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SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

M. A. POLITICAL SCIENCE

Paper : Public Policy Making & Policy Analysis

Unit : I-IV

Course No. : POL 405

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M. A. POLITICAL SCIENCE

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PREFACE

Public policy making is the principal function of the state. Since its formulation is a complex and dynamic process, no theoretical model is adequate to explain the policy formulation totally. Public policy making is a complex, dynamic process whose components make different contributions to it. It decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by the governmental organs. These policies firmly aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means. Public policy can be authoritative allocation of values by the political system, a slight variation from the previous or existing policy, equilibrium reached out of the competing group struggle, a rational choice or the preference of the governing elite. It can also be a combination of these processes. In policy formulation various agencies participate directly or indirectly. The role of the governmental agencies is direct while the role of the non-governmental agencies indirect. Some of the agencies, which take part in policy formulation, are legislature, cabinet, state governments, civil servants, judiciary, boards and commissions, mass media, political parties, pressure groups and public.

Shaping Public policy is a complex and multifaceted process that involves the interplay of numerous individuals and interest groups competing and collaborating to influence policy makers to act in a particular way. These individuals and group use a variety of tactics and tools to advance their aims including advocating their positions publicity attempting to educate supporters and opponents and mobilizing allies on a particular issue.

Indian Experience

In India, the formulation of Public Policy is highly complex than any other nation because of the existence of a federal polity, diversity and pluralistic nature of society. In addition to this, people belonging to different regions, political representatives and industrialists makes conflicting demands and bring pressures on various branches of governments i.e., the executive, legislature and judicial which are involved in public policy formulation process.

In India various political parties participates in elections to form the government. They

prepare a manifesto which consists of its policy on socio-economic and political fronts to attract the attention of voters. After elections the party won the elections forms the government and try to fulfil its electoral promises. So the policies and initiatives begin at the party level and later get formalized after the party comes to powers. This party provides direction to the policies. The prime Minister and his cabinet gives a concrete shape to the policies. Cabinet secretariat, the Prime Minister's secretariat, the standing committees and advisory render assistance to the Prime Minister in policy-making process. The cabinet headed by Prime minister gives final touches to the policies. They play a significant role in national policy formulation.

Bureaucracy

In India the bureaucracy also plays a key role in the policy formulation process. Bureaucracy by virtue of its wide experience in administration plays a critical role in initiating policy. Bureaucracy's close liaison with major interest groups also enables it to recommend and implement public policies. The role of the bureaucracy in policy process varies from level to level and situation to situation. At certain state of its operations, the bureaucracy performs what is known as surveillance functions, while at other stages it is the diagnostic function, finding precise source of maladies. At certain stages it act like antenna functions i.e., keeping track-on what is required by the government at particular junctions. And other times, it may perform the function of proposing an alternative policy framework. However, emphasis on each of these functions of bureaucracy is subject to the political dynamics within which it operates. Constitutionally all policy matters must obtain final approval of Parliament.

This Material

For several reasons, this is a particularly right and perfect time to study public policy and it is continue to be so far the future. In developing this area of public policy, this book is organized into four sections. The first unit of four lessons are related to meaning, objectives, types, levels and theories of policy analysis. Unit II is on policy making process consists with constituents, policy formulation, problems and alternatives. Unit III explains features, models, problems of sound policy making with dynamics of socio economic and political context. The final and IV unit concentrates on policy implementation, impact, evaluation and a comparison policy evaluation process. We hope that this material will help the students to understand the public policy and its evolution. M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – I: Public Policy: Concepts and theories

1.1 PUBLIC POLICY : MEANING, BASIS AND RATIONALE

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 1.1.0 Objectives
- 1.1.1 Introduction
- 1.1.2 Meaning of Public Policy
- 1.1.3 Basis of Public Policy
- 1.1.4 Scope of Public Policy
- 1.1.5 Nature of Public Policy
- 1.1.6 Public Policy as Policy Science
 - 1.1.6.1 Working Definition
 - 1.1.6.2 Characteristics of Policy Sciences
 - 1.1.6.3 Nature, Scope and Utility of Policy Sciences
 - 1.1.6.4 Evolution of Policy Science
 - 1.1.6.5 Development of Policy Sciences during 1970s and 80s

1.1.7 Key Factors and Considerations in Public Policy Development

- 1.1.8 Let Us Sum UP
- 1.1.9 Exercise

1.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- meaning, nature and scope of Public Policy;
- the importance of Public Policy as a Policy Sciences;
- objectives of Public Policy; and
- basis and rationale of Public Policy.

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Public Policy is as old as Political Science and Public Administration. But the concept of Public Policy as an academic pursuit emerged in the late half of twentieth century and since then it has been acquiring new dimensions. Since the beginning the studies on public policies were dominated by researchers and students of both Public Administration and Political Science. Public administration was to some extent preoccupied with the activities of administrative machinery, their structures and their success in achieving their targets/goals. It hardly recognized the role of organizations that played towards the formulation of policies as one of its main concerns. Yet the policy is an important element of the administrative process. Policy implies a decision as to what should be done and how, when it should be done. In the words of Paul Appleby "the essence of public administration is policy making". Public Policy is concerned with the pattern of actions directed at social problems or goals and considerable progress has been in understanding policy content and processes.

1.1.2 MEANING OF PUBLIC POLICY

The policy is the government's course of action to achieve the desired ends. Public Policy includes whatever government intends to undertake or not to undertake. As said by Thomas dye, policy can be defined broadly as "whatever government choose to do or not to do". In other words Public Policies are the governmental rules and programmes, considered individually and collectively, formulated for the purpose of affecting positive change. Public Policy is basically a set of rules and regulations set forth that the public law is expected to adhere to. The term Public Policy always refers to the actions of the government and the intentions that determine these actions.

There are numerous definitions of Public Policy. Following are some examples.

According to Brooks, "Public Policy is the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and action, or inaction, is pushed by governments in relation to some issues or problems".

Marshall Dimock defines it as "consciously acknowledged rules of conduct a guide of administrative decisions".

According Frederich, Public Policy is "A proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilise and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose".

Dodd, in a similar vein, defines Public Policy as "commitment to a course or plan of action agreed to by a group of people with the power to carry it out".

Daneke and Steissemphasise the available alternatives to Public Policy and regard it as a broad guide to present and future decisions, done in light of the given conditions from a number of perspectives; the actual decision or set of decisions desiged to carry out the chosen course of actions – a projected programme consisting of desired objectives (goals) and the means of achieving them.

James Anderson defined the Public Policy as a course of action followed by an actor or set of actors to deal with a public problem.

Some texts define Public Policy as simply "what government does" others say that it is the stated principles which guide the actions of the government. Public Policy can be conceptualised as a purposive and consistent course of action produced as a response to a perceived problem of a constituency formulated by a specific political process, and adopted, implemented, and enforced by a public agency. William Jenkins offered more complex and more conceptualized definition. According to him Public Policy is a "set of decisions connected together made by a policy actor or by a set of actors, referring to selecting objectives, and means and reaching them in a specific situation in which these actors should, in principle have the power to make these decisions.

The above definitions imply the following:

- i. Public Policy is what government actually decides or chooses to do and is the relationship of the government units to the specific filed of political environment in a given administrative system.
- ii. Public Policies are goal oriented. In order to attain the objectives which the government has in view for the ultimate benefit of the masses in general, the Public Policies are formulated and implemented.
- iii. These are value laden and arise as sequel of the programmes of the government in action overtly.
- iv. Public Policy is a pattern or course of activity of the governmental officials and actors collectively rather than being termed as their discrete and segregated decisions.
- v. Public Policy is positive in the sense that it depicts and concern of the government and involves its action to a particular problem on which the policy is made. Negatively, it involves a decision by governmental actors not to take any action on a particularly issue unilaterally without deliberations.
- vi. Public Policy in its positive form has the action of law and authority behind it and that is why it is called as authoritative.
- vi. Public Policy is a choice or decision made by government that guides subsequent actions in similar circumstances.
- vii. Public Policy stems from a well defined procedure wherein the power control, gaming and bargaining concepts play a significant role.

The proceeding analysis reveals that Public Policy is a goal oriented action of the government. It is clearly defined as a course of action adopted by the political agencies and actors in order to achieve certain goals.

1.1.3 BASIS OF PUBLIC POLICY

Public Policy in the broad term refers to the policy (plan of what to do) that is formulated and implemented for the benefit of the public. If read in light of the narrow view of Public Policy then it relates to plan of action to be pursued by the Government (because Public is also used as a synonym for Government in many places). There is no unanimity on the definition of Public Policy. However, Public Policy can be described as the overall framework within which the actions of the government are undertaken to achieve its goals. It is a purposive and consistent course of action devised in response to a perceived problem of a constituency, formulated by a specific political process, and adopted, implemented, and enforced by a public agency.

Goals, policies and programmes are different and should not be used as synonyms of each other or interchangeably. Policies are devised to achieve certain goals by the government. For example the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan is a government programme to achieve the Policy of Free and compulsory education to all children in the age of 6-14 in India that was established through the Right to Education Act 2009 is a part of Meta policy of Education for All by UNESCO. Another example is the policy of poverty alleviation for which several programmes have been designed like the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), MGNREGA, etc. Poverty alleviation also comes under a bigger goal of overall socio-economic growth of the country. Each of these programmes has their own goals to achieve which then all taken collectively achieve the unified goal of the original policy. There can be a number of programmes established for achievement of a single policy goal. And there are a number of policies that are formulated as well to achieve the goals of the government once a policy is declared (statement of goals) then programmes are devised within/under it to take action through it to achieve those overall goals.

Public Policy is a document that contains the broad outline as well as the detailed description of formulation as well as implementation of various government programmes and plans that are taken out for the goal/objective of public benefit and implemented through the constitutional authorities, bureaucracy and government organizations/institutions in collaboration with civil society organizations. It takes a variety of forms like law, ordinances, court decisions, executive orders, decisions, etc. It is the authoritative declaration of the intentions of the government of what it intends to do and to not do and the success of Public Administration as well as government in a country is linked with the success of its Public Policy.

Once a goal is determined then the government has to develop a broad outline/policy document to show how it will be worked towards and then once that is done, programmes are developed which are the executive wing of the government to achieve those goals.

Then organizations and institutions are set up to house those programmes and organize personnel in it to achieve the particular programmer's goals which will in cohesion With other programmes and their organizations under the same policy help achieve the policy's goals and that will help achieve the overall goal of the government.

1.1.4 SCOPE OF PUBLIC POLICY

The term scope means area of activity. It also means the extent to which area of Public Policy extends. It also involves the causes for the expansion of the subject and content of public policy. Before we discuss the scope of public policy, it is important to remember how Public Policy emerged as an inter-disciplinary area. Earlier Public policy as a branch of Political Science or Public Administration as studied as the laws made by the formal governmental structures. In the field of Political Science the three organs of the government namely the executive, legislative and judiciary were regarded as the law making bodies. However, during post 1950s distinction was drawn between a law and a policy. Law is loose and general term, while the policy is a specific concerned in a well-defined area having implications to the present and future generations. In the recent past Political Science has come to be seen mainly as a policy science because of policy concerns emerged in the discipline of Political Science.

There are different factors that contributed for the widening of the scope of Public policy. Mention may be made of science and technology, industrialization, urbanization, developmental role of the modern state, and increased emphasis on welfare activity of the state etc. Industrialization promoted urbanization. These two established a complex network of socio-economic relationship. Its impact could be seen in the expansion of markets and migration of people. The process is also accentuated by high degree of specialization in all spheres of human life. The advancement of science the technology revolutionized the life of modern man, through communications and transport. These developments have underlined the need to formulate specialized policies to face the challenges and meet the needs of modern society. Agriculture, industry, information technology, research in the field of life sciences, etc., presupposed policy formulations to cope with the advancement. As a part of this the state is formulating different types of policies, like, population, agriculture, industrial, urban policy, development policies, environmental policy etc. These policies are formulated on the basis of well researched knowledge acquired by the specialist data

collected by the various agencies including specialized institutions and governmental organizations. All these developments strengthened the thread towards Public Policy studies and their evaluation. Added to it the modern state initiated large number of welfare activities in the form of anti-poverty programmes, and other ameliorative measures. The increased welfare activity of the state directly contributed to the enhanced significance of public policy. It includes polices relating to rural development, urban governance, economic development, etc. The same trend is also witnessed among the western countries. This is mainly on account of complex nature of specialization in society, economy, ecology, and polity.

1.1.5 NATURE OF PUBLIC POLICY

After understanding the definition of Public Policy, we shall now discuss its nature which relates to the area or aspects that Public Policy as a discipline is concerned with interims of its interdisciplinary character. Public Policy has been termed as a pattern or 'course of activity and the relationship of the government unit to its environment. Public policy is based upon policy demands and claims made upon public officials by other actors, governmental or non-governmental in a given political system for taking some action to sort out a specific problem. The action taken by the governmental actors and agencies pertaining to any issue is known as policy decision. The policy decision helps the governmental officials to provide direction and content to Public policy actions. Their action to the effect is based on the formal expression or articulation of Public policies. This formal expression or articulation is termed as policy statement and it includes all legislative statutes executive orders and decrees, and administrative rules and regulations in it.

Public policy is a via media between government and citizens. It provides instances of citizen-government interface. Public policies depict the overall functioning of a political and administrative system. The operational area of Public policy is abundantly vast and its range and scope is thoroughly wide. Let us take any aspect of the human life, we just cannot escape from one public policy or the other. Right from the birth of the child up to death of a man even when the dead body is taken to graveyard for final rites, there is some policy or the other we are facing and taking benefits of. Education of the child, prevention from diseases, better and nutritious food, good clothing, affordable higher education, job potentials, better salaries, adequate housing facilities, safety from national or international

dangers, safety from natural calamities are some of the policies we can easily talk about. Keeping in view the interdependence on other national powers, the public policies of a political system also do include in them policies pertaining to important aspects and good and cordial relations with other nations. It is rather difficult to restrict or define the scope and range of Public Policy is words.

1.1.6 PUBLIC POLICYAS POLICY SCIENCES

Prior to the revolution propounded by the Behaviouralists, the study of Political Science was largely dominated by the Traditionalists who borrowed a lot from the historical method of analysis (descriptive method). Consequently, the pre-Second World War Political Scientists did not concern themselves with the scientific study of events. However, there has undoubtedly been an increased interest over the past twenty years in the analysis of policy as a focus (as opposed to specific disciplinary or professional focuses). This increased interest has been accompanied both by grandiose claims for how "policy science" can improve the decision-making capacity and the outputs of government, and imitative retailing as "public policy" of traditional courses in government or public administration. A. study of the origins of this interest can help us to understand the current status of policy science and policy analysis. In brief, past studies on public policy have been mainly dominated by scholars of Political Science and Public Administration and have tended to concentrate more on the content of policy, the process of its formulation and its implementation. The study of public policy has evolved into what is virtually a new branch of the social sciences - the so called policy sciences. This concept of policy sciences was first formulated by Harold Lasswell in 1951. Today, the policy sciences have gone far beyond new and native aspirations for societal relevant knowledge.

1.1.6.1 Working Definition

The conception of the policy sciences is more refined as extended today than at any time in the colourful history of man. As a working definition, we say that the policy sciences are concerned with knowledge of and knowledge in the decision processes of the public and civic order.

Knowledge of the decision process implies systematic, empirical studies of how policies are made and put into effect. When knowledge is systematic, it goes beyond the aphoristic

remarks that are strewn through the "Wisdom" literature of the past. The systematic requirement calls for a body of explicitly interconnected propositions such as we have inherited in the Western world from Aristotle, Machiavelli, and their successors. The conception of the policy sciences is more refined and extended today than at any time in the history of human. As a working definition, we say that the policy sciences are concerned with knowledge' of and in the decision processes of the public and civic order.

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The emphasis on decision process underlines the different between policy sciences and other forms of intellectual activity. By focusing on the making and execution of policy, one identifies a relatively unique frame of deference, and related disciplines. However, these public order decisions do not exhaust the field of policy. In complex societies the agencies of official decision do not account for many of the most important choices that affect men's lives. In the interest of realism, therefore, it is essential to give full difference to the study of semi-official and nonofficial processes. The dividing line between public and civic order is more a zone than a line, and in totalitarian states the civic order is almost entirely swallowed up by public order. The separation is most visible in bodies politic where the activities assigned to the formal agencies of government are relatively few and where the collective activities of businesses, churches, and other active participants in society are independent of detailed direction from government.

1.1.6.2 Characteristics of Policy Sciences

The practical application of all relevant knowledge in the social, physical and natural sciences, to specific policy problems identified well ahead of time. The rationalist model involves a "commitment to scientific planning". This means as overhaul of the traditional approaches to making of decisions. However, the spectre of Duncan MacRae is warded off by the

suggestion that a policy analysis culture be created in order to achieve greater rationality in policy-making. This policy analysis Culture has 'three main features as found in Dror's pioneering writings:

- 1. Technical experts who are sensitive to the ethical implications of decisions.
- 2. Close cooperation between researchers in government
- 3. An informed citizenry to fend off the anti-democratic spectre of a ruling class.

1.1.6.3 Nature, Scope and Utility of Policy Science

The policy science movement grew out of a quest for a science of policy. Its key proponents among others were YehezkelDror and Harold Lasswell. According to Dror, 'policy science is a new supra-discipline, oriented towards the improvement of policy-making and characterized by a series of paradigms different in important respects from contemporary normal sciences.

Policy Science was conceived as a supra-discipline-which will integrate several disciplines, such as: Political Science, Public Administration, Economics, Psychology, Sociology and tools of operational research and build multi-disciplinary knowledge, skills and techniques to resolve social problems. It is aimed at improving the knowledge, methods and analysis in policy making.

Lasswell Analysis

Knowledge of the decision process implies systematic, empirical studies of how policies are made and put into effect. When knowledge is systematic it goes beyond the aphoristic remarks that are stream through the wisdom of literature of the past. The systematic requirements call for a body of explicit linter-connected propositions.

Policy Science attempts to apply the scientific, systematic knowledge and methods, such as: observation, verification, validation, explanation and prediction to policy studies. It's goal is better policy-making. However, policy sciences also accept other sources and forms of knowledge in so long as they contribute to better policy-making. For example, personal experience, intuition, value-judgment and extra-rational resources are accepted. In so doing, attention is, therefore, directed more comprehensively to qualitative and normative methods and to non-economic rationality such as political feasibility. Policy Science is regarded as higher transition from policy analysis. It believes in the enhancement of methods, techniques and systematization. However, the line delineating policy analysis from policy science is blurred. Most advocates of policy sciences are policy analysts and the shift of emphasis to policy science is nothing but to create identity as a discipline for solving social problems.

The empirical aspects of policy sciences have also been stressed by Lasswell thus: "to insist on the empirical criterion is to specify that general assertions are subject to the discipline of careful observation. This is a fundamental distinction between science and non-science". He declared that the policy sciences were not to be equated with "applied social science" or "applied social and psychological science". "Not", he cautioned, "are the 'policy sciences' to be thought of as identical with what is studied by the political scientists".

Like other social sciences, a policy science is also not an exact science because substantive science is concerned with the pursuit of truth which it seeks to understand and predict. It is merely an approach which is concerned with improved methods of knowledge and systems for better policy-making; a technique which helps the decision-maker to take decisions with improved methods of knowledge. It is, thus concerned with more, effective manipulation of the real world, leaving open the possibility of not understanding the phenomena.

Carol Weiss describes a policy science as a decision-driven model of research use. This sequential model has the following stages:

- 1. Definition of the social problems.
- 2. Identification of missing knowledge,
- 3. Acquisition of the relevant data using social research techniques,
- 4. Interpretation of a problem solution, and
- 5. Policy choice.

Policy science may contribute to the selection of policy options. Like conceptualization, it has two' aspects: one, it contributes to the way in which policy-making is done; two, its

policy options may percolate into society, influencing "the way that a, society thinks about issues, the facets of the issues that are viewed as susceptible to alteration, and the alternative measurers that it considers".

In sum, policy sciences can have an enduring influence on the political agenda through sensitizing both policy-makers and the mass of people. Nagel also argues that policy analysis provides "new insights" and enables policy-makers to make better-informed choices and, by implication, a better policy. Also, Stakey and Zeekhauser declare that "no sensible policy choice can be made without careful analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of each course of action."

1.1.6.4 Evolution of Policy Science

The policy sciences approach and its advocates deliberately distinguished themselves from early scholars in (among others) Political Science, Public Administration, Communications, Psychology, Jurisprudence, and Sociology by posing three defining characteristics that, in combination, transcended the individual contributions from those more traditional areas of study.

The policy sciences were consciously framed as being problem-oriented, quite explicitly addressing public policy issues and posing recommendations for their relief, while openly rejecting the study of a phenomenon for its own sake; the Societal or political question – So what? – has always been pivotal in the policy sciences' approach. Likewise, policy problems are seen to occur in a specific context, a context that must be carefully considered in terms of the analysis, methodology, and subsequent recommendations. Thus, necessarily, the policy approach has not developed an overarching theoretic foundation.

The policy sciences are distinctively multi-disciplinary, in their intellectual and practical approaches. This is because almost every social or political problem has multiple components closely linked to the various academic disciplines without falling clearly into any one discipline's exclusive domain. Therefore, to gain a complete appreciation of the phenomenon, many relevant orientations must be utilized and integrated.

The policy sciences approach is deliberately normative or value oriented; in many cases, the recurring theme of the policy sciences deals with the democratic ethos and human dignity. This value orientation was largely in reaction to behaviouralism, i.e., "objectivism,"

in the social sciences, and in recognition that neither social problem nor methodological approach is value free. As such, to understand a problem, one must acknowledge its value components.

BeryRadin and Peter de Leonhave described the institutional and political evolutions of the policy sciences. Although they are not on obvious opposition to one another, their respective chronologies offer contrasting emphases. Radin argued that the policy analysis approach knowingly drew upon 'the heritage of American public administration scholarship; for instance, she suggested, policy analysis represent a continuation of the early twentieth century Progressive Movement in particular, in terms of its scientific analysis of social issues and the democratic polity. Her narrative particularly focused on the institutional (and supporting educational) growth of the policy analysis approach. Radin suggested a fundamentally linear (albeit gradual) progression from a limited analytic approach practiced by a relatively few practitioners to a growing number of government institutions, "think tanks," and universities.

1.1.6.5 Development of Policy Sciences During 1970s And 1990s

Through the 1970s and 1980s the direction of the policy sciences was influenced by i) policy scientists who struggled to expand the scope of policy sciences, and by ii) the social and political events of the period.

Struggle for expanding the Scope

The community of policy scientists formed by the late 1960s recognized both the limitations of and the opportunities for their knowledge and skills. In their pursuit of policy sciences studies, they addressed topics of evaluations, utilization, implementation and termination in a more or less orderly manner, though lacking any strategic coordination.

In the early 1970s, the policy analysis community focused on policy evaluation. The obvious purpose of policy analysis was to learn from public programmes (such as reducing poverty and infant mortality rate) initiated in the 1960s and to take steps for improvement. New methodologies often from social and clinical psychology were brought to bear while others were modified to match special needs. Evaluation policy researches helped to improve public policy-making.

However, most of the policy evaluators working within academic circles failed to appreciate the policy sensitivities of working with public officials, or make sure that their finding matched the needs of the clients. Consequently, policy evaluation studies failed to achieve its objective. It not only failed to recognize the sources of programmatic shortcomings but also proved to be irresponsive to the policy-makers' needs for better information.

Increasingly the credibility of policy sciences has been questioned for its failure to produce empirical and normative truths. Although policy research still continues to produce the most systematic and critical analyses of complex social problems, yet it is also true that policy science represents only one of the several "rational ideologies" competing for social and political advantage. In the 1990s and the first few years of the 21st century, the policy sciences revisited old themes in an effort to reconcile long-existing conflicts. The policy sciences appear to be moving from a simple theory of rational choice to a theory of reason in society from policy science to 'political inquiry'.

1.1.7 KEY FACTORS AND CONSIDERATIONS IN PUBLIC POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A number of factors and considerations must be kept in mind at the time of development. These factors will be used by others to judge whether the policy and the process of developing the policy, is or has been sound.

- i) **Public Interest**: What is the interest of society as whole? How is the common good balanced against any private or special interests? Is the process fully inclusive, especially of those who are often overlooked or unable to participate?
- ii) Effectiveness: How well a policy achieves its goals?
- iii) **Consistency:** Degree of alignment with broader goals and strategies of government with constitution, legislature and regulatory regime.
- iv) **Fairness and Equity:** Degree to which the policy increases equity of all members and sectors of society. This may link directly to consideration of public interest.
- v) **Reflective:** Of other values of society and I or the community, such as freedom security, diversity, community, choice and privacy.

1.1.8 LET US SUM UP

The study of Public Policy has emerged as an interdisciplinary field of enquiry. Public Policy denotes the means of the state to intervene in public life of the citizens for affecting a positive change. The study of Public Policy is concerned with the application of scientific methods and insights for the improvement of social life and solving public problems. Public Policy is an important mechanism for moving a social system from the past to future. Public Policy is not only concerned with the description and explanation of the causes and consequence of government activity but also with the development of scientific knowledge about the forces shaping public policy. The study of Public Policy helps to understand the social ills of the subject under study. It is the means to bring social transformation in a positive way. Public Policy involves improving the democratic or political capacities of people and not simply the efficiency and effectiveness of delivery of goods and services. The Public Policy may consist of long term, short term, scientific, professional and political objectives. Executive, legislative and judicial agencies and political parties, bureaucracy and pressure groups play a significant role in Public policy formulation process. When we summarize the contemporary expansion of the policy sciences in the long perspective of the past, we see a change that is deeply embedded in the expansion and differentiation of urban civilization in world history. Policy science can be defined as concerned with knowledge of and knowledge in the decision process. The trend, toward the policy sciences viewpoint is contextual, problem-oriented multi-method is a move away from fragmentation. Too often a differentiated approach is permitted to generate into a fragmented 'worms' eye view of policy matters.

1.1.9 EXERCISE

- 1. Define Public policy and discuss its Nature and Scope.
- 2. Write an essay on the Development of Public Policy as a discipline.
- 3. What is policy science? Discuss its nature and scope?
- 4. Write an essay on evolution of policy science.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – I: Public Policy: Concepts and theories

1.2 OBJECTIVES AND TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICY

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 1.2.0 Objectives
- 1.2.1 Introduction
- 1.2.2 Objectives and Role of Public Policy
- 1.2.3 Importance of Public Policy
- 1.2.4 Relationship between Politics and Public Policy
- 1.2.5 Policy and Goals
- 1.2.6 Policy and Decision
- 1.2.7 Characteristics of Public Policy Making

1.2.7.1 Complex Process of Public Policy Making

- 1.2.8 The Growing Importance of Public Policy
- 1.2.9 Types of Public Policy
- 1.2.10 Let Us Sum UP
- 1.2.11 Exercise

1.2.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to discuss, the significance of public policy in a democratic country. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the role of Public Policy in social progress in general and governance in particular;
- importance/objective of Public Policy; and
- various types of Public Policy and their utility and relevance.

1.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The public policy acts as the oxygen for growth and development of a country and its people. Good policies take a country to great heights and without a detailed policy no goals of a country and its government can ever achieve. Without Public Policy and Planning a country would become stagnant and lag behind the rest of the world and never evolve and keep up with the ever changing times and global scenario. Policy studies are therefore of utmost importance as it helps scholars, administrators, politicians and political scientists analyze every policy in depth and its pros and cons and help improve its choices, formulations, implementation.

The different parts of society like interest and pressure groups, civil society, mass media, international organizations, etc as well as political parties put forward some demands in front of the government for action, the agenda for policy formulation is then set. The goal and objective setting for the same is prepared realistically. It is then passed to enact a law by the legislature and give it legal status and authority to carry out its duties. And then the strategy of implementation is devised as well as the machinery needed to do the same.

Public policy is a purposive course of action in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern within a specific time frame. Before going into the question of importance which is attached to policy formulation, implementation and monitoring, it would be better to recapitulate the components of Public Policy:

1) Policy is purposive and deliberately formulated. Policy must have purpose or a goal. It does not emerge at random or by chance. Once a goal is decided the policy is devised in such a way that it determines the course of action needed to achieve that goal.

- 2) A Policy is well thought out and is not a series of discrete decisions.
- A policy is what is actually done and not what is intended or desired, a statement of goals does not constitute a policy.
- 4) Policy also delineates a time frame in which its goals have to be achieved.
- 5) Policy follows a defined course of action viz. formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

1.2.2 OBJECTIVES AND ROLE OF PUBLIC POLICY

In fact the scope of Public Policy is determined by the kind of role that the State adopts for itself in a society. In the classical capitalist society, State was assigned a limited role and it was expected that the state would merely act as a regulator of social and economic activity and not its promoter. With the advent of planned view of development, State began to be perceived as an active agent in promoting and shaping societies in its various activities. This was considered as a great change in the role of a State. Public policies expanded their scope from merely one regulation to that of development. Expansion in scope led to several other consequences like many more government agencies and institutions came into being in order to formulate and implement policies. For example, in India, the Planning Commission and NITI Ayog and other agencies came into being in order to formulate policies and develop perspectives that could define the direction which the country would follow.

Public Policy plays an important role in socio-economic development of a country. Wide ranging policies were formulated in the area of industrial and agricultural development. Many policies were converted into Statutes like industrial Development and Regulating Act or Land Tenancy Act. Others were kept as directives in various plan documents. For all policy directions, the Five Year Plans became the major source. These policies were of two types, one of regulation and the other of promotion. Laws laid down what could be done or not done by the entrepreneurs. This could be in the larger area like what goods can be produced by the public or whether certain goods can be traded only by government agencies. Laws also specified how State agencies themselves were to provide goods and services like electricity, transport etc. The State undertook similar responsibility in the social sphere. Dowry Act, Divorce Act, etc., are examples of this but socio-economic

transformation was not the only problem when India became independent. There were also problems of national integrity, the external environment was a source of threat and the country had to develop suitable policies to defend itself. Apart from this, there have been internal challenges. Regionalism has given rise to fissiparous tendencies that have to be countered in the long term perspective. These would include not only defence policies but also similar efforts at decentralization that create greater national cohesiveness. These goals have been complex demanding coherent policies. This has been a difficult task because goals have been contradictory. What may be rational for economic development may not be so for national integration. Thus, the need of a strong Centre to cope with external threats etc. is important but it may go against the "principles of decentralization which provides for greater national cohesion of a heterogeneous society. This is the reason why ascertaining of the actual impact of Public Policy becomes a necessity.

1.2.3 IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC POLICY

These days policy analysis is acquiring a lot of importance in the realm of the study of public administration. This strand is observable all over the world. The success of policy formulation, execution and monitoring ultimately depends on the success of policy analysis. In India, this trend emerged with the launching of our Five Year Plans. This five year plan was prepared by the Planning Commission which set the goals of socio-economic development of the country.

Most governments of developing countries are engaged in the momentous task of kindling nation resurgence through socio-economic development. They are struggling hard to develop, their economy, to sustain improvements in the social system and to increase the capacity of their political system with a view to achieve the major objective of national development. They seek to improve the relevant policies. It is, therefore, taken for granted that the studies of approaches, strategies and concepts which will contribute towards this end are essential. The study of public policy represents a powerful approach for this purpose. Public policy is an important mechanism for moving a social system from the past to the future. It helps to shape the future. In other words, the study of public policy helps the development of professional advice about how to achieve particular goals.

Public policy can also be an important issue for political and administrative machinery in order to ensure that governments select and adopt appropriate policies. The study of public policy has much to offer to the development of administration in different sectors of the economy. It will enable the administration to engage in such issues as are of public importance and are concerned with the transformation of values into public policy making and demanding the meaningful actions of public servants.

The social scientists, especially political scientists, manifest concern with what governments should do with appropriate public policy. They contend that political science cannot be "silent" or "impotent" on current social and political problems and that political scientists and academics in public administration have a moral obligation to put forward a particular policy on a particular problem. They should advance the level of political knowledge and improve the quality of public policy in whatever ways they think best, notwithstanding the fact that substantial disagreement exists in society over what constitutes appropriate policies. Public policy improves the democratic or political capacities of people, and not simply the efficiency and effectiveness of delivery of goods and services.

A study of the policy formulation processes may help to gain greater knowledge and understanding of the complexities of the interacting social, economic and political processes and their implications for society. Policy may be viewed either as a dependent or an independent variable, the attention is placed on the political and environmental factors that help determine the content of policy. For example, how do the distribution of power among pressure groups and governmental agencies, affect the policy outcome, or how do urbanization and national income help shape the content of policy? If public policy is viewed as an independent variable, the focus shifts to the impact of policy on the political system and the environment. Then the questions arise as to what, effect policy has on social welfare. How does it influence future policy choices or mobilize support for the political system?

Factual knowledge about the policy making process and its outcomes are a prerequisite for prescribing and dealing with societal problems normatively. Many politicians and administrators believe that the study of public policy should be directed towards ensuring that governments adopt appropriate policies to attain certain desirable social goals. They reject the notion that policy analysis should strive to be value free contending that Political Science should not and cannot remain politically neutral or silent on vital contemporary social, economic or political problems. They want to improve the quality of public policy in ways they desire, notwithstanding the fact that substantial disagreement may exist in society over what, constitutes desirable or the "appropriate" goals of policy.

Public policy may become an important profession for the students trained in administration, political science, economics, law, environmental studies, business, and other disciplines. These fields constantly interface with government and have a direct stake in the quality and character of public. To the extent that analysis can understand how policy is made, what impacts are derived, and how policy can improve, more effective public policy might be formulated. Policy makers have also shown great interest in it because it ultimately helps in improving the effectiveness of policy. Many universities and research institutes are involved in policy analysis. The government provides for a lot of funds in this area. After completing the study in the public policy students can try their career as think tanks

Public policy, as a field, is an important mechanism for shaping the future. It is conditioned by the past and concerned with such questions as how the present dimensions of public policy in the developing countries emerged, how they appear now, and how the present sustains them? In these countries, the scope and size of the public sector has grown enormously in response to the increasing complexity of technology, social organization, industrialization, urbanization and environmental protection. The growth of public functions has paralleled the growth of public policies. The study of the past is very important as it helps in explaining the present policy system. The past policies perpetuate themselves into present and future policies. The study of public policy is of vital importance even for the present, as it deals with defining policy problems. Thus, present policy-making can be thought of as a problem-solving method and the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power.

The study of public policy helps shape the future, which requires new policies and choices. What is trivial today may be of colossal importance in the future. We can understand the future, by extrapolation of the present trends. The idea of projecting some key social trends into the future may be of great help in this regard. Our collection of data for these purposes may include changes in population growth rates, education, public health and the like. We can carry the process further by forecasting what these projections might look

like after a decade, since people cannot avoid being concerned with the consequences of public policies.

Finally, the field of public policy has assumed considerable importance in response to the increasing complexity of the society. It is not only concerned with the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity, but also with the development of scientific knowledge about the forces shaping public policy. The study of public policy helps to understand the social ills of the subject under study.

1.2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Public policies are as old as governments. Whatever be the form, oligarchy, monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, democracy etc., whenever and wherever governments have existed, public policies have been formulated and implemented. To cope with the varied problems and demands of the people, the government has to make many policies.

Thus, policy making process is a part of politics and political action. According to Gabriel Almond, political system is a set of interactions having structures, each of which performs its functions in order to keep it like an ongoing concern, it is a set of processes that routinely converts inputs into outputs. Almond classified inputs of political system into generic functional categories like political socialization and recruitment, interest aggregation, interest articulation and political communication. Output activities are those which are carried on by a political system in response to demands or stresses placed upon the system in the form of inputs. Outputs can take the form of governmental policies, programmes, decisions etc.

Another model on politics and policy relationship is the Feedback or the Black Box Model coined by David Easton. According to this model the remaining demands which have not been included in the decisions and policies will again be back through the same process for the purpose of its conversion into decisions. These two models establish clearly, the relationship between politics and policies in a political system.

1.2.5 POLICYAND GOALS

To understand the meaning of policy in a better manner, it is very important to make a distinction between policy and goals. Goals are what policies aim at or hope to achieve. A

goal is a desired state of affairs that a society or an organization attempts to realize. Goals can be understood in a variety of perspectives. These can be thought of as abstract values that a society would like to 'acquire. There are also goals that are specific and concrete. Removal of poverty is a goal that the government wants to pursue. Public policies are concerned with such specific goals. They are the instruments which lead to the achievement of these goals.

If the government announces that its goal is to provide housing to all the members of the deprived sections of society it does not become a public policy. It is a statement of intention of what the government wants to do. Many a time, for achieving the goal the government has to translate its announcements into action. Programmes have to be designed to achieve specific objectives. As an illustration, let us look at the policy of poverty alleviation. Several programmes have been designed for this, e.g. the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) etc. Each programme has certain goals to achieve within a specified time and each programme is provided with financial resources and administrative personnel. These become concrete efforts to achieve a goal. Policy spells out the strategy of achieving a goal. Thus policy is essentially an instrument to achieve a goal. Statement of a goal does not make it a policy.

1.2.6 POLICYAND DECISION

A distinction needs to be drawn similarly between a policy and a decision. Many a time the terms are used interchangeable but that is not the correct usage. Individuals, organizations or government are constantly taking decisions. But all the decisions that are taken cannot be described as matters of policy. The essential core of decision-making is to make a choice from the alternatives available in order to taken an action; if there is only one course of action available then there is nothing one can choose, no decision can be taken. A decision can be taken only when there is more than one alternative available. Thus a decision is the act of making a choice. The entire science of decision-making has been developed in order to analyze the conditions that can improve this activity and how a decision maker can improve his choice by expanding the number of alternatives available to him.

There can be two types of decisions, programmed and non-programmed:- Programmed decisions are repetitive and do not require a fresh consideration every time they are taken.

These decisions are routine in nature and for these definite procedures can be worked out. Each decision need not be dealt with separately. In programmed decisions habits, skills and knowledge about the problem are important. For example, once the decision to open the library from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. is taken, it does not require fresh consideration to keep it open during those hours. The decision is incorporated into procedures that are established for the purpose. Non-programmed decisions are new and unstructured. No well laid-out methods are available for such decisions, each issue or question is to be dealt with separately. Such decisions are required in the situations of unprecedented nature, for example breakdown of an epidemic, occurrence of earthquake, etc. Training in skills needed for such decisions have to be taken in a broad framework or course of action.

If we attempt to related public policy with decision-making, public policy is the broad direction or perspective that the government lays down in order to take decisions. Each organization or the individual is enjoined to take, a decision within a policy framework. Decision can be a onetime action. Policy consists of several decisions that are taken to fulfil its aims. A policy consists of a series of decisions tied together into a coherent whole.

There can be some similarity in the processes involved in decision making and policy making. Both are concerned with choice among alternatives and for both similar processes can be followed in generating alternatives. But we should always remember that policy is a more comprehensive term, as it encompasses a series of decisions and has a comparatively longer time perspective.

1.2.7 CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING

The meaning and nature of Public Policy will become clearer by throwing light on different characteristics of Public Policy. Some of the, major characteristics of Public Policy making are explained in detail.

