institutional processes influenced by non-institutional actors, like political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, media etc.

### **9.2.1 Political Parties**

Political parties are distinct from other citizen organizations. Rather than attempting to influence existing policy makers, parties seek to get their own members elected to policy making positions. While interest groups seek influence on specific policy issues, parties seek influence on a wide spectrum of policy issues. Parties develop issue platforms, draft candidates, campaign on behalf of candidates, and work to get out the vote. In short, parties work to bring together citizens under a common banner.

While most people may think of parties only during election cycles, their policy influence extends beyond campaigns. While the rise of the media over the last thirty years has de-emphasized the power of parties in electoral politics, parties continue to play a dominant role in policy outcomes. Due to the institutional role parties play in the legislature, and the grassroots role that parties play at the local and county level, the party that emerges dominant often determines the direction policy will

take. The government incumbents are responsible to the party that got them elected, and therefore must pursue at least some of the policy objectives articulated at the party convention. The legislature continues to distribute committee membership and chairmanships according to party affiliation. While negotiation and compromise is typically necessary, the general direction of legislative policy is directly tied to the ideology of the larger party. Elections, patronage appointments, legislative committees, and policy discourses all reflect the influence of parties.

### 9.2.2 Interest Groups

Interest groups have long influenced the political landscape of the democratic world. Interest groups are a fundamental partner in policy making. Citizens participate in the policy process through communication with policy makers. Such communication takes place individually (e.g., letters to elected representatives), and collectively. Interest groups facilitate collective communication. James Madison recognized the propensity for individuals to factionalize in an effort to maximize political influence. Robert Dahl further refined the analysis of Madisonian democracy, arguing that in an open society all persons have the right to press their interests. To the extent others share these interests, collective pressure may allow greater policy influence. Indeed, Dahl argued, those issues that have greater salience have greater interest group representation.

The interest group dynamic, however, is not so simple. While it may be true that many salient issues have interest group representation, the strength of that representation is not tied to the strength of the issue salience. Further, the salience itself may be a consequence of interest group action. When studying policy outcomes it is necessary to identify the policy actors and the political resources they use. Maximizing policy interests - winning the policy game - requires specific political resources. The most common resources include bureaucratic knowledge, a network of contacts, citizens' support, an ability to make political contributions, and an ability to mount a public relations campaign, specially through media. Clearly, no group utilizes all of these resources. But, the ability of an organized group to utilize one or more of these resources is critical for policy influence.

The pluralist model of counterbalancing elites mediating interests is inadequate. The theoretical work done by Mills, and empirical work done by Dye, Domhoff, and Presthus, among others, suggest that rather than competing, the interests of economic elites tend to cohere in key policy areas. Lowi's *The End of Liberalism* argues that this interest group influence threatens the democratic basis of government. If interest groups provide the framework for government-citizen interaction, and these groups are based on individual self-interest, there is little opportunity for pursuing a meaningful national interest.



### 9.2.3 Media

Public Policy can be described as public responses to public problems. Governmental legislation, programs, controls, and the like, are all mechanisms that public bodies utilize in an effort to improve the public welfare. Public policy has been defined in different ways by different observers. Peters defines policy as "the sum of government activities... (that have) an influence on the lives of citizens."<sup>1</sup> Lasswell pointed out that public policy determines "who gets what, when, and how."<sup>2</sup> Ripley and Franklin define policy and the policy process more specifically:

Policy is what the government says and does about perceived problems. Policy making is how the government decides what will be done about perceived problems. Policy making is a process of interaction among governmental and nongovernmental actors; policy is the outcome of that interaction<sup>3</sup>.

In a real world context, public policy can be understood as the public solutions which are implemented in an effort to solve public problems. Policy actors are those individuals and groups, both formal and informal, which seek to influence the creation and implementation of these public solutions.

The public policy process has been described as a game by several observers. The game metaphor is not intended to trivialize the process, rather, it suggests that policy actors must utilize rational strategies to maximize their interests. Players will increase their chances of winning to the extent that they have bureaucratic knowledge, network within the bureaucracy, citizen support, money for political contributions, and resources to mount an effective public relations campaign specially through media. But these resources are only one part of winning the policy game. It is also necessary to understand the rules and culture of the policy environment.

#### Role of media in policy process:

- *Creators* of messages, which may be labeled as sources, writers, performers, or interactants. Media earlier was mostly identified as "sources" in the most fundamental model of communication. But now it acts as well as writers, performers, or interactants.

- *Consumers* of messages, in which respect the media acts as receivers, destinations, audiences, listeners, or interactants. Media is mostly identified as "destinations" in the most fundamental model of communication.

1. Peters, B. Guy, *American Public Policy: Promise and Performance*, 3rd ed. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1993
2. Lasswell, Harold, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How* NY: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
3. Ripley, Randall B. and Franklin, Grace A., *Congress, the Bureaucracy, and Public Policy*, 4th ed., Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1987.

● *Gatekeepers* are those who mediate the flow of messages and news media act as powerful gatekeepers.

The media are influential to policy outcomes because they help define social reality. The media influence the salience of issues. As Lippmann observed in 1922, perceptions of reality are based on a tiny sampling of the world around us. No one can be everywhere, no one can experience everything<sup>4</sup>. Thus, to a greater or lesser extent, all of us rely on media portrayals of reality. The way people process information makes them especially vulnerable to media influence. First, people tend to pair down the scope of information they confront. Second, people tend to think schematically. When confronted with information individuals will fit that information into pre-existing schema. Moreover, since news stories tend to lack background and context, schemata allow the individual to give the information meaning. In such a way, individuals recreate reality in their minds.

The television news, to a great extent, define which problems the public considers most serious. Media refines the agenda-setting dynamic to include what they call "priming." Priming refers to the selective coverage of only certain events, and the selective way in which those events are covered. Since there is no way to cover all events, or cover any event completely, selective decisions must be made. But, there are consequences: By priming certain aspects of national life while ignoring others, television news sets the terms by which political judgements are rendered and political choices made.

The implications for public policy are serious. If policy is a result of a problem recognition model then the problems that gain media recognition are much more likely to be addressed. Modern politics relies on the media, perhaps more than very recent past in the 1970s, to distribute political messages. With millions people, it is not possible for policy advocates of any country to truly "meet" the voters. Television, radio, and newspapers allow politicians, candidates, and interest groups to cover more ground with less money. Television market alone, for example, can reach the people of the whole country at once. The implication, of course, is that those interests with more financial backing are more likely to get their messages across.

New technologies and globalization transform the communication and information landscape. Economies and governments are in transition and media policies are being constructed and reconstructed worldwide. National and international bodies are currently debating the regulations and protocols that will determine the media world we will live in. To insist that citizens, advocates, policymakers and scholars must consider the fundamental role of media policy in society is not melodramatic. To do so we need exactly to preserve and improve communication and information. Around

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4. Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion*, NY: The Free Press, 1922.

the world, policymakers, journalists and reformers are working to reinvent public broadcasting systems. Infant democracies face the challenge of protecting public-service media from state control, but for established democracies, the influence of the marketplace may pose the greatest risk to public broadcasting's freedom. Few examples are cited below to show the measures taken by different countries to ensure free play of media in the policy process.

ASIA-PACIFIC: Internet Governance Information Service focuses on Internet governance covers government and political structures as well as practices of self-governance and grassroots coordination.

Advocating policy and legislation to establish public, commercial and community broadcasters, the Media Institute of Southern Africa's campaign seeks to provide a diversity of independent voices together with a significant amount of local news, public information, educational and cultural programming.

U.S.: Public Interest And Digital Media: The Benton Foundation's Communications Policy & Practice Program seeks to infuse the emerging communications environment with public interest values, and demonstrate the value of communications for solving social problems and strengthening social bonds. Benton offers news, reports and perspectives, along with case studies, best practice guides and toolkits focusing especially on digital broadcasting, community media projects and telecommunications policy.

The UNDP, the Central Government's Department of Personnel and Training, the Women's Feature Service, and the Indian Institute of Management-Bangalore had jointly organized a capacity building workshop for journalists and civil servants on March 3 and 4, 2005 at Bangalore. The central themes of the workshop were the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and access to information. At the workshop, the role of Media in strengthening civil society involvement in development was highlighted.

The access to information - both about government as well as about deeper societal conditions can enable citizens to both demand and better participate in their own development and that of their neighborhoods, villages and towns. Indeed, in a developing country, especially one with as much widespread poverty, corruption and maladministration as India, media has a special responsibility that perhaps our counterparts in developed countries may not.

However, publishers, not journalists, in particular control commercial media. Some suggest that democratic processes are dominated by the influence of economic elites — specifically, corporate elites. Domhoff argues that there is a social upper class that effectively operates as a ruling class by virtue of its dominance of economic resources<sup>5</sup>. While there are other political resources — for example, expertise and

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5. Domhoff, G. William, *Who Rules America Now?* (NY: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1983).



bureaucratic knowledge — these other resources can and are purchased. Thus, as Domhoff points out, financial power is often the basis of policy influence. If it is true that policy influence requires requisite political resources, inequality in resource distribution is tantamount to inequality in political representation. Maximizing policy strategy, therefore, includes maximizing the ability to raise funds.