1.2.7.1 Complex Process of Public Policy Making

Policy making involves many components, which are interconnected by communication and feedback loops and which interact in different ways. Some parts of the process are

explicit; and directly observable, but many others process are very difficult, and often impossible to observe. Thus, guidelines are often formed by a series of single decisions that result in a 'policy' without any one of the decision makers being aware of that process.

It is a Dynamic Process: Policy making is a process, that is a continuing activity taking place within a structure: for sustenance, it requires a continuation input of resources and motivation, it is a dynamic process, which changes with time, the sequences of its sub processes and phases vary internally and with respect to each other.

Policy Making Comprises Various Components: The complexity of Public Policy Making as we-know, is an important characteristic of policy making. Public Policy formulation often involves a great variety of substructures. The identity of these substructures and the degree of their involvement in policy making, vary because of different issues circumstances and societal values.

Policy Structure makes Different Contributions: This characteristic suggests that every substructure makes a different, and sometimes unique, contribution to Public Policy. What sort of contribution substructures make, depends in part on their formal and informal characteristics which vary from society to society.

Decision-Making: Policy making is a series of decision taken in a proper process.

Lays down Major guidelines: Public Policy, in most cases, lays down general directives, rather than detailed instructions, on the main lines of action to be followed. After main lines of action have been decided for, detailed sub-policies that translate the general theory into more concrete terms are usually needed to execute it.

Result in Action: Decision-making can result in action, in changes in the decision-making itself, or both or neither. The policies of most socially significant decision-making, such as most Public Policy making are intended to result in action. Also policies directed at the policy making apparatus itself such as efficiency drives in government, are action oriented.

Directed at the Future: Policy making is directed at the future. This is one of its most important characteristics since it introduces the ever present elements of uncertainty and doubtful prediction that establish the basic tone of nearly all policy making.

Actual Policy making tends to formulate policies in fragile and elastic terms: because

the future is so uncertain, it permits policy makers to adjust their policy according to emerging facts and enables them to guard against unforeseen circumstances.

Mainly Formulated by Governmental Organs: Public Policy is also directed, in part, at private persons and non-governmental structures, as when it calls for a law prohibiting a certain type of behaviour or appeals to citizens to engage in private saving. But public policy, in most cases, is primarily directed at governmental organs, and only intermediately and secondarily at other factors.

Aims at Achieving what is in the Public Interest: However difficult it might be to find out what the "public interest" is, the term nevertheless conveys the idea of a "general" orientation and seems therefore to be important and significant. There is good evidence that the image of public interest influences the Public Policy making process and is therefore at least, as conceived by, the various Public Policy making units, a real phenomenon, and an important operational tool for the study of policy making.

Use of Best Possible Means: In abstract terminology, Public Policy making aims at achieving the maximum net benefit. Benefits and costs can be analyzed by measuring the maximum benefit from the minimum cost employed.

1.2.8 THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC POLICY

It is clear from the above sections of the lesson that policy is a purposive course of action in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern within a specific time frame. Before going into the question of importance which is attached to policy formulation, implementation and monitoring, it would be better to recapitulate the components of Public Policy.

Policy is purposive and deliberately formulated. Policy must have s purpose or a goal. It does not emerge at random or by chance. Once a goal is decided the policy is devised in such a way that it determines the course of action needed to achieve that goal.

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4) Policy follows a defined course of action viz. formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Actually the scope of Public Policy is determined by the kind of role that the State adopts for itself in a society. In the classical capitalist society, State was assigned a limited role and it was expected that the state would merely act as a regulator of social and economic activity and not its promoter. With the advent of planned view of development, State began to be perceived as an active agent in promoting and shaping societies in its various activities. This was considered as a great change in the role of a State. Public policies expanded their scope from merely one of regulation to that of development. Expansion in scope led to several other consequences like many more government agencies and institutions came into being in order to formulate and implement policies. For example, in India, the Planning Commission and its attendant agencies came into being in order to formulate policies and develop perspectives that could define the direction which the country would follow.

The first major goal of public policies in India has been in the area of socio-economic development. Wide ranging policies were formulated in the area of industrial and agricultural development. Many policies were converted into Statutes like industrial Development and Regulating Act or Land Tenancy Act. Others were kept as directives in the various plan documents. For all policy directions, the Five Year Plans became the major source. These policies were of two types, one of regulation and the other of promotion. Laws laid down what could be done or not done -by the entrepreneurs. This could be in the larger area like what goods can be produced by the public or whether certain goods can be traded only by government agencies. Laws also specified how State agencies themselves were to provide goods and services like electricity, transport etc. The State undertook similar responsibility in the social sphere. Dowry Act, Divorce Act, etc., are examples of this. But socio-economic transformation was not the only problem when India became independent. There were also problems of national integrity, the external environment was a source of threat and the country had to develop suitable policies to defend itself Apart from this, there have been internal challenges. Regionalism has given rise to various tendencies that have to be countered in the long term perspective. These would include not only defence policies but also similar efforts at decentralization that create greater national cohesiveness.

Thus, since independence, public policies in India have been formulated with a view to achieve socio-economic development and maintain national integrity. These goals have been complex demanding coherent policies. This has been a difficult task because goals have had to be divided into sectors and sub sectors. Many a time by its very nature, policies have been contradictory. Thus, the need of a strong Centre to cope with external threats etc. is important but it may go against the principles of decentralization which provides far greater national cohesion of a heterogeneous society. This is the reason why ascertaining of the actual impact of Public Policy become necessary.

1.2.9 TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICIES

Because public policies are in place to address the needs of people, they are often broken down into different types and categories as they relate to society. Looking at some examples of these types should give you an idea of how public policy fits into each area of society.

1) Substantive Public Policy: These are the policies concerned with the general welfare and development of the society like provision of education and employment opportunities, economic stabilization, law and order enforcement, anti-pollution laws, etc. It does not cater to any particular or privileged section of society and have to be formulated dynamically keeping in mind the goals and characteristics of the constitution and directive principles of state policy as well as the current and moral claims of society.

2) Regulatory Public Policy: These policies are concerned with regulation of trade, business, safety measures, public utilities, etc performed by independent organizations working on behalf of the government like LIC, RBI, SEBI, STATE ELECTRICITY BOARDS, etc. Policies pertaining to these services and organizations rendering these services are known as regulatory policies.

3) Distributive Public Policy: These are the policies meant for specific segments of society especially the needy ones. Public assistance and welfare programmes, adult education programme, food relief, social insurance, vaccination camps, public distribution systems, etc are all examples of such policy.

4) Redistributive Public Policy: These policies are concerned with rearrangement of policies concerned with bringing basic social and economic changes. Certain assets and benefits are divided disproportionately amongst certain segments of society and so those

need to be redistributed so it reaches where it is needed and does not lie about surplus somewhere else.

5) Capitalization Public Policy: These policies are related to financial subsidies given by the Centre to state and local governments and central and state business undertakings, and is not directly linked to public welfare as the others listed above, though it does contribute to it but indirectly. It is basically infrastructural and development policies for government business organizations to keep functioning properly.

6) Constituent Public Policy: It is the policies relating to constituting new institutions/ mechanisms for public welfare.

7) Technical Public Policy: It relates to the policies framed for arrangement of procedures, rules and framework which a system shall provide for discharge of action by various agencies on the field.

1.2.10 LET US UP

Public Policy has assumed considerable importance in response to the increasing complexity of the society. Public Policy is not only concerned with the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity, but also with the development of scientific knowledge about the forces shaping Public Policy. The study of Public Policy helps us to understand the social ills of the subject under study. Lasswell commented in 1948 that, the ultimate goal of policy-making was "the progressive democratization of mankind". Parson also opined that "it is the clarification, shaping and sharing of values so as to extend and enhance democratization which still remains the core and vital task of the theory and practice of Public Policy". Policies do more than effect change in societal conditions. They also hold people together to maintain orderliness in the State. Public policies of a democratic country are important devices and mechanisms for moving a social and economic system from the past to the future. Thus, the significance of public policy as a subject in the academics can be understood. It is clear that public policies are the activities that the government undertakes in order to pursue certain established goals and objectives. In this lesson, we discussed the meaning and importance of public policy and the difference between a public policy, a goal and a decision. An attempt was also made to explain the relationship between public policy and politics. The lesswon also

highlighted the different types of public policy, the stages involved in public policy process and the various characteristics of public policy.

1.2.11 EXERCISE

- 1. What is policy science? Discuss its nature and scope?
- 2. Write an essay on evolution of policy science.
- 3. Describe the characteristic of public policy.
- 4. Explain the goals of public policy with examples of Indian public policies.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – I: Public Policy: Concepts and theories

1.3 LEVELS OF PUBLIC POLICIES FORMULATION

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 1.3.0 Objectives
- 1.3.1 Introduction
- 1.3.2 The Policy Process: How Policies are Made
- 1.3.3 Identifying Policy Problems
- 1.3.4 Agenda Setting

1.3.4.1 Factors in Agenda Setting

- 1.3.5 Policy Formulation
- **1.3.6** Policy Legitimation
- **1.3.7** Policy Implementation

1.3.7.1 How Policies are implemented

1.3.8 Policy Evaluation

- 1.3.8.1 Process Evaluation
- 1.3.8.2 Impact Evaluation
- 1.3.8.3 Comprehensive Evaluation

1.3.9 Let Us Sum UP

1.3.10 Exercise
1.3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will levels or stages of public policy making and policy analysis, from identifying the problem to policy formulation, implementation to evaluation. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the importance of identifying the problem and setting the agenda;
- formulating the policy and implementing; and
- evaluating the policy from process to impact.

1.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Policy studies focus on how policies are made rather than on their causes and consequences. The study of how policies are made generally consider levels of activities, or process that occur within the political system. The implication of this process model is that policy making occurs in identifiable levels and that each level can be examined separately. Although it may be helpful to think about policymaking in this fashion, in the real world these activities seldom occurs in a neat and step by step sequence. To a certain extent these processes often occur simultaneously, each one collapsing into other. Different political actors and institutions may be engaged in different levels at the same time, even in the same policy area. Nevertheless, it is often useful for analytical purposes to break policymaking into component units in order to understand better how policies are made.

1.3.2 THE POLICY PROCESS: HOW POLICIES ARE MADE

One of the most simplifying policy studies has been to simplify the public policy making process by disaggregating it into different levels and sub levels. The resulting sequence of each level is referred as the policy cycle. There are six levels of public policy process.

- 1. Identification of problems
- 2. Agenda setting
- 3. Policy formulation
- 4. Policy legitimation
- 5. Policy implementation

6 Policy evaluation

In this model, problem identification is the first level of policy process which deals with assessing the situation which create problem for the people, agenda setting refers to the process by which problem came to the attention of the government; policy formulation referred how policies are formulated within the government; decision making is the process by which government adopt a particular course of action or non action; policy implementation relates to how government put policies into effect; and policy evaluation is the process by which the results of the policies are monitored by both state and societal actors, the outcome of which may be re-conceptualization of policy problems and solutions.

The most important advantage of this conception of the policy levels is that it facilitate the understanding of public policy making by breaking the complexity of the process into any number of stages and sub stages; each of which can be investigated alone or in terms of its relationship to any or all the other levels of the policy process.

1.3.3 IDENTIFYING POLICY PROBLEMS

For an analytical approach the first step is to identify why and weather there is a problem at all. Defining the problem involves moving from mundane description to more abstract, conceptual plan. Here the attempt is made to diagnose the form of policy failure, which is confronted. For example, an environmentalist who is investigating alternative pollution control measures for Ganges will find that the water is being polluted by the dumping of industrial waste and untreated sewage to the water. Similarly, the observer who is keenly observing the pathetic situation of the rural population will find that lack of education, lack of employment, lack of proper support from the government and inactivity of the administrative agencies are responsible for this pathetic condition of the masses. Media plays a significant role in the problem identification. Media highlights the problems of the masses in the political arena so that it can become an agenda item.

1.3.4 AGENDA SETTING

The demands or claims made by citizens or interest groups on public officials (elected and non-elected) in the political system for action or inaction on some perceived problems. These demands constitute what is known as 'Policy Agenda'. Policy agenda is therefore not to be interpreted as political demand. A policy agenda consist of issues that attract the

serious attention of the policy makers and policy makers agree to consider these demands of the public. Conditions that are not defined as problem and for which no alternatives are proposed never become policy issue. That is, they never get the agenda of the decision maker. The government does nothing and the condition remains the same. If certain conditions in the society are defined as problems and alternative solutions are put forward, the condition becomes policy issue. Governments are forced to do something regarding the problem.

Central to understanding agenda setting is the meaning of the term *agenda*. An agenda is a collection of problems, understandings of causes, symbols, solutions, and other element; public problems that come to the attention of members of the public and their governmental officials. An agenda may be as concrete as a list of bills that are before a legislature, but also includes a series of beliefs about the existence and magnitude of problems and how they should be addressed by government, the private sector, non-profit organizations, or through joint action by some or all of these institutions.

Clearly, then, the power to decide what will be a policy issue is crucial to policy-making process. Deciding what is the problem is much more important than deciding what will be the solutions. Deciding about the Policy issue is not an easy task. It does not just "happen." Creating an issue, dramatizing it, calling attention to it, and pressurising the government to do something about it are important political tactics. These tactics are employed by influential individuals, organised interest group, policy planning organisations, political candidates and office holders, and perhaps most important, the mass media. These are tactics of agenda setting. The issues that do not come to the agenda of the government, there are many factors which play their crucial role in agenda setting.

1.3.4.1 Factors in agenda setting:

There are many factors which play an important role in agenda setting. These are as follows:

- Role of the political leadership
- Crisis as the basis of agenda setting
- Protest or violence work as a basis of agenda setting

- Affective role of media
- Role of the political parties
- Role of bureaucrats
- Role of individual citizens
- Past experiences

Thus, Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention. Group competition to set the agenda is fierce because no society or political institutions have the capacity to address all possible alternatives to all possible problems that arise at any one time. Groups must therefore fight to earn their issues' places among all the other issues sharing the limited space on the agenda or to prepare for the time when a crisis makes their issue more likely to occupy a more prominent space on the agenda. Even when an issue gains attention, groups must fight to ensure that their depiction of the issue remains in the forefront and that their preferred approaches to the problem are those that are most actively considered. They do so for the reasons cited by Schattschneider: the group that successfully describes a problem will also be the one that defines the solutions to it, thereby prevailing in policy debate. At the same time, groups fight to keep issues off the agenda; indeed, such blocking action is as important as the affirmative act of attempting to gain attention.

1.3.5 POLICY FORMULATION

In the public policy process, policy formulation comes at the third level. It involves identifying and/or crafting a set of policy alternatives to address a problem, and narrowing that set of solutions in preparation for the final policy decision. According to Cochran and Malone, policy formulation takes up the "what" questions: "What is the plan for dealing with the problem? What are the goals and priorities? What options are available to achieve those goals? What are the costs and benefits of each of the options? What externalities, positive or negative, are associated with each alternative?" This approach to policy formulation, embedded in a stages model of the policy process, assumes that participants in the policy process already have recognized and defined a policy problem, and moved it onto the policy agenda. Formulating the set of alternatives thus involves identifying a range of broad

approaches to a problem, and then identifying and designing the specific sets of policy tools that constitute each approach. It involves drafting the legislative or regulatory language for each alternative—that is, describing the tools (e.g., sanctions, grants, prohibitions, rights, and the like) and articulating.

Scholarship on policy formulation takes up a variety of issues. It examines the factors that influence how actors craft alternatives, it prescribes means for such crafting, it examines how and why particular policy alternatives remain on or fall off of the decision agenda. Research considers particular policy tools and trends in their use, as well as their underlying assumptions about problems and groups. As scholars answer such questions, they consider the array of interests involved and the balance of power held by participants, the dominant ideas and values of these participants, the institutional structure of the alternative-setting process, more broadly the historical, political, social, and economic context. The best work on policy formulation and policy tools brings together the empirical and normative. That is, it sets out trends and explains relationships while also proposing normative criteria for evaluating the processes and the tools, and considering their implications for a democratic society. Selecting from among these a smaller set of possible solutions from which decision makers actually will choose involves applying some set of criteria to the alternatives, for example judging their feasibility, political acceptability, costs, benefits, and such. In general, we expect fewer participants to be involved in policy formulation than were involved in the agenda-setting process, and we expect more of the work to take place out of the public eye. Standard policy texts describe formulation as a back-room function. As Dye puts it, policy formulation takes place in government bureaucracies, in interest group offices, in legislative committee rooms, in meetings of special commissions, in think tanks-with details often formulated by staff.

1.3.6 POLICY LEGITIMATION

Ensuring that the chosen policy instruments have support of the law and authority. It can involve one or a combination of: legislative approval, executive approval, seeking consent through consultation with interest groups, and referenda. Basically, it is concerned with selecting a proposal and developing a political support for the same. After getting the political support, the policy proposal is enacted into law and its constitutionality is established. The main actors who are authorised to provide legitimacy to the policy proposal are Courts, President and Congress.

1.3.7 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation or carrying out of policy is most often accomplished by institutions other than those that formulated and adopted it. A statute usually provides just a broad outline of a policy. For example, Congress may mandate improved water quality standards, but the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) provides the details on those standards and the procedures for measuring compliance through regulations. As noted earlier, the Supreme Court has no mechanism to enforce its decisions; other branches of government must implement its determinations. Successful implementation depends on the complexity of the policy, coordination between those putting the policy into effect, and compliance. The Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education is a good example. The justices realized that desegregation was a complex issue; however, they did not provide any guidance on how to implement it "with all deliberate speed." Here, implementation depended upon the close scrutiny of circuit and appeals of court judges, as well as local and state school board members who were often reluctant to push social change. The policies made would be of no use at all unless the same are implemented, with all effectiveness and efficacy. The implementation of the policy is as important as is the formulation of the policy. The policy issue, demand, or proposal, once formulated has to be translated into action through implementation. Policy implementation has been termed as the 'great Achilles heel' of the policy process. As per Louis W. Koenig, "From every side come lamentations that government is unable to implement 'successfully the policies and programmes it produces". Implementation is the process by which the goals and promises of a policy are carried out. It refers to action or activity.

1.3.7.1 How Policies are Implemented

Policy implementation involves putting adopted policies into effect. Successful implementation is dependent upon three elements.

1. First, policies must be passed down from the president or state and local government officials to the appropriate agency within the government bureaucracy Thus, a policy designed to enforce traffic safety by cutting down on the number of drunk drivers would be passed down to law enforcement officials for implementation. When no existing agency has the capabilities to carry out a given policy, new agencies must be established and

staffed. This is reflected most clearly in the "alphabet soup" agencies established by Franklin D. Roosevelt under the New Deal.

2. The second element essential to effective policy implementation is clear interpretation. In other words, legislative intent must be translated into operating rules and guidelines. Too much ambiguity in this stage can lead to involvement by the judiciary that will force legislators to clarify their ends and means for policy implementation. The judiciary may overrule the implementation of policies where legislative intent cannot be effectively translated into appropriate operating rules and guidelines.

3. The final element needed in effective policy implementation is also difficult to accomplish. The dedication of resources to implement the policy under the first element must be joined with coordination of the policy with ongoing operations. In other words, a new initiative or agency must not cause excessive competition or disagreement with existing initiatives or agencies.

In addition to the aforementioned elements, policy implementation can further be complicated when policies are passed down to agencies without a great deal of direction. Policy formulation is often the result of compromise and symbolic uses of politics. Therefore, implementation imposes a large amount of both discretion and confusion in agencies that administer policies. In addition, bureaucratic incompetence, ineptitude, and scandals may complicate the policy implementation process.

The above issues with policy implementation have led some scholars to conclude that new policy initiatives will either fail to get off the ground or will take considerable time to be enacted. The most surprising aspect of the policy process may be that policies are implemented at all.

1.3.8 POLICY EVALUATION

Evaluation means determining how well a policy is working, and it is not an easy task. People inside and outside of government typically use **cost-benefit analysis** to try to find the answer. In other words, if the government is spending billions of dollars on this policy, are the benefits derived from it worth the expenditure? Cost-benefit analysis is based on hard-to-come-by data that are subject to different, and sometimes contradictory, interpretations. The impact of the policy whether direct or indirect, immediate or futuristic, symbolic or tangible is ascertained and measured through the process of policy evaluation. Policy evaluation as a process is as old as policy making itself. It is a means of getting the policy makers the relevant information and knowledge regarding a policy problem, about the relative purposefulness and effectiveness of past and prevailing strategies for addressing, reducing or eliminating the problem, and regarding the observed effectiveness of specific policies. Because of such knowledge and information, uncertainty and risk in policy making is reduced, administrative accountability in a tangible manner is enhanced, and administrative control over the policy is appropriately increased.

Policies are goal-oriented and aim at the betterment of society. Policy evaluation plays its role not only after the formulation and implementation of the policy but it starts right from the identification of various issues for making policies and putting these on policy agenda after viewing the various alternatives from different angles and thus selecting the ones best required in accordance with the need of time and society. Daniel Lerner has talked of the following three types of evaluation:

1.3.8.1 Process Evaluation

Primarily while evaluating a policy, there are two questions with which one is concerned with. Firstly, whether a specific policy has been implemented in accordance with the policy guidelines issued at the time of policy making or not. Such an evaluation is known as Process Evaluation. It centers on two points: whether or not the policy has been aimed and directed at the appropriate and specified target group or target area; and whether or not the different practices and intervention efforts based on strategies have been taken up as specified in the Policy design or taken from the principles explicated in such design. Process evaluation is quite important because in the absence of specific knowledge and information regarding the policy goals, objectives, target groups, and target areas, it is difficult to evaluate the outcomes of the policy are essential to be taken stock of while evaluating the outcome or impact of the policy. It is essential to evaluate the policy in the light of guidelines, if any, issued for implementation of the policy.

1.3.8.2 Impact Evaluation

The first question one is confronted with is regarding the stated guidelines and the second is the evaluation of the impact. In it the efforts are to evaluate the changes, both positive and negative, in terms of goals attained or not of the policy. The conditions prevailing before the implementation of the policy and after that are reviewed in order to bring to fore the impact of the policy. "In terms of impact evaluation, a design is required that allows the investigator, in a persuasive way, to demonstrate that the changes that occur are a function of the particular programme intervention and treatment and not accountable for in other ways."

1.3.8.3 Comprehensive Evaluation

Comprehensive evaluation is the culmination of both the process and impact evaluation explained above. In fact, it is difficult to make an objective evaluation without taking into consideration the process of evaluation and the impact evaluation. Both combined with each other bring to light what actually is the outcome of how it has been made possible, what are the drawbacks, and how the improvements could be ushered in. It does not mean that exclusively process or impact evaluation does not have its utility. At times when these are strategic in policy planning and development and serve important administrative functions, they are of enormous significance. However, from the stand point of public policy, it is comprehensive evaluation which is useful. There is no denying the fact that policy evaluation has emerged as an important and significant fact of policy making process, yet its application, practicability, utility and advances are not always taken in rightful and objective way by public administrators. However, there are certain well established purposes of policy evaluation. Eleanor Chelmsky has talked of the purposes of policy evaluation. In his words, "programme evaluators serve both general audience (such as the public or the media, often the ultimate user of many evaluations) and individual public decision makers who have particular information needs. These decision makers may be in the executive or legislative branches of government, may work at the union, state, or local level of government, may play management of policy roles with respect to public programmes and may need information for three very broad but distinct kinds of purposes". These three kinds include - policy formulation, implementation and accountability.

1.3.9 LET US SUM UP

The levels of the policy process focuses on how policies are made, rather than on the substance or content of policies. Different levels identifies a variety of activities that occurs within the political system, including identification of problems and agenda setting, formulating policy proposals, legitimating policies, implementing policies, and evaluating their effectiveness.

1.3.10 EXERCISE

- 1. How critical is identifying the problem?
- 2. Write a note policy formulation and gaining legitimacy for the same.
- 3. Critically analyse stages in policy implementation.
- 4. Write a note on policy evaluation

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – I: Public Policy: Concepts and theories

1.4 THEORIES OF POLICY ANALYSIS (RATIONAL-COMPREHENSIVE, MIXED-SCANNING, SYSTEM AND ELITE)

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 1.4.0 Objectives
- 1.4.1 Introduction
- **1.4.2** Concept of Approach, Methodology and Model 1.4.2.1 Approach 1.4.2.2 Concept of Methodology
 - 1.4.2.3 Concept of Models

1.4.3 Importance of Public Policy

- 1.4.3.1 Rationalists
- 1.4.3.2 Technicians
- 1.4.3.3 Incrementalist
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1.4.4 Theoretical Approaches

- 1.4.4.1 The Incremental Theory
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- 1.4.4.5 Elite Theory
- 1.4.4.6 Institutional Theory
- 1.4.4.7 Rational Choice Theory
- 1.4.4.8 Class Theory
- 1.4.4.9 Political System Theory
- 1.4.4.10 The Economic Approach
- 1.4.4.11 The Participatory Approach
- 1.4.5 Critique of Policy Approaches and Models
- 1.4.6 Let Us Sum UP
- 1.4.7 Exercise

1.4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson, you will understand various approaches, models, and theories to understand public policy making. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the importance approaches, methods and models to conceptualise domain knowledge;
- how the ideological, methodological, theoretical understanding of 'actors' influence the public policy making; and
- various theories of policy that are mostly used to analyse public policy.

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Scholars of public administration and policy scientists have developed various public policy making theories, methodology and models over the years in an attempt to explicate the process and to teach students and practitioners how to make public policy. Some scholars study the policy process generally and some other study it to develop a knowledge base that can be applied across domains. Before taking up detail discussion on model, we need to understand the concept of approaches, mythology and model.

1.4.2 CONCEPT OF APPROACHES, MATHODOLOGY AND MODEL

1.4.2.1 Approach

Although various approaches to policy analysis exist, three general approaches can be distinguished—the analycentric, the policy process, and the meta-policy approach. The analycentric approach focuses on individual problems and their solutions; its scope is the micro scale and its problem interpretation is usually of a technical nature. The primary aim is to identify the most effective and efficient solution in technical and economic terms [e.g., the most efficient allocation of resources]. The policy process approach put its focal point onto political processes and involved stakeholders; its scope is the macro-scale and its problem interpretation is usually of a political nature. It aims at determining what processes and means are used and tries to explain the role and influence of stakeholders within the policy process. By changing the relative power and influence of certain groups (e.g., enhancing public participation and consultation), solutions to problem may be identified. The meta-policy approach is a systems and context approach; i.e., its scope is the macro-

scale and its problem interpretation is usually of a structural nature. It aims at explaining the contextual factors of the policy process; i.e., what are the political, economic and sociocultural factors influencing it. As problems may result because of structural factors (e.g., a certain economic system of political institution), solutions may entail changing the structure itself.

1.4.2.2 Concept of Methodology

Policy analysis is methodologically diverse using both qualitative methods and quantitative methods, including case studies, survey research, statistical analysis, and model building among others. One common methodology is to define the problem and evaluation criteria; identify all alternative; evaluate them; and recommend the best policy agenda.

1.4.2.3 Concept of Models

Many models exist to analyze the creation and application of public policy. Analysts use these models to identify important aspects of policy, as well as explain and predict policy and its consequences. A model is commonly known as a working intellectual construct by which social or physical situations, real or hypothetical, can be represented. A model sometimes connotes an ideal to be achieved or a pattern to be followed, such as a model of State Constitution. But as it is generally used in Political Science such value connotation is lacking. Most models are simply intellectual constructs used to organize thought and direct research. Models typically include sets of data, analyze it, determine relationships and help the model builder to explain or predict. The following are some of the models of policy making.

Policy is a product of legitimate authorities. These policies are determined, implemented and, evaluated by the government institutions like state assembly, parliament, other official and the bureaucracies, both the local and national. In this model, a policy will not become a public policy until it is legitimized by government entity concerned. Government policy provides legal powers that demand obligations from and command loyalty of the citizens. This type of policy has its co commitment punitive components.

The structure of the various government institutions contribute to the context of public policy. The constitutions serve as the highest kind of policy to which all other policies, must, subscribe. Laws passed by parliament, executive orders and judicial decisions come

second in terms of relevance and priority. The relationship among these political and administrative institutions of government determine a large, the content of public policy. This also clearly describes and visualizes how the doctrine of separation of power operates as well as the politics administration dichotomy.

Administrative scientist have developed many model, theories, approaches, concepts and schemes for analyzing policy making and its related component, decision making. Indeed, political scientists have often displayed more facility and zeal for theorizing about public policy making than for actually studying policy and the policy making process. Nonetheless, theories and concepts are needed to guide the study of public policy, to facilitate communication, and to suggest possible explanations for policy actions. Those who aspire to systematically study the policy making process need some guide lines and criteria of relevance to focus their effort and to prevent aimless wandering through the fields of political data. What we find when we engage in research depends partly upon what we are looking for; policy concepts, models, and theories give direction and structure to our inquiry.

Theories of decision-making deal with the criteria and processes used in making such choices. A policy, as defined earlier, is "a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern." Policymaking thus typically encompasses a flow and pattern of action that extends over time and includes many decisions, some routine and some not so routine. Rarely will a policy be synonymous with a single decision. Here is a mundane illustration: it would not be accurate for a person to state that it was his policy to bath on Saturday nights, it in fact he did so infrequently, however elegant and thoughtful the decision-making process that led to his doing so on a rare Saturday. It is the course of action, the pattern or regularity that defines policy, not an isolated event. In the example, the policy is best thought of as going dirty.

The theoretical approaches discussed here include political systems theory, group theory, elite theory, institutionalism, and rational-choice theory. Although most of these approaches were not developed specifically for analyzing policy formation, they can readily be bent to that purpose. They are useful to the extent that they direct our attention to important political phenomena, help, clarify and organize our thinking, and suggest explanations for

political activity or, in our case, public policies. Limitations and criticisms are mentioned as the discussion proceeds.

1.4.3 ACTORS OF POLICY MAKING

Participants vary in how they view the policy process and in what they seek to gain from rationalists, technicians, incrementalists, and reformists. All four types of actors will typically be involved in any complex issue. However, at any one time or for any one issue, one or more of the groups may dominate. The four types of participants vary in the roles they play in the policy process, the values they seek to promote, the source of goals for each, and their operating styles.

1.4.3.1 Rationalists

"The main characteristic of rationalists is that they involve reasoned choices about the desirability of adopting different courses of action to resolve public problems. This process of reasoned choice 1) identifies the problem, 2) defines and ranks goals, 3) identifies all policy alternatives, 4) forecasts consequences of each alternative, 5) compares consequences in relationship with goals, and 6) chooses the best alternative. This approach is associated with the role of the planner and professional policy analyst, whose training stresses rational methods in treating public problems.

Often the methods themselves are valued by the rationalist and therefore are promoted. It is assumed that goals are discoverable in advance and that "perfect information" is available. The operating style tends to be that of the comprehensive planner; that is, one who seeks to analyze all aspects of the issue and test all possible alternatives by their effects and contribution to the stated goals. Most readers probably find this approach appealing. It strikes one as commonsensical to be as comprehensive as possible. Unfortunately, both institutional and political characteristics frequently interfere with the realization of so-called rational goals.

1.4.3.2 Technicians

A technician is really a type of rationalist, one engaged in the specialized work associated with the several stages of decision making Technicians may well have discretion, but only within a limited sphere. They normally work on projects that require their expertise but are

defined by others. The role they play is that of the specialist of expert called in for a particular assignment. The values they promote are those associated with their professional training, for example, as engineers, physicists, immunologists, or statisticians. Goals are typically set by others, perhaps any of the other three types identified here (or a mix of them) the operating style of the technician tends to be abstracted from that on the rationalist (who tends to-.be comprehensive). The technician displays confidence within the limits of training and experience but considerable discomfort if called upon to make more extensive judgments.

1.4.3.3 Incrementalist

Charles Jones associates incrementalism with politicians in our policy system. Politicians tend to be critical of or impatient with planners and technicians, though, dependent on what they produce. Incrementalists doubt that comprehensiveness and rationality are possible in this most perfect world. They see policy development and implementation as a "serial process of constant adjustment to the outcomes (proximate and long-range) of action.

For incrementalist, information and knowledge are never sufficient to produce a complete policy program. They tend to be satisfied with increments, with building on thebase, with working at the margins. The values associated with this approach are those of the past or of the status quo. Policy for incrementalist tends to be a gradual unfolding. Goals emerge as a consequence of demands, either for doing something new or, more typically, for making adjustments in what is already on the books. Finally, the operating style of incrementalists is that of the bargainer-constantly hearing demands, testing intensities, and proposing compromises.

1.4.3.4 Reformists

Reformists are like incrementalist in accepting the limits of available information and knowledge in the policy process, but are quite different in the conclusions they draw. Incrementalist judge that these limits dictate great caution in making policy moves. As David Bray Brooke and Charles Lindblom note, "Only those policies are considered who's known or expected consequences differ incrementally from the status quo this approach is much too conservative for reformists who, by nature, want to see social change, They would agree with David Easton that "we need to accept the validity of

addressing ourselves directly to, the problems of the day to obtain quick, short-run answers with the tools and generalizations currently available, however inadequate they may be". The emphasis is on acting now because of the urgency of problems. This is the approach taken by selfstyled citizen lobbyists. The values are those related to social change, sometimes for its own sake but more often associated with the special interests of particular groups. Goals are set within the group by various processes, including the personal belief that the present outcomes of government action are just plain wrong. The operating style of reformists has become very activist, often involving demonstrations and confrontation.

Given the striking differences among these four types of participants it is not surprising that each group in highly critical of the others. It is alleged, for example, that rationalists simply do not understand human nature. Baybrooke and Lindblom state that the rationalist's ideal is not adapted to man's limited problem solving capacities." Technicians are criticized for their narrowness. Incrementalists rely too much on the status quo and fail to evaluate their own decisions. Reformists are indicted for their unrealistic demands and uncompromising nature.

Different eras do appear to evoke different perspectives: the incrementalism of the 1950s, the reformism of the 1960s and 1970s, the rationalism of the late 1970s and the early 1980s (particularly in energy, environmental, and economic planning). But in every era our politics is characterized by a mix participants within and among the institutions. Thus each group is forced at some point to deal with or encounter the others. The product may favour one perspective at a given stage of the policy process, but the multiplicity of institutions, governments, and decision making insures a melding over time. Over the years, a variety of theoretical approaches have been developed by political scientists and policy analysts to assist their study and analysis of public policy. Although these approaches have not been developed specifically for the policy formation, they can be readily converted to that purpose. It is important to note that the choice of any approach by a particular analyst depends on his or her inclination, ideological outlook and or training. It may also depend on the nature of the policy under discussion or the level of analysis whether it is at the level of the state, national or international. Equally worthy of note is that these approaches are useful in and to the extent that they direct our attention to important political phenomena. Help clarify and simplify our thinking, and suggest possible, explanations for Public policy.

1.4.4 THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Comparative public policy studies have usually tried to show why one explanation of policy is correct and others are false. To be worthwhile, empirical policy analyses need to combine different approaches. The more sophisticated the conceptualization and measurement of the dependent (policy) variables, the more likely it is that a satisfactory policy explanation will require more than one theory. Hence, in the following section, you will study some of the important theories used in the study of Public Policy.

1.4.4.1 The Incremental Theory

The incremental theory of decision making or more simply, incrementalism, is presented as decision theory that avoids many of the problems of the rational-comprehensive theory and, at the same time, is more descriptive of the way in which public officials actually make decisions. Incremental can be summarized in the following manner.

- 1. The selection of goals or objectives and the empirical analysis of the action needed to attain them are closely intertwined with, rather than distinct from, one another.
- 2. The decision maker considers only some of the alternatives for dealing with a problem, and these will differ only incrementally from the existing policies.
- 3. For each alternative only a limited number of important consequences are evaluated.
- 4. The problem confronting the decision maker is continuously redefined. Incermentalism allows for countless ends-means, means- ends adjustments that have the effect of making the problem more manageable.
- 5. There is no single decision or right solution of the problem. The test of the good decision is that various analysists find themselves directly agreeing on it, without agreeing that decision is the most appropriate means to the agreed objective.
- 6. Incremental decision making is essentially remedial and is geared more to the amelioration of present, concrete social imperfections than to the promotion of future social goals.

Lindblom contends that incrementalism represents the typical decision making process in pluralist societies such as United States. Decisions and the policies are the product of give

and take and mutual consent among numerous participants in the decision making process. Incrementalism is politically expedient because it is easier to reach agreement when the matter in dispute among various groups are only modifications of existing programs rather than policy issues of great magnitude or an " all or nothing" character. Since decision maker operate under conditions of uncertainty with regard to future consequences of their actions, incremental decisions reduce the risk and cost of uncertainty. Incrementalism is also realistic because it recognizes that decision maker lack the time, intelligence and other resources needed to engage in comprehensive analysis of all alternative solutions to existing problems. Moreover people are essentially pragmatic, seeking not always the single best way to deal with a problem but modestly, "something that will work." Incrementalism, in short, yields limited, practicable, and acceptable decisions.

1.4.4.2 Mixed Scanning Theory

Sociologist Amatai Etzioni agrees with the criticism of the rational theory but also suggests there are some shortcomings in the incremental theory of decision making. For instance decisions made by the incrementalists would reflect the interest of the most powerful and organized section of the society, while the interest of the underprivileged and politically unorganized would be neglected. Moreover by focusing the short run and seeking only limited variations in current policies, incrementalism would neglect basic social innovation. Great or fundamental decisions such as declaration of war do not come within the ambit of incrementalism. Although limited in number, fundamental decisions are highly significant and often provide the context of numerous incremental decisions.

Etzioni presents mixed-scanning as an approach to decision making, which takes into account both fundamental and incremental decisions and provides for "high order fundamental policy processes which prepare for fundamental decisions and work them out after they have been reached." He provides the following illustration of mixed scanning:

Assume we are to set up a worldwide weather observation system using weather satellites. The rationalistic approach would seek an exhaustive survey of weather conditions by using cameras capable of detailed observations and by scheduling reviews of the entire sky as often as possible. This would yield an avalanche of details, costs to analyze and likely to overwhelm our action capacities. Incrementalism would focus on areas in which similar patterns developed in the recent past and, perhaps, on a few nearby regions; it would thus ignore all formations which might deserve attention if they arose in unexpected areas.

A mixed scanning strategy would include elements of both the approaches by employing two cameras: a broad range camera: that would cover all parts of the sky but not in great detail, and a second one which would zero in those areas revealed by the first camera to require a more in-depth examination. While mixed scanning miss areas in which only a detailed camera could reveal trouble, it is less likely that incrementalism to miss obvious trouble spots in unfamiliar areas.

Mixed scanning permits the decision maker to utilize both the rational-comprehensive and incremental theories in different situations. In some instances, incrementalism would be inadequate; in other a more through approach along rational-comprehensive lines will be needed. Mixed scanning also takes into account differing capacities of decision makers. Generally speaking, the greater the capacity of the decision maker to mobilize the power to implement the decisions, the more scanning they can realistically engage in; and the more encompassing the scanning is, the more effective decision making is going to be.