The publishing function is responsible for revenues and business growth, and editors are responsible for reporting and opinion. With profits acquiring the dominant focus, there is a predictable crunch in development reporting. For many years now, commercial media houses have been functioning as profit oriented corporations first and holders of the public trust only next. One purpose of journalism - as articulated by plenty of journalists themselves - is to provide citizens with information they need to be free and self governing. This foundation is directly tied to several principles of good journalism - loyalty to citizen readers, independence from factions, transparency about sources, fairness in monitoring power, vigilance, detailed and relevant reporting, etc.

However, media cannot do this by itself. There are plenty of obstacles to development within civil society outside of the media. The entire institutional system in India - for instance, the law enforcement system, the judiciary, the health/medical system, the education system, the civil administrative system desperately needs pro-development reforms. Our nation in addition has a very intense hierarchical and unjust social structure, perhaps incomparable in the world. Even it is not clear that progress in these areas can be the outcome of a progressive media agenda *alone*.

Nevertheless, there is an important connection between media and the strengthening of civil society through organized and constructive citizenship. Media can play a stronger role if its reporting is premised on citizen participation, and does not regard readers, viewers and listeners as passive consumers of its reporting. Media with the principle to have its loyalty to citizens and not to partisan groupings, parties, and stakes can acquire public trust in the first place and then can have a significant role in the policy process.

#### **9.2.4 Political Consultants**

Increasingly, those with the need and the resources purchase political expertise. In reviewing the rise and structure of the political consulting industry, the fragile relationship between articulating ideas in a political marketplace and manipulating public opinion comes forth. It is virtually impossible to win at the policy game without the marketing skills held by consultants and strategists. Like many other policy resources, political consultants are costly. Consequently, those with greater economic resources enjoy a policy advantage.

The extremely competitive and complex nature of democratic political environment

has made political consulting a growing profession in any democratic country. There are even political consulting firms in some countries, representing candidates at all levels of government. In addition, there are thousands of additional firms offering media consulting, public relations, survey research, direct mail, and fund raising. Critics argue that the selling of politics has become just as slick and self-interested as the selling of cars. Public policy has become just another commodity in a market environment. The implication, of course, is that the policy process may be becoming less democratic as a consequence. It is often political consultants, rather than public interested candidates, who are defining the political discourse in the state, and nationally. Whether or not one perceives this as a problem might be related to an individual's access to the financial resources needed to purchase these services.

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## UNIT 10 ☐ INDIAN PERSPECTIVE OF POLICY QUESTIONS

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### Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Governance at the Grassroots
- 10.2 Summary

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### 10.0 Introduction

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For a long time activists and policy-makers have felt the need to promote volunteering in the disability sector so that there are people in the community with some basic knowledge and training to support the persons with disability immediately at the grass-root level itself. With a population of over 90 million people activists or volunteers can provide invaluable assistance towards ensuring better living standards for the distressed and disabled. For promoting volunteering efforts in this respect, it is important to know the specific needs of persons with disability, the type of disability, professional needs, requirements and training.

Although various agencies, NGOs and governments, have taken up the task or working towards better lives for all disabled persons, we are far behind the goal of health and equal opportunity for all. Only about 2 to 3% of people with disability receive any rehabilitation services in India today. There is a complete absence of rehabilitation services for the disabled, especially in rural areas and one of the main barriers for provision of such services is the unavailability of adequately trained human power. Further, disability receives a low priority in a country with many competing priorities. In this context, volunteering assumes great significance. The need for volunteering is an indispensable component in developing comprehensive rehabilitation services for persons with disability. There is a need to sensitize the community about the problems and needs of disabled considering the negative attitude towards disabled and stigma associated with it.

However, it must also be recognized that volunteers need training on various forms of disabilities, the kind of interventions required, on how to deal with persons with disabilities and so on. For volunteering services in the disability sector to be effective there is also a need for an institutionalization of the process. Although various organizations and individuals are working in field of volunteering and disability,



at present there are no standard guidelines for this. Trainings should be conducted to create awareness on various types of volunteering services. There is therefore a need to develop a National Framework of Action for Promotion of Volunteering in the Disability Sector in India. The national framework must suggest an action plan to promote volunteering in society to change the attitudinal barriers towards persons with disability. Steps must be taken to ensure involvement of various professionals and people with vocational expertise who could give time to work with people with disabilities. Special measures need to be taken to promote volunteering in rural areas, both for the purpose of imparting better education to children with special needs as well as to promote vocational development in these areas so that the image of people with disabilities could improve and economic independence enhanced. This will help orienting the policy process towards the needs of the civil society.

In the Indian context, both process of democratization and governance are going through a critical phase of transition. A feudal, castist and communal political tendencies and the colonial character of the Indian bureaucracy often interrupt the potential and possibilities of the liberal democratic constitution of India. The rise of politics of exclusion, discrimination and religious fundamentalism, along with the influence of stake market forces tend to undermine the very spirit of the constitution of India and the democratic process. On the one hand, there seem to be unprecedented optimism about the potential of economic growth and on the other hand, there is a tendency to make poor and marginalized invisible. The quality of a democracy is determined by the quality of rule of law, institutions of governance and political process, including that of the political parties. Political parties are the legitimizing agents and vehicles of the parliamentary democratic process. The nature, character and culture of political parties and the character of the leadership shape the quality of the institutions of governance and parliamentary process. The erosion of transparency and accountability and increasing instances of corruption in various institutions and arenas of governance is a reflection of the political process and patron-client culture of political parties. Transparency, accountability, integrity, ethical leadership and democratic culture within the political parties are indispensable to ensure democratic, accountable, effective and people-centred governance.

The global policy promises of the eight Millennium Development Goals and the national policy promises in the tenth five-year plan goals will not be achieved in India without political will, adequate budgetary commitments, civil society monitoring and participation. The political promises made in the Common Minimum Programme of the National Progressive will further be postponed unless citizens groups and civil society organization actively seek accountability and monitor the political and policy promise.

Current commitments of the government can be understood in the formal/official

documents of the Government of India. The current government at the Centre led by the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) has come out with a Common Minimum Programme (CMP), which highlights at length various commitments that the State has made to improve the situation of the poor. These commitments are supposed to be officially monitored by the National Advisory Committee, which has been set up and provided adequate powers and resources by the UPA to guide and support attainment of CMP. The National Development Goals (NDGs) have been carved out in the 10th Five Year Plan. The CMP commitments are not inconsistent with the NDGs, therefore Planning Commission effectively recognizes CMP as a National Common Minimum Programme to mobilise resources and focus energies for its implementation. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are gaining ground in India as a legitimate commitment of the Government of India along with other 188 countries signing in the UN charter expressing their political will for 8 goals.

A systematic discourse among the Civil Society actors is building up as to how MDGs/NDGs can be used as an instrument to make governments accountable for the attainment of goals. The comparative picture of the MDGs, NDGs and commitments under CMP clearly reflect consistent commitments in many areas whereas in many of the MDGs, national commitments are far more ambitious than the MDGs. The goal around eradicating extreme poverty and hunger within MDG clearly states to reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day and those who suffer from hunger. The Tenth Five year Plan commits to reduce poverty ratio by 15 percent by 2012. The Common Minimum Programme claims to guarantee 100 days employment every year to one able bodied person in every rural, urban poor and lower middle class households. The CMP also talks about providing *Antodya Cards* for all households at risk of hunger.

Similarly, in the area of education, National Development Goals state to ensure primary schooling for all boys and girls by 2007. The MDGs articulate elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2015 whereas NDGs include reduction of gender gaps in wage rates by at least 50% by 2007. The CMP demonstrates political will to channel one-third of its funds going to the Panchayats on the development of Women and Children.

The health related goals focus around reduction in child mortality by two-thirds among children under five in MDGs whereas the NDGs keep the target of infant mortality to 45 per 1000 live births by 2007. The goals also focus improvement in maternal health and combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other commonly prevalent diseases. In order to ensure environmental sustainability, NDG concretely state to ensure access to safe drinking water in every village by 2007. The NDGs focus on attaining 33% coverage of forests with trees by 2012. The CMP is quite radical to ensure ownership rights of minor forest produce to those who live in forest as well as to discontinue eviction of tribal communities and their forest dwellings.

The role of the Government remains key for the attainment of the goals as the amount of financial resources, human resources and system requirements are enormous and beyond the capacities of the civil society. The ongoing efforts/programmes and available resources may not be sufficient enough yet are good enough to accelerate the process of attainment of the goals. What we are lacking is primarily a strong political commitment at the top, which is not possible to emerge in a democratic set up without a critical bottom up voice in significant decibels and of those who are left behind in the process of development. The civil society has a role to build that voice, provide alternatives by demonstrating exemplars as well as providing empirical analysis of the ground level situation. These roles are complimentary with the State in certain ways as well as of co-operation and conflict in other ways. Nevertheless, the State will continue to play a major role in attainment of the Goals.

Government at the national, state and local level, including the executive branch, the judiciary, and administrative organizations, non-profit and for-profit organizations, including interest groups, community organizations and professional bodies, such as the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), Indian Medical Association (IMA), Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers (SIAM), National Commission for Women (NCW), National commission for Minorities, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), Association of Indian Bankers (AIB), NASCOM, Consumer Action Forum (CAF), National Press Council, Bar Council of India, All India Federation of University and College teachers' organization(AIUCTO) and others also greatly contribute to the development of Public Policy. The institutions of governance ensure that citizens are critically engaged with the process of governance to make democracy more meaningful and participatory. Monitoring the institutions of governance will make it accountable and transparent. Social Watch is an initiative to look at the key institutions of governance and pillars of democracy and discuss their performance. Each institution of governance has a distinct role to play , and the fulfillment of such roles and responsibilities make democracy work . It is the responsibility of the citizens to be constantly vigilant about the roles, responsibility and functions of such institutions and to point out aberrations so that there will be a constant attempt to take corrective measures to live up to the constitutional guarantees and obligations. It seeks to monitor the performance of four key areas of governance viz., the parliament, the executive, the Supreme Court and the local self-government. It also seeks to provide a coherent information based on each of these arenas so that there will be an informed public discourse on the state of governance, development and democracy in India.

The socio-economic rights, the Millennium Development Goals, Tenth five years plan Goals and the Common Minimum Programme of the United Progressive Government are important pointers that help to monitor the process of governance and development. The Right to livelihood (Food/Work) as well as right to Education and Health have also been included in the analysis of institutional performance of



Parliament, Executive, Judiciary and local self governance institutions. A large momentum generated by the community based monitoring will make institutions of democratic governance responsive and accountable to the citizens.

Democratic governance can be realized only in a milieu of people centered policies and practices. Unfortunately, the India polity and the state has perfected the rhetoric of democratic governance, which in reality is divorced from a policy framework rooted in a peoples rights discourse, leading to perpetuation of inequity, exclusion and poverty. In this context it is imperative to work with a conceptual framework where objectives of the development processes are visualized as a matter of rights for the citizens.

The fact that substantial sections of Indian population suffer from glaring deprivation vis-a-vis a set of commonly acknowledged basic needs, such as adequate food, shelter, clothing, basic health care, elementary education and basic sanitation is well known. Infact, the major shortcoming of the economic transformation of India is in the realm of policies and process that would have facilitated the fulfillment of the above noted basic needs. In this context, it is necessary for the Indian state to realize that the neglect of the positive rights as largely enshrined in the directive principles, generally leads to increased resource burden and negative impact for the state to maintain civil and political rights guaranteed as fundamental rights in the Indian Constitution. To compound the issue, the growing influence of neo-liberal economic agenda has tended to make the material and social conditions more difficult and fragile for the under privileged economic and social groups who constitute the majority of our country.

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## 10.1 Governance at the Grassroots

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Panchayat Raj system through the 73 rd constitutional amendment is the most definitive step towards reenergizing democracy in the history of independent India. Unfortunately, this laudable initiative for decentralization of governance has been circumvented by the alliance of elite political interests, change resistant bureaucracy and the rent seeking class, which has well entrenched interests in the continuation of a colonial centralized state structure.

The 73 rd constitutional amendment and ensuing state Panchyat Acts are progressive in nature and provide substantial space for responsive and participatory governance. Importantly, special provision for woman, OBCs, SCs and STs are in built in the act to protect and further the interest of vulnerable and marginalized sections. In spite of these odds, the Panchayats generate some hope in a deeply troubled system of democracy. The hope emanates from the fact that a new and large base of democratic leadership amongst the rural areas and marginalized sections of the society is being built through the Panchayat system. It also presents many micro examples of effective governance.

The endeavour is to generate awareness about the functioning of the Parliament, Executive, Judiciary and the Local Self Government in public domain and raise public debate on critical issues of relevance for vibrant democratic order in the country. Importantly, it is also to explore and acknowledge the positive space and initiatives of these institutions for promoting and making democracy work.

There is a need to replicate and initiate such endeavours at multiple levels, ranging from local to state to regional to national level to initiate radical changes in the policy process. The multiplicity of efforts would add strength to the process of citizens monitoring the functioning of democracy in the country. Importantly, it would provide new and divergent viewpoints for debate, discussion, follow up and action in the public domain for deepening democracy in India.

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## 10.2 Summary

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In *The Prince* Machiavelli presents a blueprint for the effective development and maintenance of power. Machiavelli's notion of *virtu* — controlling political destiny — is based on the successful manipulation of human circumstances. The virtuous prince is good, merciful, and honest, as long as expediency dictates. Yet, he must be prepared to be cruel and deceptive. Control is the primary consideration, both of one's populace, and of one's neighboring states. *Virtu*, ultimately, requires successful strategies to maximize policy interests.

Murray Edelman similarly argues that those who seek to maximize their policy interests will use deceit and symbolism to manipulate the policy discourse. No one person can possibly experience the entire world. Yet, everyone has an image of the world. Burke suggests that however important that "sliver of reality each of us has experienced firsthand," the overall "picture" is a "construct of symbolic systems"<sup>1</sup>. This construct is based on political cognitions which Edelman suggests are ambivalent and highly susceptible to symbolic cues. Government, Edelman argues, influences behavior by shaping the cognitions of people in ambiguous situations. In this way, government, or policy elites, help engineer beliefs about what is "fact" and what is "proper."<sup>2</sup>

Maximizing policy strategies is critical for winning the policy game. Each player, regardless of his or her position in the policy environment, seeks to influence policy outcomes. The degree to which players utilize rational strategies, however creative, however slippery, will determine the degree to which policy success can be achieved. This is not to suggest that there are no ethical constraints on players; there are.

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1 Burke, Kenneth, *Language as Symbolic Action*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

2 Edelman, Murray, *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Rather, the Machiavellian legacy in our political environment recognizes that strategy and cunning are acceptable and necessary components of the policy game.

The policy process is significantly more subtle than many realize. While the Constitution provides for a legislature that makes laws, an executive that enforces laws, and a judiciary that interprets laws, the policy process has evolved into a confusing web of state departments, agencies, and committees that make up the institutional policy bureaucracy. In addition, the vast network of organized citizen groups (parties, interest groups) as well as the rise of the electronic media, political consultants, and other image making professionals, further complicates the process. The role each actor plays, in combination with the relationship between actors in both policy bureaucracies, is ultimately what determines policy outcomes.

This module has explored the role and influence of actors in the policy process — both institutional (the Legislature, the Executive, Bureaucracy, and the Courts) and non-institutional (media, parties, interest groups, and political consultants). From the

discussion, it can be seen that policy outcomes are typically a result of institutional processes and non-institutional influence.

To summarize the entire policy process one example may be offered:

The Budget provides one of the best case studies on the policy process. Since the budget defines fiscal allocations, it serves to define the state's policy priorities for the following year. As such, the budget process brings both institutional and non-institutional actors into passionate political battle. Legally, the formal budget process plays out as follows:

- In Indian context, the government submits its budget to the lower house of the legislature for discussion.
- The budget is then published.
- Assembly budget subcommittees discuss on each budget item.
- a revised estimate of revenues and expenditures is then placed again for debate and for final vote.
- After approval of both houses (upper house approval – merely formal) budget goes to the President for signature.

While the process at first glance appears to include only the institutional policy actors, there are several points at which non-institutional actors become involved. Long before the budget is submitted citizens, interest groups, corporations, and legislators lobby to the government's authority and also each other in order to maximize the chances of receiving funding for policies they favor and for cutting funding for policies they are against. Once the budget is made public these groups



direct their attention to the Assembly budget committees and subcommittees, lobbying and testifying at budget hearings.

Simultaneously, those groups with the economic resources will begin to "lobby" the public through both paid and non-paid media. Political advertising can be used to cue public concern, which may cue public budgetary demands. Similarly, policy advocates may seek media coverage through news or public affairs programming. Not only is this type of media free, it places a mantle of "objectivity" on the commentator. In short, each policy actor — institutional and non-institutional — will do all that he or she can to maximize their policy interests.

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### Exercise for Module-3

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#### LARGE / MEDIUM ANSWER-TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What is the policy process? What are the objectives of the policy process?
2. Write a note on the theories that help us understand the policy process.
3. Describe the steps in the policy process.
4. Evaluate the role of the institutional/ non-institutional architects of Public Policy making.(prepare large answers on each actor, e.g., bureaucracy, media, legislature, judiciary etc.)
5. How India responds to policy process?
6. How governance at the grassroots responds to the policy process?
7. What are the problems in the policy process in India?

#### SHORT ANSWER-TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by missing members in the Indian Parliament ?
2. Mention some specific areas of policy concentration.
3. Name the five steps in the policy-making process.
4. How media creates and consumes message?
5. Who are the gatekeepers in the policy process?