Mixed scanning is thus a kind of compromise approach that combines use of incrementalism and rationalism. It is not really clear from Etzioni's discussion, however, just how would it operate in practice. This is something on which the reader can ponder and speculate. Certainly, though, Etzioni does help alert us to the significant facts that decisions vary in their magnitude and that different decisions processes may be appropriate as the nature of decisions varies.

1.4.4.3 Group Theory

According to the group theory of politics, public policy is the product of the group struggle. One writer states, "What may be called public policy is the equilibrium reached in this (group) struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to weight in their favour." Many public policies do reflect the activities of groups. Examples include the AFLCIO and - minimum-wage legislation, farm groups and agricultural subsidies, the National Rifle Association arid guncontrol policies, and the National Education Association and federal aid to public schools. Group theory rests on the contention that interaction and struggle among, groups are the central facts of political life. A group is a collection of individuals that may, on the basis of shared attitudes or interests, make claims upon other groups in society. It becomes a political interest group "when it makes a claim through or upon any of the institutions of government". And many groups do just that. The individual is significant in politics only as a participant in or a representative of groups. It is through groups that individuals seek to secure their political preferences.

A central concept in group theory is that of access. To have influence and to be able to help shape government decisions, a group must have access, or the opportunity to express, its view points to decision-makers. Obviously, if a group is unable to communicate with decision-makers, if no one, in government will listen, its chances of affecting policymaking are slim. Access may result from the group's being organized, from its having status, good leadership, or resources such as money for campaign contributions. Social lobbying the wining, dining, and entertaining of legislators and other public officials can be understood as an effort to create access by engendering a feeling of obligation to the groups involved. Then, when a group wishes to discuss policy matters, with an official, it will have an opportunity to present its case or have its telephone calls returned. Contributions to legislators by political action committees (PACs) are also often justified as a way of acquiring or maintaining access.

In the nature of things, some groups will have more access than others. Public policy at any given time will reflect the interests of those who are dominant. As groups gain and lose power and influence, public policy will be altered in favor of the interests, of those gaining influence against the interests of those losing it

The role of government ("official, groups") in policy formulation is described by one proponent of group theory: The legislature referees the group struggle, ratifies the victories of the successful coalitions; and records the, terms, of the surrenders, compromises, and conquests in the form of statutes. Every statute tends to represent compromises because the process of accommodating conflicts of group interests is tone of deliberation and consent. The legislative vote on any issue tends to represent the composition of strength, i.e. the balance of power, among the contending groups at the moment, of voting. Administrative agencies of the regulatory kind are established to carry out the terms of the

treaties that the legislators have negotiated and ratified. The judiciary, like the civilian bureaucracy, is one of the instrumentalities for the administration of the agreed rules.

Group theory focuses on one of the major dynamic elements in policy formation, especially in pluralist societies such as the United States, but it seems both to overstate the importance of groups and to understate the independent and creative role that public officials can play in the policy process. Indeed, many groups have been generated by public policies. The American farm Bureau Federation, which developed around the agricultural extension program, is a notable example, as is the National Welfare Rights Organization. Public officials also may acquire a stake in particular programs and act as an interest group supporting their continuance. In the United States some welfare-agency employees, including social workers, prefer current programs, with their emphasis on supervision and services (as well as benefits), to a guaranteed annual income, which would probably eliminate some of their jobs.

Another shortcoming, of group theory is that in actuality many people (e.g., the poor and disadvantaged) and interests (such diffuse interests as natural beauty and social justice) are either not represented or only poorly represented in the group struggle. As Professor E.E. Schattschneider remarks about the under organization of the poor, "the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with strong upper-class accent." Those who are not represented will have little voice in policy making and thus their interests are likely to be unarticulated therein.

Finally, from a methodological perspective, it is misleading and inefficient to try to explain politics and policy making solely in terms of interests and the group struggle. This bias leads to neglect of many other factors, such as ideas and institutions, which abound and which independently affect the development of policy. The reductionism or uncaused explanation that results when all political phenomena are crammed into the group concept should therefore be avoided.

1.4.4.4 System Theory and Public Policy

The origin of general systems theory can be traced back to the natural sciences. Lidwig von Bertallanfy, a biologist in the 1920's may be regarded as the earliest exponent of the General systems theories. In social sciences, the demand for unification of sciences, a key

concept of general systems theories, was made only after the Second World War. In its operational forms its roots are found in anthropology. It was later adopted in Sociology, Psychology and last of all in Political Science. Among political scientists, David Easton is considered as forerunner, to apply the systems approach o political analysis. Its links can be traced in social anthropology, especially in the works of Emile Durkheim, A.R. Radcliffe Brown and Bronsisalw Malinowski, Robert K.Merton and Talcott Parsons who have made significant contribution to systems theory framework. If David Easton and Gabriel A.Almond have made significant contributions in the arena of politics at the level of the nations, Kaplan has applied it in the field of international politics.

The central proposition of the systems theory is that all social phenomena which include political phenomena are interrelated. Society witnesses activities in spheres like social, economic, cultural, political and religious actions. They affect each other. In the light of this approach it is assured that it is not possible to understand one part of social action in isolation from the other parts which affect its operation. For example, to know about the formulation of laws we must study more than just the legislative machinery. We must also study such factors as the pressure tactics applied to decision-makers and the way they think about the possible effect of a law on the citizens. Hence any political question must be related to a broader social context.

The systems theory covers all types of public policy. In its broadest sense, the term system denotes any set of inter-related elements. For example, when we speak of a university system it includes all the buildings, teachers, students, administrators and supporting personnel and machinery to run the educational institutions which are closely related to each other. Like political, economic, social and other systems, the political system also has to be analysed from the point of view of its functions like policy making, policy implementation etc.

Politics as a social activity manages political conflict. People in the society are directly affected by political actions and they oppose all those political actions, if they are adversely affecting them. The decision-makers have to take the conflicting points of view of the citizens into consideration at the time of taking decisions. The diverse socio-economic backgrounds of the individuals give rise to conflict of interest among them. The conflicts have to be resolved through political regulations, which penetrate into the different strata

of the society. The extent to which political action and penetration would be effective would depend on the prevailing social situation. The political action and penetration result in positive and negative reactions from the society.

The system approach views politics as the activities and structures of a system. The political leaders are faced with demands of the people in a particular political system. The success of the system depends on how these demands are fulfilled. These demands take the form of public policies. The decision-makers for these purposes have to make public policy decisions and supervise their implementation of the policies. The different parts of the political system are coordinated through the mechanism of communications. While people benefited from the policies render support to the political system, others demand benefits from the system.

1.4.4.5 Elite Theory

Approached from the perspective of elite theory, public policy can be regarded as reflecting the values and preferences of governing elite. The essential argument of elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the demands and actions of the people or the "masses" but rather by ruling elite whose preferences are carried into effect by public officials and agencies.

Professors Thomas Dye and Harmon Zeigler provide a summary of elite theory:

- 1. Society is divided into the few who have power and the many that do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy]
- 2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses that are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.
- 3. The movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.
- 4. Elites share consensus on the basic value of the social system and the preservation of the system. The United States, the elite consensus includes private enterprise; private property, limited government, and individual liberty.

- 5. Public policy does not reflect demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather, than revolutionary. Incremental changes permit responses to events that threaten a social system with a minimum of alteration or dislocation of the system.
- 6. Elites may act out of narrow self-serving motives and undermining mass support and interest. In order to please the public they may initiate reforms, curb abuse, and undertake public-regarding programs to preserve the system and their place in it
- 7. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence form apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.

As stated, elite theory is a challenging theory of formation. Policy is the product of elites, reflecting their values and serving their ends, one of which may be desire to provide in some way, for the welfare of the masses. Dye argues that development of civil right policies in the United States during 1960 can be suitably explained by elite theory. These polices was "a response of a national elite to conditions affecting a small minority of Americans rather than a response of national leaders to majority sentiments." Thus, for examples, the "elimination of legal discrimination and the guarantee of equality of opportunity in civil right act of 1964 was achieved largely, through the dramatic appeals of middle class black leaders to the consciences of white elites.

This interpretation presents a narrow perspective of the both who is affected by or interested in civil rights policy and the explanation for adoption of the civil right act 1964. Certainty leadership in congress and the executive branch was very important, but so too were civil right protests and marches, public opinion, and support from an array of non-black organizations. The civil-right movement of the 1960s was far more than an effort by leaders to appeal to the conscience of white elites.

Elite theory focuses our attention on the role of leadership in policy formation and on the reality that, in any political system, a few govern the many. Whether elites rule and determine policy, with little influence from the masses, is a difficult proposition to handle. It cannot be proved merely by assertions that the "establishment runs things," which has been a familiar plaint in recent years, Political scientist Robert Dahl argues that to defend the proposition successfully one must identify a controlling group, less than a majority in size, that is not a

pure artefact of democratic rules of minority of individuals whose preferences regularly prevail cases of differences of preferences on key political issues. It may be that elite theory has more utility for analysis and explanation of policy formation in some political systems, such as developing or Eastern European countries, than in others, such as the pluralist democracies of the United States and Canada. Sociologist William Domoff has long argued, that there is an American upper class, based on the ownership and control of large corporations, which is in fact a governing class.

1.4.4.6 Institutional Theory

The study of government institutions (or organizations) is one of the oldest concerns of political science. This is not surprising, since political life generally revolves around governmental institutions such as legislatures, executive, courts, and political parties; public policy, moreover, is authoritatively determined and implemented by these institutions.

Traditionally, the institutional approach concentrated on describing the more formal and legal aspects of governmental institutions: their formal structure, legal powers, procedural rules, and functions or activities. Formal relationships with other institutions might also be considered, such as legislative-executive relations. Usually little was done to explain how institutions actually operated as opposed to how they were supposed to operate, to analyze public policies produced by the institutions, or to discover the relationships between institutional structure and public policies:

Subsequently, political scientists turned their attention in teaching and research to the political processes within governmental or political institutions; concentrating on the behaviour of participants in the process and on political realities rather than formalism. In the study of the legislatures, interest shifted from simply describing the legislature as an institution to analyzing and explaining its operation over time, from its static to its dynamic aspects. Thus in the academic curriculum the course on the legislature often came to be about the legislative process.

Institutionalism, with its emphasis on the formal or structural aspects of institutions, can nonetheless be usefully employed in policy analysis. An institution is in part, a set of regularized patterns of human behaviour that persist over time and perform some significant social function or activity. It is their differing patterns of behaviour that really distinguish courts from legislatures, from administrative agencies, and so on These regularized patterns of behaviour, which we often call rules or structures, can affect decision-making and the content of public policy. Rules and structural arrangements are usually not neutral in their effects; rather, they tend to favor some of the senate rules (and traditions, which often have the effect of rules), such as those relating to unlimited debates and action by unanimous consent, favour the interests of legislative minorities over majorities. Many actions in the senate, such as bringing bills up for consideration and closing off debate on them, are done by unanimous consent. Thus one senate, so inclined, can block action by the senate.

In the American federal system, which allocates governmental power among the national and state governments, several arenas of action are created. Some groups may have more influence if policy is made at the national level, whereas others may benefit more from state, policy making. Civil rights groups, for example, have received a better response in Washington, B.C., than in the capitals of the southern states. Groups advocating adoption of English as the nation's official language, however, have fared better at the state level. Between 1983 and 1997, twenty states adopted such laws, but the congress has been unsympathetic. Indeed, the Voting Rights Act provides that in some states ballots must be printed in foreign language as well as English.

In summary, institutional structures, arrangements, and procedures often have important consequences for the adoption and content of public policies. They provide part of the context for policy making which must be considered along with the more dynamic aspects of politics, such as political parties, groups, and public opinion, in policy study. By itself, however, institutional theory can provide only partial explanations of policy. It has little to say about what drives the policy process.

1.4.4.7 Rational Choice Theory

The rational-choice theory, which is sometimes called social choice, or formal theory, originated with economists and involves applying the principles of micro-economic theory to the analysis and explanation of political behaviour (or non-market decision-making). It has now gained many adherents among political scientists.

Perhaps the earliest use of rational-choice theory to study the political process is Anthony Downs's Economic Theory of Democracy. In this influential book, Downs assumes that

voters and political parties act as rational decision-makers who seek to maximize attainment of their preferences. Parties formulated whatever policies would win most votes, and voters sought to maximize the portion of their preferences that could be realized through government action. In attempting to win elections, political parties moved towards, and the centre of the ideological spectrum to appeal to the greatest number of voters and maximize their voting support.

Thus, rather than Rational choice theory both alerts us to the importance of self interest as a motivating force in politics and policy making, and provides a better understanding of decision-making processes. Many contend, however, that politics is not merely as devoid of altruism and concern for the public interest as the rational-choice theorists assume. The adoption of "good public policy," for example, is frequently a goal of members of congress and public-interest groups, such as the National wildlife Federation, which are motivated by more than immediate self-interest.

1.4.4.8 Class Theory

The class theory is most closely associated with the work of Marx and Engels. The main proposition of the class theory is that public policies in a capitalist society reflect the values and interests of the dominant and ruling class. It states that capitalist societies are characterized by the presence of classes that have opposing values and interests. According to Lenin "the large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in, most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in social organizations of labour, and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it

The class theory argues that the mode of production and distribution in every society defines the character of the society. Thus, the class to which an individual belongs could be identified on the basis of his role in the social organization of labour, and his position to the means of production. Two broad classes have been identified by the class theory - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie are the owners of the means of production, while the proletariat is the working class, whose labour is often exploited by the bourgeoisie. According to the Class theory, conflict between these two classes is inherent in the capitalist

society. According to Marx, "the history of class struggle - freemen and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journey men, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another". These conflicts often arise due to resistance of the proletariat to exploitation by the bourgeoisie.

The class theory argues that the bourgeoisie due to their economic power also control political power and use it to protect their socio-economic interests. This is often reflected in the type of policies they make. Thus, public policies often reflect the interests of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the proletariats attempt to influence public policies to their advantage through industrial conflict, such as strikes, work to rule, etcetera,

1.4.4.9 Political Systems Theory

The political system theory is most closely associated with the work of David Easton (1953). According to this model, public policy is the response of the political system to demands arising from its environment. The political system as defined by Easton composed of those identifiable and interrelated institutions a activities in a society that make authoritative decisions allocation of values) that are binding on society. The environment consists of all those socio-cultural, economic, and political Conditions or factors within and outside the boundaries of the political system which shape the political process, and whose activities are influenced by the political system.

The political system receives inputs from the environment. Inputs consist of demands and supports. Demands are the claims made by individuals and groups on the political system for action to satisfy their interests. Support is rendered when groups and individuals abide by the rules or laws of the country, pay their taxes, and accept the decisions and actions of the authoritative political system made in response to demands. These authoritative allocations of values constitute public policy. The concept of feedback indicates that the political system receives information about the policy outcomes.

The political systems theory has certain limitations. First, it does not explain the origin of public policies, nor is it concerned with how decisions are made and policies developed with in the political system. Again, it is not concerned with evaluation of past and present policies. Nonetheless, systems theory is a useful aid in organizing our inquiry into formation. Systems theory draws our attention to the influence of puts on the content of public policy.

Public policy may be viewed as a political systems response to demands arising from its environment. The political system, as Easton defines it, comprises those identifiable and interrelated institutions and activities (what we usually think of as governmental institutions and political processes) in a society that make authoritative allocations of values (decisions) that are binding on society. The environment consists of all phenomena – the social system, the economic system, the biological setting – that are external to the boundaries of the political system. Thus at least analytically one can separate the political system from all the other components of a society.

Inputs into the political system from the environment consist of demands and supports. Demands are the claims for action that individuals and groups make to satisfy their interests and values. Support is rendered when groups and individuals abide by election results, pay taxes, obey laws, and otherwise accept the decisions and action undertaken by the political system in response to demands. The amount of support for a political system indicates the extent to which it is regarded as legitimate, or as authoritative and binding on its citizens.

Outputs of the political system include laws, rules, judicial decisions, and the like. Regarded as the authoritative allocations of values, they constitute public policy. The concept of feedback indicates that public policies (or outputs) made at a given time may subsequently alter the environment and the demands arising there from, as well as the character of the political system itself. Policy outputs may produce new demands, which lead to further outputs, and so on in a never-ending flow of public policy.

The usefulness of systems theory in studying public policy_ is limited by its highly general and abstract nature. It does not, moreover, say much about the procedures and processes by which decisions are made and policy is developed within the "black box" called the political system. Indeed, systems theory depicts government as simply responding to demands made upon it, and its results are sometimes characterized as "input-output studies." (For an illustration, see the discussion in the section headed socioeconomic conditions.) Nonetheless, this approach can be helpful in organizing inquiry into policy formation. It also alerts us to some important facts of the political process, such as these: How do inputs from the environment affect the content of public policy and the operation of the political system? How in turn does public policy affect the environment and subsequent demands

for policy action? 'How well is the political System able to convert demands into public and preserve itself over time?

1.4.4.10 The Economic Approach

The econometric approach, sometimes called the public choice approach or the political economy approach, is primarily based on economic theories of politics in which human nature is assumed to be "rational" or motivated preference gain. This approach assumes that people pursue their own fixed weighted preferences regardless of collective outcomes. Essentially, it integrates the general insight of public research with the method of public finances. For examples, it assume that the preferences of individuals are narrow and diverse, which requires that these individuals aggregate, or "logroll" their preferences into majorities that can command governmental action. For examples, john Chubb has used such an approach to study policy implementation.

1.4.4.11 The Participatory Approach

The participatory approach, recently associated with Peter Deleon and others, is closely related to the post positivist challenge and involves a greater inclusion of the interests and values of the various stakeholders in the policy decision-making processes. It is presumably closer to what Harold Lasswell called the "policy sciences of democracy", in which an extended population of affected citizens would be involved in the formulation and implementation of public policy through a series of discursive dialogues. It would involve extensive open hearings with a broad range of concerned citizens, in which these hearings would be structured in such a way as to prompt individuals, interest groups, and agency officials to contribute to policy design and redesign. The declared purpose of participatory policy analysis is to gather information so that policy makers can make better (i.e., more completely informed) recommendations and decisions. As an approach to analysis, it encourages consideration of a greater number of players and values in the policy making process and to thus have a better catalogue of the various perspectives being brought to bear on the policy under consideration.

1.4.4. 12The Ideological Approach

Thomas Sowell calls these ideological approaches "visions" and identifies two competing perspectives. The "constrained vision" is a picture of egocentric human beings with moral

limitations: The fundamental social and moral challenge, therefore, is to make the best of possibilities that exist within that constraint, rather than to dissipate energies in a vain attempt to change human nature. By this logic, then, one should rely on incentive, rather than dispositions, to obtain the desired behavior. The prospect of rewards or the fear of punishments provides the incentives to obtain, desirable behavior. Fundamentally, then, this results in a conservative view of human nature and will lead to more conservative policy positions if one assumes that the primary constraints come from within the individual rather than being imposed from the environment outside the individual.

The "unconstrained vision", on the other -hand, provides a view of human nature in which understanding and human dispositions are capable of intentionally creating social, benefits. Under this perspective, humans are capable of directly feeling other people's needs as more important than their own and therefore are capable of consistently acting impartially, even when their interests or those of their family are involved. This view of human, then, is often associated with the liberal view that human nature is no constraint; rather constraints are imposed by the environment outside the individual.

1.4.5 CRITIQUE OF POLICY APPROACHES AND MODELS

Under the 'model' certain institutions in society are seen as competent institutions for determining public policy objectives and processes. The institutions are chosen on the basis of democratic participation; bureaucratic specification and judicial adjudication and the functions performed by these certain institutions are the most major determining factor to implement various policies. This model also specifies and suggests the relationship between various institutions and how they all work together and collectively contribute to a successful policy implementation.

Systems Model Proposed by David Easton, Rational Model Herbert Simon, Bounded Rationality Model by Herbert Simon, Incrementalism Model by Charles E. Lindblom's, Game Theory the Optimal-Normative Model by Yehezkel Dror's Elite Model: Public Administrators and politicians belong to the elite club of knowledge possessing group that is fully equipped to frame and implement policies and people are to follow it as they are not equipped to understand and know the same. A few groups and lobbies possessing power and organized stronghold over the bureaucracy and legislature get their way in policy

selection, Implementation. Market Exchange Model: It believes in a free market with minimum regulations by the State in the affairs market and' a lot of public-private partnership as well as a lot of private organizations' taking over the government's functions and directing the policy making. It isbelieved that this will lead to higher competition and thus higher economic growth and this will in turn benefit the government, in funds for its policies.

1.4.6 LET US SUM UP

Because individual political scientist often manifest strong preference for one or another of these theoretical approaches, which is present as a decision making theory, these is no consensus on which is the best or the most satisfactory. Each approach focuses attention on different aspects of policymaking and politics and thus seems more useful for understanding some situation or event than other. The various theories raise some controversial questions about politics and policy making process. Not surprisingly, pluralists find groups in control, elite theorists detect dominance by elite, and rational choice theorists find that self interest dominates. These theories are therefore not merely neutral alternatives for guiding analysis. What one finds in policy research depends on what one is looking for, just as those who go about town "looking for trouble" are more apt to find it than are more peaceful citizens.

1.4.7 EXERCISE

- 1) Explain the concept and meaning of model.
- 2) Discuss how theories and model is helpful to explain public policies.
- 3) Explain the different theories of policy.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – II: Policy Making Process

2.1 ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTITUENTS OF PUBLIC POLICY MAKING: GEOGRAPHIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 2.1.0 Objectives
- 2.1.1 Introduction
- 2.1.2 Geographical Factors
- 2.1.3 Demographic Factors
- 2.1.4 Political Culture
- 2.1.5 Socio-Economic Conditions
- 2.1.6 Let Us Sum UP
- 2.1.7 Exercise

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this lesson is to discuss the significance environmental factors in public policy making. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the role of geography and demography in the formulation of policy;
- how political culture limit the policy choices; and
- the criticality of socio-economic factors in the making of public policy.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

System theory suggests that policy making cannot be adequately considered apart from the environment in which it takes place. Demands for policy action are generated in the environment and transmitted to the political system; at the same time environment put the constraints upon what can be done by the policy makers. Included in the environment are such geographical characteristics as natural resources, climate and topography; demographical variables like population size, age distribution, and spatial location; political culture; social structure; and economic system. Other nations become a significant part of the environment for foreign and defense policy. The discussion here will focus on these environmental factors that political scientist have given much attention to, though not always from policy analysis perspective.

2.1.2 GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

Geographical location of any country has played a vital role in the shaping of a public policy. The policy which is mostly determined by the geographic conditions of a country is the "Foreign policy". The size of the state large enough to support a population, acclimate that is neither excessively cold nor very hot, a topography offering boundaries with natural barriers such as mountains, rivers and seas and a compact territory enables a country to make and implement independent foreign policy. Geography and terrain were very important assets, before modern military machinery came into existence. Like the size and topography, natural resources and size of the population contribute to the power of the state, which in turn shapes its foreign policy. Of the geographical factors special attention should be given to the location. Britain and Japan, though small in size, become great nations because of their ability to use the oceans as highways of commerce. The absence of natural frontiers as in the case of Poland often threatens their security. The situation of a country can enable it, or deprive it, to have an independent foreign policy. The US with vast territory separated from other continents by the Atlantic and Pacific gave her unprecedented importance. The united state could easily follow a policy of isolation for a long time, and finally emerge as a super power. India's position in the South Asia enables her to be a major power and adopted assertive foreign policy.

Not only the foreign policy but the domestic policy is also influenced by the geographical conditions of the state. For example, the location of the coastal states like Gujarat,

Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh etc are very feasible for the trade policy of the India. The establishment of the POSCO India in Orissa was made due to the availability of abundant raw iron core in the mountains of the state. Similarly it is very difficult to establish an industry in the mountainous region of the Ladakh or the dry terrain of the Rajasthan. So it can be analyzed that the domestic economic policy of the state is very much influenced by its geographical conditions.

2.1.3 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Demographical variables like population size, age distribution, and spatial location influence the public policy of the state. The studies show that the growth of population influences the policies especially in economic domain. China can be sighted as an example here whose economic growth was directly influenced by its large size of the population. Larger the size of the population more is the unemployment and poverty and for dealing with these conditions state have to frame polices. This argument can be substantiated by looking at the conditions prevailing in India. According to the reports, the Indian population crossed the mark of 125 billion and majority of the population is between the age group of 25-45. This majority of the population is suffering with the unemployment and in order to reduce this rate of unemployment Indian government framed new policies and programs like Uddaan, Skilled India, Start Up scheme and MGNREGA for the rural population. This scheme is basically concerned with poverty reduction programme of the state. Not only this, the growth of the population forced Indian government to go for outward oriented economic policy because it was difficult for the government to provide essential food stuff to this huge population. Indian policy makers have helped agricultural production adjust to the population growth is though developing irrigation projects, relaying initially on the international loans. Large dam constructions have submerged hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Indian assets in soil, forest productivity and biodiversity.

High proportion of school- age children, characteristics of countries experiencing rapid population growth, undoubtedly put pressure on existing school and health care facilities. When school enrolments and average educational attainments increase rapidly, government can expect upward pressure on education budgets. India faces a similar difficult task providing education of its growing population. Not only this, the growing number of old
age people aroused the concern for giving them old age pensions and thus has increased the unproductive expenditure.

Thus the above discussion shows that the demographic factors greatly influenced the socioeconomic policies of the government.

2.1.4 POLITICAL CULTURE

Every society has a culture that differentiates the values and the life style of its members from those of other societies. The anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn has defined culture as the "total life way of the people, the society legacy the individual acquires from his group. Or culture can be regarded as that part of the environment that is the creation of man." Most social scientists seem agreed that culture shapes or influence social action, but that it does not fully determine it. It is only one of many factors that may affect human behaviour.

What is of interest to us here is that portion of general culture of a society that can be designated as political culture-widely held values, beliefs and attitudes concerning what should try to do and how should they operate, and the relationship between the citizen and government. It is transmitted from one generation to another through the process of socialization. Political culture, then, is acquired by the individual, become the part of his psychological makeup and is manifested in his behaviour.

Within a given society there are variations among regions and groups may result in distinctive subcultures. One political scientist contends that there are three identifiable political cultures-moralistic, individualistic and traditionalistic which is scattered throughout the United States.

The Individualistic political culture emphasis private concerns and views government as a utilitarian device to do what the people want. Politicians are interested in office as a means of controlling the favour or rewards of the government.

The Moralistic political culture views the government as a mechanism for advancing the public interest. Government service is considered public service. More government intervention in the economy is accepted and there is much concern about the policy issue. The Traditionalistic political culture takes a paternalistic and elitist view of the government and favours its use to maintain the existence of social order.

Real political power centres in small segment of the population while most citizens are

expected to be relatively inactive in politics. This political culture has been strong in some of the southern states. Where such variations exist, they certainly compound the task of description and analysis.

The major value orientations like individual freedom, equality, progress, efficiency and practicality and others, such as democracy, individualism and humanitarianism clearly have significance for policy making. For example, the general approach of the Americans to regulation of economic activity has been practical and pragmatic, emphasizing particular solutions to present problems rather than long-range planning or ideological consistency. Moreover, concern with individual freedom has created a general presumption against restriction of private activity in favour of broadest scope possible for private action

Karl Detucsh suggests that time orientation of people-their view of the relative importance of the past, the present, and the future-has implication for the policy formation. A political culture oriented more towards the past than to the present or the future may better encourage preservation of monuments than to the innovations. It may enact legislation on old-age pension's years before expanding public higher education. Similarly the inclination towards the feudalistic tradition of the Indian masses and the elite influence the public policies in the same direction.

Almond and Verba have differentiated between parochial, subject, and participant political cultures. In a parochial political culture, citizens have little awareness of, or orientation towards, either the political system as a whole, the input process, the output process, or citizen as a political participant. The parochial expect nothing from the system. In the subject political culture like the Germany, the citizen is oriented toward the political system and the output process; yet he has little awareness of input processes or himself as a participant. He is aware of the governmental authority, he may like or dislike it, but he is essentially passive. He is, as the term implies, a subject. In the participant political culture, citizens have a high level of political awareness and information and have explicit orientations toward the political system as a whole, its input and output process, and meaningful citizen participation in politics. Included in this in this orientation is an understanding of how individuals and groups can influence decision making. Government and public policy is viewed as controllable by citizens

Common values, beliefs, and attitudes inform, guide, and constraint the actions of both decision maker and citizen. Political culture of citizen helps ensure that public policy is more likely to favor their orientation.

2.1.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The socio-economic conditions are used here because it is often impossible to separate social and economic factors as they impinge on or influence political activity. This becomes quite apparent as the discussion proceeds.

Public policies can be viewed as arising out of the conflict between different groups of people, private and officials, possessing different interests and desires. One of the prime sources of conflict in modern society is economic activity. Conflict may develop between big businesses and small businesses, employers and employee, debtors and creditors, wholesaler and retailers, sellers and consumers, farmers and the consumers of pram products and so on. Groups that are unprivileged and unsatisfied with their current relationship with other groups in economy may seek governmental assistance to improve their situation. Customarily it is weak or disadvantaged party in the private conflict that seeks governmental intervention in the matter. The dominant group has no incentive to bring the government into the fray and usually will oppose governmental action as unnecessary and improper, thus it has been labor groups, dissatisfied with wages resulting from private bargaining with employers, that have sought minimum wage legislation, or consumer groups who feel disadvantaged in the marketplace, who have sought consumer protection laws.

Satisfactory relationship between groups may be disrupted or altered by economic change or development, and those that feel adversely affected or threatened may demand government action to protect their interest or establish a new equilibrium. Rapid industrialization and growth of big business in United States in the later part of nineteenth century produced new economic conditions. Farmers, small businessmen, reformist elements, and aggrieved others called for government action to control big business. The eventual result was the Sherman Antitrust Act by Congress in 1890. Clearly, one factor that affects what government can really do in the way of welfare programme is the available economic resources. Many policies did not get successful due to the lack of economic resources

Social conflict and change also provoke demands for government action. Recently the decreasing sex ratio has produced demands by the domestic and international environment for making public policies to save the girl child. Policies like Ladli, Beti Bachao are the steps in the concerned fields. Similarly growing concern about the social conditions of the disadvantaged sections of the society especially women has produced demands especially civil society to take steps for the women empowerment. Again, the growing unemployment among the young population of India has made government to start new policies and programmes like Skilled India, Start Up scheme, Uddaan, etc.

Sometimes ago, in United States, growing concern about women's rights and the increased use of marijuana, especially by middle class people, have produced demands for alteration in public policies to provide greater protection for women's rights and lesser penalties for the use of marijuana. Those with conflicting interests and values have opposed such demands, with the consequence that public officials often find themselves hard-presses to device acceptable policy solutions.

These examples clearly indicate that the social conditions influence the determination of the policies. Social and economic developments shapes both political systems and policy outcomes, and most of the association that occurs between system characteristics and policy outcomes can be attributed to the influence of social and economic development. Levels of urbanization, industrialization, income and education appear to be more influential in shaping policy outcomes than political system characteristics.

2.1.6 LET US SUM UP

Two conclusions can be drawn from his discussion. One is that to understand how policy decisions are made and why some decisions are made rather than other, we must consider geographical, demographical, cultural and socio-economic factors. The second is that weather socio-economic factors are more important or geographical and cultural in shaping policy is still an open question. Most of this research along this line has been focused on the American states, and it is less than conclusive

2.1.7 EXERCISE

1. How environment plays critical role in the formulation of public policy.

2. Write an essay on the role of geographic and demographic factors in policy making.

3. Critically analyse the influence political culture and socio-economic conditions in public policy making.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – II: Policy Making Process

2.2 PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION: OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 2.2.0 Objectives
- 2.2.1 Introduction

2.2.2 Public Policy Formulation: Role of Officials

- 2.2.2.1 Legislature
- 2.2.2.2 Cabinet
- 2.2.2.3 State Governments
- 2.2.2.4 Boards and Commissions (Permanent)
- 2.2.2.5 Commissions or Expert Committees (Ad hoc)
- 2.2.2.6 Bureaucracy
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2.2.3 Public Policy Formulation: Unofficial Participation

- 2.2.3.1 Political Parties
- 2.2.3.2 Civil Society Organizations
- 2.2.3.3 Media
 - 2.2.3.4 Pressure / Interest Groups
 - 2.2.3.5 Individual Citizen as Policy Maker
 - 2.2.3.6 Public Opinion
- 2.2.4 Let Us Sum UP
- 2.2.5 Exercise

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will study the role of officials and unofficial in the making public policy. This lesson will make you understand though unofficial such as political parties, interest groups and media are not having legal authority to make policy, yet their contribution is as significant as officials. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the role of official organs such as legislature, cabinet, judiciary, commissions, and bureaucracy in the formulation of public policy;
- the significance of non-officials such as political parties, interest groups, civil society organizations, media, etc. in the making public policy; and

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Public policy making is the principal function of the state. Since its formulation is a complex and dynamic process, no theoretical model is adequate to explain the policy formulation totally. According to Yehezkel Dror, public policy making is a complex, dynamic process whose components make different contributions to it. It decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by the governmental organs. These guidelines (policies) formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means. Public policy can be authoritative allocation of values by the political system, a slight variation from the previous or existing policy, equilibrium reached out of the competing group struggle, a rational choice or the preference of the governing elite. It can also be a combination of these processes. In policy formulation various agencies participate directly or indirectly. The role of the governmental agencies is direct while the role of the non-governmental agencies indirect. Some of the agencies which take part in policy formulation are legislature, cabinet, state governments, civil servants, judiciary, boards and commissions, mass media, political parties, pressure groups and public. It is essential to examine the role of these agencies in the formulation of a policy to get a hold over policy making process.

2.2.2 PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION: ROLE OF OFFICIALS

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not do; it can be seen in the behaviour of government officials and agencies; it defines the relationship of government to its environment. A policy is a purposive course of action taken to deal with a problem or concern.

Public policy is developed by governmental officials or agencies. It is a goal-oriented or purpose action, not random or chance behaviour. Policies are courses of action taken over time by government officials, not separate or discrete decisions. Policies emerge in response to demands made by other actors on government, although different units of government can emit conflicting policies in response to demands of opposing groups. Policy is what governments actually do, rather than what they say they intend to do. Policy can be either positive or negative in that government can choose to act, or choose not to act; government can either prohibit or compel its citizens to act. Policy is based on law and is authoritative and legally coercive.

Government or what constitute 'official' has got many layers and different units, in the following section, you will study the role of various official wings in the making of public policy.

2.2.2.1 Legislature

In a democratic form of government, the role of the legislature as the prime policy making body is significant. Since it is the representative body, it deliberates on various issues and formulates the policies. Yet, it is now widely accepted that the power of the legislature is more real in a constitutional sense than in terms of practical politics. Legislatures in the 20th century have declined in power in relation to the executive despite the fact that they still have many functions. It is now regarded as a constitutional procedural device for legitimizing the policies and decisions of government, rather than as an independent policy making unit. It is observed that there is a high level centralisation of policy initiative and policymaking, at least so far as major policy initiatives are concerned, and what is more, nearly all the functionaries and institutions involved in policymaking, implicitly accepted the role of the Prime Minister. For example The New Educational Policy by the parliament in 1986 Budget Session, is the Prime Ministers handwork and so is the policy of liberalisation. Similarly, in case of the education policy, the basic framework of policy is formulated by the administrators, further strengthened by the union Education Ministry sent for the consideration of the Cabinet and finally for the approval of the legislature. Thus, the initiative does not emanate from the legislature.

2.2.2.2 Cabinet

In the democratic form of government, it is the constitutional task of the Cabinet to decide the policies which are to be placed before the legislature for its sanction. Members of the Cabinet are the immediate and proximate policy makers". Within the Cabinet it is said that, the power of the Prime Minister in recent times has increased. It is also stated that the Prime Minister exerts strong influence over policy decisions if he has the majority support of members of the union legislature. Same is the case with the Chief Minister at the state level. The Cabinet and the Cabinet Committees play only an advisory and deliberative role while the real decisions are taken by the Prime Minister himself.

2.2.2.3 State Governments

In a federal polity like ours the Union Government and the State Governments participate in policy making. The State Governments formulate policies and make laws on items mentioned in the state and concurrent lists. At the state level, the state legislature and council of ministers under the leadership of the Chief Minister and other advisory bodies participate in the formulation of policies. However in most of the federations the role of the state governments got reduced to the minimum owing to various domestic and international political and economic factors. S.R. Maheshawri observed that since the financial resources are concentrated in the Central Government the states have necessarily looked to the centre for funds. It is axiomatic, according to the centres mode of thinking, that one who provides money also exercise control and the states are thus made to look to the centre more and more specially since the adoption of the socio-economic planning in the fifties. In India, also, education which was originally in the states list was transferred to the concurrent list through the Constitutional amendment. This enhanced the dominant role of the Union Government.

2.2.2.4 Boards and Commissions (Permanent)

Various boards and commissions attached to different ministries like the Railway Board, the University Grants Commission (UGC), and the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) assists the respective ministries or the cabinet as a whole in policy formulation when public policy is not in its final stage.

2.2.2.5 Commissions or Expert Committees (Ad hoc)

Apart from Boards and Commissions, which are permanent in nature, the government also constitutes ad hoc expert committees or commissions to seek recommendations regarding administrative reforms and policy initiatives. For example, in the field of education, the Government of India constituted the University EducationCommission under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and the Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Sri L.S. Mudhuliar and the India Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Sri D.S. Kothari. The recommendations of these commissions in the field of education provided the basis for various policy initiatives by the government. Notable among the policy initiatives was the NPE-1968. It was almost a precedent in the field of education to formulate the policies based on the recommendations of the commissions. The only exception is the formulation of National policy on education 1986, which was formulated after a public debate on the status paper 'Challenge of Education - A policy Perspective 1985 by the government itself.

2.2.2.6 Bureaucracy

Public servants at the top management level assist the ministers in policy making. They are recruited, in theory, to assist to the ministers for carrying out their decisions. Yet, in reality, they exercise much more power in the making of public policies than the formal description of their responsibilities suggest. The administrator, who is concerned with the ends and not merely with the means, is called upon increasingly to provide the rational elements in policy process. The administrator's role in policy making is to clarify the choices open to politicians and to anticipate their consequences. The bureaucracy, in the developing countries, plays a dominant role in policy making process. Administrators, both specialists as well as generalists, are part and parcel of various policy making bodies like the Union Home Ministry, the NITI AAYOG, the UGC and other expert bodies. One can notice the fact that in the case of formulation of the NPE 1986 also, the bureaucracy played an important role because of the non-constitution of a full-fledged commission. It is noticed that policy (in general) is being increasingly made at the level of the Prime Minister's office. When the latter takes the initiative in an area, other bodies become merely ratification organs and many among them have been forced to remain idle as a result.

2.2.2.7 Judiciary

The Judiciary is also regarded as an important agency in the policy making process. In the United States and India, constitutions entitle the Supreme Courts to exercise judicial review. Policies in many areas have been influenced by judicial decisions.

2.2.3 PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION: UNOFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS

Unofficial Policy-Makers refers to those who do not possess legal authority to make binding policy decisions. Still, their contribution is no less significant than official participants. Since, many of non-officials are much more rooted in the society and also some of them are technically more experts they significantly contribute in the formulation of public policy. The unofficial participants in the public policy making include political parties, interest groups, media, civil society organizations, and individual citizens. The policy-making process will not be complete without recognising and discussing the contributions these groups can make in policy-making.

2.2.3.1 Political Parties

Public opinion forms the basis for Public Policy. Political parties attempt to enhance the effect of public opinion when they make policy choice. As such, they have to be in the business of accommodating voter's preferences, which involves identifying what the voter qua policy consumer looks for and meeting it. In other words, competing parties whether in or out of power are in the business of shaping the preferences of voters. Like pressure groups, they serve as intermediaries between citizens and policy makers. Edmund Burke defines 'political party' as a "body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles on which they are all agreed'. Party platforms, on which elections are contested, form a basis for the party leadership when as a government it engages in the making of public policies. Political parties are regarded as important agents for establishing popular control over the government and public policies. They play an important role in reflecting the issues at stake and in setting goals for the society.

2.2.3.2 Civil Society Organizations

Civil society "as the space of association life" has, in the recent past acquired growing importance. Civil society associations are organisations with formal structure whose

members share a common interest. They strive to influence the decisions of the government without attempting to occupy political offices. For the individual citizen, the civil society is an important channel of communication. However, public opinion expressed by individual citizens does not always reflect any intensity for immediate action. It does not serve as the basis for a change in policy. This is because laymen lack the required expertise in both the subject matter and the procedure of policy making.

Alexis de Tocqueville, a French thinker of the 18th century linked civil society to democracy. He noted that "local associations of citizens" are important constituents of the political system which limit the absolutist state. In the 1970's the intellectuals and political activists throughout Eastern Europe invoked the image of civil society to mobilise citizens against repressive states and reclaim a sphere of privacy in social life.

Civil society organisations have a vital input in policy making process. Although it is very difficult to predict the circumstances under which a civil society organisation can expect to be successful in influencing the emergence of a public policy. Yet it is possible to explain the role that civil society organisations play in the policy process.

Influencing Officials

CSO's are self organisations that attempt to influence the official policy makers. They are important institutions of enhancing the effect of public opinion, since they can communicate more effectively with public officials on policy decisions than individual citizens. Some of the civil society organisations seek expansion of the space for autonomous organisations and "influence on public policy only for particular kinds of associations, largely those representing business and professionals".

Providing Advisory Services

The distinction between CSO's and government offices is often blurred by the fact that government institutions may engage in lobbying activities from time to time. It may be mentioned here that all groups are not exclusively concerned with political influence and activity. Most CSO's have expertise in the subject matter of their concern. They shape the smaller questions into larger issues worthy of legislature consideration. They may provide the policy makers with much technical data for and against a specific issue, and information about the possible consequences of a policy proposal. Besides the legislative and executive

branches, the judiciary also feels the influence of CSO's which hire attorneys to represent their members.

Role in Policy Implementation

In terms of public policy, key experts in the civil society associations have an important role in the dissemination of information and in the interpretation and implementation of public policy. The government has to rely on the groups and associations in the civil society for implementation of its policies. Many government programmes would remain unimplemented without the cooperation of vested interests. Putnam argues that civil society associations create social capital. This enables government to get cooperation more easily, enhancing its effectiveness and therefore is legitimacy. Representatives of associations in the civil society may be invited either to sit on public boards, councils or committees on account of their expertise, qualifications and proficiencies.

Access to Policy Making Process

Since the government dominates the legislative programme of legislature and usually secures the required majorities in the passage of a bill, the powerful associations of the civil society can influence the executive and its department at the formulation stage before a Bill is drafted. The interest organisations articulate the interests and demands of society seek support for these demands among other groups by advocacy and bargaining and strive to transform these demands into public policies. The sectional organisations are more likely to be in a position to exert influence than the promotional organisations and exert pressure on ministers and public officials before the government has decided to legislate. With access to information, civil society fosters democracy by limiting the state, providing space for protest groups, generating demands, monitoring excess, confronting power holders and sustaining a balance of power between state and society.

Monitoring Public Policies

Association in civil society strengthen democratic institutions and attempt o ensure government accountability by monitoring public policies. Some well organised associations such as Federation of Indian Export Organisation (FIEO) and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) conduct innovative research and activities in certain policy areas and implementation of development programmes with a view to sharing their results with the government and the public.

2.2.3.3 Media

The role of media in the policy agenda process is an important factor. In creating stereotypical threats the mass media can shape the context within which policy response take place and influence public opinion by setting a public agenda in terms of an incident or event. Further, the media bridge the information gap between the citizen and government. They communicate the information to the citizens about the decisions about the decisions of the governments have taken and thereby media help shape their reactions to each other's decisions. By publicising specific causes, the media act as the most important source of information for the government by reflecting the public's reactions to contemporary issues.

Since the media act as channels of communication, it is important to determine whether they are politically biased in their presentation of information. If they are biased they may distort the very concept of democracy. Because they may in such cases only serve to manipulate rather than illuminate social problems. Today, in India, health, education, Environment and agriculture are on the back burner in the media.

2.2.3.4 Pressure / Interest Groups

It is very difficult to predict the circumstances under which a pressure group can expect to be successful in influencing the emergence of the public policy. However, it is possible to explain the resources of pressure groups which make the legislators more effective in policy action.

Firstly, the pressure groups have the expertise in the relevant subject matter. They shape the similar questions into larger issues worthy of legislative consideration. They may provide the policy-makers with much technical data for and against a specific issue, and information about the possible consequences of a policy proposal. Legislators find the expertise and data provided by pressure groups attractive because of their limitations and disinclination to accept the executive's recommendations. The executive personnel also look to the pressure groups for information and opinions on policy issues. Besides the legislative and executive branches, the judiciary also feels the influence of pressure groups which hire attorney to represent their members Secondly, the pressure groups have the funds and necessary resources for policy influence. They sometimes give or donate money to help reselect the members of parliament or the state legislature who had supported them on a disputed bill. Sometimes, they sponsor candidates in elections. The pressure groups are also seen protecting the jobs of sympathetic administrators who may have proved annoying to their senior heads. The public bodies that depend on support from the pressure groups run the risk of succumbing to narrow private control. For example, according to Francis Rourke, in the United States, some universities are prone to lose the control of a programme in order to gain the support of farm groups for the university budget.

Thirdly, the government has to rely on the pressure groups for the implementation of its policies. Many government programmes would remain unimplemented without the cooperation of vested interests. Such interests can gain control in the formulation of policy as a price of its successful implementation. Protection of the human environment is an example. Hence, every policy programme has to be planned with the consent of those groups which they themselves have to implement.

Fourthly, the successful groups are precisely those which have got access to the different stages of the policy- making process. They are those which can influence the executive and its department at the formulation stage before a bill is drafted. Here, it may be mentioned that the sectional interest groups are more likely to be in a position to exert influence than the promotional groups, and can exert pressure on ministers and public officials, before the government has decided to legislate. Similarly, a group may petition a minister or appear before an enquiry committee or commission in an attempt to involve the government in policy action. The interest groups articulate the demands of society seek support for these demands among other groups by advocacy and bargaining and strive to transform these demands into public policies.

Fifthly, the influence of pressure groups is an important factor in the policy-making process. The leaders of such groups usually belong to a higher socio-economic status than most of its members, and are likely to place a higher priority on the stated political objectives of the groups. It is further pointed out that the most members of a particular service or a labour group join their professional associations to receive the benefits from them. Poorer people are often unable to participate in the policy-making process even if opportunities are offered

by sympathetic public officials. Pressure groups will not like to be politically branded. The main reason is that they have to protect their interests, irrespective of any particular party in power. Interest group politics represents something less than full politicization of groups and something more than utter depoliticization.

2.2.3.5 Individual Citizen as Policy Maker

The Citizen is the centre of object for policy analysis. The policy sciences should, as Lasswell long ago hoped, function in such a way as to facilitate the interaction between the citizen and his problems. The issue is how citizens can make a real and meaningful input into the policy process. In a democracy, public opinion has an important role to play in the policy formation. Public opinion is a source of public power that gives rise to demand, and shapes the policy agenda of the policical parties. In a representative democracy, it is assumed that power emerges from the people. Through legislature the representativeness of the people frame laws and decide policies by a majority vote. Yet in practice, citizen participation in policy making is negligible. Many people do not seem to be exercising even their franchise or engaging in party politics. In politics, groups rather than individual citizen, affect the way policy is made. A relatively small group of office holders may be responsible for actions they perform.

It can safely be conclude that politics holds attractions for relatively few people. Neither the citizen nor the people are, particularly satisfactory force for analysing political power. But it is a fact that no government, however dictatorial, can afford to go against the wishes and customs of the people. Therefore the interests of people matter a lot.

2.2.3.6 Public Opinion

Democracy is defined as the government by public opinion. Popular response to government policies provides input in policy making. Public participation also helps in effective implementation of the policies. People's participation is a sin-qua non for the success of government policies, which is even more so in the case of education. Since the public is not a homogeneous unit, the concerned public actually responds to the specific policy initiatives. Yehezkel Dror says that planning and policy making are closely interrelated. Planning is also a species of decision making and often overlaps policy-making. Planning is a major

means of policy making characterized by being relatively more structured, explicit and systematic and by presuming to be more rational.

With the advent of Independence, the policy makers felt the necessity of accelerating socio economic change and ensuring balanced economic development of different regions. Item No.20 of concurrent list deals with socio-economic planning. It implies that the planning process is the same both at the union and state levels. But the responsibility of preparing a national plan and providing guidelines for the preparation of state plans lies with the planning commission. The Planning Commission is an agency created by an executive order of the Central Government and functions under the control of central government, with Prime Minister as its chairman. Owing to the federal framework of polity and the necessity of involving state governments in plan formulation, the creation of state planning boards are also suggested. In fact, the National Development Council which approves the five year plans provides representation to state government and thus symbolizes the spirit of co-operative federalism.

2.2.4 LET US SUM UP

There are two broad categories of participants in policy making: official actors and unofficial actors. Official actors are involved in public policy because their responsibilities are sanctioned by laws or the constitution and they therefore have the power to make and enforce policies. The legislature, executive and judicial branches are clearly official institutions, because they are explicitly mentioned in the Constitution. Unofficial actors include those who play roles in the policy process without any explicit legal authority (or duty) to participate. Calling them "unofficial actors" does not mean that these actors are any less important than the official ones, or that their roles should be discounted. Indeed, these groups are involved because they have the right to be, because they have important interests to protect and promote, and because, in many ways, our system of government simply would not work well without them. Thus, interest groups are involved in policis not because they are an effective way for many people to collectively express their desires for policy.

2.2.5 EXERCISE

- 1. Discuss the role of official participants in the formulation of public policy.
- 2. Though unofficial actors are not having legal authority in policy-making, yet their contribution is no less significant than officials. Comment.
- 3. Critically evaluate the role of civil society organizations in policy-making.
- 4. Analyse the role of pressure groups in influencing policy formulation.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – II: Policy Making Process

2.3 PUBLIC POLICY: PROBLEMS, PROPOSALS AND AGENDA

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 2.3.0 Objectives
- 2.3.1 Introduction
- 2.3.2 Conceptual Problems
 - 2.3.2.1 Policy Design
 - 2.3.2.2 Policy Analysis
 - 2.3.2.3 Policy Statement

2.3.3 Pressure of Time

2.3.4 Political Problems

- 2.3.4.1 Lack of Political Support and Political Interference
- 2.3.4.2 Centralised Policy Process
- 2.3.4.3 Interest Group Politics
- 2.3.4.4 Unionization of Bureaucracy
- 2.3.4.5 Lack of Public Involvement

2.3.5 Administrative Problems

- 2.3.5.1 Lack of Institutional Capacity
- 2.3.5.2 Lack of Personnel and Financial Resources
- 2.3.5.3 Lack of Administrative Will and Motivation
- 2.2.3.4 Poor Coordination and Cooperation

2.3.6 Conditions and Proposals for Successful Implementation

- 2.3.6.1 Emphasis on Administrative Capability
- 2.3.6.2 Role of Leadership

2.3.7 Policy Agenda

- 2.3.7.1 Factors in Agenda Setting
- 2.3.7.2 Formulation of Policy Proposals
- 2.3.7.3 Introduction of Policy Proposals

2.3.8 Let Us Sum UP

2.3.9 Exercise

2.3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will study the problems associated with the public policy making and what sort of conditions and proposals are needed to avoid these problems. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the conceptual, political, administrative problems associated in the formulation of public policy;
- various proposals to address the problems emerging in the formulation of public policy; and
- how agenda can be set in such a way to address the problems and incorporate sound proposals.

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the years since the 1950s, there had been mounting evidence of policy failures in most developing countries. The widely accepted view, documented in numerous international, regional and national studies and evaluations is that implementing machinery is a critical factor in determining the achievement of policy goals. Since the 1970's there has been an awakening to the crucial need to focus on the policy implementation, that is, to close the so-called 'implementation gap'. The central problem then is the identification of factors or variables which impede the policy implementation process.

In the context of a policy, implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision. It is not self executing. The implementation phase, faced with numerous problems in the form of a series of mundane decisions and interactions remained unworthy of the attention of scholars and policy makers. There is the general neglect of the issues with regard to the theory and practice of implementation. Effective implementation requires a chain of command and a capacity to coordinate and control which are sadly lacking in the implementation of public policies in a developing countries like India. In this lesson, the focus of discussion is on the implementation deficit.

Problems in the implementation of policy are common in all countries, be they developed or developing. Many administrative constraints or obstacles to policy implementation have been identified – conceptual problems, weak coordination among government entities,

poor budgeting and financial administration, lack of dearth in technically competent personnel, duplication of planning functions, low participation of implementers, over centralisation, insufficiency of time, material and infrastructure, poor reporting and feedback mechanism, lack of political will and so on. We discuss these issues in the following sections.

2.3.2 CONCEPTUAL PROBLEMS

Policy analysts preoccupied with implementation see failure or problems in implementation from the conceptual point of view. These analysts argue that implementation of public policies has been hindered by conceptual problems in understanding the nature of contextual problems and the kinds of policies and procedures necessary to address these problems. These conceptual problems may be related to policy design and policy analysis.

2.3.2.1 Policy Design

Hogwood and Gunn argue that the chances of a successful outcome will be increased if, at the stage of policy design, attention is given to potential problems of implementation. In order to avoid a considerable degree of failure in the implementation, they have offered ten propositions that policy makers should ensure that:

- 1. Circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints.
- 2. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available to the programme.
- 3. Not only are there no constraints in terms of overall resources but also that at each stage in the implementation process, the required combination of resources are actually available.
- 4. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect.
- 5. The relationship between cause and effect is direct and that there are few, if any intervening links.
- 6. There is a single implementing agency that need not depend upon other agencies for success, or if other agencies must be involved, that the dependency relationships are minimal in number and importance.
- 7. There is a complete understanding of agreement upon the objectives to be achieved, and these conditions should persist throughout the implementation process.

- 8. In moving towards agreed objectives, it is possible to specify, in complete detail and perfect sequence the tasks to be performed by each participant.
- 9. There is a perfect communication among and coordination of the various elements involved in the programme and
- 10. Those in authority can demand and obtain perfect obedience.

Thus Hogwood and Gunn draw attention to the general neglect of the issue of policy implementation. For example, India's population policy (2000) lacks an adequate policy design. Problems of policy design in this policy include ambiguous and ill defined objectives, inappropriate measures to achieve the stated goals and lack of political will and social support. These problems in policy design result from the nature of federalism and from symbolic politics that emphasise policy as an instrument to appease certain interest groups rather than policy which is designed to achieve intended outcomes.

Some policies trigger bitter and open conflict, while others are agreeable to those who are making and implementing them. Lindblom, in this context argues that the government decision process is often one of 'muddling through' or of 'partisan adjustment'. Decisions are not necessarily made only on the grounds of rationality or on attempting to achieve effectiveness of efficiency. Instead, policy makers place a premium upon agreement among participants in the policy making process. Compromise and accommodation then become the central concern. With these, emerges a policy with which stakeholders involved (such as political leaders, planners, implementers and target groups) want to pull on. Failure results when a policy generates excessive conflict, opposition and sometimes violence.

Another conceptual problem in policy design relates to the lack of key regulatory principles in most public policies in India. It has been observed, for example, that most industries in the country have not come out strongly to comply with provisions of the Environment (Protection) Act 1986, and the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974. Industry management hesitates to comply with conditions imposed by the State Pollution Control Boards, such as treating the effluents and discharging them in appropriate manner. Further, even when an industry installs a treatment plant, management may evade its operation in order to save the unproductive expenses of running the plant. Many industries often use various means to circumvent the provisions of law. Similarly, the National Water Policy (NWP) adopted by the National Water Resources Council (NWRC) in 1987 was a good first step in the direction of evolving a national consensus. But it has largely remained unimplemented because of its poor design. The revised NWP 2002, however has addressed emerging issues with a national perspective. This also lacks a blueprint for action. Further, the subject of water is being dealt with the centre in too many ministries. The solution for this is that the subject needs to be brought under one roof so that a holistic view can be taken of this precious resource.

2.3.2.2 Policy Analysis

Sophisticated contemporary economic analysis has permeated into policy formation and evaluation especially in regard to physical projects such as dams, roads, power, plants and so on. Increasing numbers of planners and analysts promote the judgment of policies and programmes on the basis of economic criterion. Not all policies or government agencies can be broken into small submits or analysis.

Implementation of public policies in India has been also hampered by conceptual weakness in policy analysis capability. For example, National Health Policy (1983) was adopted without examining alternative policy options. The inability to set priorities and strategies for reducing health had also resulted partly from the absence of policy analysis. Most of the State Pollution Control Boards in India suffer from lack of professional staff, sufficient time and data. In addition, major policies have been adopted without much discussion over the policy alternatives, reflecting a strong adherence to secrecy within the bureaucracy. Referring to archaic criminal legal system, the first woman IPS officer remarked: Our laws have never been known to keep pace with ground needs, We still have the Police Act of 1861, Prison Act of 1894 and the Indian Penal Code, also of the same vintage. Our elected representatives accuse each other but do not legislate. They have failed us on this completely.

2.3.2.3 Policy Statement

Often, policy statements announced by the government contain ambiguous and contradictory terms, posing problems in implementation. The implementers at the field level often face a variety of problems because they do not find the policy statements made in clear words and terms. Policy statement for Abatement of Pollution (1992), for example, stressed that "the emphasis will be on clean technologies" and not on clean up technologies. The focus,

therefore, must be on source reduction and substitution of chemicals with safe alternatives.

Similarly, a policy statement issued by the Punjab government on 22 August 2008 contained vague words. Government declared a new purchase policy allowing principals of medical, dental, ayurvedic and homeopathic colleges in the state to purchase machinery and equipment as per the contract rates at the PGI, Government Medical College and Hospital Sector 32, Chandigarh, Health and Family Welfare Department, Punjab or Punjab Health System Corporation whichever was the lowest. In such circumstances, implementers use their own discretion while implementing them, or they refer the statements back to the higher rungs of administration from clarification. In both the cases, the policy implementation is adversely affected. A contradictory policy statement is often subject to different interpretations by the Indian Courts resulting in a new policy.

2.3.3 PRESSURE OF TIME

It is observed that the pressure of time creates an implementation gap. The time period fixed for according benefits as per the policy is not pragmatic. Normally, while fixing the time frame, the policy formulators do not take into consideration the conditions prevailing. They become idealistic while setting the time targets and forget the work load at hand with the respective implementing agencies. Consequently, the head offices press the agencies for speedy implementation. The implementers, under such conditions, are unable to perform their duties properly and efficiently with regard to the said policy, as well as other works at hand.

2.3.4 POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Political problems in the implementation of public policies are grave and complex. These hamper in securing effective implementation in the areas related to politics, as discussed in the following sections:

2.3.4.1 Lack of Political Support and Political Interference

Once a policy is formulated, there is no guarantee that it will be implemented, and often it is the case that the policy may not be implemented at all. This leads to what can be called implementation failure, the cause of which may be the lack of political support. For example, the National Population Policy (2000) has not been able to achieve its objectives owing to

poor political commitment. In the implementation of policies, bureaucratic decisions often become political decisions. Employees are hired to appease one or other influential politicians; contracts are awarded to relatives of big official; or ex-officials become consultants at lucrative salaries. Complicity in such actions is not for personal gain but for keeping active politicians happy.

2.3.4.2 Centralized Policy Process

Frictions in the relationship between central and state governments have very often affected the policy implementation process adversely. In the area of environmental protection, for example, the policy process is heavily centralised. Policy decisions taken at the central level, including setting goals and procedure, ignore the local culture. It has been also been observed that the central government was more willing to adopt pollution, health, education and environment policies and programmes, but when the time came for their implementation, state governments often lacked the political will to proceed. It is still questionable, whether health or environmental quality has improved at all in terms of safe water, clean air and healthy living conditions. Policy makers at the central level increasingly realise that wide implementation gaps exist in several social policies. As a whole, the organisational structure for implementation of social policies is in a better shape at the central level than at the state level, especially in terms of finance, technical expertise, and the rapport between various ministries. On the contrary, serious financial problems exist at the state level because of budgetary deficits. The financial problems increase the reluctance of the states to allocate resources for the implementation of public policies, especially in the areas of education, health, environment and population which are perceived as a non productive investment.

Flood hit states during the months of July and August every year have to approach the central government for compensation, and central team is appointed to assess the loss due to the floods. Politicians both at the state and central levels often discuss short term rather than long term measures for flood control. The focus often is on ad hoc measures such as flood relief. Moreover, flood relief operations provide ample scope for politicians, public officials and contractors to indulge in black-marketing, distribution of substandard materials and diversion of government funds. Thus, flood control policies are destined for a short life

in that, they deal with a problem that can be resolved. Apparently there is lack of support from the organised interests for a permanent solution to the flood problem.

2.3.4.3 Interest Group Politics

When a policy is made, its implementation is far from assured. The interest pressure fields are also to be found inside public organisations. Some groups may work to weaken implementation. And certain industries may place direct pressure on the bureaucracy to reverse a policy decision or they work from their end to weaken it. And within the bureaucracy, senior administrators may even support and uphold such actions. This is called the interest group politics. For example, several industries have little concern about the environmental consequences of sitting decisions, retrofitting old technology or introducing new technology. Industry influences the environmental policy implementation process through the business lobby, and representatives of business interests. Pressures from industrial associations during consideration of Environmental Protection Act in the Parliament resulted in the weakening of the penalties for non compliance and also forced the government to delay enforcement of the passed legislation. Because of low cost of non compliance, industrial firms in both public and private sectors, have had little incentive to comply with environmental regulations. At the same time, it is important to note that the labour unions have not taken any major initiatives for the control of pollution problems inside or outside the factories, or for the safe use of hazardous facilities and machineries. Most industrialists in India are politically powerful. They have links with the ruling parties both in the central and state governments. In this way, the environment policy process continues to be influenced by vested interests.

Apart from these, the policy implementers face many other problems and challenges. Every sub section of the society clamours for the protection of its interests. While doing so, the mobilised people go to any extent to safeguard their interests. The implementers are influenced the process is distorted, and distracted and efforts are made to get the policies implemented in a way that suits the specific interests. One such is the case of implementation of National rural employment guarantee Scheme. It was pointed out by the Chief Justice of India, Justice K.G.Balakrishnan that the scheme was one of the most progressive welfare measures so far taken in the country. But unfortunately, it was stopped halfway through its process by factors such as corruption, lack of transparency and nexus between contractors and officials. Thus the implementation process remains weak and tardy.

2.3.4.4 Unionization of Bureaucracy

Another glaring implementation gap is the unionisation of bureaucracy, especially the lower bureaucracy. This has destroyed not only the work culture and discipline, but also demoralised supervisory staff which offers little resistance to the unionisation pressure. The higher and the middle levels of bureaucracy are too powerless and marginalised to give any relief to citizens in case of corruption and unresponsiveness of the lower level staff at the cutting edge of administration. Further, endemic political interference by the political executive has compounded the marginalisation of the higher bureaucracy, thereby under mining its capacity to implement public policies.

2.3.4.5 Lack of Public Involvement

Public involvement in policy implementation programmes such as education, health, population control, control of pollution, forest conservation, puts tremendous pressure on the administrative staff to produce results. By staging demonstration, protests and mass movements, the public can largely offset the power base of vested interest groups and build a power structure of its own to implement policies. The Chipko Movement in the Uttar Pradesh hills and the Appiko Movement in Western Ghats of Karnataka were launched against tree felling for commercial purposes. However the public in India has provided a necessary clientele to the environmental protection bureaucracy. Local movements against deforestation and construction of dams are sporadic in nature. Due to the limited resource base, poor knowledge and lack of political support, the people have not been enthusiastic in creating mass movements for implementing and enforcing public policies. Thus, in a developing country like India, most programmes remain neglected for want of people mobilisation and support.

2.3.5 ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

In most developing countries the greatest obstacles to implementation are administrative and political, rather than economic. Implementation of development programmes and policies in these countries has exerted strains on the varying capacities of the governmental and other institutional machinery. Conceivably there are innumerable factors which could affect policy implementation process. Important factors are: the organisational structuring for implementation, their location in the governmental system, the nature and range of authority and the responsibility vested in them, the range of control accorded to implementers for planning, coordinating and managing critical programme resources, the technical qualification of key implementers and the nature of the programme undertaken. Major problems facing the administration in the policy implementation can be briefly discussed in the following sections.

2.3.5.1 Lack of Institutional Capacity

The present institutional structure and administrative capabilities for implementation of environmental laws and policies, for example, are by no means adequate in the face of the complexities of environmental, political, social and economic problems. Here, the institutional structure refers to the whole system of rules and regulations by which administrative capabilities, tasks and responsibilities are clearly defined among the administrators. In the wake of the terror attack in Mumbai on 26 November 2008, Kiran Bedi remarked: Our system is old and medieval and the neighbours know this. We have not let the police system become professional and fully accountable because politicians and bureaucrats want to retain control. Professionalising the police means true rule of law. The police is fully accountable to law and no one else.

2.3.5.2 Lack of Personnel and Financial Resources

It is observed that in developing countries, most of the policies are not implemented in full scale because of lack of trained staff and lack of financial resources. In other words, thoroughly planned out policies can fail to attain the proper goals without competent personnel. Implementation implies allocating personnel resources to the appropriate tasks and activities, motivating them to do well and rewarding them for their performance. Regardless of their status, specialised knowledge, experience, qualifications or any other factor, all policy programme personnel need to work as a cohesive team for the purpose of achieving policy results. But often there is no allocation of tasks to the personnel resource. Further, the facilitative aspect of the leadership variable does have important consequences on the inputs critical to the policy and programme implementation.

For moving into the implementation phases of the policies, implementers need financial and infrastructural resources. Of course, the policy makers do make provisions for the finance for carrying out the policy goals. Provision of funds in the budget does not mean much because the sanctioned amount may not reach the implementing agency on time. Further the amount sanctioned may not be enough to meet the requirements. At the state level, serious financial problems exist due to budgetary deficits. Most states haves deficit budgets, needing the central government's support to balance the budget. These budgetary problems increase the reluctance of states to allocate resources for policies concerning public health and educational system because they are perceived as non productive investments.

2.3.5.3 Lack of Administrative will and Motivation

It is found that social policies have remained unimplemented largely for lack of administrative will and motivation. The officials involved in the process of implementation do not find enough scope for getting motivation. In the present environment, officials are not likely to feel enthusiastic about implementing policies, especially in the enforcement of environmental laws. Even in cases where public officials are inclined to implement such laws, their authority and positions are undermined by the alliance of industrial magnets and local politicians. They fall to captivity of monetary benefits and find their escape in formalistic enforcement of the concerned laws.

2.3.5.4 Poor Co-Ordination and Co-Operation

Poor coordination and missing links among the administrative institutions sometimes stand in the way of implementing policy actions. For example, at the administrative level, different departments are concerned with implementation of policies relating to poverty alleviation programmes like Ministry/ Department of Urban Employment and Poverty alleviation, Ministry/Department of social Justice and empowerment, Ministry/ Department of Rural Development, Ministry/ Department of Tribal Affairs. But, the fact is that there is a lack of absolute cooperation and coordination among them. Similarly, policy implementation gaps are felt in population control and family planning programmes. Lack of proper coordination and cooperation among the administrative institutions is an important loophole in the whole institutional set up. Further adoption of unrealistic and un implementable policies has also been identified as major problems, especially in securing conformity to the family planning programmes in the course of their implementation.

2.3.6 CONDITIONS/ PROPOSALS FOR SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION

Implementation is seen varying along a continuum ranging from successful ones to those that have been aborted. Successful implementation involves many operations and procedures as well as time and resources. However, successful implementation should not be equated with impact measures as implementation is not the same thing as impact.

2.3.6.1 Emphasis on administrative Capability

Implementation of policies in social and economic areas depends largely on the administrative capability, which is a key factor in determining the achievement of policy goals. In the systems terms, we may assume that implementing institutional capability could be a measure in converting or processing inputs of the programme into certain outputs in the form of policy delivery. In this implementation process, critical inputs include:

- 1. Resources: These include personnel, financial and material and the like.
- 2. Structure: This refers to certain stable organisational roles and relationships which are policy relevant.
- **3. Technology:** This refers broadly to knowledge, techniques and practices essential the operation of organisation. (Coordinating planning and allocating resources).
- **4. Support:** This refers to political, legal and managerial support and roles which tend to promote the attainment of certain organisational roles.

We may assume that these inputs are not only essential and critical to the implementation of policies but also they vary in terms of their magnitude and quality.

2.3.6.2 Role of Leadership

Leadership is dominant factor in policy implementation, particularly in terms of its ability to alter the critical inputs in the implementation. Leadership refers broadly three qualities of the behaviour and activities of key policy managers. They are concerned with:

1. Facilitating the implementation process (facilitative role).

2. Solving the problem arising in the course of implementation (problem solving role)

3. Motivational and behavioural aspects to ensure a commitment to achieve desired policy goals (motivational role).

It may be pointed out that while the leadership determinant directly affects the critical inputs, it is also constrained in certain characteristics of these inputs. Weak organisational structure, inadequate and uncertain resources, weak support and poor technological capability could impose a heavy strain on the facilitative, problem solving and motivational capability of principal policy managers.

2.3.7 POLICY AGENDA

The formation of a policy issue however does not depend solely on a trigger. A link must be made between a trigger and a grievance or problem from the side of the public which then transforms the issue into an agenda item. As already noted, demands or claims made by citizens or interest groups on public officials (elected and non elected) in the political system for action or inaction on some perceived problems. These demands constitute what is known as 'Policy Agenda'. Policy agenda is therefore not to be interpreted as political demand. A policy agenda consist of issues that attract the serious attention of the policy makers and policy makers agree to consider these demands of the public.

As Cobb and Elder point out that there are two types of agenda:

- 1) The Systematic or Discussion Agenda
- 2) The Institutional or Governmental Agenda

The Systematic Agenda: The systematic discussion agenda "consists of all issues that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matter within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority". It may figure in the newspapers or in academic studies, highlighting the concerns of the people. Action on a perceived problem requires that the problem be brought to the notice of government institution which has the authority to take suitable action.

Governmental Agenda: A governmental or institutional agenda consists of those issues to which public officials give serious attention. This sort of agenda may arise from policy decisions, parliament's debate and executive decisions. In comparison to a systematic agenda, an institutional agenda is an action agenda which is more specific. Women's representation in parliament and the proposal on abolition of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution to cite a few examples have been on the institutional agenda for a pretty long time. Old items it is observed end to receive priority from decision makers. Policy makers presume that older problems merit more attention because of their longevity and the greater familiarity officials have with them.

2.3.7.1 Factors in agenda setting

There are many factors which play an important role in agenda setting. These are as follows:

- Role of the political leadership
- Crisis as the basis of agenda setting
- Protest or violence work as a basis of agenda setting
- Affective role of media
- Role of the political parties
- Role of bureaucrats
- Role of individual citizens
- Past experiences

A case in agenda setting

Coal mining: - On November 1968 an explosion occurred at the consolidated Coal Company's mine number 9 in West Virginia. In the tragic explosion 79 miners were trapped below the surface and died before they were rescued. This tragedy focused national attention on the plight of the workers in the mines. In response to pressure exercised by the workers, civil society organisations and media a new legislation was passed which dealt with the problems of the mine workers.

2.3.7.2 Formulation of Policy Proposals

As soon as a policy proposal has been conceived, the concerned ministry examines its

constitutional, administrative, political, economic, social and other implications. At this time expert advice is also sought and possible repercussions are examined. After going through a detailed examination of such a policy proposals, a memorandum is prepared by the sponsoring ministry and is submitted to the cabinet for its approval. The cabinet further conduct the close scrutiny of the major aspects of policy proposals. Before the proposal is to be introduced in the parliament, a considerable exercise is to be done at the executive level such as collection of information, research work, and exploration of alternatives. After the preparation of the policy proposals at the executive level is over, now the proposal is being ready to be introduced in the legislature for authorization.

2.3.7.3 Introduction of Policy Proposals

In the parliament, every proposal for being translated into a policy has to undergo three readings in either house. The first reading starts with the introduction of policy proposal in either of the house. The minister introducing the policy proposal in the house has to submit written notice to the house. After the proposal is introduced in the house it is to be published in the official gazette. The second reading comprises of discussion stages. At this stage the general discussion is made on the policy proposal. Generally the policy proposals of complicated nature are referred to the special or joint committees which consider the proposal clause by clause as the house does. The house then takes the policy proposal into consideration. Discussion of the each clause is again made and amendments if required are moved. If the amendments are accepted by a majority of the members present and voting, then they become the part of policy proposals. When motion that the policy proposal be taken into consideration has been carried and no amendments in the policy proposal has been made or after the amendments are over, the member in charge may move that the policy proposal be passed. This stage is known as the 3rd or final reading of the policy proposals. Here the debate is only confined to those arguments which either support or rejects it. In case of ordinary policy proposal, a simple majority of the members present and voting is required but a proposal having repercussions for the basic structure of the constitution of India, a special majority not less than 2/3 is required.

With the completion of all the readings the policy proposal is deemed to be passed by one house and now it is sent to the other for consideration. In the other house also, the policy proposal follow the similar course of action. If, however the other house rejects the policy

proposal or does not consider the said proposal for a period of 6 months from the dare of receipt of the policy proposal, it results into a deadlock. To overcome a joint setting of the both the houses is called by the president. After the conclusion of the deadlock the policy proposal is deemed to be passed by the majority of members present and voting. Now the policy proposal is sent to the president for his approval and it becomes public policy after his approval.

2.3.8 LET US SUM UP

The discussion in the present lesson informs us that public policy making is basically about the coupling policy problems and policy solutions that are considered as evolving independently of each other. The problems of public policy making are diverse ranging from conceptual (design and analysis), political, administrative, time management, etc. There are many proposals to resolve these problems that include improving administrative capability, improving leadership abilities, etc.

2.3.9 EXERCISE

- 1. Discuss the conceptual problems associated with public policy design and analysis.
- 2. Write a note on conceptual problems involved in public policy making.
- 3. What are the major administrative problems in public policy making?
- 4. Explain the issues of political support and public involvement in policy design.
- 5. What are the conditions or proposals for successful implementation of public policy?
- 6. Identify the role of leadership in solving problems of public policy.
- 7. Write a note on agenda setting in public policy.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – II: Policy Making Process

2.4 PUBLIC POLICY: ALTERNATIVES, CHOICES AND DECISION CRITERIA

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 2.4.0 Objectives
- 2.4.1 Introduction
- 2.4.2 Policy Alternatives
- 2.4.3 Forecasting and Evaluating Alternatives
- 2.4.4 Policy Choice
- 2.4.5 A Note on Decision Criteria
 - 2.4.5.1 Organization Values
 - 2.4.5.2 Personal Values
 - 2.4.5.3 Policy Values
 - 2.4.5.4 Ideological Values

2.4.6 Let Us Sum UP

2.4.7 Exercise

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will study how a policy maker consider various alternatives before choosing policy and what is bases for her/his choice. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the processes involved in finding various alternatives;
- how a policy maker chose a particular policy out of choices; and
- the organizational, personal, ideological values influences in opting for a particular choice.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

After the government has acknowledged the existence of a public problem and the need to do something about it, the policy maker need to decide on some course of action. Formulation of such course of action is the second stage in the policy cycle of policy formulation. It involves assessing the possible solutions to the problem by or to put in other way exploring the various alternatives available for addressing the problems and chose the best course of action which maximize the benefits and achieve the desired objectives in an effective and efficient manner. The decision maker is confronted with lots of problems and has to make a rational choice among the alternatives which is based on some value criteria. This unit will specifically deal with the policy alternative, policy choices and decision criteria.

2.4.2 POLICY ALTERNATIVES

Policy alternatives are the different course of action available to the decision maker with the help of which he measures the possible costs of each alternative and its relative consequences. First of all the decision finds why and weather there is a problem at all. Here the attempt is made to diagnose the form of market failure, which is confronted. For example, an environmentalist who is investigating alternative pollution control measures for Ganges will find that the water is being polluted by the dumping of industrial waste and untreated sewage to the water

Having identified the context of problem the objectives are decided and in order to achieve these objectives the alternative course of action is determined at the next step. Government
intervention may take any form. It is important to determining which kind of intervention is most positive in any particular situation.

For instance, in case of the pollution of the Ganges, one can consider the following possibilities:

- 1. Abutters in some areas of the river might be granted right by the government to clean water. They then would have the right to sue the polluter.
- 2. The government may require the concerned industrialists and cities and town dwellers to stop dumping waste and untreated sewage into the river. It may otherwise impose restrictions on them on the amount of dumping. In the later case, the government may prescribe such specifics as enforcements stringency of standards.
- 3. The government may permit polluters to purchase the rights to discharge certain amount of pollutants. The polluters may require to pay effluent charges and to install pollution control devices.
- 4. The state government itself may take the charge of cleaning and removing the pollutants that others dump.

These are some of the alternatives for pollution control. As difficulties are identified and the additional information is available, refinement of alternative course of action will continue throughout the analysis. Determining alternative course of action gives a chance of creative thinking as well as hard work. It proceeds in the straightforward manner from the identification of the problems to the selection of preferred action.

2.4.3 FORECASTING AND EVALUATING THE ALTERNATIVES

Having identified the underlying problem and having determined the alternatives for policy choice, a question arises, what are the consequences of each of the alternative? For this the analyst will turn to the relevant model of forecasting the consequences. In case of pollution control problem, the models needed would be far more complex. Here, the analyst would have to build a model of how the quality of the river responds to the various types of pollutants and weather conditions. Only then he can forecasts the consequences, in terms of quality of water and the alternative measures and degree of pollution control. In such a case the model based on computer simulation is most appropriate. The analyst also

tries to predict the effects on the individual and the industrialists affected by various control measures on the water quality. It is necessary here to predict all the effects of the proposed policies, not just the economic effects desired by the decision maker.