## **Module : IV**

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### **UNIT 11 □ POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

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#### **Structure**

- 11.0 Introduction**
- 11.1 Objectives**
- 11.2 Conceptual Overview about Policy Implementation**
  - 11.2.1 Broad Definition of Policy Implementation**
  - 11.2.2 The Concept of Policy Implementation**
  - 11.2.3. Policy Implementation as a process**
  - 11.2.4 Example of Policy Implementation**
- 11.3 Policy Implementation as an output**
- 11.4 Policy Implementation as an outcome**
- 11.5 Essentials for sustainable and effective Implementation/Execution**

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#### **11.0 Introduction**

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The ultimate goal of public administration is to develop sound techniques and procedures which make it possible to implement policies with efficiency of operations merged with democratic responsibility and accountability. Public policy allows government to intervene on behalf of the common people. It assures equal access and opportunities; provides national security, public health and safety to all citizens. The development of a public policy permits a strategic use of resources to sort out and solve national problems or governmental concerns. Public policy takes four forms:

- Regulatory policy
- Redistributive policy
- Distributive policy
- Constituent policy

Policy development starts with problem definition. During this stage, a problem is identified and examined, and possible solutions are explored through research and analysis.

The next step is agenda-setting. During this stage, efforts are used to raise the profile of the problem and possible solutions among the public and decision-makers. Typical strategies include:

- community organizing
- public education
- media and communications
- convening stakeholders
- building coalitions

Next, policymakers discuss options and possible solutions and adopt new or amend existing policy. In the case of ballot measures and referenda, the voters are policy makers and the election determines policy adoption.

Implementation is essential phase during which critical decisions are made which ultimately determine the policy's effectiveness. This phase is often ignored because it is not as visible to the general public. Approaches used include:

- issue advocacy
- regulatory advocacy
- litigation
- public/private partnership creation

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## **11.1 Objectives**

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The policy implementation cycle is where public policy making becomes visible, adopted policies being put into effect to meet the policy goals. In this module, focus will be on the following points:

- What is policy implementation?
- The fundamentals of policy implementation
- Techniques/methods of policy implementation
- Different aspects of monitoring and evaluation of public policy
- Role and responsibility of the civil society in monitoring and evaluation of public policy that affects them
- Impact of policy implementation

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## **11.2 Conceptual Overview about Policy Implementation**

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### **11.2.1 Broad Definition of Policy Implementation**

Implementation means administration of the law in which various actors, organizations, procedures, and techniques work together to put adopted policies into effect in an effort to attain policy or program goals. Implementation is the execution of policy decisions.



### **11.2.2 The Concept of Policy Implementation**

Policy implementation can be more precisely discussed in terms of various situations. More specifically, policy implementation can be understood as a process, an output, and an outcome.

Policy implementation requires following steps to become effective:

- Conducting situation assessments
- Information exchange and deliberation process design
- Facilitating problem solving dialogues and meetings
- Mediating the settlement of disputes, may be in and out of court
- Consulting and coaching on effective dispute resolution approaches, procedures, strategies and tactics
- Training in negotiation, collaborative problem solving, facilitation, and mediation
- Providing logistical support for all of the services listed above.

### **11.2.3. Policy Implementation as a process**

Policy implementation as a “process” involves a series of decisions and actions directed toward putting a prior authoritative federal legislative decision into effect. Five recurring activities occur in the process:

1. Legislatures pass laws.
2. Next, executives undertake “administrative rule making” and establish administrative schedules and procedures for implementing the laws.
3. Then, states appropriate resources, including the money and the human capital needed to carry out the policy as intended.
4. After this activity, legislators and executive personnel monitor and, through the application of sanctions and rewards, enforce local adherence to the laws and regulations.
5. Finally, after evaluation of the outcomes, lawmakers redesign policies in response to design flaws or missed opportunities.

The essential characteristic of the policy implementation process then, is the timely and satisfactory performance of certain necessary tasks related to carrying out the intent of the law. It is guided by the nature of interplay of cultural, socio-political, legal, and ethical contexts and management of policy problems arising from conflicting goals, values, and inequities both within and among nations and regions. Once the Government has adopted the policy, then implementation can begin. A Policy will normally have strategies and actions for its implementation. If one goes through

some concrete examples for detailed implementation process it will appear that usually policies are implemented gradually mostly following the incremental model.

#### **11.2.4 Example of Policy Implementation**

The rapid advancements in the field of Information, Communication and Entertainment Technologies and the resultant explosive growth of the information intensive services sector have radically changed the world economic landscape. These changes have given rise to a new society based on knowledge. This has further resulted in the new avenues of development, employment, productivity, efficiency, and enhanced factors of economic growth.

Government of Delhi had decided to herald the benefits of IT to the people of the state. The six E's i.e. Electronic Governance, Equality, Education, Employment, Entrepreneurship and Economy governed the aspirations of the IT policy in the state of Delhi.

**E-Governance:** To use e-governance as a tool and deliver a more pro-active and responsive to its citizens government.

**Equality:** To use the power of the IT to achieve the objectives of eradicating poverty, improving healthcare, empowering women and economically weaker sections of the society.

**Education:** To encourage the use of IT in schools, colleges and educational institutions in the state of Delhi so as to enable the students to obtain employment.

**Employment:** To use IT for generating additional employment for the new digital economy.

To facilitate localization of software, so that benefits of IT could percolate not only in English language, but also in Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi.

**Entrepreneurship :** To unleash the Delhi incubation engine, promote entrepreneurship, earn foreign exchange, and increase IT's contribution to the economic growth of the state.

**Economy :** To encourage and accelerate investments and growth in IT hardware, software, Internet, training, IT enabled services, telecom, e-commerce and related sectors in the state.

To use IT effectively in industries to make them competitive and web-enabled.

To provide adequate infrastructure in the state so that IT sector can flourish. To use IT for ushering world-class e-tourism in the state.

#### **Implementation Process**

a) **Advisory Council :** The government set up high-powered Information

Technology Advisory Council under the Chairpersonship of Chief Minister of Delhi. This advisory Council had representatives from the industry, government and academia. This Council was to review the implementation of the IT policy and advise the state on further improvements so as to enable the state to keep pace with the global IT scenario.

**b) Core Groups:** To oversee the implementation of the policy in key areas of Information Technology such as E-Commerce, IT enabled services, E-Governance and E-Education, as also to assist the Advisory Council, the government set up Core Groups for each of these key areas, with representatives from the industry, government and academia.

**c) Strengthening of the Department of Information Technology:** The Department of Information Technology was strengthened to enable it to discharge its role of acting as a single window agency for an all-round implementation and monitoring of the state IT policy.

**d) Milestones on the road map to cyber city:** While Govt. of Delhi was committed to achieve its objective of transforming Delhi into a premier cyber city by the year 2003, the government realised it to be equally essential to set up important milestones on this journey. These milestones would likely to allow the government to take stock of what had to be achieved, what hurdles needed to be removed, and whether any mid-course correction was required to reach the destination. These milestones were December 2000, June 2001 and December 2001. At appropriate places this policy document with enumerated objectives, were expected to achieve positive outcomes by these dates.

The government in its attempt to translate its vision into reality, expected the private sector to continue to play its pivotal role in following areas :

- a) Promoting IT for masses.
- b) Ushering E-Governance.
- c) Creating an atmosphere conducive for the growth of IT Industry & IT Infrastructure.

#### **Milestone One : December 2000**

1. By the end of December 2000, the citizens' ability to access information relating to transactions with the government through the Internet would enhance. They would be able to download non-priced forms, information about eligibility, rules, documents required to be submitted along with various application forms, formats of affidavits, and information relating to tenders, as well as to file complaints or suggestions through the Internet. Simultaneously, the government was expected to



reach the people by delivering relevant information through internet that ought to be in public domain so as to ensure transparency and accountability. Some examples of this type of information were: land owned by the government and the gaon sabha, details relating to the civil works and payments made for them, mandi market prices, availability of hospital beds, citizens' charters, etc.

2. Later, this information set would be further expanded and their placement in public domain would be made legally enforceable through the Right to Information Act.

### **Milestone Two : June 2001**

1. By this date, some transactions with the government was to be carried using telephones, stored-value credit or debit cards through the intermediation of the banks (Paying bills for government services is one example). IT was expected to make travel to the government offices unnecessary. These points - Citizen Service Points (CSPs) were to be electronically linked to these departments. These Points would be set up in private sector at the initial cost of setting up these Points by charging the citizens a transaction fee.

2. Besides these CSPs, the government sought to set up Suwidha Points in each department to enable the citizens to interact at only a single point called the Suwidha or single user-friendly window for handling applications which had to be submitted by a certain date. At these Suwidha Points the applications were to be accepted and acknowledged and the citizens would be given a date by which they would receive a response from the department.

### **Milestone Three : December 2001**

1. The third milestone was expected to be reached when citizens would be able to use electronic cards for accessing services offered by different departments. The government would try to issue multi-purpose cards to citizens that would serve the purpose of being a ration card, an identity card, a driving license etc. The citizens would be required to register their personal details only once. To begin with, ration cards and a single electronic card in selected areas on an experimental basis would replace driving licenses by June 2001.