The question of measuring success in the pursuit of each objective is difficult one. If, however, the analyst is to recommend a policy decision, he must find some way to evaluate the possible degree of improvement of water quality. Improvements in water quality will be achieved only at a very high cost, while the benefits of the pollution control may be enjoyed a small section of the society and the state have to bear a substantial cost in administering the pollution control. These costs therefore must be evaluated. In the view of such conflicting objectives, it becomes for an appointed decision maker to make these tough policy choices. However, evaluation of the outcomes is of great importance as it reminds us to look carefully at the cost-benefit analysis of a particular policy choice. Too often, policy choices have been sabotaged by bureaucrats and interested politicians. The analysts should seek the counsel of experts in the field.

2.4.4 POLICY CHOICE

Policy choice is choosing the best course of action among the available alternatives which helps in achieving the targets in the best possible way. This is the last step in the policy analysis process. The situation may be simple for the policy maker that he can simply look at the consequences predicted for each alternative and select the one that is best. In contrast, it may be so complex that he may have to think of his presence among the various possible outcomes, that is, how the world would behave in response to the possible choices. It is well known that the choice among the competing alternatives is complex, for the future is always uncertain. But by enhancing our capabilities to forecast the consequences of alternative course of actions, and providing a framework for valuing those consequences, the technique of policy analysis lead us to better decision.

It should be noted that the choice of alternative is largely dependent on the method of evaluation that has been utilised in the stage. For example, the nature of the critical path method (CPM) is to select the optimal path based on the allocation of resources as well as time. Cost benefit analysis should similarly select the programme or service option that yields the greatest net benefit to net cost. The increasing introduction of computer based

techniques into office and work set up has also greatly contributed to the selection of solutions. In many cases, administrators, that is, those at the upper levels of management, have a tendency to also rely on their own intuition and experience in selecting and backing a particular solution. But they may have to face problems when public enquiries are conducted. Finally, selection of the solution, particularly in the public sector, involves the necessity for a trade-off between efficiency and equity.

2.4.5 A NOTE ON DECISION CRITERIA

Whether the decisional process they select is rational comprehensive, incremental, or mixed scanning in nature, those who make choices among alternative must have some basis for doing so. While some "decisions" may be the product of chance, inadvertence, random selection, or inaction that permits particular actions to prevail, most decisions will make conscious choice. The question then becomes: what kind of criteria influence the action of decision maker? Of course, many factors appear to impinge upon political decision-maker, political and social pressure, economic conditions, procedural requirements, previous commitments, and the pressure of time and so on. In our concern with these, however, we should be careful not to neglect the values of the decision maker himself, notwithstanding that may be difficult to determine and impossible to isolate in many instances.

Most of the values that may serve to guide the behaviour of decision maker may be summarised in four categories.

Political values: The decision maker may evaluate policy alternatives in term of their import for his political party or the clientele groups of his agency. Decisions are made on the basis of political advantage, with policies viewed as means of advancement or achievement of the political party or the interest group goals. Political scientists have often studied and evaluated policy making from this perspective. Particular decisions are examined as being made for the benefit of the particular group.

2.4.5.1 Organization Values

Decision makers, especially bureaucrats may also be influenced by organisational values. Organisations such as administrative agencies utilise many rewards and sanctions in an efforts to induce their members to accept, and act on the basis of, organisationally determined values. To the extent this occurs, the individual's decision may be guided by such considerations as the desires to see his organisation survive, to enhance or expand its programs and activities, or to maintain its power and prerogatives.

2.4.5.2 Personal Values

The urge to protect or promote one's physical or financial well being, reputation, or historical position may also serve as a decision criteria. The politician who accepts the bribe to take a particular decision, such as award of licence or contract, obviously has a potential benefit in mind. On a different plane, the president who says he is not going to be "the first president to lose war," and who acts accordingly, is also being influenced by personal considerations, such as concern for his "place in history."

2.4.5.3 Policy Values

Neither the discussion to this point nor cynicism should lead us to conclude that political decision maker is influenced by consideration of political, organisational or personal benefits. The decision maker may well act on the basis of their perception of public interest or belief concerning what is proper or morally correct public policy. A legislator who votes in favour of civil rights legislation may well do so because he believes it is morally correct and that equality is a desirable goal of public policy, notwithstanding that his vote may cause him some political risk. Studies of the Supreme Court indicate the justices are influenced by policy values in deciding cases.

2.4.5.4 Ideological Values

Ideologies are set of logically related values and beliefs which present simplified picture of the world and serve as a guide to action for people. In the Soviet Union, Marxist-Leninists ideology has served at least in part as asset of prescription for social and economic change. Although the Soviets have sometime departed from Marxist-Leninist ideology, as in the use of economic incentives to increase production, it will still serve as a means for rationalising and legitimising policy action by the regime. In many of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Middle East, nationalism-the desire of the people or nation for autonomy and deep concern with their own characteristics, needs and problems-has been an important factor shaping both foreign and domestic policies. Nationalism has become particularly important in the world politics in the twentieth century, because it fuelled the desire of

colonial people for independence and created and intensified conflicts among both old and new nations.

2.4.6 LET US SUM UP

Public policy making is the principal function of the state. Since its formulation is a complex and dynamic process, no theoretical model is adequate to explain the policy decision totally. Public policy making is a complex, dynamic process whose components make different contributions to it. Starting from the identification of problems it goes on developing alternatives and evaluates each alternative and its possible consequences and chose the best one which achieves the desired target efficiently. These guidelines and alternatives formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means.

2.4.7 EXERCISE

- 1. Comment on the types of decisions with elaborating on programmed and nonprogrammed decisions.
- 2. Identify various alternatives in decision making and explain the way to choose best alternatives.
- 3. What is decision evaluation? Describe the selection of solutions in decision making process.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – III: Policy Analysis

3.1 FEATURES, PERSPECTIVES AND METHODS

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 3.1.0 Objectives
- 3.1.1 Introduction
- 3.1.2 Origin and Features of Policy Analysis
 - 3.1.2.1 Definition and Implications of Policy Analysis
 - 3.1.2.2 Concerns of Policy Analysis
- 3.1.3 Methods or Types of Policy Analysis
- 3.1.4 Policy Analysis Process
- 3.1.5 Stages in Policy Analysis
- 3.1.6 Criticism of Rational Policy Analysis
- 3.1.7 Purpose of Policy Analysis
- 3.1.8 Scope of Policy Analysis
- 3.1.9 Let Us Sum UP
- 3.1.10 Exercise

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson focuses on most fundamental issues involved in 'Policy Analysis' such as what actually meant by policy analysis, what are the basic characteristics of policy analysis, what are the methods involved in policy analysis. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the meaning and purpose of policy analysis;
- various methods of policy analysis and also types of policy analysis; and
- limitations of policy analysis.

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The post-World War II period saw the emergence of a technocratic approach to deal with policy problems. This approach sought to render inefficient and contestable political means of policy decisions obsolete by substituting them with sound techniques of scientific policy analysis that could help legislators and executive decision-makers select objectively correct policies. The approach tended to place technical specialists from a range of disciples in the role of intermediaries to democratic policy decisions with the responsibility of "locating data and providing interpretations that are relevant to the policy problems of a given period." By systematizing choices through the use of information and knowledge, 'policy analysis' was seen to be a way to render politics and ideology less important than technical analysis in identifying and solving those policy problems and to overcome the limitations of individual and political rationality through scientific knowledge.

The progress in 'information technology' and information offered the prospect of substituting problem-solving techniques for intuitive judgements and guesses. The development of information, knowledge and technique of analysis has stimulated research which is used by decision/policy-makers for policy problems. The generic name for this is 'policy analyses'. It may be here clarified that the distinction between analysis of policy-making and evaluation of policy is not well demarcated. The evaluation studies of policy feed into analysis of problems and policy issues and vice versa. Thus, policy analysis includes analysis which take place before a decision or analysis or which take place after to assess or evaluate a policy.

3.1.2 ORIGIN OF POLICY ANALYSIS

Policy analysis is as old as State itself. Its origin can be traced to the beginning of civilization itself, when kings sat with their councillors to discuss policy. However, the present policy analysis has a twentieth century flavour.

As the state developed and intellectual technology became more available, particularly in the 20th century, the nature of analysis of the choices and strategies for policies changed. As the state acquired more and more power and control, the need for application of rationality as a basis for policy also increased. In the 1960s through 1970s, policy study centres and think tanks were set up in many developed countries. There has been considerable growth in the research and training in policy analysis since the early 1970s in many developed countries. In these countries, policy analysis has been substantially stimulated by the government's increased concern for public policy problems. However at present, there is a marked shift towards a more 'anti-analytical' approach to policy-making.

3.1.2.1 Definition and Implications of Policy Analysis

The acquisition and dissemination of information about public policies have become a major theme in the social sciences, especially in the discipline of Public Administration. The use of such knowledge for making, managing and evaluating public policy is generally termed as "policy analysis". Public policy analysis is thus nothing more than estimating the impact of public policy on the government programmes.

The dictionary of Public Administration defines policy analysis as "A systematic and data based alternative to intuitive judgements about the effects of policy or policy options. It is used a) for problem assessment and monitoring, b) as a 'before the fact' decision tool and c) for evaluation.

In Dunn's words, policy analysis is "An applied discipline which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilized in political settings to resolve public problems".

Patton and Sawicki observe that policy analysis is "A systematic evaluation of the technical and economic feasibility and political viability of alternative policies, strategies for implementation, and the consequences of policy adoption".

Policy analysis encourages social scientists and policy makers to examine policy issues and decisions with scientific tools. Dye labels policy analysis as the 'thinking man's response to demands. He also observes that public policy analysis specially involves:

- 1. A primary concern with explanation rather than prescription
- 2. A rigorous search for the causes and consequences of public policies.

3. An effort to develop and test general propositions about the causes and consequences of public policy and to accumulate reliable research findings of general relevance.

Policy analysis, in other words, is a technique which puts data to use in, or deciding about estimating and measuring the consequences of public policies. Its purpose is twofold, when it provides maximum information with a minimal cost about:

- 1. The likely consequences of proposed policies
- 2. The actual consequences of the policies already adopted.

To achieve these two purposes, various methods or approaches such as the following are applied:

- Cost benefit analysis
- Economic forecasting
- Systems analysis and simulation
- Financial planning
- Policy evaluation and impact assessment
- Social indicators.

A number of trends have occurred in policy analysis research since the early 1970s. Nagel has identified four key elements to it which have been undergoing changes over the past 40 years. These are:

- 1. Goals with which policy analysis is concerned
- 2. Means for achieving those goals

3. Methods for determining the effects of alternative means on goal-achievement

4. Profession of policy analysis which is applying these methods in relating means to goals.

Policy analysis is not a discipline like economics, sociology or political science. It is thriving as a sub-discipline of the various social sciences, and as an inter-discipline depending on the existing fields of economics, political science, and other social and even natural sciences.

3.1.2.2 Features and Concerns of Policy Analysts

There are various groups and individuals (academics, pressure groups and interest groups, political parties, freelance consultants) involved in policy analysis and are concerned with:

- 1. Social problem and the relationship of public policies to these problems
- 2. The content of public policies
- 3. The contributions of policy makers
- 4. The likely consequences of policy in terms of outputs and outcomes.

Policy analysis includes this parallel set of characteristics:

- 1. An inventory or search phase, limited in scope and directed at a particular issue.
- 2. A constrained search for alternatives, which are then all usually evaluated and displayed to the client.
- 3. The preparation of memoranda, issue papers, policy papers, or draft legislation.

4. A particular client, be it a chief executive, an elected official, a public interest group, a neighbourhood, or a bank, likely to have a particular perspective on the problem.

- 5. An issue or problem orientation, described alternatively as a reactive posture.
- 6. A time horizon often compromised by terms of elected officials and uncertainty.
- 7. A political approach to getting things accomplished.

However, several additional points should be made. First, policy analysis is, in a sense, only part of a larger policy planning process. Analysis itself is the breaking up of a policy

problem into its component parts, understand them, and developing ideas about what to do. Many activities beyond analysis are involved in the policy development process and the term "policy analysis" may often be used when "policy planning" would be more appropriate.

Second, the two descriptions suggest that policy analysis is much more reac¬tive than planning, always happening after someone has spotted a problem or proposed a solution. This is a reality of policy analysis at present; it may be a result of a shortage of resources for analysis in government. Someone must take the first step in creating or designing the plan, policy, or program, and this role of the professional planner in government has been severely neglected.

Third, planning is conducted because of the concern for the appropriate use of resources in the long run and the concern for the target public interest. As noted above, the policy analysis paradigm specifies work for a single client. That client might be an embodiment of the public interest, like a mayor taking a particularly heroic stand on an issue seen as vital to city residents. Or the client might hold a very personal agenda. like re-election, that could well work in opposition to the public interest.

3.1.3 METHODS OR TYPES OF POLICY ANALYSIS

As with the models of policy-making process, the methods or types of policy analysis also vary.

1. **Ex- ante analysis and ex post analysis:** while policy analysis is ex ante analysis when it takes place before a decision or an analysis, it is ex post analysis when it take place after to assess or evaluate policy. The ex-ante and ex-post policy analyses are also termed as prospective and retrospective policy analyses.

2. Scientific and pragmatic approach analysis: at one end of a continuum there are advocates such as Stokey and Zechauser who would take a purely scientific and positive view as to what policy analysis is and can be. At other end there is more pragmatic and more politically informed approach which accepts the limitations of rationality, whilst accepting the need for improving public decision making.

3. Prescriptive and descriptive policy analysis: the prescriptive analysis recommends

actions that result in a particular outcomes, while the descriptive analysis refers to the historical or retrospective analysis of past policies

3.1.4 POLICYANALYSIS PROCESS

Policy analysis models and techniques aim at providing a more rational basis for decisions. However policy making frameworks of rational analysis do vary. For Lasswell the following categories of functional analysis act as the base:

- Intelligence
- Promotion
- Prescription
- Invocation
- Application
- Termination
- Appraisal

For Jenkins the following seven stages are critical to policy analysis:

- Initiation
- Information
- Consideration
- Decision
- Implementation
- Evaluation
- Termination

Hogwood and Gunn set out the following stages for rational policy analysis:

- Deciding to decide
- Deciding how to decide

- Issue definition
- Forecasting
- Setting objectives and priorities
- Options analysis
- Policy implementation, monitoring and termination

Patton and Sawicki lay down a six step process for the policy analysis:

- 1. Verify, define and detail the problem
- 2. Establish evaluation criteria
- 3. Identify alternative policies
- 4. Evaluate alternative policies
- 5. Display and distinguish among alternative policies
- 6. Monitor the implemented policy

Policy/decision making in modern polity is a complex exercise. It involves the question of rationality which appears to be compatible with the real world of decision making in which there is considerable uncertainty.

Rational policy-making and policy strategist approach consist of following steps:

- 1. Identifying problems and objectives
- 2. Specifying and evaluating policy alternatives
- 3. Recommending policy action
- 4. Monitoring policy outcomes
- 5. Evaluating policy performance

3.1.5 STAGES IN THE POLICY ANALYSIS

There are several processes and stages involved in the policy analysis.

Identifying problems and objectives

This is the most important stage because many times the objectives of the problem analysis are not clear, and in some cases, the objectives are even contradictory. Policy analysis requires clarity in identifying the problems which are to be sorted out.

Specifying policy alternatives

Once a policy problem has been clearly identified, the policy analyst is required to specify and generate alternative policies. He will determine which alternative is the most positive in any particular situation.

Evaluating policy alternatives

Once a problem has been clearly stated, and alternatives for policy choice have been determined it is important to forecast the consequences of each of the alternatives. For this, the policy analyst will turn to a relevant model.

Recommending policy action

The next and important stage in policy analysis relates to making the preferred choice. The situation may be so simple for the policy maker that he can simply look at the consequences predicted for each alternative and select the one that is the best.

Monitoring policy outcomes and evaluating policy performance

Generally, the policy/decision analyst is not involved in the implementation and monitoring of policies. However, for better policies, it is important that policy analyst be consulted in the maintenance, monitoring and also the evaluation of the implemented policy. Similarly evaluation of the programme is important to improve the quality of programme analysis. It must be realized that policy could fail because the programme was not implemented as it was designed or failed to produce the intended results, because the underlying assumptions were either incorrect or irrelevant.

Thus, it can be established that the strategy which frames rational policy analysis has its own complexity of exercises in each stage.

3.1.6 CRITICISM OF THE RATIONAL POLICY ANALYSIS

There are several limitations to the use of analytical work in real policy decision making.

Democratic Society is undermined: Lasswell views the future of the policy sciences as being directed towards improving the practice of democracy and a fuller utilization of human dignity, in practice, the idea of policy analysis has been criticized for undermining democratic society.

Weak Involvement in Policy Implementation: Heineman notes that analysis may be strong in diagnosing the problems and formulation of policy, but it is weak in terms of how a policy should be implemented. A policy analysis is of no use if it cannot be communicated to others.

Difficult to Predict the Impact: Another limitation of policy analysis is that social ills are so complex that analysts are incapable of predicting the impact of their proposed policies. In fact the ills are shaped by so many forces that simple explanation of them is hardly possible.

3.1.7 PURPOSE OF POLICY ANALYSIS

Analysis may be undertaken for the following reasons:

Accountability: To demonstrate achievement of goals and objectives, to illustrate the fulfilment of responsibilities to another body or institution.

Knowledge: To expand the level of understanding of a particular issue and/or to develop further empirical techniques of analysis. As discussed above, the policy analyst is the focal point for the consideration of and the understanding of the environment in which the ministry must operate. Recognising that this environment is dynamic and subject to change from external factors, the analyst must be constantly analysing trends, and their potential impact on the ministry and its programs.

Program Improvement: Policy analysts are not responsible for programme delivery but are best placed to analyse and examine the results of these programs in an unbiased and objective manner. They have the knowledge of analytical tools to determine whether or not programmes are meeting standard criteria of efficiency, effectiveness, economy and relevance and can illustrate potential shortcomings in programme design.

Problem definition: Briefly describing the problem, noting the triggers and the reasons for government involvement.

Background and Context: A description of trends in the policy field, experience in other jurisdictions, differing approaches used by governments in the past and an awareness of the audience.

Options: An analysis of the costs and benefits of alleviating the problem/improving the situation through different policies; quantification of these options where possible.

Conclusions: A statement recognising the legitimacy of the policy problem and suggesting a general plan of action.

Recommendations: A specific set of statements describing, in detail, the preferred option. Recommendations should include factors such as costs, timings, resource implications, lead ministry etc.

3.1.8 SCOPE OF POLICY ANALYSIS

Policy analysis can be delineated into two broad areas:

1. It involves policy research and analysis and is directed at better policy making. Generally, it involves marshalling techniques, models, policy choices and strategies;

2. Policy analysis involves impact evaluation research. This research is aim at improving the performance of existing policies. This is mainly programme evaluation studies. The programme evaluation could be prospective or retrospective. Prospective evaluation assesses the programme alternatives in terms of feasibility, capability and propspects, prior to implementation. Its goal is to determine which policy alternative could be better implemented or would achieve higher performance. Programme evaluation can be retrospective if it concerns the evaluation of ongoing or completed programmes. The goal is the collection of programme data, which will help managers and others to decide on issues of improved performance and modifications. However, the scope and sheer size of the public sector has grown enormously is all the developing countries in response to the increasing complexity of technology; social organisation, industrialisation and urbanisation. At present, the functions of practically all governments, especially of the developing countries, have significantly increased. They are now concerned with the more complex functions of

nation building and socio economic progress. Today, the government is not merely the keeper of peace, the arbiter of disputes and the provider of common goods and day to day services. It has directly or indirectly become the principal innovator, the major determiner of social and economic programmes and the main financier as well as the main guarantor of large scale enterprises. In many developing countries, there is great pressure on government to accelerate national development, make use of up-to-date and relevant technological innovations, adopt and facilitate necessary institutional changes, increase national production, make full use of human and other resources and improve the level of living. These trends and developments have, therefore enhanced both the size and scope of public policies. The range of public policy is vast from the vital to the trivial.

Today public policies may deal with such substantive areas as defence, environmental protection, medical care and health, education, housing, transportation, taxation, inflation, science and technology and so on.

3.1.10 LET US SUM UP

With all the limitations, the idea of analysing policy-making and policy analysis is not without its advantages, and as such it should not be ignored altogether. Indeed it seems safe to say that social scientists can at least attempt to measure the impact of present and past public policies and make this knowledge available to policy makers. Reasons, knowledge, and scientific analysis are always better than absence of any knowledge.

Policy analysis may not provide solutions to society's ills but it is still an appropriate tool in approaching policy questions. It enables us to understand the causes and consequences of public policies. In broader term, this frame work does allow us to analyse the complexities of the real world. The strength of the analytical approach is that it affords a rational structure within which we may consider the multiplicity of reality. The scope of policy analysis can be classified into two broad areas policy determination and policy impact evaluation. Policy analysis is client oriented, politically sensitive and inter-disciplinary and adopts scientific methods in its analysis. Beside policy analysis is involved in prescription of policies and strategies for tackling social problems. In policy advocacy, it helps to influence future policy choices. It focuses on the study of the causes, processes, formation, implementation and consequences of public policy. Finally, policy analysis encapsulates analysis of policy

content, process, output and policy evaluation as well as process advocacy and policy advocacy.

3.1.11 EXERCISE

- 1. Define the origin of policy analysis and explain what is policy analysis.
- 2. Explain the types of policy analysis.
- 3. Enlist different stages of policy analysis.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – III: Policy Analysis

3.2 MODELS FOR POLICY ANALYSIS: MASS, INCREMENTAL, GROUP AND INSTITUTIONAL

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 3.2.0 Objectives
- 3.2.1 Introduction
- 3.2.2 Mass Model

3.2.3 Incremental Model

3.2.3.1 Constraints in Policy Process

3.2.3.2 Illustration of Incremental Model

3.2.4 Institutional Model

3.2.4.1 Political Institutionalism

3.2.5 Group Model

- 3.2.5.1 Meaning and Definition
- 3.2.5.2 Types of Pressure Groups
- 3.2.5.3 Role of Pressure Groups

3.2.6 Let Us Sum UP

3.2.7 Exercise

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will understand some of the model related to policy analysis. Since policy making is dynamic process due to involvement of conflicting interests, the policy analysis cannot proceed on a uniform set of pattern. Hence, various perspectives and models developed to analyse public policy making, which we will study in this lesson. After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the importance of model in public policy analysis;
- some of the significant models in the policy analysis such as mass, incremental, institutional and group.

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Policy analysis can be defined as the systematic investigation of alternative policy options and the assembly and integration of the evidence for and against each option. It involves a problem-solving approach, the collection and interpretation of information, and some attempt to predict the con- sequences of alternative courses of action. The fundamental purpose of policy analysis is, to facilitate the reaching of sound policy decisions.

Policy making process has a key place in the government system. That is why in the research of modern social sciences the policy analysis has taken an important place. The social as well as management scientists have studied the policy process and put forward various models. In analysing public policy, certain models, maps are constructed through which policy process could be analysed. Of these models advanced by theorists and social scientists as well as economists, the mass, incremental, group and elite model are more prominent. In this lesson, an attempt has been made you to understand what these models actually are and how they help us in understanding public policy making process. **3.2.2 MASS MODEL**

A policy-making elite acts in an environment characterized by apathy and information distortion, and governs a largely passive mass. Policy flows downward from the elite to the mass. Society is divided into those who have power and those who do not. Elites share values that differentiate them from the mass. The prevailing public policies reflect elite values, which generally preserve the status quo. Elites have hither income, more education,

and higher status than the mass. Public policy may be viewed as the values and preferences of a governing elite. The elites shape mass opinion more than vice versa. Public officials and administrators merely carry out policies decided on by the elite, which flows 'down' to the mass. It assumes that

- 1) Society is divided into the powerful few and the powerless many; only the few allocate values (the mass do not decide public policy).
- 2) The few are not typical of the mass; elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper strata.
- 3) There must be slow and continuous movement of non#elites into elite positions, but only after they accept elite values, in order to maintain stability and avoid revolution.
- 4) All elites agree on basic social system and preservation values, i.e., private property, limited government, and individual liberty.
- 5) Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary, reflecting changes in elite values (not mass demands).

6)Active elites are subject to little influence from apathetic masses.

Implications are that the responsibility for the state of things rests with the elites, including the welfare of the mass. The mass is apathetic and ill-informed; mass sentiments are manipulated by the elite; the mass has only an indirect influence on decisions and policy. As communication flows only downward, democratic popular elections are symbolic in that they tie the mass to the system through a political party and occasional voting. Policies may change incrementally but the elites are conservative and won't change the basic system. Only policy alternatives that fall within the range of elite value consensus will be given serious consideration. Competition centers around a narrow range of issues, and elites agree more than they disagree; there is always agreement on constitutional government, democratic procedures, majority rule, freedom of speech and of the press, freedom to form political parties and run for office, equality of opportunity, private property, individual initiative and reward, and the legitimacy of free enterprise and capitalism. The masses cannot be relied on to support these values consistently, thus the elite must support them.

3.2.3 INCREMENTAL MODEL

Incremental theory is the most appropriate model for analysing most of the public policies. Incrementalism views public policy as a continuation of past government activities with only incremental modifications. Economist Charles E. Lindblom, first presented the incremental model in the course of a critique of the traditional model of decision making. According to Lindblom, decision makers do not annually review the whole range of existing and proposed policies, identify societal goals, rank order preference for each policy alternative in terms of the ratio of benefits to costs and then make a selection on the basis of relevant information.

Incrementalism emphasizes the amelioration of concrete problems rather than the pursuit of abstract ideals such as social justice. Affected publics bring problems to government through a process Lindblom termed the social fragmentation of analysis. No single actor possesses information sufficient to make a rational policy decision, and problems are often addressed without ever being fully defined.

Because limitations on both time and information preclude examination of more than a few options, policy makers typically focus on alternatives differing only marginally from previous policies. This narrow focus confines attention to options that are well understood and politically feasible.

In practice, policy makers do not identify objectives and then examine alternative means, as called for by the rational ideal. To the contrary, means and ends are typically considered simultaneously, inasmuch as different policy alternatives represent different trade-offs among contending values.

Incremental outcomes are virtually inevitable, given the need to bargain over a limited number of alternatives that differ only marginally from past policies. Large change is nevertheless possible through the accumulation of incremental steps resulting from repeated policy cycles. This serial nature of the policy process represents yet another advantage of incrementalism, according to Lindblom: it permits policy makers to learn through a process of trial and error, converging on a solution gradually through a process of successive approximations.

Because Lindblom believed most policy issues exhibit conflict over objectives and inadequate information, he expected that departures from incrementalism would be rare. The knowledge base would be sufficient to permit rational decision making only for minor technical or administrative decisions. Wars, revolutions, or other grand opportunities may serve as catalysts for major policy shifts, but the eventual consequences of these dramatic departures would be unpredictable.

3.2.3.1 Constraints in Policy Process

Lindblom argues that constraints of time, intelligence and cost prevent policy makers from identifying the full range of policy makers from identifying the full range of policy. Public policies are generally viewed as a repetition of post politics with limited changes. They are mostly the replica of the earlier policies. Constraints of time, intelligence and most prevent policy makers from identifying the full range of policy alternatives and their consequences. Constraints of policies prevent the establishment of clear cut societal goals and the accurate calculation of cost benefit ratios. Hence it is pertinent to continue the past policies with marginal changes which results in incrementalism. The incremental model recognises the impractical nature of "rational comprehensive" policy making and describes a more conservative process of decision making.

Incrementalism is conservative in that existing program, policies and expenditures are considered as a base, and attention is concentrated on new programs and policies and on increases, decreases or modifications of current programmes. Policy makers generally accept the legitimacy of established programmes and tacitly agree to continue previous policies.

They do this first of all because they do not have the time, intelligence, or money to investigate all the alternatives to existing policy. The cost of collecting all this information is too great. Policy makers do not have sufficient predictive capacities, even in the age of computers, to know what all the consequences of each alternative will be. Nor are they able to calculate cost-benefit ratios for alternative policies when many diverse political, social, economic and cultural values are at stake. Thus completely "rational" policy may turn out to be inefficient (despite the contradiction in terms if the time, intelligence and cost of developing a rational policy are excessive.

Second, policy makers accept the legitimacy of previous policies because of the uncertainty about the consequences of completely new or different policies. It is safer to stick with known programs when the consequences of new programs cannot be predicted. Under conditions of uncertainty, policy makers continue past policies or programmes whether or not they have proven effective.

Third, there may be heavy investments in existing programmes ("sunk costs" again) which preclude any really radical change. These investments may be in money, buildings or they may be in psychological dispositions, administrative practices or organisational structure. It is accepted wisdom, for example, that organisations tend to persist overtime regardless of their utility that they develop routines that are difficult to alter, and that individuals develop a personal stake in the continuation of organisations and practices, which makes radical change very difficult. Hence, not all policy alternatives can be seriously considered, but only those which cause little physical, economic, organisational and administrative dislocation.

Fourth, incrementalism is politically expedient. Agreement comes easier in policy making when the items of dispute are only increases or decreases in budgets, or modifications to existing programs. Conflict is heightened when decision making focuses on major policy shifts involving great gains or losses, or "all or nothing", yes or no policy decisions. Because the political tension involved in getting new programmes or passed every year would be very great, past policy victories are continued into future years unless there is a substantial political realignment. Thus incrementalism is important in reducing conflict, maintaining stability and preserving the political system itself.

The characteristics of policy makers themselves also recommend the incremental model. Rarely human beings act to maximise all their values, more often they act to satisfy particular demands. Men are pragmatic; they seldom search for the "one best away" but instead end their search when they find "a way that work". Thus search usually begins with the familiarthat is, with policy alternatives close to current policies. Only if these alternatives appear to be unsatisfactory will the policy maker venture out toward more radical innovation? In most cases modification of existing programmes will satisfy particular demands and the major policy shifts required to maximise values are overlooked. Finally in the absence of any agreed upon societal goals or values, alternatives and their consequences. Constraints of politics, absence of societal goals and the accurate calculation of cost benefit ratios act as the constraints in the formulation of new policies.

3.2.3.2 Illustration of Incremental Model

Five Year Plans of government of India are suitable illustrations to analyse the incremental policies. Most of the policies in these plans are incremental. Some policies with only slight modifications are continued in all the plans. There is slight modification in the financial allocation to specific policies from plan to plan.

The analysis of the five year plans in India, clearly show the incremental nature of policies. For instance, if social welfare programmes as projected in plans are analysed, one can observe that it is mostly repetition of the schemes like family and child welfare projects, grants in aid to voluntary organisations by the central social welfare board, assistance to voluntary organisations for welfare of destitute children and destitute women welfare of physically handicapped, nutritional feeding in balwadies, research, training and administration, strengthening of all the five year plans. Same is the case with welfare and development of backward classes. Some of the important programmes under this policy include tribal development blocks, scholarships, coaching and allied schemes research training and special projects improvement in working and living conditions of these in unclean occupations. These programmes also are continued in all the plans with only slight modifications.

Changing of ruling party at the centre has not resulted in radical shift of the national policies. In fact some old policies are continued with only incremental modifications. Thus the nature of policies in Government of India is a clear illustration of incrementalism in policy making. Policy makers prefer incremental policies because of the barriers in relational policy making. Even in the USA and the UK mostly incremental method is followed in policy making.

An analysis of the budget of the national government in most of the countries reveals the incremental nature in budgeting. The budget is a very important policy statement of any government. The expenditure in the budget reveals patterns of rewards in public funds and revenue side of the budget tells us the pattern of extraction from the society. Budgeting is incremental because decision matters generally consider last year's expenditure as a base. Active consideration of budget proposal is generally narrowed a new items or requested increases over last year's base. "A budget is almost never reviewed as a whole every year, in the sense of reconsidering the value of existing programmes. Departments are seldom required to define or explain budget requests, which do not exceed current appropriations; but requested increases in appropriations required extensive explanation. To eliminate the accumulated waste or obsolete programmes which remain in government budgets, reformers have proposed the zero based budget. This is designed to force agencies to justify every penny requested increases. In theory, zero based budgeting would eliminate unnecessary spending projected by incrementalism.

3.2.4 INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

Having understood that policy-making takes place in the context of institutions, the impact of institutional arrangements in the process of policy formation cannot be ignored. This institutional approach is concerned with explaining how social groups and governmental institutions bring influence to bear on those entitled to take and implement legally-binding decisions. Such decision-makers include those who hold office within the formal and constitutional system of the governmental structures and institutions. According to Dye, governmental institutions have long been a central focus of political science.

The institutional approach or institutionalism, as it is known, attempts to study the relationship between public policy and governmental institutions. Institutionalism, with its focus on the legal and structural aspects of institutions, can be applied to policy analysis. The structures and institutions, and their arrangements and interactions can have a significant impact on the public policy. Institution approach focuses on the cognitive and normative consequences of institutions than on their rational individual constraining designs and inventive structures. Scott says: "Institutions are seen as constituting the rules, defining the players and framing the situations". From this perspective, the task of institutional analysis is to understand how social institutions constitute individual and collective rationality, judgement, and choice. This approach analyses the impact of institutional arrangement on policy. In the recent times, a renewed interest in institutional analysis has taken place, broadly, into three major categories:

- 1. Sociological institutionalism
- 2. Economic institutionalism
- 3. Political institutionalism.

All formal organizations are moulded by forces tangential to their rationally ordered structures and stated goals. Every formal organization attempts to mobilize human and technical resources as means for the achievement of its ends. However, the individuals within the system tend to resist being greeted as means. They interact as wholes, bringing to bear their own special problems and purposes. As a result, the organization may be significantly viewed as an adaptive social structure, facing problems which arise simply because it exists as an organization in an institutional environment, independently of the special goals which called it into being. People are depended on the organization to fulfil certain needs, and in turn, the organization is dependent on the environment in which it is located. In other words, decision making in organizations may be driven by an inner logic, the interests and values of its members, by its need to adapt or displace goals, rather than by rational considerations. The policy-making process may consequently subvert formal policy and institutional arrangements. Although Selznick's structural-functionalist approach offered much insight into the organizational context of decision-making, it did not take account of power within and around organizations. It is possible that some organizations may be powerful enough to shape their environment as to suit themselves.

The formational of policy agendas has increasingly been influence by institutionalized policy analysis in modern think-tanks. The predominance of institutions in the making of policy, and the setting of policy agendas in particular, has meant that, as Lindblom argues, participation in policy-making has become an exclusive preserve of those interests which are powerful and well resourced. However, institutions exist within wider environments. They are subject to the pressures of more-powerful, better-resourced, and better-connected organizations. In the context of sociological approach, more powerful organizations will have an ability to shape their own agendas, whereas the less-powerful (more dependent) will be far more the product of the external environment.

3.2.4.1 Political Institutionalism

Political institutionalism comprises contributions focussing on the autonomy of the Stat in

policy-making and the state-society relationship. This approach argues that policy-making is the outcome of the internal agenda of state institutions rather than the result of external pressures and influences. In the past, the government structures and institutions have been the central focus of political science. But the approach did not devote adequate attention to the relationship between government structure and the content of public policy. Also, there was no systematic inquiry into the impact of these institutional characteristics on public policy decisions. The study of linkages between government structures and policy outcomes thus remained largely unanalysed and neglected.

In policy-making, power is exercised by different individuals and groups such as the Prime Minister, the Members of Parliament, bureaucrats, or leaders of interest groups. Each exercise of power constitutes on the influences which, in totality, go to make up the policy-making process. There is a process through which public policies are enacted, and this process generally comprise a sequence of related decisions made under the influence of powerful individuals and groups, who form what is known as State institutions.

In a democratic society, a State is a web of government structures and institutions. It performs many functions and strives to adjudicate between conflicting social and economic interests. The positive State is regarded as the guardian of all sections of the community, but does not defend the predominance of any particular class or community. It tries to protect all economic interests by accommodating and reconciling them. No organization has even been able to succeed in its objectives across the whole range of public policies and policy issues tend to be resolved in ways generally compatible with the preferences of the majority of the public. Therefore, public policies are formulated, implemented and enforced by governmental institutions. In other words, policies do not take the shape of public policies unless they are adopted and implemented by the governmental institutions. A positive State is ideally receptive and responsive to the needs of the society.

Government institutions give public policies three different characteristics, such as the following:

1. Firstly, the government gives legal authority to policies. Public policies are the outcomes of certain decisions made by the government and are characterized by application of legal sanctions. Public policies are regarded as a legal obligation which commands the obedience of the people.

2. *Secondly*, the application of public policies is universal, that is, public policies extend to all citizens (as notified in the law) in the State.

3. *Thirdly*, public policies involve coercion. It is applied to the acts of government in backing up its decisions. A policy conveys the idea of a capacity for imposing penalties through coercion of a kind usually reserved to the government itself. Only the government has the ability to command the obedience of its people, to formulate policies governing the whole country and to monopolise the coercion, the individuals and groups generally work for the enactment of the preference into policies.

As such, there is a close relationship between public policies and governmental institutions. It is not surprising, then, that political scientists would focus on the study of governmental structures and institutions. The institutional study has become a central focus of public policy. Thus, one of the models of the policy-making system might be called the institutional approach as it depends on the interactions of those institutions created by the constitution, government or legislature.

3.2.5 GROUP MODEL

The group's model of policy formation suggests that interest groups are the focal point of the policy process, subsuming all the legitimate political interests of the community. Interest groups, as defined theorist, have shared attitudes concerning the goals it want to achieve, and the methods for reaching its objectives. Interest groups can be both public and private. Most discussions of interest groups exclude the public realm, and thereby eliminate an important dimension. Both public and private groups often seek the same kinds of objectives, focusing upon solidifying their position and increasing their power within government.

In policy-making, power is exercised by different individuals and groups: the members of the council of ministers of parliament, bureaucrats, leaders of organized interest, individuals citizen, for example- each set of force exercise certain influence which if taken together, make up the policy-making process. This is to say that there is a 'process' through which public policy is made. The process consists of the complex interrelationships of the decisions made under the influence of powerful individuals and groups.

3.2.5.1 Meaning and Definition

Pressure group or interest groups, as they are popularly called, have an important role in policy making. They influence public policy making processes without taking over direct control and conduct of Government. They are not organized political parties. They are representation of homogeneous interest seeking influence. The role of interest groups in policy making is more evident and visible in developing countries with a variety of diversity and pluralism.

Interest groups have been in existence for long time, but academic interest in them started in the beginning of the present century. The credit of initiating systematic study of pressure groups goes to Arthur Bentley through his publication *The Process Of Government* in 1908. Later, David Truman, Charles Hagen, Fortran Latham, Peter Overgaard continued the work initiated by Arthur Bentley. Most of the academic work has been from the American social scientists. This is because of the wide operation of interest groups in American policy.

Definition

An interest group may be defining as a voluntary association of individuals who join their hands for the protection of the 'interest'. And an 'interest' has been synonymous with terms like pressure and defined by Lal Palomar as 'a conscious desire to have public policy or authoritative allocation of values move in a particular, general or specific direction'. An interest group is thus a group which has a stake in the political process. Thus defined, interest group is synonymous with terms like pressure groups organized interests, lobbies, political groups etc. G.A. Alomond and G.B. Powell write "interest group" we mean a group of individual who are linked by particular bonds of concern or advantage and who have some awareness of these bonds. According to H. Zeigier, it is "an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of government decisions without attempting to place its members in formal government capacities" in the words of Alfred de Garza the pressure group is "simply any organized social group that seeks to influence the behaviour political officers without seeking formal control of the government.