1. IT was also to be deployed to improve government's internal efficiency in two main areas: in internal communication and in data handling.

2. Internal communication - increasing use of e-mail, bulletin boards and video conferencing in the government.

3. Data handling - data capture, data sharing, data storage, and data retrieval, data processing and data presentation.

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### 11.3 Policy Implementation as an output

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Policy implementation as an **"output"** can be stated as the extent to which programmatic goals are supported. For example, the level of expenditures committed to a program or the number of violations issued for failure to comply with the implementation directive.

Construction of organizational apparatus, development of operational plans, and systems of control and evaluation are necessary to implement government programs. Emphasis should be on coordinating tasks and resources required for effective program implementation.

Governmental agencies, legislative functions, executive leadership, staff agencies, state-local relationships, intrastate regionalism, and administrative customs peculiar to the country are to be focused to understand the reality of policy implementation as an output.

Budget and revenue decisions, debt management, cash and investment management, pensions and employee benefits, and risk management are to be examined to realize the extent to which the policy goals are supported. political, economic, and managerial aspects of public budgeting, public policy implications, and budgetary reform movements and their successes and failures act as decisive factors in understanding policy implementation as an output.

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### 11.4 Policy Implementation as an outcome

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Policy implementation as an **"outcome"** is measuring change in the society that the policy was addressing. For example, let's look at the issue of poverty. The policy implementation as an outcome would measure whether poverty has been lessened because of the enactment of the Indira government's social welfare policy, like Indira Rojgar Yojana.

The nature and types of the major actors in the policy process, as well as the environment within which they work determines outcome of policy in the context of particular environment.

Consideration of behavior within the context of public organization and the consequent changes required in management are the necessary requisites to ensure the success of implemented policy. Focuses should be on such issues as perception, attitude formation, motivation, leadership.

Relationship between the NGOs and government is to be understood to measure the role of the non- government actors in bringing change in the society through the public policy. International philanthropy, cross-cultural understanding, and key managerial concerns such as communications, planning, human resource management,

control, group process, and project evaluation are to be examined for assessing the outcome of policy.

The ability of the government and non- government organizations in translating public preferences into public policy and decisions determines the extent to which policy implementation as an outcome would reach the optimum level of success.

Crisis management, public writing and speaking, building of positive relationships with the media, and development of external funding sources help to make the policy outcome successful.

In summary, policy implementation as a concept involves all these activities: process, output, and outcome.

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### **11.5 Essentials for Sustainable and Effective Implementation/ Execution**

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A public policy, even if approved by Cabinet or Parliament, does not make any effect if it is kept in shelves and ignored. Policy Implementation Guidelines have to be issued to facilitate the execution of the policy.

For sustainable and effective implementation some conditions need to be satisfied so that the intention of the policy measures is not thwarted by. Every policy approved has options which need to be clearly spelled out. This is the responsibility of the Ministry responsible for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the policy.

Normally the Ministry and other policy executing agencies spell out the strengths and weaknesses of the various policy options and recommend specific courses of action which are relevant and applicable given the prevailing socio-economic and political situation.

All policy instruments have to be put in place, including the enactment of enabling legislation if it is necessary, before embarking on putting the policy into operation and action.

The cooperation aspects needed between all parties concerned have to be spelt out in the implementation guidelines.

Capacity to implement the plans including monitoring has to be considered. This includes consideration of the financial and manpower implications.

There is need for Feedback from executing agencies and other stakeholders to assist in assessing and evaluating whether or not the policy is working.

Some policies are routine in nature - for example, the preparation of the Annual Government Budget as specified in the country's Constitution. The implementation modalities of this may be a bit different from the longer-term national policies.



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## **UNIT 12 □ POLICY MONITORING**

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### **Structure**

- 12.0 Introduction**
- 12.1 Role of Budgets in Monitoring Policy Implementation**
- 12.2 Monitoring Outcomes and Impact of Policy Outcomes**
- 12.3 Conditions for Effective Civic Engagement in Monitoring**

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### **12.0 Introduction**

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A policy is a plan of action to guide decisions and actions. This is applicable for all government, private sector organizations and groups, and individuals. The policy process includes the identification of different alternatives, such as programmes or selecting priorities, and choosing among them on the basis of their possible impacts. Policies can be understood as political, management, financial, and administrative mechanisms arranged to reach explicit goals.

The goals of policy may vary widely according to the goals of organization and the context in which they are made. Broadly, policies are typically instituted in order to initiate some positive benefit.

There is often a gap between stated policy (i.e. which actions the organization intends to take) and the actions the organization actually takes. This difference is sometimes caused by political compromise over policy, while in other situations it is caused by lacuna in policy implementation and enforcement. Implementing policy may have unexpected results, stemming from a policy whose reach extends further than the problem it was originally crafted to address. Additionally, unpredictable results may arise from selective or idiosyncratic enforcement of policy.

Therefore apart from the preparation of local plans, policy work also involves undertaking a range of monitoring work to measure the effectiveness of the plans/policies and the implementation of its proposals. It is important that the ideas in the policy are seen to be working.

The Government of India or Britain monitors implementation of policy decisions in various ways. One way is where the cabinet secretariat asks ministries to report on actions arising from previous cabinet meetings. The other way is that the Prime Minister's Office follows up issues raised in Parliament, and the Prime Minister meets his fellow ministers from time to time to discuss progress. These arrangements

appear to be primarily focused on dealing with short term and day-to-day problem solving, rather than systematically monitoring the performance of Government in implementing its policy decisions. For example, it appears neither the Cabinet Secretariat, nor the Prime Minister's Office has a good and elaborate information system to enable them systematically to keep track of progress in implementing long-term policy objectives. The Government often does not appear to undertake any regular oversight of policy implementation.

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## 12.1 The Role of Budgets In Monitoring Policy Implementation

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Policy is translated into action through allocation of resources to it within the annual budget of a country. Hence the budget is the main vehicle for civil society to monitor whether a policy is being implemented or not.

### Monitoring Budget Implementation

- **Monitoring budget inputs**- It is meant to see whether relevant ministries have received adequate money for implementation of policies or whether the ministries have made plans/policies according to the amount of money allocated to them.
- **Monitoring budget outputs** – whether are planned policies producing planned outputs?

Civil society can initiate public expenditure tracking surveys, and results used as an advocacy tool to ensure full allocation where gaps exist. Citizen report cards & surveys are good mechanisms to seek client feedback on public services.

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## 12.2 Monitoring Outcomes and Impact of Policy Outcomes

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*Monitoring of Policy Implementation.* Human rights instruments identify the state as a primary duty bearer. International community also has certain obligations. The state has an obligation to fulfill the right of its citizens. Existence of institutional mechanisms of accountability is essential for policy monitoring from a human rights perspective. The accountability procedure must be participatory in nature. This implies that people who will be affected by policies or whose rights are to be addressed by policy must have the ability and scope to determine whether the state and other officials have actually fulfilled their obligations.

- The impact of policy on people's lives?
  - Assessing qualitative impact of policy
  - Monitoring Participatory Poverty Assessments to assess changes

Civil society can contribute to:

- Qualitative policy update
- Independent participatory impact assessments

In the context of recent thrust for industrialization and inviting private sector and multinational investment policies the annually produced mid-year surveys on housing and industrial land availability is of particular importance. Further an annual monitoring report is to be produced in each year to monitor progress on the development policies and effectiveness of its policies and proposals.

Civil society can monitor progress on public policy in following ways:

- Monitoring spans the entire policy cycle – from needs analysis through implementation to review
- Monitoring implementation of public policy in the light of short and medium term results, with a focus on inputs and outputs
- Monitoring progress on a longer term basis.

The contexts that have created a demand for civil society monitoring stand as follows:

- Increasing recognition of civil society as key partner in development.
- Opened up opportunities for civil society to participate in policy making.
- Growing feeling that poor women and men have a 'right to be heard'.
- Involvement of the affected people in the process of policy formulation.

In order to satisfy the requirements of the rights based approach, the process of policy formulation will lead to important sets of characteristics relating to participation and progressive realization of rights. It has been worked out that denial of people's right to influence the decisions that affect their lives and the lack of accountability of decision makers are central causes of poverty. Civil society participation is essential for enhancing:

- responsiveness of policies and decisions
- transparency and accountability
- equity in the development process
- The process itself strengthens civil society actors in ways that help to hold governments and international organizations accountable over the long run.
- Participatory assessments and monitoring processes at community level can initiate community driven action .

Developing nations, like India and often the developed societies still are to go further ahead towards inventing



- Mechanisms for ensuring on-going government-civil society dialogue, especially with communities which are still lacking.
- Mechanisms for participation of communities and poor women and men which is still passive
- Concrete strategies towards viable monitoring systems which is still very weak, having technical bias with focus on government role.

However, direct participation may not always be either possible or desirable in the context of immature democracies of the developing nations. Specific context will define the extent and nature of participation. A hard and fast formula does not exist. Nonetheless, it is important that mechanisms and institutions must exist – legal, administrative, civil society based institutions, through which genuine participation is possible. Fulfillment of the right to participation may necessitate implementation of other ancillary rights. These will include right to-information, free speech and association.

The notion of 'progressive realization of rights' emanates from resource constraints, specially in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Resource constraints imply that all human rights cannot be achieved at the same time. Therefore, most of the social, economic rights will have to be achieved gradually in a progressive manner. Defining of ultimate goals and setting up of intermediate targets are important for progressive realization to be meaningful. Priority setting involves consideration of trade-offs and alternative policy options on the basis of following essential features:

- Equity
- Non-discrimination,
- Goals consistent with those set up by human rights instruments
- Recognition of the interdependence of rights

Accountability has two dimensions- domestic and external. By signing various treaties the state has agreed to make itself accountable to different treaty bodies, thereby subjecting itself to some form of external accountability. Accountability does not rest with the state party alone. External actors have to be accountable too. This is because the obligation to fulfill rights does not belong exclusively to the states, the world community has an obligation as well. Therefore, all the external actors, the donor countries, Bretton Woods Institutions, bilateral donor countries, international institutions, even international NGOs and civil society organizations who deal with specific countries have to be accountable for their part in fulfilling the rights. Therefore civic engagement in monitoring the implementation is essential for progressive realization of rights and community development even in the condition of global market economy. At times certain public policy may seem to fail but Government

becomes reluctant to change the policy or terminate it altogether which necessitates effective civic engagement in monitoring.

### **12.3 Conditions for Effective Civic Engagement in Monitoring**

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- Political space
- Government convinced of value of civic engagement
- Sufficient time to consult their partners and constituents
- Timely & adequate information – easy access to plans & budgets smoothens dialogue
- Civil society must be ready to commit time, funds & their best human resources to liaise with government on an on-going basis
- Civil society's ability to influence policy and quality of its monitoring activities must be evaluated
- Representation, broad participation through the legitimate links to poor communities & other civil society actors at the level of national networks
- Feedback mechanisms are required, so that those who are consulted are informed if their views were taken into account.
- Capacity building of civil society for: organizing & networking, poverty monitoring, policy analysis, budget analysis and expenditure tracking, advocacy, lobbying, etc.
- Capacity of government for understanding participatory approaches & expertise to use them for policy purposes.

UNDP is now taking measures to

- facilitate civil society-government partnership in monitoring report preparation & related advocacy
- support capacity development for government and civil society
- support civil society coalition building and networking activities to promote representativity
- link civil society networks in the region to global networks to facilitate capacity building, contribution of the region to global developments & empowerment of civil society actors in region
- develop genuine, equal & long-term partnership with civil society organizations in above processes.

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## UNIT 13 EVALUATION

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### Structure

#### 13.0 Introduction

#### 13.1 The policy formulation-implementation-monitoring-evaluation-process-A concluding observation

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### 13.0 Introduction

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After a policy is implemented, it is important to evaluate its effectiveness. Policy research and analysis are strategies to evaluate the original intents of policy, to what extent they have been met and whether there are any unintended outcomes. If the policy is not successful on any level, evaluation findings can be used during a new phase of problem definition. The policy life cycle rotates til an effective policy is created and successfully implemented.

Public policy changes do not occur overnight; rather, they are the result of activities in each stage of the policy life cycle. Each phase can take weeks or years, depending on the depth of the issue, the people involved, and the intricacy of the policy itself. This life cycle is only a framework—not all policy is formed according to this linear model. However, all policy creation is incremental and builds upon prior developments and activities. A number of different strategies are often required to create one policy change.

- Consultation with government agencies companies and public interest groups considering whether to sponsor or initiate collaborative problem solving,
- Preparation of detailed written situation assessments of the prospects for success using collaborative decision making to achieve specific outcomes,
- Customized recommendations about the design of collaborative decision making processes
- Convening diverse multi-party stakeholder groups
- Customized process assistance including facilitation and mediation to stakeholder groups engaged in collaborative problem solving negotiations
- Consultation and strategy coaching with parties on how to participate effectively in a collaborative process
- Assistance with internal team or coalition negotiations for stakeholder groups that are part of a collaborative process
- Work with party's constituents to help educate them about the collaborative



problem solving process and the rationale for agreements that have been reached

- Implementing public participation processes to solicit input from individuals and groups not directly engaged in decision making, and to inform them about progress being made
- Advice on strategies to formalize, coordinate and integrate collaborative decision into legal mechanism such as courts, legislatures or administrative/ executive decisions.

Evaluation of public policy is required to ensure

The extent which the policy is being implemented properly?

When implemented, does the policy in question have an impact on relevant and contemporary socio- economic issues?

Whether and to what extent policy commitments to gender and diversity have been met?

Evaluation of public policy is one of the most important parts of the policy process that in turn influences the needs analysis in the context of situation. Household budget surveys, participatory poverty assessments reports may be prepared on the basis of the report. Evaluation of public policy ensures more effective budget formulation through post budget consultations with civil society & informal channels. Evaluation helps to prepare:

Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks (budgeting based on activities & outputs)

Management Information Systems (standardization & computerization of financial information to improve public expenditure management

If civil society focuses on a few critical areas, work with parliaments, giving budget & finance committees information & analysis to feed the debate, use allies, e.g. academics in providing technical assistance and keep it simple. Timeliness is crucial for ensuring that government rectifies situation within current annual budget.

The 2001 reform of the France basic law on financial legislation defines a new framework for the monitoring of public policies based on the evaluation of outputs and outcomes rather than resources allocations through a classical budgeting process. A new monitoring process is under design, based on the balanced scorecard method, aiming at achieving consistency between three levels: policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation. The reliability of these processes depends on the management of flows of strategic information<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Rochet Claude, Rethinking the Management of Information in the Strategic Monitoring of Public Policies by Agencies, Institute de Management Public; Universite de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, *Industrial Management & Data Systems*, Vol. 104, No. 3, p. 201, 2004

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### **13.1 The policy formulation-implementation-monitoring-evaluation- process- A concluding observation**

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In the three preceding sections, it has been made clear that if policies and strategies are not soundly based, it will prove very difficult to implement them successfully. Moreover, if there is not broad public and political support, it will be very difficult to implement them successfully, even if the policies themselves are correct. Both these arguments can be seriously addressed (but of course not totally solved) by a broadly-based participatory process that clearly defines the roles and contributions expected from all parties concerned.

Thus formulating, implementing and monitoring land use policy for industrialization is a dynamic process - it is subjected to extraneous and often unpredictable international and intersectoral events, as well as by the local experiences in practice. Policy formulation and planning should not be done only by an isolated cell in the backrooms of the Ministry. Strengthening national capacity for policy formulation and implementation towards industrialization means more than technical and planning skills. While such people can certainly contribute analysis into the process, the real need might be for a capacity to manage the consultative process that defines and formulates policy.

Many outsiders detect a "disharmony between policy and reality" which those directly involved may not recognise. Before doing any comment on any policy we should carry on policy research on following questions:

"What the policies ought to be?"

"What instruments work efficiently?"

"How to implement policy more effectively?"

This research should be designed to detect whether there are serious deep-seated institutional and policy problems - not just minor technical questions or a shortage of funds!

Research can be "applied problem-solving". If we monitor what is happening and decide it is not good enough, we should seek reasons and explore alternatives - open-minded, exploratory, nothing taken for granted just because it is the status quo.

## **UNIT 14 □ POLICY IMPACT AND PUBLIC RESPONSE**

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### **Structure**

#### **14.0 Introduction**

#### **14.1 Impact**

##### **14.1.1 Implementation Under Suboptimal Conditions**

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### **14.0 Introduction**

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The policy must be based on sound theory relating changes in target group behavior to the achievement of the desired end state (policy objectives). Target group compliance is generally the most difficult part of the implementation process and it often will depend on the perceived validity of the policy objectives. The proposed policy must be both technically and theoretically sound. At times, target group compliance can be interpreted as the policy objective, and in such instances, the technical component is directly linked to the target group.

The policy must be clear and unambiguous and provide enough structure and support so as to maximize the likelihood that the target group will perform as desired.

Unambiguous objectives make priorities clear and facilitate the implementation process. With adequate fund allocation, proper staffing, technical and administrative support needed to implement the policy it is more likely that the desired objectives will be achieved. Incentives often help for compliance. The implementation must be executed by the personnel set up, which are committed to developing new mechanisms to enforce the policy objectives in the face of resistance from target groups and public officials reluctant to make the mandated changes.

The personnel implementing the policy decision must be hierarchically integrated so that there is a minimum of variation in the degree of behavioral compliance between implementing officials and target groups. The mechanisms of implementing officials must be supportive and consistent with policy objectives.

There should be opportunities for input from interest groups and requirements for periodic evaluation of the performance of implementing officials and the target groups.

The organization implementing the policy must possess managerial and political skill and be committed to the policy goals. The support of top implementing officials is an important condition for successful implementation.