A society is divided into group depending upon the interests. As a result of a more minute division of labour, the groups not only increase in member but also become more specialized.

It is thus common to find industrial labour, the defiance of their sectional interests. Within a country it is most common to find trade associations, chambers of commerce, trade unions etc. some of these interest groups even transcend the national borders and become international in scope and membership.

Three features thus distinguish interest or pressure groups:

- 1. Pressure group are part of the political process of a country;
- 2. They attempt either to strengthen or change the direction of government policy;

3. They do not seek, as pressure groups to directly capture political power and run the government

3.2.5.2 Types of Pressure Groups

It is important here to draw a distinction between a pressure group and political party. A pressure group may be said to reticulated interest which a political party aggregates those interests into working majority view which may obtains power. Further a distinction between different types of pressure groups may also be introduced; some are successful in influencing the emergence of public policy.

First, there are Sectional Interest Groups, such as Indian University Teachers' Association, The All India Bank Confederation, the All India Distillers Association, etc. Such groups protect and enhance the interests and needs of their members. Their influences over their members originate in their ability to formulate the positions that come to be identified with their members. Sectional interest groups enable their members', economic and social interests to be represented in the process of change in public policy.

Secondly, there are Promotional Groups, such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. They seek to promote causes and are consequently engaged in lobbying activities. They either exert influence over the public generally, or sectional interest groups in particular, by appealing to their conscience. The aims of the promotional groups are not determined by the interests and needs of their members since they are usually spokesmen of any social group. For example, the Chipko Movement leader, Mr. Sunderlal Bahuuna, opposed the implementation of the Tehri Hydroelectric Project in the Garhwal Himalayas on the grounds that it would cause colossal damage to the ecology of the Himalayas.

In recent years, NGOs and voluntary organizations have been actively involved in contemporary social issues, like environmental protection, legal aid to poor, consumer protection, human rights protection, Harijan and trial development, child-welfare, etc. The Chipko movement created a social awareness on the environmental problems. The legal aid groups are using the Public Interest Litigation provision to protect the interests of the weaker sections. The consumers in a producer-dominated economy. This expansion of the scope and nature of activities of non-governmental agencies indicates their importance in the socio-economic transformation of society.

3.2.5.3 Role of Pressure Groups

It is a fact that the basic purpose of a pressure group is to attempt to protect the interests of its member/ members. The interests of pressure groups are the ones which do have the solid and firm support of like mended people with them. The pressure groups play a substantial role in the success or otherwise of the implementation of a policy. These groups generally function in a pragmatic and opportunistic fashion using any method or technique which they believe will serve their purpose effectively. Most of the techniques of the pressure groups are dictated by the criteria: what action will produce the maximum desired results with the minimum expenditure of time and resources. The techniques and tactics which any pressure group employs are determined largely by such factors as the size of the group, geographic distribution of the membership, cohesion of membership, financial resources, prestige, position of the organization of the group, quality of leadership, manpower resources and relations with the political parties and other pressure groups.

3.2.6 LET US SUM UP

As you have understood by this time, public policy making is a complex process due to the involvement of many conflicting forces. Similarly, policy analysis also a complicated process since it can be analysed with a single model. Due to situation and the place and perspective of the analyser, the analyses of a particular policy will have multiple orientations and understandings. To understand this dynamic process, in this lesson we have studied various models to equip ourselves to some of the tools to analyse the policy. We have started with a Mass model which stress about the larger public in contrast to the elite orientation. The incremental make us sensitive to the incremental trajectory of the policy or gradual evolution

of policy over the period. Institutional Model stresses the strength and weakness of the institutions in a given society and resultant impact on policy formulation. And finally, the Group Model makes us aware of the role of pressure groups in the policy making.

3.2.7 EXERCISE

- 1) Discuss the importance of Mass Model in Policy Analysis.
- 2) Do you agree with the proposition that incremental model is most prominent one in the Policy Analysis?
- 3) What is the significance of Institutional Model in Policy Analysis?
- 4) Write a note on Group Model.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – III: Policy Analysis

3.3 SOUND POLICY MAKING IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 3.3.0 Objectives
- 3.3.1 Introduction
- 3.3.2 Policy Making Challenges

3.3.3 Problems Encountered in Policy Making

- 3.3.3.1 Policy Making does not take place in Distinct Stages
- 3.3.3.2 Unclear or Ambitious Policy Goals
- 3.3.3.3 Political Commitment
- 3.3.3.4 Governance Structure
- 3.3.3.5 Institutional Constraints
- 3.3.3.6 Constraints of Politics
- 3.3.3.7 Budgetary Constraint
- 3.3.3.8 Values
- 3.3.3.9 Policies need to be Designed no just Conceived
- 3.3.4 Policy Formulation and Challenges Encountered
- 3.3.5 Challenges Encountered During Policy Implementation
- 3.3.6 Let Us Sum UP
- 3.3.7 Exercise

3.3.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains you some of the problems associated with policy making in democratic societies, as people and groups are more informed and organized better. After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- the challenges faced by democratic societies in public policy making;
- what are the problems encountered by policy-makers during the formulation of policy and its implementation.

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Nearly 50 years ago, Theodore Lowi (1964) noted that the content of policy in a popular democracy determines the kind of social or political activity that will be stimulated by the policy-making process. Although some policies may kindle little public interest and activity, others may trigger a chain of events having long-lasting results. In effect, each policy proposal defines its own constellation of events, public actions, reactions, and responses. These reactions and responses, organized or sporadic, institutional or individually based, are difficult if not impossible to predict.

The content of a policy proposal determines as well, the amount of time required to define the problem. The more complex and value-laden the issue, the higher and more various the levels of societal involvement, and the more irrelevant time required for the process to work itself out. Although some problems may be neatly packaged and rushed through the process, others may move through a never-ending cycle at various levels of governments and jurisdictions for decades. The courts, in some instances, influence policy content and process and render this endless complexity more shapeless and fluid.

Furthermore, as proposals wander through the processes and near final forms, or reach levels requiring indeterminate amounts of time, support and opposition oscillate as contents change to reflect differing values and ideological positions. In the words of Paul Sabatier, the process of conceptualizing problems, formulating and implementing alternatives, and evaluating and revising such alternatives involves an extremely complex set of interacting elements over time.

Moreover, besides the effect of content on process and outcome, effective policy making

occurs in settings that provide frameworks for democratic decision making. Even when policymakers are popularly elected, the presence of an informed citizenry and self-organized groups may contribute other pieces to the puzzle of effective policy making. Equally as important to the process as content are other critical elements necessary for successful policy making and implementation, including citizens' expectations, participation, and political engagement, and the constancy of this engagement, devoid of inertia, from conceptualization through assessment of results.

Considering these complexities and problems associated with the policy making in democratic societies, this lesson throw light on some of these issues in the following sections.

3.3.2 POLICY MAKING CHALLNEGES

Policy making is the process by which governments translate their political vision into programmes and actions to deliver 'outcomes' and brought desired change in the real world. There are two parts to policy formulation. Effective formulation (analytical phase) means that the policy proposed is regarded as a valid, efficient, and implementable solution to the issue at hand. Acceptable formulation (political phase) means that the proposed course of action is likely to be authorized by the legitimate decision makers, usually through majority-building in a bargaining process. That is, it must be politically feasible.

In establishing the context, it is essential to focus attention on policy areas where there is widely – shared consensus and treat delicate issues cautiously. The problem areas in analysis may be examined in terms of equity / quality, efficiency, and effectiveness in qualitative and quantitative terms or according to the impact on the economy and so on. Once the analyst knows what the problem is about, s/he will conceptualize, it in order to eliminate courses of action that will be costly, redundant and unfeasible, thus finding a way to seek the preferable choice and purpose a course of action. This proposed course of action should take into account the consequences as well as the unexpected effects. The issue of making choices that favours the present at the expense of the future is raised and an explanation of how to think about choices and how they can be compared is presented.

3.3.3 PROBLMES ENCOUNTERED IN POLICY MAKING

Policy making in democratic societies is becoming increasingly complex, uncertain and unpredictable. Citizens are better informed, have rising expectations and are making growing
demands for services tailored to their individual needs. Key policy issues, social need, low educational achievement and poor health are connected and cannot be tackled effectively by departments or agencies acting individually.

The contemporary situation demands the utmost necessity of critical skills in the policy process among policy makers and implementers. Such skills entail leadership and motivation, entrepreneurial skills and innovation, planning and forecasting, programming, sequencing, precision, management & coordination, resource mobilization, conflict resolution, and crisis control. At a close range of analysis, these skills are crucial for addressing a number of institutional and process constraints for effective policy management.

The literature also suggests that a reality gap between ideas of the best practice and the actual legal, administrative, political and economic processes that exist in low income and middle-income countries means that a 'one-size fits all' approach is likely to produce perverse outcomes or what is called 'fatal remedies'. Politics has been identified as a key issue to understand policy management. The transition from the movement type of politics to competitive politics has further compounded this problem because the ruling regime will ensure that there is total monopoly over state resources and this leads those in power to become directly involved in policy management even where the work would have been delegated to street level bureaucrats.

3.3.3.1 Policy making does not take place in distinct stages

The 'stages' of policy making do not just often overlap, they are often inseparable. In the real world, policy problems and policy solutions frequently emerge together, rather than one after another. In other words, plans may be present at the same time, or before, a need to act has been identified. This can lead to poorly conceived policies, if ministers present a fait accomplish solution that is flawed, or whose relationship to a policy problem is unclear – but will not hear it challenged. The current policy process does not do enough to address these difficulties. Policy makers agreed the solution was 'directed exploration', where ministers are clear about their goals, and then are prepared to engage in an honest, iterative discussion about how to achieve them. However, such discussions are impeded by a lack of time, appropriate institutional arrangements and problems in ministerial civil relationships.

3.3.3.2 UNCLEAR OR AMBITIOUS POLICY GOALS

It has been observed that most policies and plans are inefficient in learning from past experiences. As a result, they often devise ambitious targets which ultimately fall short of their desired outcomes. One of the main reasons for such a situation is the absence of reliable data for educational planning in Pakistan. It is very often the case that even official documents carry discrepancies. The great variation exists among many official and semi-official sources, including such basic educational statistics as the percentage of literacy. It has been strongly suggested that there is a dire need in developing countries to strengthen the informational base to improve policy frameworks.

3.3.3.3 Political Commitment

The problem related to politics and politicians sits at the root of the problems of implementation in many developing countries. Literature on implementation highlights the importance of political commitment by leadership as critical to policy success. Sri Lankan reform experience suggests that successful implementation crucially depends on the consistent support of top political and bureaucratic leadership. Many examples of civil service reforms noticed that the lack of 'political commitment' of governments was the principal reason for failure of reform programmes. Each new government has discontinued most programmes of its predecessors.

3.3.3.4 Governance Structure

The issues of ineffective governance and corruption, particularly among politicians and civil servants have also been described as a major obstacle to proper policy implementation. One of the major reasons for the ineffectiveness of governance is lack of coordination and trust among political representativeness and government officials and also the lack of cooperation among different government departments. This observation indicates towards the issues that are related to the joint action of multiple actors and its inherent problems. The lack of cooperation among different organs of government and their mutual disrespect create several 'clearance points' that hamper the overall organization and implementation of policy. Eventually due to distrust among different agencies and due to the tendency of civil services to resist change, the policy is implemented only symbolically.

3.3.3.5 INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS

Policy analysts also face the problem of institutional acceptance on policy outcomes. Institutional characteristics limit what can or will be done. Specifically, an agency accustomed to doing things in a particular way cannot innovate very often. Rather it looks for an effort to integrate new demands into existing patterns of doing business.

Donors Dependence

In policy implementation model several environmental factors can influence the implementation process. They include the economic, social, and political conditions prevailing at the time as well as the nature of public opinion that exists in the implementation environment. Yet these factors also have a cultural aspect. For instance, the influence of donors often leads to failures. The World Bank for example has immense influence due to its resource capacity and politics of residency, which makes it a willing and able lender. Hence it can impose its preferences on reform and sometimes the imposed reforms may be inappropriate. Thus, high level dependence on external funding, which comes with conditionality, may require new policies that may contradict home-grown policy preferences. It remains to be seen if such external agencies have sufficiently clear vision of successful reforms.

3.3.3.6 Constraints of Politics

The activities of political leaders constrain policy analysis. Policy ideas are dropped because elected politicians and other appointee oppose them. The reaction of Members of Parliament, PM, and Advisors are anticipated as proposals are debated. Many ideas are discarded because specialists cannot conceive of any plausible circumstances which they could be approved by elected politicians and their appointees. Policy analysis suffers these political constraints when policy issues are being analyzed.

3.3.3.7 Budgetary constraint

Budgetary constraints also affect policy analysis. Expectations may always outpace the capabilities of government. Before any proposals are accepted and approve, decision – makers need to be convinced that it has the resource to do them. The decision maker need to be convinced that the budgetary cost of the programme is acceptable, that there is a reasonable chance that politicians will approve; that the public in its various facets, both

mass and activists will acquiesce", There must, therefore, be sufficient fund to meet policy expectations, failure which policy analysis suffers.

3.3.3.8 Values

Though, objectivity is relative as many analysts believe that policy analysis is not value-free since value judgment also influences how they record or present information. Nonetheless, policy analysts are more objective that programme administrators as analysts often recommend alternatives, review the consequences before arriving at policy conclusion, whereas the bureaucrats are national maximizers of self-interests. In relative terms, policy analysts are more objective where there is no conflict of interests. Policy analysis cannot provide solutions to problems where there is no general consensus on what the problems are. It is incapable of resolving societal value conflicts. At best, it can offer advice on how to accomplish a certain set of end values. It cannot determine what those end values should be. Furthermore, social science research cannot be value free. Besides, it is difficult for the government to cure all or even most of the maladies of the society. They are constrained by certain values in the society, such as religious beliefs, diversity in culture and languages. These cannot easily be managed by the government.

Anticipation of acceptance by society

Anticipation of acquiescence within a community is another constraint to policy analysis. Specialists in policy community know that ultimately their proposals must be acceptable to the public reaction as they design their proposals. The public's possible negative reaction to policy proposals acts as a constraint to policy analysis.

Multiple causes of problem

There are also certain societal problems which may have multiple causes and a specific policy may not be able to eradicate the problem. There are policies that solve the problems of one group in society which create problems for other groups. In a plural society, one person's solution may be another person's problem. This is a constraint to many policy proposals.

Costly solutions

Policy analysis also faces the constraint of solutions to some problem being more costly.

For instance, certain levels of public disorder including riots, civil disturbances and occasional violence cannot be eradicated without the adoption of very regressive policies which would prove too costly to democratic values, freedom of speech and press; rights of assembly; freedom to form opposition parties etc. Thus, a certain level of disorder may be the price to pay for democracy. All these act as constraints to policy analysis.

Uncertainty

As future is always uncertain, it is questionable whether policy analysis can find solutions to the problems regarding the future of society. Poverty, unemployment, inequality and environmental pollution are some of the major problems in the society. Of course, this is an excuse for failing to strive for better society. It must be realized that solutions to these problems may be difficult to find. There are several reasons for tempering our enthusiasm of policy analysis.

Lack of communication

It has been observed that policy analyses are gathering dust because they are either too long or too hard to understand. A policy analysis is of no use if it cannot be communicated to others. Too often, the policy analysis deals with subjective topics and must rely upon the interpretation of results. Professional researchers often interpret the results of their analyses differently. Obviously, quite different policy recommendations can come out from these alternative interpretations of the results of research.

3.3.3.9 Policies need to be designed, not just conceived

Current processes greatly underestimate the value of policy design. A greater emphasis on policy design helps to ensure that the planned actions represent a realistic and viable means of achieving the policy goals. In business, there is a quality control phase where new products are prototyped and are tested, before being trailed and finally going to market. While such testing does happen for some public sector policies, it should be much more extensive and rigorous: the policy process still does not provide enough support to make it happen systematically. Nevertheless, the complexity of modern governance means it is unlikely that policies can be designed perfectly, so that nothing will go wrong or need to be revised. Therefore, the people implementing a policy need the capacity and opportunity to adapt it to local or changing circumstances.

Policy making is often constrained by events

Policy making does not take place in a vacuum where the government is in total control of its agenda. The result can be sharp discontinuities and apparently illogical decisions, as the government's coherent position can get overwhelmed by events. But not all events are the result of the external world affecting policy makers, some are self-generated. Many of the interviewees made it clear that the desire to capture the news agenda, generate headlines or be seen to be acting, could lead to over hasty announcements.

The effects of policies are often indirect, diffuse and take time to appear

Current guidance presents policies as discrete interventions to tackle specific problems, whose effects can then be reliably measured and evaluated. But there is plenty of evidence that the effects of these interventions may be complex, wide ranging and unintended. Given the complexity of the problems with which government deals, it may be unlikely that a policy will produce effects that are both measurable and attributable. Indeed, it may actually be unhelpful to think of policies as discrete interventions that can achieve a particular goal on their own. Policy may be the cumulative impact of many different initiatives in a particular area, or it may be about managing a wider system. Unless the policy process is set up to capture those impacts and be sensitive to other, interlinked policies, the real impact of a policy cannot be properly understood.

3.3.4 POLICY FORMULATION AND CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED

There are two key stages to the policy formulation process: determining the policy options and then selecting the preferred option. For both stages, policy makers should ideally ensure that their understanding of the specific situation and the different options is as detailed and comprehensive as possible; only then can they make informed decisions about which policy to go ahead and implement. This includes that instrumental links between an activity and an outcome as well as the expected cost and impact of an intervention. The quantity and credibility of the evidence is important. At this stage, the public administration concerned examines the various policy options; it considers to be the possible solutions. It should be noted that coalitions of actors strive, through the use of advocacy strategies, to gain priority for one specific interpretation of both the problem and its solution. It is at this stage that power relationships crystallize, determining the directions policy will take. This stage is the most crucial one after policy formulation is its implementation. It is perhaps for its importance that some scholars refer to the policy implementation stage as the hub of policy process. Fundamentally, policy implementation is the process of translating a policy into actions and presumptions into results through various projects and programmes. At this stage, the policy's implementation parameters are established, which can directly affect the eventual outcome of the policy. Several factors combine to determine the actual effects of a policy and how well it achieves its objectives. Factors noted by various authors include: the type and complexity of the problem addressed, the magnitude of the expected change and the groups targeted by the policy, the human and financial resources devoted to implementation of the policy. Note that high demands are placed on the technical administrative apparatus at this stage, and on groups associated with this policy sector. The term policy network is often used to refer to the actors within the government, as well as the stakeholders associated with a policy sector, who are in sense experts in the area. This policy network will have a major influence on how the policy is implemented.

Opponents of policies do not end their opposition after a law is passed. They continue their opposition in the implementation phase of the policy process by opposing attempts to organize, fund, staff, regulate, direct and coordinate the program. If opponents are unsuccessful in delaying or halting programs in implementation, they may seek to delay or halt them in endless court battles (school desegregation and abortion policy are certainly cases in point). In short, conflict is a continuing activity in policy implementation.

3.3.5 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED DURING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The pattern and nature of policy implementation is the major explanation of the failure or success of any given policy. In this we can observe that the implementation of a policy is the most vital phase in the policy process as it is at this stage that the success or failure of a policy is determined. The public bureaucracy through the effective implementation of government policies, projects and programmes aimed at achieving development goals and objectives. Most often in many developing countries; however, policies are well and brilliantly formulated but ineffectively implemented by the bureaucracy. This leads to the failure of public policies to achieve their target goals and objectives and to ultimately alleviate the

problems for which they were designed. Indeed, there are usually wide gaps between formulated policy goals and the achievement of those goals as a result of ineffective implementation in almost all facets of public administration.

The ineffective and corrupt political leadership contribute to poor policy implementation in developing countries. The leadership corruption, and ineptitude, for instance, affects the content and quality of policy at formulation stage. For instance, policies are more often than not, made for purposes of the selfish and egoistic interest of the political leaders and sometimes only to attract public acclaim and attention with less regard to their appropriateness in addressing given problems or the possibility of their effective practical implementation by the public bureaucracy. In this context, policies or programmes are haphazardly implemented and even sometimes abandoned or dismantled midway because the basis for formulating the policy was not, in the first instance, predicated on existing data, realities or need.

Another factor that constitutes obstacles for the bureaucracy in effectively implementing policies is the over ambitions nature of some public policies. Some policies actually attend to be over ambitions, sweeping and overly fundamental in nature. In most cases, the formulation of such over ambitions policies is not even borne out of genuine or sincere effort to bring about rapid and radical development but just to boast the ego for the political leaders. An example of such policies is policies having as their basic objectives the provision of free education or free health services to all citizens or the total eradication of poverty amongst the citizens. For such policies, there are usually inadequate resources (men and materials) for the public bureaucracy to effectively implement them. Another critical factor inhibiting effective implementation of policies is that some agencies or institutions saddled with the responsibility of implementing given policies do not possess the requisite manpower and financial resources to effectively implement them. On the issue of inadequate resources, for instance, governments in development countries, sometimes, do not budget adequately to enable the public bureaucracy properly implement formulated policies. Sometimes, though, government gives out sufficient fund but the corrupt activities within the public bureaucratic organizations do not allow for its judicious use to effectively execute policy programs. In any case, insufficient financial resources have resulted in situations where laws could not be enforced, services were not provided and reasonable regulation not developed and applied.

On the issue of inadequate human resources, the public bureaucracy do not, indeed, have adequate staff in terms of overall numbers and more importantly in terms of specific areas of professional, technical or managerial competence and expertise. This is counterproductive as the capabilities of government bureaucracy in terms of expertise and skill determine, to a large extent, policy implementation success or failure. Where abilities exist, policies could be confidently formulated with reasonable assurance of their effective implementation. Indeed as one author notes, development policies has, in contemporary times, assumed complex and sophisticated dimension that require highly skilled and experienced bureaucrats for their effective implementation.

Again, the challenge of keeping away personal interest, prejudice, and the influence of primordial values, in the conduct of official business by bureaucrats is equally very critical in developing countries. Usually, if the bureaucrats are not favourably disposed towards a policy, they may not approach its implementation with the enthusiasm and zeal that it effectively implementation may require. In this respect, contends that the zeal with which bureaucrats implement policy depends on how they see the policy as effecting their personal, ethnic, and organizational interest and aspirations. Positive effects will induce enthusiastic implementation while the contrary may mean that implementation may be resisted, thwarted and even sabotaged. The ultimate result of this is ineffective implementation of policies that makes the realization of their goals and objectives difficult.

Another constraining factor to effective policy implementation in developing countries is undue pervasive political influence on the public bureaucracy.

Usually, the political leaders formulate policies and as well control and direct the implementation activities of the policy. This situation is not proper as such control and directive are mostly motivated by selfish personal or political interests. Indeed, the bureaucracy cannot effectively implement policies and meaningfully contribute to national development, if it is fettered, controlled and directed by political authorities. This is more so as in extreme cases of routine administrative matters without consultation and the consent of relevant political authorities. In this process, much time and energy is wasted and prompt actions required for effective implementation of policies hampered. Given this, therefore, one can posit that the extent to which politics influences the bureaucratic activities will continue to determine and shape the extent to which policies can be properly and effectively

implemented by the public bureaucracy in many developing countries. Very worrisome is the fact that the political influence or hold on the public bureaucracy is becoming tighter as promotion to the headship positions in some public bureaucratic organization is based on political patronage or loyalty and not on the basis of relevant or cognate experience and seniority. Bureaucrats promoted under such circumstance will be more morally bound to subject their official decisions and actions substantially, to the wishes, preferences, control and endorsement of their political masters.

Finally, abrogation of a policy effects their implementation by the public bureaucracy in developing countries. It is observable that each new political party in many developing countries in Africa is usually and primarily concerned with making its own impression on public programmes and projects. For this, certain policies or programmes which are already being effectively implemented are shelved by the succeeding administration. Ministers, Local bodies Chairpersons and heads of institutions (both bureaucratic and political heads) exhibit tendency to link their administration with distinct social and economic policies or programmes. Consequently, the policies of preceding administrations are rarely pursued by succeeding ones and such personal styles of administration help to explain why so little attention is paid to the issue of maintenance of projects or programmes created or initiated by preceding regimes. Indeed, succeeding regimes conceive the maintenance of existing programmes as not politically expedient as it does not bring direct personal glory or credit.

3.3.6 LET US SUM UP

Public policy analysis faces various problems, such as; policies, budget, institution, values and expectation of members of the society. Since, democratic societies are open and allow citizens t organize and make demands on policy-makers these societies are more prone for problems and challenges than authoritative societies. One can understand by comparing India and China. In spite of the constraints, it seems safe to say that social scientists can at least attempt to measure the impact of present and past public policies and make this knowledge available to policy makers. Reason, knowledge and scientific analysis are always better than the absence of any knowledge. Policy analysis may not provide solutions to society's ills, but it is still an appropriate tool in approaching policy questions. Policy analysis enables us to describe and explain the causes and consequences of public policy. Policy analysis is applied to inform the policy-maker about the likely future consequences of choosing various alternatives. Policy analysis guides decision makers in making optimum choices and outcomes among discrete alternatives.

3.3.7 EXERCISE

- 1. Write an essay on various steps involved in policy formulation and implementation.
- 2. Identify the institutional and governance constraints in sound policy making
- 3. Discuss the policy formulation challenges in deomocratic societies.

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3.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL : DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC POLICY IN INDIA (OFFICIALAND NON-OFFICIAL)

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 3.4.0 Objectives
- 3.4.1 Introduction
- 3.4.2 The Institutional Setting

3.4.3 Indian Social Context

- 3.4.3.1 Impact of Religion
- 3.4.3.2 The Caste System
- 3.4.3.3 The Social Classes: Urban/Rural Dichotomy
- 3.4.3.4 Women as Human Resource
- 3.4.3.5 Harnessing the Potential of Weaker Sections

3.4.4 Economic Dimensions

- 3.4.4.1 Poverty Eradication Programme
- 3.4.4.2 India's Industrial Policy
- 3.4.4.3 Population Growth and Unemployment
- 3.4.4.4 Public Employment System
- 3.4.4.5 The Provisions for Human Security

3.4.5 The Indian Political Context

- 3.4.5.1 Bureaucracy and Political Leadership
- 3.4.5.2 Politico Administrative Environment
- 3.4.6 Let Us Sum UP
- 3.4.7 Exercise

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is concerned with an analysis of the socio-economic and political structure in a complex and developing society, that of India, with a view to discern the inter–relationships between its social and economic political structures, containing policy changes. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- how public policy is always influenced by the context;
- the influence social context in the formulation of public policy;
- the role of economic factor in the making of public policy.

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The interrelationship between the state and society has been an important theme in the evolution of political systems in the past half century. That the state is deeply embedded in society, and that societal variables do affect the autonomy and performance of the state is now an accepted fact. Whether it is the system theorist, or the dependency theorists, or the ecologist interpreters of public administration, all seem to agree that in any society, interactions between the state, its socio political structures and its administrative framework ultimately determine its policy outcome. Such interactions not only help pattern societal preferences, but also pave the way to political and administrative developments in the context of divisiveness within and between classes, ethnic and religious segments, interest groups, or linguistic differences. The literature on comparative public administration is replete with the emphasis on interaction and inter - relationship between an administrative system and its external environment and the impact of socio-cultural values on bureaucratic behaviour, the processes of political and administrative changes and vice versa. While scholars have concentrated more on the study of the state's capacity to bring about socio - economic change through the evolution of a pattern of political and administrative institutions, little attention has been paid to understanding the impact that the socio-political structures in any society make on its political or administrative development.

This attempt is to show that although a highly heterogeneous and complex social system with traditional, diversified religious-cultural values creates enormous pressures on its public administration system, it does not necessarily stifle administrative development. The need

is to coordinate policy and administrative changes in a manner so as not only to respond to the growing socio – economic compulsions of the society, but also to enable its people to participate in the political-administrative processes.

3.4.2 THE INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES

India was one of the first of the British colonies to gain independence from the yoke of an imperial power. After attaining freedom in 1947, the challenge before the political leadership was to frame a well conceived strategy of change, development and nation building, and to forge instrumentalities thereof – both mobilisational and institutional. To attempt to achieve a modicum of economic and political development in the aftermath of partition, through a democratic political system, while undertaking at the same time reconstruction of a hardened social structure not only deeply rooted to the age old traditions, but highly fragmented. was indeed a formidable task. The four basic objectives of socio-economic and political development uppermost in the minds of political leaders at the time were:

- The creation of a stable democratic polity,
- Laying the foundations of a self-reliant economy for rapid growth.
- Attainment of social justice through the alimentation of discrimination based on class, caste, sex and religion and eradication of poverty, and
- Rebuilding of the dilapidated administrative structure to be able to withstand the pressures generated by the growing by the growing demands and aspirations of the expectant masses.

The leadership in India responded by channelizing the processes through the creation of a state system based on western liberal democratic ideology of freedom and equality, incorporating the parliamentary system of government, reconciling it with the concept of economic planning, and reforming the administrative machinery to enable it to respond to the growing exigencies and requirements of a social system divided by a variety of socio-cultural identities.

Although the framing of a new political set up with its institutions, structures and the rules of the game have proved to be matters of incalculable difficulty for many of the new nations of Asia and Africa, India presented a striking contrast. Not only was an elaborate State

system created with great speed, but the democratic structure it established was institutionalized in considerable detail. This had been possible because of both antecedent agreement on fundamentals and continuing diffusion of these agreements in the generation that followed Independence. Even as early as 1928, The Motilal Nehru Committee had framed a complete draft spelling out the features of (free) India's polity. It recommended, among other things, a parliamentary form and federal structure of the government and an exhaustive list of fundamental rights. These recommendations found overwhelming support among the members of the Constituent Assembly in the late 1940s.

However, decision making on India's institutional strategy was not wholly a product of agreements that were reached during the national movement. The framers did consider the emerging framework anew. Certain occasions did come when the members of the Constituent assembly ran into serious disagreements. But the debates were avoided at most opportunities and viable compromises were sought on fundamental provisions such as the federal structure of the country, the importance of judiciary in interpreting the constitution and the role of "due process". The question of a proper balance between personal liberties of the citizen and the integrity of the nation; between the right to property and the goal of social and economic development; between the need for centralization and the extent of decentralization to lower levels of the polity, between the right to equality and the question of special rights and privileges of minorities and tribal and religious groups, and so on. In order to prevent the country from falling into pieces, certain restraints on the power of some institutions and the freedom of individuals were introduced. For example, the Central Government was armed with effective powers against the constituent states. Similarly, preventive detention to strengthen the government's hands came to be accepted as a necessary provision despite its restrictions on the most fundamental rights of democratic citizen.

3.4.3 INDIAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Institutional strategies alone are not enough for conceiving a process of change, development and nation-building. Social structures and environmental factors do affect the state and the administrative system, and hence the development of the polity. The significance of these factors multiplies all the more in a pluralist society of India, where the nation shares loyalties with a variety of other socio-cultural identities, These identities have contributed both to the process of its development as well as to its decay. While they have played a major mediating role between politics and society, translating group loyalties into focal prints of political solidarity, at the same time they have given rise to a number of fissiparous and separatist framework, thus, weakening its overall capacity for development.

The Indian population, which has reached one billion at the end of the 20th century, is divided by religion, sex, language, caste, dress and even by the food habits. These divisions have been further compounded by the gap between the rich and the poor; the English – speaking elite and the vernacular masses, and the urban and the rural. In its diversity and continental size, India shares most of the characteristics of the European Community than the more integrated multi ethnic and unified polities of the United States. India contains all of the major world religions, it is sub divided into a myriad of castes, and it has 19 official languages, 18 provided in Eighth Schedule of the Constitution plus English as a continued official language and a thousand dialects, and tribal tongues. Politically and administratively, these diverse group are organized into 28 states, after the creation of Uttaranchal, Jharkand and Chattisgarh in November 2000, and 7 union territories. The process of mobilization and social change in the last fifty years has heightened the since of awareness of the political and administrative development. Whereas such factors have led to political and administrative reliance and growth.

3.4.3.1 Impact of Religion

A major social factor that effects political and administrative development is religion. All major religions of the world, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism originated in India. Islam and Christianity came to India in the medieval period. The vast majority of population, almost 83 percent is, however, Hindus, while Muslims constitute 12 percent of the total population, the third largest concentration of Muslims in the world. The major sources of conflicts in the society have been between these two major and important religions. This explains the growth in the number of paramilitary and police forces and other intelligence security agencies that have come to dominate the administrative system in India the Central Reserve Police Force, the Boarder Security Force, the industrial Force, the VIP Security Commandos, SPG, etc, Not only these have created problems of development and administrative coordination, but have also often been a cause of resentment and tensions

between the central government and government of the states. The developmental capacities the administration have certainly received some setback, if not been completely destroyed.

3.4.3.2 The caste system

The social system in India is organized around caste structures and caste identities, which are as old as the Indian civilization. The tribal, linguistic, religious, and regional and caste loyalties, the fundamental characteristics of the social infrastructure of the Indian society have made a deep impact on the working of political and administrative system and have affected the processes of development. Caste is undoubtedly an all India phenomenon in the sense that there are everywhere hereditary endogamous groups which form a hierarchy. Caste, being the important organizational structure, has hampered developmental processes and proved to be the most important cause responsible for backwardness and economic inequality. In its original form, the system was associated with social hierarchy based on occupations, but later on it become the negative feature of the society when its basis became 'birth' and not occupation. The caste system in India, as it has emerged, stratified the society socially, corrupted it politically, and weekend it economically.

After Independence, the caste system grew further; regionalism had taken the shape of caste consciousness and caste mobilization. 'Politicization of caste system' became the new trend in Indian politics. In the process, not only Hindus of upper class but the outcastes, the so – called untouchables, also came to play important role. In order to ameliorate the conditions of this section of the society, the state in India devised the means of according special privileges to the Scheduled Castes and Tribal and backward classes as these communities were described in the Constitution. These concessions were given to these communities for a limited transitional period only. The lower castes dilemma is still there, and it has created further discontent and conflict in the society. It needs to be made clear that the reservation system that is being resisted is not what has been conceded to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is the expending base of reservations among the so-called backward castes and other backward classes (OBC) that threatens to produce a backlash. The vested interest in backwardness that the system of reservation has created might further lead to a re-alignment of communities on lines that can only perpetuate the present division.

3.4.3.3 The Social Classes: Urban / Rural Dichotomy

The social structure in India consists of powerful status groups based on religion, caste and language. Although a class system has also begun to emerge in India, it still remains tenuous. The slow process of industrialization and urbanization has led to a highly uneven pattern of class-growth. Status groups continue to cut across class lines. As a result, the development of class identities and political mobilization based upon class appeals has been securely inhibited. India's urban-based class structure is small as compared to the rural society. The 15 million industrial workers in the organized sector of the economy make up only 10 percent of the total work force of 150 million. Of these, only 3 percent, or 5 million, work in large modern factories. The industrial work force, moreover, is not only small, but its portion of the total labour force has also remained remarkably stable over the past several decades.

Rural India now comprises of 70 percent of the population and some 70 percent of the labour force is engaged in agriculture. Despite the land reforms of late 1940s and early 1980s, the distribution of land ownership in rural India has been grossly unequal. In the early 1970s, over 96 percent of India's rural household owned less than 20 acres of land; 43 percent owned less than 5 acres; and 24 percent owned no land at all with the percentage of landless labour increasing. The disparities in land ownership are revealed in the fact that 10 percent of the rural families hold 70 percent of the cultivable land.

In comparison to this, the size of the urban population represents a consumer market larger than the entire European Union. These changes in the rural/urban population and the emerging class structure have meant the evolution of new administrative policies, strategies and institutions. In the past forty years, there has been a proliferation of a number of administrative institutions, authorities and agencies both at the centre as well as the states to cater to the strategies of integrated rural development, and the needs of growing urban metropolitan centres, incredibly crowded, lacking in adequate housing, transportation, water, and electricity, sewage and sanitation facilities. All these developments have further meant a keen political competition among various segmented social groups and cultural communities based on language, religion, region, and caste, creating additional pressures on the administrative systems. The existence of number of multifarious agencies with conflicting and overlapping jurisdictions have not only highlighted the problems of a unified

direction, control and coordination, but have also raised afresh the basic issue of centralization and decentralization and the relative autonomy of various units of administration.

3.4.3.4 Women as Human Resource

Women in India have not been traditionally considered as vital element of human resource. Consciousness and awareness about women as a productive agent and the need for developing the potentialities of one-half of the human resource in India was not reflected in the governmental policies of development till late seventies. And this, despite the fact that the Constitution of India guarantees equal rights and opportunities for both men and women not only in public employment but also in all walks of life. The recognition of the productive capacities of women came as a result of a distinct shift on the issue of women's status and their role in development after the release of the report of the National Committee on the Status of Women "Towards Equality", which came at the start of the United Nations Women's Development Decade in 1970's.

The report expressed great concern over the declining sex ratio and work force participation of women, their displacement from work and concentration in subsistence agriculture, their lower life expectancy than males and higher mortality rates. It pointed at their occupational and educational lag and noted the discrimination and exploitation faced by women in paid and unpaid work. It commented upon their extremely poor participation in societal decision-making and leading roles, whether as policy—makers, politicians, and planners, executives as administrators or as top professionals. "Women were really found to be at the bottom of the heap, a residual sex, deprived of the basic needs of health, nutrition education, employment, in sum of a dignified human existence."

3.4.3.5 Harnessing the Potentialities of the Weaker Section of Society

A unique feature of the Indian constitutional system is the provision for according positive discrimination to the person belonging to the weaker sections of the community and to harness them as a work force for public employment. In pursuance of the constitutional provisions contained in Articles 16(d) and 35, various instructions have been issued by the Government from time to time proving for reservation in public services for the members of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs).

3.4.4 ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

3.4.4.1 Poverty Eradication Programmes

The strategies of poverty eradication programmes count on faster economic growth through technology led second green revolution, a drop in the population growth rate and redistribution. The compulsion of planned socio-economic development has no doubt changed the pattern and complexion of the administration system from the British framework of a stable order to that of a system of continuous strain, both politically and administratively, "adopting ad-hoc-and frequently unsuccessful remedies to a procession of deeper more intricate, and apparently less easily alleviated crises." The administrative system, to say the least, has been unsteady throughout India, and at present is at its lowest ebb in efficiency and integrity.

3.4.4.2 India's Industrial Policy

India's industrial policy has been largely governed by the industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956, which had laid the pattern of industrial growth through a division of industrial sectors reserved exclusively under the public sector, or those sectors which were left open for private investments and others which both the public and private sector could continue to expand.