The policy must have political and interest group support throughout the implementation process and safeguards should be established against any destructive measures that may jeopardize the goals of the policy.

The policy objectives must be very clear throughout the implementation process so that the emergence of conflicting public policies or changes in relevant socioeconomic conditions may not spoil the basic aim. Implementation officials must be sensitive to the effects that changes in tangential policies and in technical assumptions can have on their programs. The process of policy evaluation and feedback occurs continuously on an informal basis as the implementing officials interact with concerned groups, legislative and executive members, and the courts. Formal evaluation must also be conducted before attempts are made to make substantial revisions in the statute.

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## **14.1 Impact**

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Legislators and other policy formulators can expect effective policy implementation if the statute incorporates a sound technical theory, provides precise and clearly ranked objectives, and structures the implementation process in wide varieties so as to maximize the probability of target group compliance. In practice, often substantial constraints make it extremely difficult for them to perform these tasks. Valid technical theories may not be available, imperfect information, goal conflict, and legislative discomforts make it difficult to pass legislation that incorporates unambiguous objectives and coherently structured the implementation process.

### **14.1.1 Implementation Under Suboptimal Conditions**

If a valid technical theory linking target group behavior to policy objectives is unavailable, then a conscious effort should be made to incorporate in the policy or statute a learning process, such as experimental projects, research and development, evaluation studies, etc.

In US Presidential system, if the legislature passes a statute which is ambiguous, policy makers may initiate litigation in a court that may invalidate the law as an unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority.

If implementing officials fail to or are unwilling to implement a policy or statute then outside intervention like reporting systems, independent evaluation and oversight may help to ensure compliance.

It will be virtually impossible to successfully implement a statute without the active support of interest groups, unless the implementation is a priority of supportive legislators and implementing officials. If necessary, efforts should be made to find a "fixer" for programs threatened by changes in agency, socio-economic or other priorities.

Administration in public and non-profit organizations does have a direct relation on the policy implementation process. In understanding the impact of policy and public responses to the policy focuses must be on the structure, functions, and processes of the executive branch agencies of national, state, and local governments. Emphasis should be on nonprofit organizations as co-actors with government in the policy-making/policy implementation nexus.

The international system that both affects, and is affected by, the decisions, behaviors, and subsystems of state and non-state actors is to be reviewed for understanding the impact of policy on the existing socio-economic environment. Issues in international management as well as interplay of organizational structure and bureaucratic dynamics in the international context should be thoroughly scrutinized to evaluate the impact of policy.

Techniques and skills available to, and used by, public managers to solve policy-related problems or to analyze policy-related data is to be assessed to understand the impact of policy and public responses to the policy. Focus is on problem definition, research design, and problem solving under conditions of uncertainty in the public sector.

The investment policies, endowment management, and enterprise income, elements of financial management such as raising money, budgeting, and control are to be discussed to measure the impact of policy designed to bring change on the existing socio-economic set up.

Issues such as organization design, inter organizational coordination, intelligence and decision-making systems, leadership and motivation theories, and theories or organizations as agents of political and social change, approaches to the analysis of public policy, including the role of values in policy analysis, assumptions in modeling policy problems, the organizational context of policy studies, and institutions for designing and implementing policies are to be evaluated to measure the policy impact and public response to the stated policy.

Through the on-going public service reform programme, the government of any country may establish policy and planning divisions/units in all the ministries. The main responsibilities of these divisions/units will be to facilitate the policy formulation process in each ministry/sector and therefore throughout government. Among other responsibilities, their tasks may include policy development and coordination, evaluation and policy-reformulation. These policy and planning divisions/units are to perform as think-tanks for the ministries and they are also arbiters of competing sub-sectoral policies and subsequent resource demands within the ministries.

Other ways the government may ensure is the proper and thorough scrutiny of public policy, analysis, implementation and review to supplement the government's available capacity by contracting out this activity to policy experts from the Universities, research institutions, private consulting firms and individuals. The

government would also have an added advantage from such an arrangement because it would enable it to get credible independent views from outside government on whether or not the public policy is working as intended and possible options and/or remedial actions that have to be taken into account in reviewing the public policy.

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### Further Readings

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  - Robert Dahl, *Who Governs*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
  - C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1956.
  - Web address: "<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Policy>"
  - Shafritz, Jay M., *Defining Public Administration, Selections from the International Encyclopedia of Public Policy and Administration*, New Delhi, Rawat Publications, 2007.
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### Exercise

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#### LARGE QUESTIONS

1. What is policy implementation cycle? What are the fundamentals of policy implementation?
2. What is meant by policy implementation? What steps does it require?
3. Explain policy implementation as a "process" with suitable examples.
4. Write on different aspects of monitoring and evaluation of public policy
5. Write notes on the following:
  - The role of budgets in monitoring policy implementation
  - Policy implementation as an output
  - Policy implementation as an outcome
  - Essentials for sustainable and effective implementation/execution
6. Write an essay on the role and responsibility of the civil society in monitoring and evaluation of public policy that affects them.
7. Write an essay on the impact of policy implementation
8. Write an essay on the conditions for effective civic engagement in monitoring. What are the findings UNDP?
9. Why evaluation of public policy is required?
10. What strategies are required to create one policy change?