3.4.4.3 Population Growth and Unemployment

An important element of economic development is the demographic aspect. Unchecked population growth is a formidable obstacle to the process of economic growth. This leads to the diversion of limited resources of a nation from the production to the consumption channels leaving a depleting recourse base for future economic development. Although employment has grown at the grown at the rate of 2.2 percent per annum in the past two decades in India, but due to a faster increase of labour force at about 2.5 per cent, the backlog of unemployment has been rising. A declining trend in employment elasticity with respect to GDP growth in recent year has made the task of accelerating the growth of employment more difficult. In addition to the generation of new enduring employment opportunities, it has to be ensured that those under-employed and employed at very low levels of earning are also able to raise their productivity and income levels.

3.4.4.4 Public Employment System

Despite the tremendous increase in public employment, growth of public enterprises, proliferation of administrative agencies and the enormous burden of public expenditure as a result of the growing socio-economic demands made on the system, the process of administrative development in India has been a continuous one, while the administrative system has at times shown signs of strains due to constant pressures, largely generated by the weight of its own structure and continuous policy changes, the system has certainly acquires some resilience to withstand and bear such pressures. That the public administration system in India has not disintegrated, despite a number of dysfunctional elements, pathologies and negative consequences of a growing bureaucratic apparatus lends adequate support to our hypothesis that a complex socio-political structure in a developing society need not always inhibit the processes of administrative development.

3.4.4.5 The Provisions for Human Security

In order to protect the living standards of the poor during the transition period and provide for human society, the complementary social measures reflecting India's commitment to good governance were also conceived to ensure equitable distribution of both the gains and costs of economic reforms. Since over half of India's population continued to live below the poverty line, a number of direct attacks on poverty were launched during 1980's. prominent among these were special programme for backward areas, such as subsidized food supplies through a Public Distribution System (PDS), confessional loan schemes for marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, employment schemes, that are geared mainly towards urban housing important, after the introduction of the policy of globalization, market economy and liberalization, and despite the fiscal austerity, the government committed itself to increased outlay for clearly targeted social sector expenditure and for rural development. In particular, employment creation and human capital development in rural India through (both Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP) and Social Services, such as primary health care, elementary education and rural water supply-cum-sanitation were to be expanded and broadened. However constraints on budgetary resources forced the government to postpone the provision of extra-funds for those programmes, and on the contrary to curtail to curtail them along with all other public expenditures.

3.4.5 THE INDIAN POLITICAL CONTEXT

A political system, though a sub – system of the society is supposed to perform the overall and overriding function of looking after the society and managing it to extent that this can be done at conscious, corporate level. It is necessary therefore, that a maximum number of members of a society participate in the exercise of this function. Certain groups may be legally or actually deprived of the right to participate in the process, while even many who have the right to participate may not choose to do so unless it be made mandatory for them. The extent of the formal right of participation in the political process which is concerned with the total whole, the actual facilitation of the exercise of such a right, and the actual exercise of the right, thus, may be taken as determining the degree of political development which a society has achieved when compared to other societies or to itself in a former stage. This particular aspect of making maximum possible opportunities available for free participation of people in public affairs was the one on which the edifice of a democratic system was built in India.

The arena of power in India has not been limited to a ruling oligarchy or an aristocracy of birth; it has increasingly spread to the society as a whole by drawing new sections into its ambit. This is what differentiates the Indian political system both from the European systems where, during the phase of rapid industrialization and social changes, political participation was confined to the upper classes of society; and from the revolutionary experiments in both communist and non-communist varieties where barring intraparty feuds and military coups, political competition was generally not allowed to interfere with the process of development. In India, politics is neither suppressed not confined to a small aristocracy. On the contrary, it provides the larger setting within which decision-making in regard to social and economic development takes place.

3.4.5.1 Bureaucracy and Political Leadership

Bureaucracy is still a powerful component in the decision-making process and with this 'redtapism' is as much a consequence of the system of rules as their interpretation and application by it. At the same time, the new breed of politicians that has emerged after mid-1960s see the bureaucracy as a needless obstacle in the achievement of their political goals which has lead to frequent conflict in the relationship between the political leadership

and the permanent executive. The conflict of interests between them has further led to increased politicization of bureaucracy and the emergence of nexus between the politician, bureaucracy and the criminals, thus seriously corrupting the body politic, an a major issue of public service integrity, and loss of ethics in public life.

3.4.5.2 Politico Administrative Environment

Mapping the political and administrative history of India over a period of sixty years is indeed a difficult exercise. Obviously, there have been changes in administrative institutions, structures, style and cultures in post-independent India, and some distinct changes do carry the mark of the political leadership than in power. Thus, administrative development has been an uneven process; and it can best be understood only in the context of the totality of politico-administrative environment. It was however, after 1967, that one witnessed the beginning of erosion of most of the fundamental values of the administrative system that were consolidate during the earlier years of the Republic. This period marks the beginning of uncertainty and instability in the political system. Whether this happened because of the personal struggle amongst leaders for consolidating and preserving their power-base, or changing economic, local or institutional condition, is a matter for speculation, but the net consequences of this uncertainty was that the policy-making administrative apparatus got disoriented and replaced by some kind of a 'shot-gun' approach to administration.

3.4.6 LET US SUM UP

After more than 60 years of Independence, India's achievements in regard to life expectancy, literacy, health and poverty alleviation compare unfavourably with many other developing countries. The record is very uneven across various States. Furthermore, there are disquieting trends in regional disparities with respect to overall economic development, which need to be addressed by a combination of Central government policies and more determined efforts by lagging States to avail of opportunities for faster development. It is necessary, therefore, that effective public programmes implemented through local participation and accountability must become the norm for future progress. To sustain and accelerate the growth of the economy and employment, while ensuring low inflation, the economic policies followed in India must combine fiscal discipline with rapid economic reforms where necessary.

In conclusion, however, it should be remembered that no amount of planning and thinking in all these areas would be useful unless the government is capable enough to take hard and unpleasant decisions and has the will and capacity to implement and continuously monitor and evaluate their impact. At the same time, the political leadership has to demonstrate its own stable from corrupt and criminal influences, and setting ethical standards of good governance both at the political and administrative levels. The processes of modernization of state and administration need an active and constitutional association of people at all levels of the governmental structure in order to realize the goals and objective that the society sets for itself. However, as has been observed by an eminent scientist Professor U.R. Rao, a former President of the Indian Science Congress, "the solution to provide food, economic and health security to meet the growing demands of increasing population with limited land resources, lies in the adoption of a holistic approach for achieving environment friendly, sustained development. It is towards this end that the policies of globalization and competitiveness need to be directed to achieve the elusive goal of human security. This is in itself a big challenge to the process of governance. India's experience of the past years of vicissitudes in the reform process may well serve as a lesson for many developing countries of the world to correct and reformulate the course of their policies for achieving the basic objective of human security for their masses.

3.4.7 EXERCISE

- 1. Write an essay on Social Context of Indian Administration.
- 2. Discus the Political Context of Indian Administration.
- 3. Describe the Economic Context of Indian Administration.
- 4. Comment on the Politico Administrative Environment.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – IV: Policy Implementation and Evaluation

4.1 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION:AGENCIES AND PROBLEMS

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 4.1.0 Objectives
- 4.1.1 Introduction
- 4.1.2 Stages of Policy Implementation
- 4.1.3 Implementation Perspectives
- 4.1.4 Aspects of Policy Design for Implementation
- 4.1.5 Modes of Policy Delivery and Implementers
- 4.1.6 Basic Functions for Public Administrators
- 4.1.7 Voluntary Sector and Pressure Groups
- 4.1.8 Let Us Sum UP
- 4.1.9 Exercise

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains you some of the problems associated at policy implantation level. After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

• problems involved in aspects of policy implementation design;

- problems involved in delivery level to the implementers;
- the role of voluntary sector and pressure groups at implementation level.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Human life is pack of action. Every action has chain reactions which are potentially equal and opposite in nature and degree. The preceding chapter dealt with the group efforts in which governmental and nongovernmental actors in India interacted directly and indirectly to formulate their national policies. When policies are enacted, the next immediate stage is execution of public policy. This is the most vital phase and a highly important venture in the life of the people and the nation.

Public policies carry the best of the nation's goals, aims, intentions and the means for their realization, which aims at the well-being of the people. The happiness of the greatest number of masses and the peace of the nation are attainable through positive realization of public policy. Both the making and the execution of public policy are the functional roles of all the governmental and non-governmental actors and factors.

Implementation is an action-oriented process which translates into physical reality the plans, goals, projects and programmes declared by competent authority. Policy – making takes into consideration various external factors, like the constitutional guidelines and directives to operate within the legal framework of the laws of the land, the customs, the traditions and conventions. This avoids conflicts and duplication of efforts in decision-making. Furthermore, the international regard is also kept in mind in devising public policies. The execution of public policy cannot ignore these sensitive socio-economic and political areas of human endeavours. There is no denying the fact that the successful achievements of public policy depend to a great extent on the success of its implementation. The execution of public policy is a sacrificial function of different persons within a given political set-up, playing assigned roles order to attain set national goals.

According to Webster's dictionary, 'programme' is a brief outline of the order to be pursued or the subject to be embraced. This involves obtaining a complied data or information and utilizing these in consonance with the available resources of the nation to provide the required goods and services to the people. Pressman (1973) observes that the cards in this world are stacked against things happening; as much effort is required to make them move. The remarkable thing is that new programme works at all. Policy implementation can be viewed in a systematized stage as enumerated henceforth.

4.1.2 STAGES OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Policy Initiation

This involves identifying the appropriate policy to be executed and obtaining the approval of the computer policy which touches on several aspects of people's life, broadly seen in the socio-economic and political spheres.

Organization

With the knowledge of goals to attain, manpower, the necessary finance, the equipment, machines and other relevant materials are mobilized and assembled into workable units and organizations for the realization of set objectives. The motivation techniques and compensations are harmoniously applied to boost the morale of the work force towards greater achievements.

Operational Strategies

This is the action stage when the known principles and practices of communication, information, utilization, data analysis, coordination's supervision, resources management and public relations are skilfully managed to accomplish predestined goals.

Feedback Mechanism

The knowledge of what has happened is the function of feedback mechanism. This makes a speedy evaluative analysis of the policy implementation activities and reports observations positive or negative to the appropriate quarters. The feedback mechanism is a two way traffic which communicates not only the roles of the action side of policy execution, but also the effects of reactions.

Every nation has its own kinds of people, its peculiar political system, its unique environment and its style of managing its own affairs.

4.1.3 IMPLEMENTATION PERSPECTIVES

It is often said that the policies formulated are good enough but don't succeed because of

a faculty and defective implementation process. Commenting on the vast criticism of the policy execution process, Louis, W. Koening says, 'Nonetheless, in the hubbub of criticism, the solid long-running accomplishments of implementation should not be overlooked. Men are put on the moon, wars are fought and won. Day after day, mail is delivered, police and fire protection are provided, taxes collected, social security benefits disbursed, pollution reduced, the nation's health improved. Some of the society's ablest individuals work for the government and compile enviable records as achieving implementators. The bureaucracies of which they and others are members are highly diverse, and are neither equally efficient nor inefficient. Similarly there are poor as well as able bureaucrats".

Implementation, as a process, in a number of respects is a non-transparent phenomenon. It is difficult to easily lay hands on such of its characteristics which has far reaching and significant consequences. It has the quality of being pliant as a result of which it undergoes tremendous and rapid transformation. There are several perspectives on the process of execution. Some of these are as follows:

4.1.2.1 Implementation as Evolution

A policy which is formulated has a set of objectives, goals and ideas which are loosely connected with each other. A casual chain between the multiple goals and objectives of the policy is forged by the execution process. Changing environmental considerations, vested interests of the political parties and influential groups at times compel the framing of such policies which have rather numerous, contradictory and equivocal goals. At the time of framing of such policies, the formulators are not in a position to anticipate the possible problems and the constraints to be faced at the time of implementation. Execution is shaped by the original policy from which it springs. Such problems and constraints, in fact, should be thought of and worked upon accordingly at the time when policy is framed. Maybe it is impossible to do so at that stage and so these appear on the scene when the policy is put in to execution. Consequently, the executor addresses himself to number of points, viz. which of the different objectives of the policy are to be implemented? How it is to be done? Which priority order is to be made? What resources are to be put to the said task? Etc. besides, a number of other problems, like support or opposition of the target group; contradiction to some other related policies already in existence; and the feedback about the positive and negative points of the policy are also noticed at the implementation stage.

It goes without saying that execution is a critical juncture at which such essentials are included in the policy which at the time of its original manifestations could not be done. As the policy moves across the execution spectrum new circumstances and problems are realized, and the policy continues to evolve. These must be duly coped with so that the required potentials and facets are incorporated into original policy idea.

4.1.3.2 Implementation of Work Mechanism

Execution as a process is translated into implementation through institutions and agencies which are assigned the said task. Besides planning, the hierarchical levels and elements of control are essential ingredients of the work mechanism of the execution. A lack of these would make it difficult for the superiors to keep a check on the performance of the subordinates and also the output of the task assigned cannot be measured. The significant imperatives are, rather, a must to be satisfied by the execution process. First execution must, through process and action, submit courteously to the legal contents included in the policy documents. Unless, it is insured on the part of the implementation agency, policy execution in the desired way cannot be looked for. Second, to translate policy intent into virtual action coupled with instrumental rationality, the implementing officials and functionaries' commitment to the task has to be activated and assured. Third, concerned effort have to be made for a consensus on working regarding implementation not only within the said given implementing agency, but a cordiality of relationship between the internal system and external system, that is micro-system (the implementing agency) and macro system (the political agency) is essential. Stress is laid on a hierarchical approach in order to control the discretion used by the subordinates, thus affecting the implementation process. In the words of Koeing, "the hierarchical approach uses organization control processes of policy into actual accomplishment. Implementation, according to this perspective, also entails administrative learning, an outgrowth of the difficulty of implementing policies through multiple institutional structures with their distinctive interests, fragmented power, and narrow skills that order their efforts and that make coordination both a necessity and elusive function".

4.1.3.3 Implementation as Politics

The process of implementation, which is followed by the governmental agencies, has elements like bargaining, gaming, accommodating, compromising, etc., thus making it a kind of

political issue. In the words of M. Helen and A. Dean, "implementation is conducted largely through accommodation and bargaining, with relentless give and take, winning and losing, chronic disjointedness, and pervasive disarray. The policy to be implemented is simply a point of departure for bargaining among the implementers, and what materializes as implemented policy is essentially determined by specific local characteristics, which are unique to each implementation context and which shape the contours of the eventual outcomes" (Helen and Dean, 1980). In simple words, it means that the inclination of the implementers and the importance of the local areas, that is, the target area and group play an important role in implementing the policy. It is upon these variables that the success or failure of the policy being implemented depends.

4.1.3.4 Implementation as Problem Tracing

It has been also stated earlier that a number of problems which could not be appreciated or anticipated at the stage of policy formulation appear at the implementation stage. The implementation process is, in fact, a problem tracing process. The problems/constraints, the viewpoints of the affected groups, the requirements on count of infrastructural and financial resources are the ones which add to the process of improving with policy further. Sabatier and Mazmanian, have stated that, "implementation proceeds through several stages, commencing with policy outputs or decisions of the implementing agencies, which include the translation of statutory objectives into substantive regulations and standards operating procedures. A second stage is the target group's compliance with policy outputs, which is influenced by such factors as the relative costs and benefits of compliance, the probability that non-compliance will be detected and penalized, and its members' attitudes towards the legitimacy of the implementing rules".

Implementation is a process which makes the implementers performs the role of linkers between the policy formulators and the target groups. Though, mostly, the permanent executive has the major role in implementing the policy, yet the role performed by other governmental institutions cannot be minimized or ignored.

Implementation as Approaches

There are three types of implementation approaches, they are

- 1. Top Down Approach
- 2. Bottom Up Approach
- 3. Other Approaches

1. TOPDOWNAPPROACH:

In top down approach consisting Goals are clearly defined Policies are confirmed at a coherent single domain. Policy consists on authorities' statement. Policy Designer allocates the resources in organized way at each implementation level. A common cause of interest exists at all level. A well- established structure of command control practical example is from top to bottom which require strict adherence to compliance and regulation procedure.

2. BOTTOM UPAPPROACH

In bottom up approach consisting Goals are loosely defined Policies are independent domains computing for resources. Resources are expertises are not allocated properly. Implementation through communication are compromised. Street bureaucrat has latitude in enforcement. Accommodate local norms incentives to find common grand in procedural implementation.

3. OTHER APPROACHES

In addition to these two approaches, other social scientists has contributed a lot to facilitate the understanding of implementation process and tried to correct or explain the gaps in these two above-mentioned approaches.

Structural Approach

In this case, from policy implementation point of view, policy design and organizational structure should be studied together. The complicity of any policy extends itself beyond the organizational boundaries, in terms of control, pace and expertise. Implementation is perceived as a technical or managerial practice. Our earlier argument suggested us that policy making process, right from the beginning is iterative rather than a liner process. A continue feedback and back and forth interaction between policy design and implementation is a common phenomenon.

The structural approach is a relatively hierarchical, representing bureaucratic organization. For its external operation or working environment, the processes are identical to vertical organization. However, when it reaches to policy implementation, more "organic" features are required; less emphasis on hierarchy, more flexibility and adoption to changing environments.

To process more information and take action simultaneously demands more organic or less vertical organizational behaviour. A possible compromise between bureaucracy and "adhocracy" is a cross section of "horizontal" and "vertical" authorities. To change into traditional organizational structures, in any country, in itself is a Pandora Box. We may not comprehend the issues aroused out of this attempt, and it might be beyond the scope of this book.

Procedural Approach

Appropriate procedure and processes are more important in an organizational structure than anything else. Implementation process is heavily dependent on managerial and technical skill. Procedures are introduced to control, set pace, coordinate, scheduling timeline, monitoring progress and management. Procedures define managerial boundaries, control, logical sequences, and allocation of resources. These procedures define enhance the probability to move in the right direction, time line management and anticipate risks.

Behavioural Approach

Keep in mind that all these organizational structures, policy processes, techniques and managerial tools are as good as underline human beings who are executing them. The competency of human resources is as crucial as the strength of a chain that is used to pull the weight. The chain is as strong and reliable as its weakest link is.

Human behaviour and attitudes, individual or collectively as a nation, has great impact on implementation process. For any changes, moving away from status quo, the human reactions varies; active resistance, indifference, passive acceptance. Fear of change represents uncertainty, ambiguity and people reflect low tolerance for both. For more direct concerns as personal benefits, economic condition, privileges, social status, security and career prospect, reaction is more obvious and certain.

In design phase and before implementation process an extensive consultancy and communication should occur among all the policy actors and target population to avoid any possible resistance. A full disclosure of information should be provided as early as possible, including concerns, difference of opinions, objectives and logistics. Seek to convince might be more effective approach than command. The war on terror might have positive result if U.S. administration and coalition partners try to win "hearts and minds" instead on their weaponry power.

Political Approach

Political approach is not limited to party politics. In terms of policy implementation, pattern of power use within organization and its influence 'over flow' on other organization and policies need a careful examination. If the policy is not crafted according to the political authority of relevant organization, the probability of success in implementation phase can be drastically reduced. The dominance of a "political will" is "a must" requirement for successful policy implementation. This dominance always prevails regardless it is through coordination, coalition, by partisan, mutual understanding or through decisive command and control.

The success of policy is very much correlated with coherent willingness of dominant group; an ability of pursuit by coalition partners, within organization or with outside agencies. In any arrangement, participating organizations assert their political jurisdiction and authority, via constitutional discretion or through bargaining in policy process.

The inter-governmental coordination, coalition and subordination, and exercise of political will and jurisdiction might bring repercussions and complications and worth consideration at before implementation process. Some policies are completely dependent on political strategy for their successful execution.

4.1.4 ASPECTS OF POLICY DESIGN FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Dryzek defines policy design as "the process of inventing, developing and line-tuning a course of action with the amelioration of some problem (in mind)." The design perspective, in particular, calls attention to matching content of a given policy to the political context in which the policy is formulated and implemented. The crafting of policies typically entails a long process of analysis of problems and options, politically acceptable courses of action,

and an n authoritative decision to enact a policy. Here it should he understood that the political forces that shape policy design also greatly influence policy implementation.

Further, in implementing a policy design, a great deal of attention has to be given to such aspects as allocating tasks to personnel, financial resources, scheduling dependencies and making decisions which arise in the course of using resources and generating outputs.

Implementing with a Network

Implementation of policy is an important phase in the policy cycle. It has the objective of anticipating deviations from planned performance and making proper adjustments. An important task of the policy implementing director/manager is to keep track of the implementing tasks, their functional relationship and their scheduling dependencies. The director has to be capable of resolving conflicts and making decisions which arise in the course of mobilizing resources and generating policy outputs.

For the implementation of a given policy, it is important for the policy implementation director to construct a policy implementing network which can help him ensure that policy tasks occur in proper sequence and on time. It should help him to identify which tasks in the policy are most critical to overall policy performance. The construction of the network requires composing an Activities Duration List. This list should project tasks for each activity and the time required for each activity. For scheduling policy implementation activities, the Network helps the director in depicting which activities are more important for economical and efficient management of the policy programme.

Allocating Tasks to Personnel

Most policies do not succeed because of poorly qualified staff. Implementation of a given policy requires the manager to see that the activities happen on time and within the given budget. But it requires, first, implementing personnel. If policies are to be carried out, there has to be allocation of appropriate tasks to the personnel resources. The manager has to ensure that the most qualified people are involved in the appropriate task. Regardless of their status, specialized knowledge, experience and qualifications, all personnel need to work as a cohesive team for the purpose of achieving desired targets.

For an effective policy implementation, a manpower plan is needed. This plan helps the

policy director to assign the staff the task of policy implementation. Further, for the purpose of assigning role and responsibilities to a staff member, it is necessary to develop position classification like a job description. The position classification may include: (a) status, role, and duties of the staff, (b) reporting relationships, and (c) accountability criteria with a view to evaluate the incumbent's performance in the position. It is important to organize the staff for securing technical performance. This may involve such principles of organization as unity of command, span of control, division and integration of efforts, and hierarchy of authority and responsibility.

Making Decisions

In the implementation of a policy programme, the manager has to be adept at solving problems and making decisions which arise in the course of using resources and seeing what happens to the target group. Making decisions is the most difficult job for a policy implementing director. Even with the best planning, there will always be a need to make good decisions in the face of unanticipated events during the stage of policy implementation. For major decisions which impact resource requirements and technical outputs, this is a major activity because such a decision requires full support of several constituents (beneficiaries, sponsors, politicians, planning agencies, government). In this context of decision making, three mechanisms have been suggested.

- Exception principle: The exception principle states that difficult decisions (other than routine decisions) involving unusual or unprecedented problems that have broader implications for the whole policy implementation, should be reserved for senior staff at higher levels in the organization.
- 2) Delegation of authority: The exception principle does not operate unless there exists some degree of delegation of authority. The authority is needed at each level to enable the implementing staff to perform their duties and tasks.
- 3) Consensus building: Consensus in this context refers to an agreement to support a particular decision. Consensus building in a participative management strategy ensures that no good ideas are ignored. It also builds a strong group among all those programme constituents involved in the implementation process.

For effective implementation of a policy programme, there is the need for forming a steering committee. The purpose of the committee is to ensure that a programme is being implemented within the budget and on time.

4.1.5 MODES OF POLICY DELIVERY AND IMPLEMENTERS

Policy delivery in terms of provision of public goods and services involves a diverse set of institutions and agencies-government, market and voluntary organizations. Modes of policy delivery or systems of policy delivery have drawn the attention of the policy analysts. These delivery systems, in terms of the way in which public goods and services are provided through a network of public and private institutions assume considerable importance. This fragmentation creates new problems for control and accountability in a democratic country like India. People now face an often bewildering array of agencies responsible that the provision of public services. Hierarchies in the administrative system have given way to policy delivery systems which use a mix of partnerships between the public and private sectors, market mechanisms and new roles are being defined for the voluntary sector and the community. The resultant mix of policy delivery agents includes a mix or blend of bureaucratic, market and community agencies. It may be mentioned here that thinking in terms of clearly defined sectors or modes of coordination is not, in practice, helpful, since in the real world there is considerable ambiguity and overlap between them. In practice, the mix of market, bureaucratic and community forms overlaps and combines to provide 'hybrids' or plural forms.

Administrative Agencies

According to the Wilsonian viewpoint, the main function of (public) administration is the implementation of (public) policies. In other words the administration has concentrated on the machinery for the implementation of policies, as given, rather than on making them. The job of the administrator is to carry out policies formulated by decision/policy-makers (politics), and the role of the service provider is to carry out the policies administered by the bureaucrat (bureaucracy).

The (public) bureaucracy is an important agency of the government. It is an administrative organization consisting of a legal body of non-elected employed officials organized hierarchically into departments in accordance with the rules governing the conditions of
their service. This is an important institution which performs most of the day-to-day work of the government. Also, it is the bureaucracy, which controls the personnel, the financial and the legal powers of the government, and it is this institution that receives most of the implementation directives from the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Civil servants are recruited, in theory, to serve political masters by carrying out their decisions. Ministers decide on policies, and civil servants take the necessary executive actions to implement them. The importance of the senior administrator's role in policy implementation arises because he is concerned with ends and not merely the means. He is exclusively concerned with the implementation of policy decisions made by the politicians. More important is the work of the senior administrator on the development of major policies in line with government commitments. He has a constitutional responsibility to advise on the financial and administrative implications of different policy options, thus helping ministers to find ways of achieving their political objectives.

Policy programme implementation by the administrator feeds back into policy formation so that he can advise authoritatively from experience on the practicability of different policy options. A. great deal of legislation and policy builds on the past administrative practice and accumulated experience. Further, the knowledge derived from direct experience of policy implementation gives the senior administrator a near monopoly of knowledge relevant to policy-making. New policy emerges, as senior administrators bring their experience and ideas to bear on problems which political masters wish to solve. As repositories of knowledge and experience, senior administrators are able to give instructions and advice to the lower staff as to how to implement policy decisions. They can foresee the administrative and political difficulties likely to be encountered from the interests more affected. They are able to argue from positions of great strength about new methods of dealing with policy implementation problems for which no satisfactory solution has been found. In this way the administrators role in policy implementation is of considerable importance. The administrator then, is a catalyst who seeks to bring out what is required in those whose support is required.

But bureaucratic organization has been subjected to a body of criticisms. It is said to be afflicted with excesses of red tapisrn, stringent rules and an attitude of unresponsiveness. Despite its maladies, it holds importance because implementation is the continuation of

policy- making through other means. Legislation is never self-implementing but always requires delegation to appropriate organizations and personnel. Placing a programme in its perspective is the first task of implementation and administering the day-to-day work of an established programme is the second. It is because delegation and discretion permeate bureaucratic implementation that it plays a crucial role in the power structure of policy-making and policy action. Technically, the task of all public organizations and personnel is to implement, execute and enforce laws and policies. In doing so, most personnel do use bureaucratic discretion. It is pointed out that legislation does not minimize discretion and more details may even increase personnel discretion. As Davis remarks: "Perhaps nine-tenths of the injustice in our legal system flows from discretion and perhaps only ten per cent from rules"

Despite the fact that the bureaucracy has been criticized, the government increasingly approaches public organizations for pursuing their policies. Since so much power and control over implementation is held by the administrative organizations and personnel, chief executives, must put in efforts to control their discretion. This rests on many strategies. First, if the public agencies do not implement a law to the satisfaction of the legislature, the policy can be legislatively changed. The executive may also overrule routine bureaucratic interpretation of legislation. Secondly, from time to time, most of the problems associated with administration could be solved either by transferring responsibility to a friendly agency or by replacing a recalcitrant agency head, or by paring the agency budget. Thirdly, the legislature has an important role to play in curbing the bureaucratic discretion by making legislation more detailed and clear. The bureaucracy can also be pressured through public hearings, the media and other forums. When all else fail, the legislature can take the concerned public agency to court for malfeasance in implementing policy.

4.1.6 BASIC FUNCTIONS FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS

On the assumption that the public administrators or government servants do accept the basic values and the general direction of the political system, the public administrators, in their dual capacity as those who give expert advice on policy issues and those who implement policies have some functions to perform in connection with policy management, which can be discussed here.

Policy implementation is not easy. Without determined political support and without willing cooperation of many top administrators, little can be achieved. In policy implementation, administrators, especially senior executives, should have the following functions and role to perform.

In the first place, administrators must clearly understand the nature and significance of policies which the political masters have set. They are responsible for advising in the formulation of policies designed to achieve goals and also mobilizing, organizing and managing the resources necessary to carry through these policies. Second, they should assist policy makers to avoid ambiguities. They should advise them on the importance of adopting policies which can be implemented. Third, they should be able to translate the general policies and their objectives into operational targets. This function should also include analysis of probable costs and benefits of each for achieving the operational targets. As far as possible they should adopt a rational approach and use management techniques to implement policies. Finally, they should be able to pay special attention to the question of coordination of policies to see if any inconsistencies exist and examine whether it complements or supplements other policies to produce better results,

4.1.7 VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND PRESSURE GROUPS

New roles are being defined for the voluntary sector for the provision of public services. The voluntary sector seeking to do good works for the poor and needy has been well recognized in the history of welfare state. Religious organizations and charitable institutions in particular in India, have served as principal providers of many social services. The growth of welfare state and mass education made the existence of the voluntary sector apparently less necessary in the 20th century. However, in the recent years, the role of the voluntary sector has received wide recognition and impetus as the State no longer desires to provide the range of public services that was once expected of it. The voluntary organizations (non - governmental organizations) have made an enormous contributions to the implementation of public policies, notably the forest policy, population policy, health and education policies. Their role has been explained more extensively and more accurately in terms of being private agent of public policy.

It has been already discussed that group action is considered a more effective method than individual action for implementation of public policies. NGOs and civil society group are important means of enhancing the effect of public opinion. They can communicate more effectively than individual citizens with public officials on implementation of public policies.

4.1.8 LET US SUM UP

It may be observed that although some studies have been made in public policy on the political economy processes, the cybernetics theory of Deutsch has not been able to create much influence. There is no doubt that Deutsch has made outstanding contribution to the study of public policy through his political economic theory, but it is hardly anything more than suggestive. Through his models, he has raised a number of questions regarding the performance of governments, but these models are of little use in answering the questions.

In public policy approach is particularly useful for an analysis of the processes of bargaining, conflict resolution, decision making, and evaluation of policies, estimating the impact of publicity and propaganda as well as for understanding the dynamics of public policies. However, this approach is hardly useful in the analysis of power structure of society, ideologies, allocation of resources, or in explaining the phenomena of violence and revolution, etc.., communication theory can, therefore, be commended for application only in limited sphere of public policy.

4.1.9 EXERCISE

- 1. Identify the policy implementation stages and explain with suitable examples.
- 2. What are the implementation approaches and identify the important approaches?
- 3. Discuss the policy design for implementation.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – IV: Policy Implementation and Evaluation

4.2 PUBLIC POLICY: IMPACT, COMPLIANCE AND NON-COMPLIANCE

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

- 4.2.0 Objectives
- 4.2.1 Introduction
- 4.2.2 Conceptualising Policy Impact
- 4.2.3 When to Conduct Evaluation
- 4.2.4 Types of Impact Evaluation
- 4.2.5 Methods or Approaches for Impact Evaluation
- 4.2.6 Problems in Evaluation the Impact of Public Policy
- 4.2.7 Policy Compliance and Non-Compliance
 - 4.2.7.1 Causes of Compliance
 - 4.2.7.2 Causes of Non-Compliance
- 4.2.8 Exercise

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will understand the ways and means in which we understand the impact of a particular policy. You also get some idea about why there is compliance or noncompliance for a particular policy. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- what is policy impact and how important it is;
- how to conduct policy impact evaluation and what are the basic types of involved in it;
- why some policies achieve higher compliance and why not others.

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

In a democracy, the political executives and administrative machinery formulates various types of policies for the socio-economic development of different sections of the society. After formulation of the policy the government invests huge resources, material and intellectual, in the implementation of the policy. It is the responsibility of the policy makers to ensure whether the intended or pre-designed objectives are achieved or not and what extent the benefits of government to policies are reaching to the stakeholders. Therefore, there is a need for government to evaluate the impact of public policies directly or indirectly. At present different departments adopt different methods and procedures for measuring the impact of public policies on the stakeholders.

4.2.2 CONCEPTUALISING POLICY IMPACT

From a conceptual point of view there is no single or general definition of the policy impact. The specialized studies use to refer to this in a variety of expressions like "estimating the impact" the "impact analysis" the "impact study" or the "impact evaluation" or the "impact assessment" and later "the impact assessment of regulations". According to one definition the impact evaluation process represents an analytical approach based on the information in order to evaluate the possible costs, consequences and effects of a planned instrument of public policies. The impact evaluation has been also defined as a set of logical steps to be followed when one prepares a policy proposal. It is a process that prepares evidences for political decision makers on the advantages and disadvantages of public policy options by assessing their potential impacts (economic, social and environmental). According to the erstwhile Planning Commission of India, impact evaluation is a systematic, mandatory and consistent evaluation of social, economical or environmental aspects or impacts (such as benefits and/or costs), of the affecting the external interests of

governments, of the regulation proposals and of any other kinds of public policy instruments to:

- 1. subsume the public policy decisions before adopting;
- 2. assess external impact, of regulatory and administrative practices;
- 3. assess the accuracy of an earlier assessment.

At a first glance, the role of impact assessment seems straightforward: "to inform the decision-makers about the potential consequences of their policies". In essence, the role of the impact assessment is more complex; it aims to improve decision-making processes' by systematically collecting information about the likely impacts of a planned policy and thereby providing the basis for deciding "the best policy". In other words, the impact assessment is an aid to decision-making, not a substitute for it, contributing to a coherent justification of a government intervention, as well as improving the capacity of public policy-making. In many countries, this is strongly related to a "better regulation agenda" that aims to improve the quality of regulation and to reduce the administrative burden. In a synthetic form, the overall aim of impact evolution is to assist the Governments to make their policies more efficient, and is an important factor in responding to the impact determined by international markets and budgetary constraints on modern economies and the consequences of competing policy demands.

From the aspects mentioned above, we can outline the dual nature of impact evaluation, each with its own methodological approaches:

1. As a technical tool for analysis of the consequences of planned governmental interventions, providing information to stakeholders and decision-makers;

2. As a legal and institutional procedure linked to the decision-making process of public interventions.

Additionally to the meanings already mentioned, the impact evaluation is considered as a valuable communication tool. The process of consulting the stakeholders often, creates useful debates, bringing valuable information and analyses. Moreover, refining the meanings given by different studies it can stress that the research of impact evaluation and implementation is growing and this shows that learning process of using impact assessment

is a cumulative one. Information generated by impact evaluations reforms decisions on whether to expand, modify, or eliminate a particular policy or program and can be used in prioritizing public actions. In addition, impact evaluations contribute to improve the effectiveness of policies and programs by addressing the following questions:

- Does the program achieve the intended goal?
- Should this pilot program be scaled up? Should this large scale program be continued?

• Can the changes in outcomes be explained by the program, or are they the result of some other factors occurring simultaneously?

• Do program impacts vary across different groups of intended beneficiaries (males, females, and indigenous people), regions, and over time?

- Are there any unintended effects of the program, either positive or negative?
- How effective is the program in comparison with alternative interventions?
- Is the program worth the resources it costs?

4.2.3 WHEN TO CONDUCT EVALUATION

Impact evaluations demand a substantial amount of information, time .and resources. Therefore, it is important to select carefully the interventions that will be evaluated. One of the important considerations that could govern the selection of interventions (whether they, be projects, programs or policies) for impact evaluation is the potential of evaluation results for learning. Four questions can help guide the decision of when to conduct an impact evaluation.

1. Is the policy or program considered to be of strategic relevance for poverty reduction?

The decision of what to evaluate depends on what are the most critical public actions to reduce poverty. Interventions that are expected to have the highest poverty impacts may be evaluated to ensure that poverty reduction efforts are on the right track and allow for any necessary corrections.

2. Is the intervention testing an innovative approach to poverty reduction?

Impact evaluation can help to test pioneering approaches and decide whether they should

be expanded and pursued at a larger scale. Hence, the innovative character of policies or programs also provides a strong reason to evaluate. This can be built into project design where; before committing large amounts of resources, multiple-variations of the intervention are tested against each other.

3. Is there sufficient evidence that this type of intervention works well in a number of different contexts?

If the answer of this question is yes, then the scarce resources may best be devoted to helping adapt this intervention to local conditions and paying close attention to monitoring and supervision. If however, there are significant differences in local conditions and the target population that cast doubt on the applicability of results from elsewhere, and then an evaluation may be worth considering. (See our database of completed evaluations to compare results.).

4. When do we expect outcomes to show an effect?

Certain outcomes or impacts take time to materialize. In some cases this may mean that it is better to delay the final stage of the evaluation until these will show an effect. In other cases it may be better to choose approximate set of indicators which are casually linked to the ultimate outcomes and are likely to show an effect earlier. Of course, the most comprehensive strategy is to combine both of these types of indicators.

4.2.4 TYPES OF IMPACT EVALUATION

Taken into consideration the "analysis field" criterion we identify social, Economical, environmental impact evaluation. The social impact evaluation is an analysis for the distribution of public policy impacts, on target group welfare and consists on "the process of analyzing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of the planned interventions policies, programs, plans)". While the social impact assessment focuses on the distribution of social impacts, it also addresses issues of sustainability and risks analysis of policy alternatives. The international Association for Impact evaluation defines the social impact as a change in the following fields:

- people's way of life how they live, work and interact in their day-to-day life;
- their culture shared beliefs, values, language's or dialects;

- their community—its cohesion, stability, character, services and facilities;
- Their political systems the way people participation the decision-making process that affects their life and the level of democratization.
- Their environment and health the health is a state of 'complete physical, mental, social and spiritual well being.
- Their personal and property rights especially when people are economically affected or in the case when their civil liberties are violated;
- Their aspirations and fears the perception about their safety, their fears about the future of community. The social impact assessment must not be understood only as the prescriptive activity of the social impacts from an integrated impact, but also as a methodology or an independent tool.

The economic impact evaluation involves aspects of micro and macro economic impact regarding the selected option, such as changes regarding the compliance costs, the implementation costs that public authorities have to make and the impact on prospective innovation and technological development. A key element of the impact assessment is the appraisal of potential economical impacts of public policy proposals. The necessity for analyzing the economic impact, determined by a policy proposed on society is even more important since estimating the net cost of this proposal is an issue with special significance on the study of impact. The institution that is responsible for the proposal has to take into consideration all the costs with an impact on public budget (not only the cost from the own budget or from the subordinated agencies) because the public policies in general brings an impact on the overall economy.

The environmental impact assessment consists on the analysis \c)f the implications and levels that a policy alternative can have on the environment. The quick developments occurring in the present century have intensified the concern of the authorities for analyzing the impacts of public interventions on the environment and human health. The roots of environmental impact assessment can be traced far early back in the history of decision-making theory and according to some scholars, "there is nothing new about the idea of incorporating information regarding the environment into planning and design decision, being possible to find examples of using analytical prediction tools in XVI century.