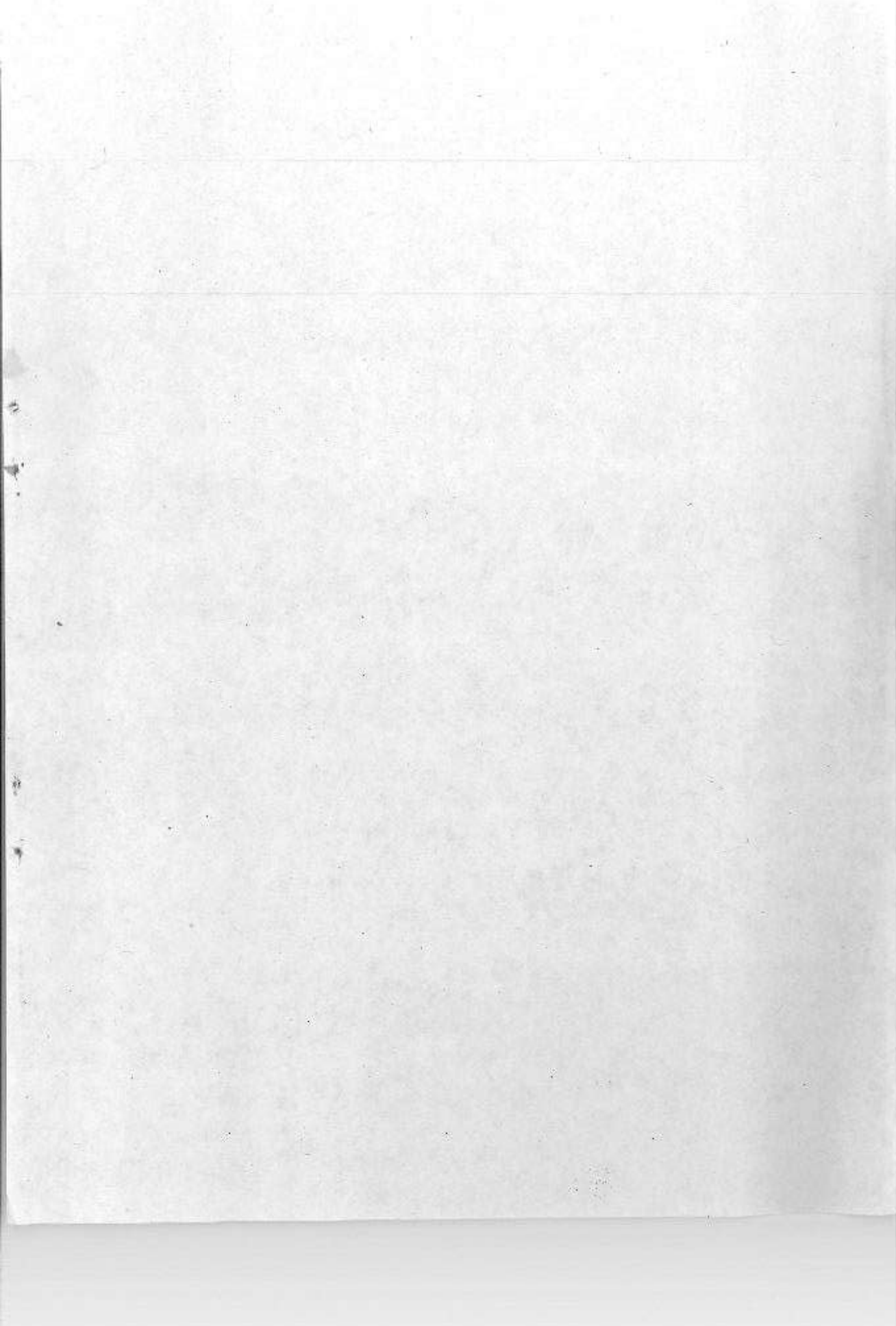


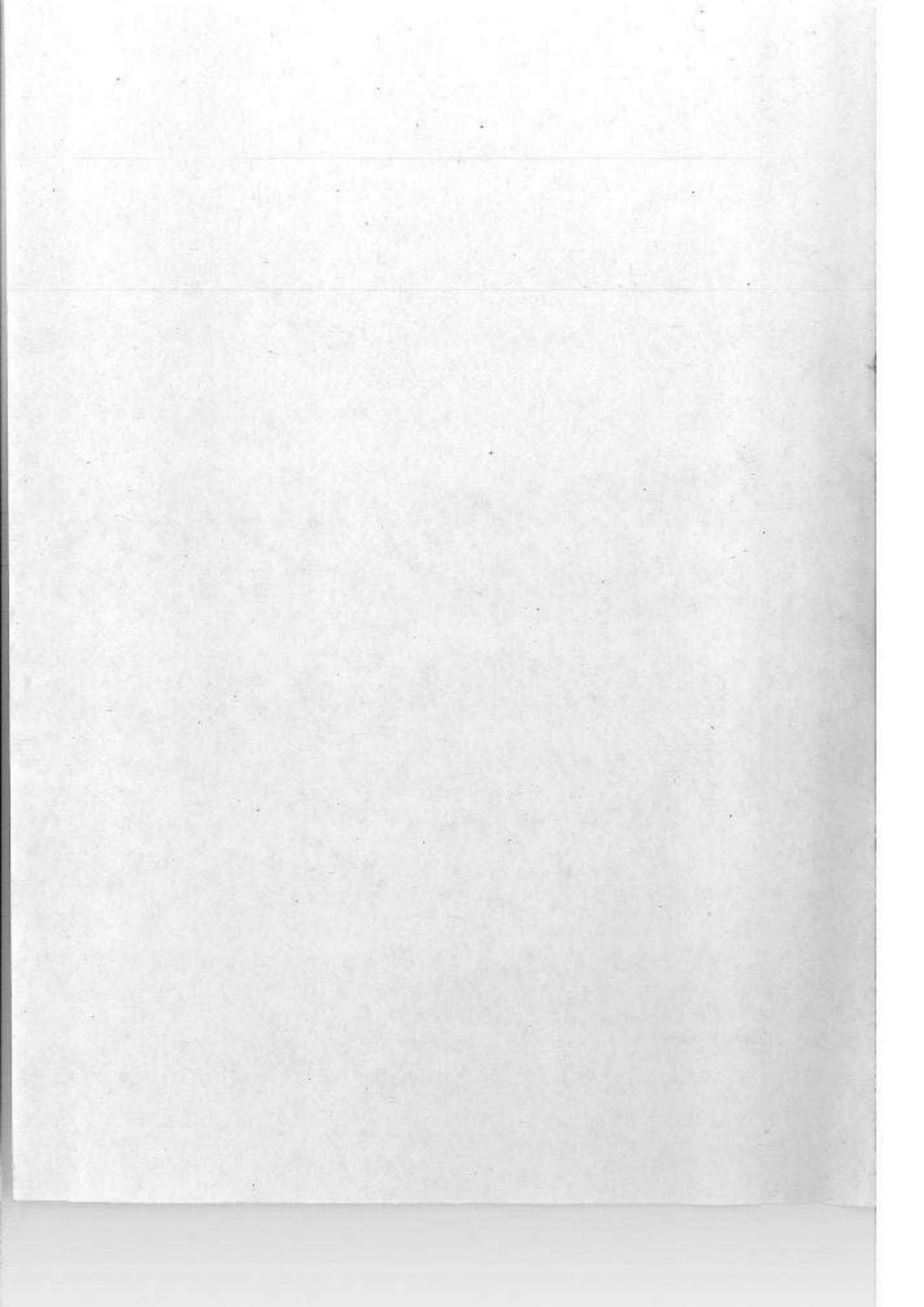
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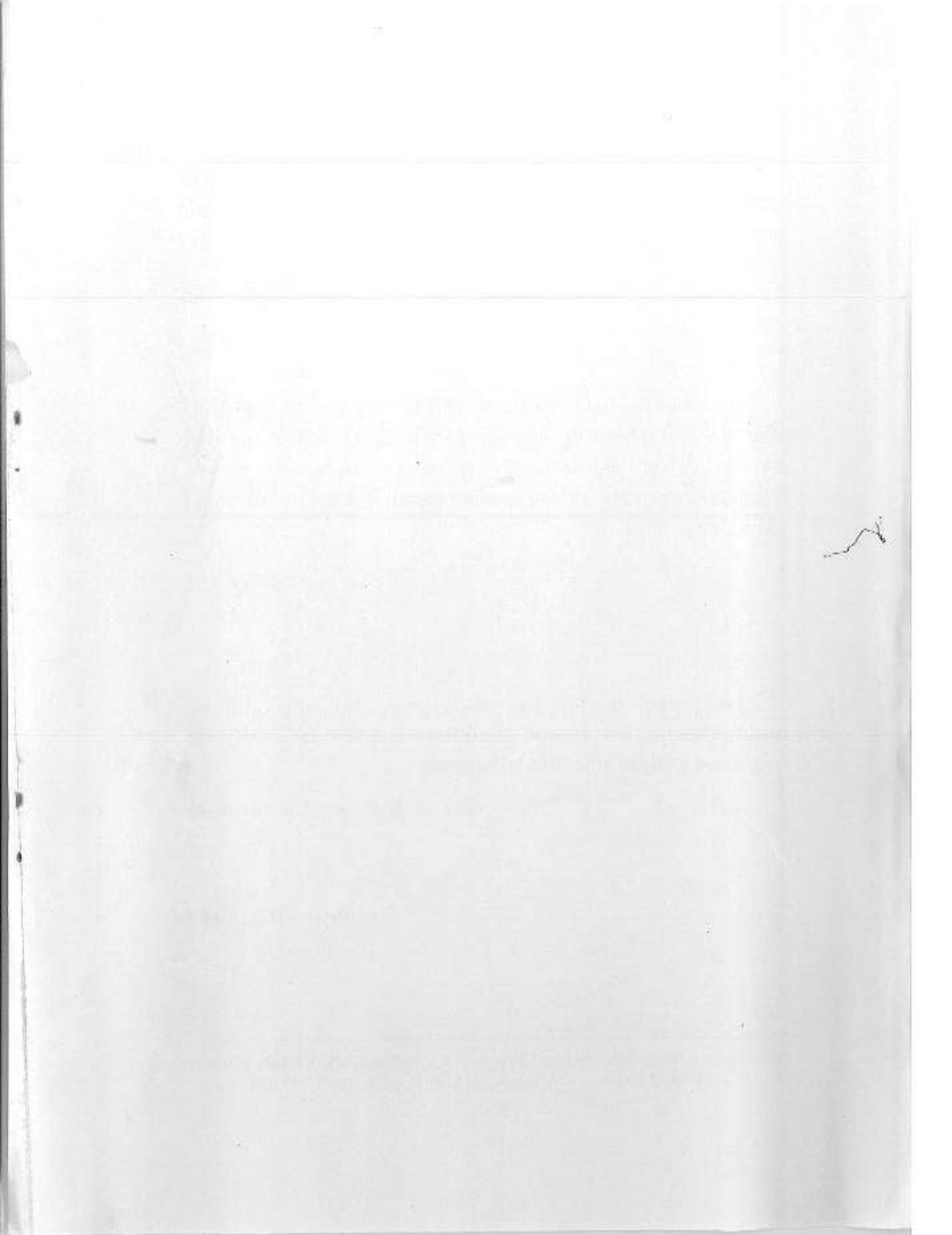
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মানুষের জ্ঞান ও ভাবকে বইয়ের মধ্যে সঞ্চিত করিবার যে একটা প্রচুর সুবিধা আছে, সে কথা কেহই অস্বীকার করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু সেই সুবিধার দ্বারা মনের স্বাভাবিক শক্তিকে একেবারে আচ্ছন্ন করিয়া ফেলিলে বুদ্ধিকে বাবু করিয়া তোলা হয়।

— রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর

ভারতের একটা mission আছে, একটা গৌরবময় ভবিষ্যৎ আছে; সেই ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের উত্তরাধিকারী আমরাই। নূতন ভারতের মুক্তির ইতিহাস আমরাই রচনা করছি এবং করব। এহ বিশ্বাস আছে বলেই আমরা সব দুঃখ কষ্ট সহ্য করতে পারি, অন্ধকারময় বর্তমানকে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারি, বাস্তবের নিষ্ঠুর সত্যগুলি আদর্শের কঠিন আঘাতে ধূলিসাৎ করতে পারি।

— সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু

Any system of education which ignores Indian conditions, requirements, history and sociology is too unscientific to commend itself to any rational support.

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Price : Rs. 150.00

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Published by : Netaji Subhas Open University, 1 Woodburn Park, Kolkata-700 020  
and Printed at : Sailee, 4A, Maniktala Main Road, Kolkata-700 054