The European Commission collected these types of impact evaluation into one, namely "the integrated impact evaluation". At a first glance, the new model of integrated impact assessment seems to be designed by taking into account, the lessons from international practice and from a theoretically point of view it is more complete and effective.

Depending on the stage of policy-making process in which the impact evaluation is completed we can distinguish between

• Ex-ante impact evaluation of public policies — this is an activity conducted at the beginning of policy-making process, when .public policy experts and these involve in public policies planning using qualitative and quantitative research methods, trying to make predictions regarding the impact that could be exercised on the society as a result of public policy implementation.

• Ex-post impact evaluation — this is an activity conducted during or after the implementation of public policies. It measures the achieved results and identifies the real deviations from the planned objective, extra time and the Additional costs related to resources and .other factors. The aim of ex-post evaluation is not only to identify the mistakes, but also to make prescriptions concerning the appropriate solutions for the future activities.

4.2.5 METHODS OR APPROACHES FOR IMPACT EVALUATION

Several approaches and methods been suggested for evaluating the impact of policies. A few notable methods can now be discussed in detail.

Comparing Sets of Statistics: A simple method to ascertain policy impact is through a comparative study. It is concerned with comparing a problem or a situation with what it was like before the intervention. In addition, certain goals or targets of a policy or a programme could be specified, and compared with what has already happened in that particular field of policy. This method is concerned with comparing the findings with specified or fixed standards usually expressed as a desirable level of output.

Experimental Approach: Experimental approach attempts to quantify success in, achieving initial policy objectives, based on some form of 'before' and 'after' study of those involved in the experiment in comparison with a control group. In this approach,

experiments are conducted to test the impact of a programme on a group or an areaagainst what has happened to a group or an area which has not been the target of' intervention. An experiment may seek to study a problem before and after the, intervention.

Cost-Benefit Analysis Method: Cost-benefit analysis approach involves the use of economic concepts to identify and measure the costs and benefits of policies and programmes. The cost-benefit analysis approach focuses on measuring costs against the benefits which have taken place as a result of the policy intervention. The quantitative outcomes of cost-benefit calculations show whether the gains exceed the total costs or not. This approach is also useful in estimating the impact of existing programmes and comparing them with that of the proposed programmes, and ranking their effectiveness.

Performance Measurements Approach: Another 'method to ascertain policy impacts is through using performance measures. This method is applied to assess if goals or targets have been met. Implementing agencies may be assigned the task of assessing as to achievement of the intended goals. A performance measure may be expressed as how efficient the use of given resources has been how much should have been achieved, and how much was actually achieved.

Rapid Assessment Method: Ong and Humphris are associated with the Rapid Appraisal Methodology, and they argue that the citizens should be made an integral part of the valuation process. Under this approach, impact assessment is undertaken by a number of professional and non-professional persons. Broader judgments and conclusions are then arrived at through communication between team members. The techniques associated with this method are interactional, such as, direct observation, informal communication with key informants, and group discussions. These judgmental approaches help evaluate success or failure of policy and programmes.

Using-Citizen's Response: An old and popular method to assess policy impact is through citizen's response to provision of social and economic services. It is seen that a large number of social programmes concerning health, education and social security are given a wide publicity to the weaker sections of the community in developing countries. The implementing agencies are expected to follow the procedures the rules as propagated by the authorities. In case of any kind of diversions by the administrative agencies, the

prospective beneficiaries may complain to the appropriate authorities or they may air their grievances through the media. Though somewhat crude, this method is simple for getting some kind of feedback. If the number of complaints or grievances is few and negligible, it would indicate the positive impact or good work of the implementing agencies. However, the method is not without its shortcomings. Not all citizens voluntarily submit complaints against governmental programmes.

4.2.6 PROBLEMS IN EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC POLICY

Evaluating the impacts of programs or policies is very difficult, even under the best of conditions. Hog wood and Gunn identify several factors that pose severe problems for evaluating public policies or programs. These problems include:

1. **Objectives**: Nothing illustrates more clearly the problems of doing policy evaluation than the way in which policy objectives shape evaluation. If the policy objectives are unclear, or they are not specified in any 'measurable form, then the criteria for a policy's success are unclear. However, vagueness in goals can often be a consequence of differences in points of view about policy objectives. Even when there is a clear statement of goals, problems remain. For example, how important are goals relative to each other when more than one is specified."

2. **Defining the Criteria for Success:** Even when objectives are clearly stated, there is the question of how the success of the objective will be measured. For example, suppose the objective is to produce an improvement in student performance in math using microcomputers. Even this specific objective is clouded by whether one wants to assess the student's increase in enjoyment of math using computers, or an improvement in understanding math itself, or an ability to apply this improvement to other areas, or a combination of all these.

3. **Side effects:** Sometimes impacts from other policies or programs affect the policy or program under evaluation. Difficulties can be presented when one tries to identify and measure side effects and separate these side effects from the policy or program being evaluated. Thus, there is the problem of how other factors (both adverse and beneficial) should be brought into the evaluation, and how much these factors should how weighted relative to the central objectives. For example, in attempting to evaluate the effects of

the55 mile-per-hour speed limit on reducing traffic fatalities, there is the complicating factor of seat-belt use. To what extent is the reduced speed a factor relative to the use of seat belts?

4. **Data problems:** Quite often the information necessary to assess the impact of a policy or program may not be available or may be available in an unsuitable form. For example, if one were interested in evaluating the impacts of. President Reagan's "new federalism" on state environmental protection, he or she would want to have data on the extent to which the individual states replaced the federal budget cuts with their own-source funds. However, not all 50 states (or even very few of them) have kept careful records of the extent to which they replaced federal funds with state funds for environmental protection, nor how much the states provided in this category of expenditure that was unique to the state as opposed to local governments.

5. **Methodological Problems:** It is also common for a single problem or single group of the population, to be the target of several programs with the same of related objectives. For example, several policies are directed to the problem of poverty. In such cases, assessing the impact of a single program is difficult. For example, if crime rates go down, is this due to better policing, better education, welfare assistance, or employment opportunities?

Big problems tend to have a lot of programs directed toward them, which makes it difficult to assess which, if any, are producing an effect.

6. **Political problems:** Evaluation is very threatening to some people. The success or failure of a policy or program to which politicians or bureaucrats have committed their personal reputations and careers, and from which clientele groups are receiving benefits, is being evaluated. Evaluation may be seen as a threat to the continuation of a policy or program in which a number of people have an important stake. These considerations will obviously affect both how evaluation results are utilized and the ease with which the evaluation can be conducted, as the cooperation of public officials and clients of often required in the evaluation.

7. **Cost:** It is not uncommon for a program's evaluation to cost as much as one percent of the total program cost. This is especially the case when more sophisticated methods are

used in evaluation studies, such as experimental designs. Such costs are a diversion from the delivery of the policy or program. There are just a few of the difficulties posed in the evaluation of public policies and programs. Simply because policy analysts have these problems in the process of evaluation, they should not be unduly discouraged from conducting evaluation activities. Rather than seeing these difficulties as insurmountable obstacles, they should see them as challenges for designing effective evaluations. In the following case study, we discuss an example of evaluation research-the impact of school spending on student performance

An impact evaluation assesses changes in the well-being of individuals; households, communities or firms that can be attributed to a particular project, program or policy. The central impact evaluation question is what would have happened to those receiving the intervention if they had, not ill fact received the program. Impact evaluation is aimed at providing feedback to help improve the design of programs and policies. In addition to providing for improved accountability, impact evaluations are a tool for dynamic learning, allowing policy makers to improve ongoing programs and ultimately better allocate funds across programs. There are various types of impact evaluations viz. social, economic and environmental. Cost benefit analysis, performance measurements approaches are being, used to evaluate the impact of public policies. There are also certainly problems or difficulties encountered in the impact evaluation process. Rather they seeing these difficulties as insurmountable obstacles, they should see them as challenges for designing effective evaluations.

4.2.7 POLICY COMPLIANCE AND NON-COMPLIANCE

All public policies are intended to influence or control human behaviour in some way, to induce people to act in accordance with governmentally prescribed rules or goals, whether reference to policy or such diverse matters patent or copyrights, open housing interest rates, night time burglary, agricultural production, or Military Recruitment. If compliance with policy is not achieved, if people continue to act in undesired ways, if they do not take desired action, or if they cease doing what is desired, to that extent policy become ineffective or, at the extreme, a nullity Foreign policy also depend for its effectiveness on compliance by the affected foreign countries and their officials. To make consideration of this problem

more manageable, we will focus primarily, but not exclusively, on compliance with domestic economic policies.

4.2.7.1 Causes of Compliance

- **Psychological makeup:** substantial respect for authority exists in our society. Respect for, & deference to, authority is built in our psychological make up by the process of socialization. Most of us are taught from birth to respect the authority of parents, knowledge, status, & govt. officials. Consequently we grow up generally believing it to be morally right and proper to obey the law. So this becomes the part of habit of the individual to obey the authority of law.
- Reasoned & conscious acceptance: compliance with policy may also be based on some form of reasoned, conscious acceptance. Even some whose immediate self interest conflict with a particular policy may be convinced that it is reasonable and just. Most people undoubtedly would rather not pay taxes but when people believe that tax laws are reasonable and just, & necessary to provide governmental services, such belief in all likely hood contribute to compliance with policy.
- Legitimate character of governmental policies: another possible cause of compliance is the belief that a a governmental policy should be obeyed because it is legitimate, in the sense that it is constitutional, or was made by the officials with proper authority to act, or that correct procedure was followed.
- Self interest: self interest is the important factor of compliance. Individuals and groups may directly benefit from acceptance of policy norms and standards. Thus farmers have complied with production limitations in the form of acreage allotments and marketing quotas in order to qualify for price support and benefit payments.
- Threat of punishment: the possibility of punishment in the form of fines, imprisonment and other sanctions also works to secure compliance. In many instances, sanctions are effective more because people desire to avoid being stigmatized as law breaker then because they fear the penalties involved.
- Acceptance with Time: Acceptance of most policies seems to increase with the length of time they are in effect. As time passes and it always does a once controversial

policy becomes more familiar a part of accepted state of things, one of the conditions of doing business.

4.2.7.2 Causes of Non-Compliance

It will be readily apparent even to the most casual observer that all person are affected by public policies comply with them. Statistical information on reported violations is readily obtainable as in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports. In addition, a lot of violation goes undetected or unreported. Non compliance may result when laws conflict too sharply with the prevailing values, mores, and belief of people generally or of particular groups. The extensive violation of national prohibition and war time price and rationing control can be attributed in considerable measure to this cause.

- Conflict between laws and morality: it is not very useful, however, to ascribe noncompliance to a broad conflict between law and morality. Failure to compliance occurs when a particular law comes in conflict with particular values or beliefs in a particular time and situation. For example the beef ban was not complied by the particular community because it came in conflict with its value system.
- Selective disobedience of law: some laws are felt to be less binding than others on the individual. Those who strongly obey what are ordinarily designated as criminal laws sometimes have more relaxed or permissive attitude towards economic legislation and regulation or laws regulating the behaviour of the public officials. Many people apparently believe that laws relating to banking operations, trade practices taxation, environmental pollution control are not as mandatory for individuals as laws prohibiting robbery, burglary, and embezzlement.
- **Group membership:** one's associate or group memberships may contribute to non compliance. Association with person who hold ideas disrespectful of law and government, justify or rationalize law violation, or who violate the law may cause the individual to acquire deviant norms and values that dispose him to noncompliance.
- **Desire to make a fast buck:** the desire to make a fast buck or something akin thereto, is often stated as a cause of noncompliance. This would certainly seem the case in many instances of fraud and misrepresentation, scandals and scams.

- Lack of clarity: noncompliance may also result from such factors as ambiguity in the law, lack of clarity, or conflicting policy standards. Income tax violation often stem from the ambiguity or complexity of provisions of Internal Revenue Code, which some one described as a "sustained essay in obscurity". Violation may also result from difficulties in complying with the law, even when its meaning is understood. For example insufficient time is allowed for filling complicated forms or for making required changes in the existing patterns of action, such as in the installation of pollution control devices.
- **Ignorance of law:** sheer ignorance of law/policy or rules regulating conduct cannot be discounted as a cause of noncompliance. While ignorance of law may be no excuse, it often does account for violations.
- In sum, non compliance may stem from structural defects in the law and its administration, and from ignorance and lack of understanding of law, as well as from behaviour that is more consciously or deliberately deviant. The burden of securing compliance with public policies rests primarily with the administrative agencies.

4.2.8 EXERCISE

- 1. Discuss various types of impact evaluation.
- 2. Define impact evaluation and discuss different methods for impact evaluation.
- 3. Write a note on compliance and non-compliance.

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – IV: Policy Implementation and Evaluation

4.3 POLICY EVALUATION: MONITORING TECHNIQUES, COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS AND PROBLEMS

- Y. Pardhasaradhi

STRUCTURE

4.3.0	Objectives
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4.3.1 Introduction

4.3.2 Types of Public Policy Evaluation

- 4.3.2.1 Summative Evaluation
- 4.3.2.2 Formative Evaluation
- 4.3.2.3 Theory-based Evaluation
- 4.3.2.4 Goals-based Evaluation
- 4.3.2.5 Experimental and Qasi-Experimental Evaluation
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4.3.5 Monitoring

- 4.3.5.1 Four Major Functions of the Monitoring
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4.3.6 Cost Benefit Analysis

- 4.3.6.1 Cost Benefit Analysis: Evaluation
- 4.3.7 Problems of Policy Evaluation
- 4.3.8 Let us Sum Up
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4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will understand importance of evaluating a particular policy from its intended initiation. While explaining issues involved evaluation, the lesson makes you understand the techniques of monitoring, particularly cost benefit analysis. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- policy evaluation and multiple ways in which policy can be evaluated;
- how monitoring constitute important element of policy evaluation and the techniques involved in it;
- the importance of Cost Benefit Analysis in the policy evaluation; and
- problems involved in policy evaluation.

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The difficulties of public policymaking in the complex milieu of modern society can hardly be overstated. The consequent need for coherent analytical frameworks or paradigms to guide policymakers through the myriad of factors surrounding particular policy issues will probably never be fully satisfied. Accordingly, new perspectives on social and economic policymaking require ongoing scrutiny by public policy analysts in order to determine whether they assist in reducing the manifold complexities of policy formulation. The policy makers follow different types in policy evaluation.

4.3.2 TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICY EVALUATION

A simple assumption generally acceptable is that most citizens think and behave rationally. Hence, they would like to see that the public moneys are spent by their democratically elected government effectively and efficiently in whatever policies the government adopts and finances. Put it differently, citizens would like to have an account of these policy expenditures. If a policy proves inefficient, the citizens would want it altered so it can become efficient; or maybe they would rather see those funds shifted to other policies; or they would even like some of those funds to be returned indirectly to them through lower taxes.

To have this accountability substantiated, the policy-maker must conduct some evaluation,

s/ he must research systematically, find out what has happened and then pass some judgement on the policy in question.

Assuming as stated earlier that the policy-maker thinks and behaves rationally, these decisions and judgements are optimised only if the policy-maker possesses valid, reliable and comprehensive information on how the policy has fared; that is whether it did well or not, what were its weaknesses, what were its strengths, and so forth. How is this reliable information produced? It is produced through sound methods with which the policy-maker can gather data and methods with which s/he can analyse the data gathered.

Evaluations however are not conducted for the sake of accountability only. For example, the organisations and their public officials that are involved in the planning and implementation of policies, whether acting as Principals or Agents, would also want some feedback which would assist them in improving their ongoing policy operations or the planned operations for the future.

Different countries use different terms to describe evaluations. This includes the commonly used terms of summative and formative evaluations.

4.3.2.1 Summative Evaluation

Which is sometimes referred to as impact evaluation, asks questions such as: What impact, if any, does a policy, programme or some other types of government intervention have in terms of specific outcomes for different groups of people? It seeks to provide estimates of the effects of a policy either in terms of what was expected of it at the outset, or compared with some other intervention or with doing nothing at all (i.e. the counterfactually)

4.3.2.2 Formative evaluation:

Which is sometimes referred to as process evaluation, asks how, why, and under what conditions does a policy intervention (or a programme, or a project) work, or fail to work? These questions are important in determining the effective development (i.e. formation), implementation and delivery of policies, programmes or projects. Formative evaluation typically seeks information on the contextual factors, mechanism and processes underlying a policy's success or failure. This often involves addressing questions such as for whom a policy has worked or not worked, and why.

This distinction between summative and formative evaluations is not always as rigid as the above characterization might suggest. Proponents of the Theories of Change approach to evaluation would argue that determine whether or not a policy has worked, or has been effective, necessarily involves asking questions about how it has worked, for whom, why, and under what conditions it has worked or not worked. Nonetheless, the contrast between evaluating whether a policy intervention has been effective (summative evaluation), and why it has done so (formative evaluation), is one that is conventionally made in the policy evaluation literature.

Based on the different objects purpose and questions, a set of standard types of evaluation is used across governments. This set of types of evaluation is based on the base model which links inputs to activities, outputs, outcomes and impacts, which is also used in the framework for Managing programme Performance Information. This will help to develop a common language, and establish standard procedures. Following table summarizes three types and their uses.

Table: Summary of types of evaluation across government

Types of evaluation	Covers	Timing
Diagnostic evaluation	This is preparatory research (often called ex-ante evaluation) to ascertain the current situation prior to an intervention and to inform intervention design. It identified what is already known about the issues at hand, the problems and opportunities to be addressed. Causes and consequence, including those that the intervention is unlikely to deliver and the likely effectiveness of different policy options. This enables the drawing up of the theory of change before the intervention is designed.	At key stages prior to design or planning.
Design evaluation	Used to analyse the theory of change, inner logic and consistency of the programme, either before a programme starts or during implementation to see whether the theory of change appears to be working. This is quick to do and uses only secondary information and should be used for all new programmes. It also assesses the quality of the indicators and the assumptions.	After an intervention has been designed, in first year and possibly later
Implementati on evaluation	Aims to evaluate whether an intervention's operational mechanisms support achievement of the objectives or not and understand why. Looks at activities, output, and outcomes, use of resources and the causal links. It builds on existing monitoring systems and is applied during programme operation to improve the efficiency and efficacy of operational processes. It also assesses the quality of the indicators and assumptions. This can be rapid, primarily using secondary data or in- depth with extensive field work.	Once or several times during the intervention.
Impact evaluation	Seeks to measure changes in outcomes (and the well- being of the target population) that are attributable to a specific intervention. Its purpose is to inform high-level officials on the extent to which an intervention should be continued or not and if there are any potential modifications needed. This kind of evaluation is implemented on a case- by- case basis.	Designed early on baseline, implemented early, impact checked at key stages e.g. 3/5 years
Economic evaluation	Economic evaluation considers whether the coasts of a policy or programme have been overweighed by the benefits. Types of economic evaluation include:	At any stage
	Cost-effectiveness analysis, which values the coasts of implementing and delivering the policy and relates this amount to the total quantity of outcome generated to produce a "cost per unit of outcome" (e.g. cost per additional individual laced in employment); and	
	Cost benefit analysis (CBA), which goes further in placing a monetary value on the changes in outcomes as well (e.g. the value of placing an additional individual in employment)	
Evaluation synthesis	Synthesizing the results of a range of evaluations to generalize finding across government e.g. a function such as supply chain management, a sector, or a cross-cutting issue such as capacity. DPME will undertake evaluation synthesis based on the evaluations in the national evaluation plan and do an annual report on evaluation.	After a number of evaluations are completed.

4.3.2.3 Theory-Based Evaluation Approaches

Theory-Based approaches to evaluation, which include the Theories of Change approach mentioned above, as well as programme theory evolution (Rogers et al, 2000) and some aspects of Realistic Evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 1997), focus on unpacking the theoretical or logical sequence by which a policy intervention is expected to bring about desired effects. Theory-Based approaches attempt to identify the mechanisms by which policies and or programmes might produce their effects. For instance, the common underlying theory of the juvenile awareness programme for preventing juvenile delinquency (such as the 'Scared Straight) programmes in the United States, (Petrosino, Turpic-Petrossino, and Buehler, 2002) suggest the following sequential steps:



An alternative possible sequence of outcomes, which can be tested empirically, might be as follows



Failure to be clear about the causal sequence by which a policy is expected to work can result in well intentioned policies being misplaced, and outcomes that are contrary to those that were anticipated. Theory-based evaluation provides a number of ways of carrying out an analysis of the logical or theoretical consequences of a policy, and can increase the likelihood of the desired outcome being achieved.

4.3.2.4 Goals-Based Evaluation

This is one of the most frequently asked questions in policy evaluation, and is sometimes referred to as Goal-Based evaluation. In the American evaluation literature it is sometimes referred to as 'legislative monitoring', because it monitors whether the outcomes that were expected from some government policy initiative have been achieved. In the United Kingdom, the achievement of targets that have been set by Public Service Agreements and Service Delivery Agreements are evaluated using Goal-Based methods of evaluation.

An example in the UK context might be whether or not the goals and targets of the National Literary Strategy (i.e. increasing the reading, writing and comprehension abilities of children and adults) have been achieved. Another example might be whether the goals of the hospital waiting lists and or the time they had to wait for treatment have been achieved. Such outcomes may, or may not, be made explicit in policy statements and documents.

Goals Based evaluation make no assumptions about whether or not the chosen goals or targets are valid or appropriate measures of effectiveness. It may indeed by the case that waiting no more than four hours for hospital treatment is less valid to patients and their careers than waiting for two hours or less. Or it may waiting times for treatment are less valid than making sure that the most effective and evidence-based evaluations simply measure whether some goals or targets set by policy makers have been achieved.

Even when goals of a policy, programme or project have been achieved, however, this does not necessarily mean that the policy in question has been responsible for this outcome. Other factors, including other policy initiatives, may have been responsible. In order to know whether the policy in questions has been responsible for an anticipated outcome, some happened anyway, or because of other interventions. Randomized control trial methods are generally considered to be the most appropriate way of determining the counterfactual of a policy, programme or project, though carefully controlled matched comparisons studies and some forms of statistical modelling also provide estimates of the counterfactual.

Policy makers and evaluators are often interested in the unintended consequences or outcomes of a policy, programme or project. These unintended outcomes may be beneficial or harmful. Goals-free evaluation does this focusing on the actual effects or outcomes of some policy, programme or project, without necessarily knowing what the intended goals might be. This type of policy evaluation is more commonly undertaken by evaluators who are independent of government and who are more interested in the range of consequences of a policy, programme or project than in the anticipated outcomes alone. Goals-free policy evaluation however should be of interest to government social researchers and policy analysts because of the importance of establishing the balance between the positive and negative consequences of policies. Such balanced evaluation is important in order to establish the coat-benefit and coat-utility of a policy or programme interventions.

4.3.2.5 Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Evaluation

Experimental and quasi-experimental research method, provide valid and reliable evidence about the relative effectiveness of a policy intervention compared with other policy interventions, or doing nothing at all (sometimes called the counterfactual). They provide appropriate evidence about questions such as whether a personal adviser service is more or less effective in terms of advancing low paid people in the labour market than for example providing skill training or doing nothing at all.

The purest form of experimental method is the randomized controlled trial. Randomized control trials deal with the problem of other possible factors influencing an outcome by exposing an experimental group of people, and a non-experimental group of people to exactly the same factors except the policy, programme or project under investigation. The allocation of people to the experimental policy intervention, or to the control situation, is done not to guarantee that the experimental and control groups will be identical, but it reduces the influence of extraneous factors by ensuring that the only differences between the two groups will be those that arise by chance.

Randomization may be by individuals or by units, clusters or whole areas. Some welfareto-work initiatives have allocated units such as schools hospitals, housing estates or entire neighbourhoods, to experimental or control groups.

Quasi-experimental methods refer to those research designs that compare the outcomes

of experimental and control groups by methods other than randomization. These include:

- Controlled before and after involving pre-test and post-test comparisons using a single group of people
- Controlled before and after designs in which pre-test and post-test comparisons are made between two or more groups of people.
- Interrupted time series studies based on repeated observation over time of valid and reliable standardized measures of outcome.
- Various types of matching designs using matched comparisons of individuals or units before and after an intervention.
- Regression discontinuity designs.

4.3.2.6 Qualitative Evaluation

Qualitative evaluation is designed to "permit the evaluator to study selected issues in depth and detail". Such depth and detail is usually required to determine the appropriate questions to ask in an evaluation, and to identify the situational and contextual conditions under which a policy, programme or project works are fails to work.

Qualitative methods of evaluation are particularly important for formative evaluation which, as Patton again suggests, "Is limited entirely to a focus on a specific context", Patton goes on to argue that: "Formative evaluation services the purpose of improving a specific program, policy, group of staff (in a personnel evaluation), or product. Formative evaluations aim at 'forming' the thing being studied....There is no attempt in formative evaluation to generalize findings beyond the setting in which open is working. The purpose of the research is to improve effectiveness within that setting".

Qualitative evaluation uses a range of methods including in-depth interview, case studies, consultative methods, focus groups, ethnography, observational and participant observational studies, and conversation and discourse analysis.

4.3.3 ECONOMIC APPRAISALAND EVALUATION

Politics, programme and projects involve the allocation of scare and finite resources to competing demands and interests. Consequently, it is necessary to understand economic

appraisal at the outset (i.e. ex ante) of different policy options and likely outcomes (both positive and negative) that will be achieved by them, and of the costs involved in achieving these outcomes. It is also necessary to undertake an economic evaluation after (i.e. post hoc) a chosen policy, programme and project has been running for some time in order to determine whether or not the anticipated outcomes (or other outcomes) have been achieved.

There are different types of economic appraisal and evaluation. The simplest type is cost appraisal and evaluation, which simply compares the costs of different initiatives without considering the outcomes to be achieved or that have been achieved. The limitations of such appraisals and evaluations are fairly obvious they tell us very little about the relative effectiveness or benefits of different interventions and are of little value alone in policy evaluation.

Other types of economic appraisal and evaluation, which are more analytically powerful and useful to policy making, include coast-effectiveness and cost- benefit analyses. The former compares the differential costs involves a consideration of alternative uses of a given resources. Cost benefit analysis involves a consideration of alternative uses of a given resources, or the opportunity cost of doing something compared with doing something else. Another type of economic appraisal is cost utility analysis, which evaluates the utility of different outcomes for different users to consumers of a policy or service. Cost utility analysis typically involves subjective appraisals and evaluations of outcomes using qualitative and quantitative data. Economic appraisal and evaluation uses a variety of tools to estimate the costs and benefits of policy initiatives over time, such as the discount rate for adjusting the value of outcomes that will occur in the future.

4.3.4 HOW DOES POLICY EVALUATION RELATE TO POLICY MANAGEMENT?

Policy evaluation and analysis requires a structured and organized approach to defining an answerable question, summoning appropriate and relevant evidence, critically appraising and analysing that evidence, identifying the risks and opportunities of a policy, programme or project, and determining the likely effects (positive and negative) of a project at hand. Project and programme management has emerged in recent years as a structured and organized way of planning, implementing and concluding projects and programmes. The congruity of interest between policy evaluation and project management is clear.

4.3.5 MONITORING

Policy monitoring and evaluation form part of integral stages in public policy cycle. Policy monitoring comprises a range of activities describing and analyzing the development and implementation of policies, identifying potential gaps, outlining areas for improvement, and holding policy implementers accountable for their activities. Monitoring is defined as an analytic procedure that produces information on cause and consequences of public policies. It is the process of observing policy implementation progress, and resource utilization, and anticipating deviations from expected policy outcomes.

Monitoring in essence plays a methodological role in policy analysis. Information about a policy is transformed from mere information to policy outcomes. The resultant is production of problem situations this is what is picked when structuring policy problems. Monitoring and control thus forms the heart of policy management.

4.3.5.1 Four Major Functions of the Monitoring

There are four major functions for monitoring. These are:

Compliance: Monitoring verifies whether the program administrators, staff and all stakeholders are in compliance with the standards and procedures put in place by the legislatures, regulatory bodies and other professional bodies.

Auditing: Monitoring helps to determine whether the target groups and beneficiaries for e.g, families, states, municipalities or regions, have been reached by the allocated resources and services. Here the essence is to check out if; for example county resources have reached to the grassroots.

Accounting: Information is produced and enhances accounting for social and economic changes that follow the implementation of broad sets of public policies and programs over time. An example can be analyzing changes in quality of life that requires looking at indicators such as average education, percentage of population below poverty line and type of housing lived in.

Explanation: Monitoring helps to determine why the outcomes of public policies and programs differ. For example social experiments in criminal justice, education and social welfare help us to find out what policies and programs work best, how they work and why.

4.3.5.2 Monitoring Techniques

Mainly there are two techniques of policy evaluation that is PERT and CPM which stands for Programme Evaluation Review Technique and Critical Path Management respectively. They were developed in the 1950s to control large defence projects, and have been used routinely since then. As the Critical Path Method (CPM) helps you to plan all tasks that must be completed as part of a project.

They act as the basis both for preparation of a schedule, and of resource planning. During management of a project, they allow you to monitor achievement of project goals. They help you to see where remedial action needs to be taken to get a project back on course.

Within a project it is likely that you will display your final project plan as a Gantt Chart (using Microsoft Project or other software for projects of medium complexity or an excel spreadsheet for projects of low complexity). The benefit of using CPA within the planning process is to help you develop and test your plan to ensure that it is robust. Critical Path Analysis formally identifies tasks which must be completed on time for the whole project to be completed on time. It also identifies which tasks can be delayed if resource needs to be reallocated to catch up on missed or overrunning tasks. The disadvantage of CPA, if you use it as the technique by which your project plans are communicated and managed against, is that the relation of tasks to time is not as immediately obvious as with Gantt Charts. This can make them more difficult to understand.



A further benefit of Critical Path Analysis is that it helps you to identify the minimum length of time needed to complete a project. Where you need to run an accelerated project, it helps you to identify which project steps you should accelerate to complete the project within the available time. Graphically it can be represented in the following way:

A network of events and activities is presented pictorially in CPM with the help of several circles and arrows. Each circle represents an event and each arrow represents an activity. An event involves a specific point of time at which a part of programme is completed. An event signifies the beginning of one activity and the end of another activity. Events are assigned serial numbers for expressing their sequence and separate identification, an activity, on the other hand, implies time consuming efforts or actions required for achieving an event. The flow or sequential activity is indicated by the arrow head and such flow calls for estimating time in number of days or weeks in respect of each activity between any two events. That is, there must be an elapsed time for each activity between events.

After a network of events and activities have been shown, the critical path is computed with reference to those strategic events and activities which take the longest time to complete the whole project and which thereby leave the least slack time. Slack time is the difference between the target time and project completion time. In other words, the critical path involves the minimum expected time in which the project as a whole can be completed. Although attention is focused on one critical path in network system, there exist several critical paths in order of importance. The above figure illustrates a simple network with its critical path.

PERT stands for Program Evaluation and Review Technique. A PERT chart is a graphic representation of a project schedule, showing the sequence of tasks, which tasks can be performed simultaneously, and the critical path of tasks that must be completed on time in order for the project to meet its completion deadline. The chart can be constructed with a variety of attributes, such as earliest and latest start dates for each task, earliest and latest finish dates for each task, and slack time between tasks. A PERT chart can document an entire project or a key phase of a project. The chart allows a team to avoid unrealistic timetables and schedule expectations, to help identify and shorten tasks that are bottlenecks, and to focus attention on most critical tasks.

The following advantages are derived from the PERT:

1. It compels managers to plan their projects critically and analyze all factors affecting the progress of the plan. The process of the network analysis requires that the project planning be conducted on considerable detail from the start to the finish.

- 2. It provides the management a tool for forecasting the impact of schedule changes and be prepared to correct such situations. The likely trouble spots are located early enough so as to apply some preventive measures or corrective actions.
- 3. A lot of data can be presented in a highly ordered fashion. The task relationships are graphically represented for easier evaluation and individuals in different locations can easily determine their role in the total task requirements.
- 4. The PERT time is based upon estimate and hence is the most objective time in the light of uncertainties and results in greater degree of accuracy in time forecasting.
- 5. It results in improved communication; the network provides a common ground for various parties such as designers, contractors, project managers etc. and they must all understand each other's role and contributions.

The network will highlight areas that require attention of higher priority so that concentration can be applied to the key jobs without ignoring the lower priority tasks. This gives the management an opportunity to shift attention to any critical task so that the entire project is completed in time.

4.3.6 COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Cost-benefit analysis is often used by governments and other organizations, such as private sector businesses, to appraise the desirability of a given policy. It is an analysis of the expected balance of benefits and costs, including an account of foregone alternatives and the status quo. CBA helps predict whether the benefits of a policy outweigh its costs, and by how much relative to other alternatives (i.e. one can rank alternate policies in terms of the cost-benefit ratio). Generally, accurate cost-benefit analysis identifies choices that increase welfare from a utilitarian perspective. Assuming an accurate CBA, changing the status quo by implementing the alternative with the lowest cost-benefit ratio can improve Pareto efficiency. An analyst using CBA should recognize that perfect appraisal of all present and future costs and benefits is difficult, and while CBA can offer a well-educated estimate of the best alternative, perfection in terms of economic efficiency and social welfare are not guaranteed.

4.3.6.1 CBA: Evaluation

Cost Benefit Analysis attempts to measure the positive or negative consequences of a project, which may include:

- Effects on users or participants
- Effects on non-users or non-participants
- Externality effects
- Option value or other social benefits.

A similar breakdown is employed in environmental analysis of total economic value. Both costs and benefits can be diverse. Financial costs tend to be most thoroughly represented in cost-benefit analyses due to relatively abundant market data. The net benefits of a project may incorporate cost savings or public willingness to pay compensation (implying the public has no legal right to the benefits of the policy) or willingness to accept compensation (implying the public has a right to the benefits of the policy) for the welfare change resulting from the policy. The guiding principle of evaluating benefits is to list all (categories of) parties affected by an intervention and add the (positive or negative) value, usually monetary, that they ascribe to its effect on their welfare.

The actual compensation an individual would require to have their welfare unchanged by a policy is inexact at best. Surveys (stated preference techniques) or market behavior (revealed preference techniques) are often used to estimate the compensation associated with a policy; however, survey respondents often have strong incentives to misreport their true preferences and market behavior does not provide any information about important non-market welfare impacts.

One controversy is valuing a human life, e.g. when assessing road safety measures or lifesaving medicines. However, this can sometimes be avoided by using the related technique of cost-utility analysis, in which benefits are expressed in non-monetary units such as quality-adjusted life years. For example, road safety can be measured in terms of cost per life saved, without formally placing a financial value on the life. However, such non-monetary metrics have limited usefulness for evaluating policies with substantially different outcomes. Additionally, many other benefits may accrue from the policy, and metrics such as 'cost per life saved' may lead to a substantially different ranking of alternatives than traditional cost-benefit analysis.

Another controversy is valuing the environment, which in the 21st century is typically assessed by valuing ecosystem services to humans, such as air and water quality and pollution. Monetary values may also be assigned to other intangible effects such as business reputation, market penetration, or long-term enterprise strategy alignment.

The value of a cost-benefit analysis depends on the accuracy of the individual cost and benefit estimates. Comparative studies indicate that such estimates are often flawed, preventing improvements in efficiency. Causes of these inaccuracies include: a) overreliance on data from past policies/programmes (often differing markedly in function or size and the skill levels of the team members); use of subjective impressions by assessment team members; c) inappropriate use of heuristics to derive money cost of the intangible elements; d) confirmation bias among project supporters (looking for reasons to proceed).

To conclude, whenever people decide whether the advantages of a particular action are likely to outweigh its drawbacks, they engage in a form of cost-benefit analysis. In the public arena, formal CBA is a sometimes controversial technique for thoroughly and consistently evaluating the pros and cons associated with prospective policy changes. Specifically, it is an attempt to identify and express in material terms all of the effects of proposed government policies or projects. While not intended to be the only basis for decision making, CBA can be a valuable aid to policymakers.

4.3.7 PROBLEMS OF POLICY EVALUATION

Evaluating a public programme is an important exercise in the policy process. However the evaluation of a policy is confounded by many factors. Some of these are as follows:

Ambiguity and vagueness in policy goals: ambiguous and diffused policy goals make the policy evaluation task more difficult. This is because if the goals of the policy are diffused it becomes difficult to evaluate the effects of the policy. If an evaluator could not understand the goals of a particular policy it becomes difficult to determine whether a particular target is achieved or not. In fact the unclear policy goals render the entire policy process out of gear. **Non availability of information**: the second problem which is encountered by the evaluator in the evaluation of policy is the non-availability of information about the public policy. Generally, there is a lack of required information which causes faulty evaluation of policies.

Scattered policy impacts: generally the impact of the public policy results on both the targeted and non-targeted groups of the society are scattered and thus it becomes difficult to measure their impact on the population. For example, the social welfare policy not only affects the disadvantaged section of the society but also which occupy the upper strata in the socio-economic structure.

Problem of time and finance: lack of a time and finance also create a hurdle in the policy evaluation especially if the evaluator is a research scholar because they have to complete the policy evaluation in a stipulated time frame. Not only time, lack of finance also create equal problem in the policy evaluation process.

Lack of support from the masses: generally it is found that the target population do not cooperate with the evaluator in a required manner which makes it difficult for him to evaluate the policy in a clear and efficient way.

The problems discussed above that there are several problems faced by the evaluators in the countries, in general, and in the developing countries like India in particular. Policy evaluation involves specifying the goals of the programme, measuring the degree to which these goals have been achieved, and suggesting the reasons behind non-achievement of targets so the required improvements can be made in the next incremental steps.

4.3.8 LET US SUM UP

Policy evaluation is a family of research methods that are used to systematically investigate the effectiveness of policies, programmes, projects and other types of social intervention, with the aim of achieving improvement in the social, economic and everyday conditions of people's life. Different methods of policy evaluation are used to answer different questions.

4.3.9 EXERCISE

- 1. Describe various types of Evaluation
- 2. Discuss the theory based approaches of Public Policy.
- 3. Comment on Quantitative and Economic Appraisal evaluation methods.
- 4. Write a note on Monitoring and main techniques involved in it.
- 5. Briefly state the advantages of Cost Benefit Analysis.
- 6. Critically analyse problems associated with policy evaluation

M.A. Political Science, Semester IV, Course No. 405, Public Policy Making & Analysis Unit – IV: Policy Implementation and Evaluation

4.4 POLICY EVALUATION PROCESSES IN INDIA AND USA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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STRUCTURE

- 4.4.0 Objectives
- 4.4.1 Introduction
- 4.4.2 The Concept of Policy Evaluation
- 4.4.3 Policy Evaluation Processes in USA and India
- 4.4.4 Policy Evaluation in the USA
 - 4.4.4.1 Congressional Oversight
 - 4.4.4.2 General Accounting Office
 - 4.4.4.3 Presidential Commission
 - 4.4.4 Administrative Agencies
- 4.4.5 Policy Evaluation in India
 - 4.4.5.1 Political Evaluation

4.4.6 Similarities in the Policy Evaluation Process of India and USA

- 4.4.7 Let Us Sum UP
- 4.4.8 Exercise

4.4.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson you will compare the policy evaluation process in the USA with India. After going through this lesson, you will be able to know:

- the policy evaluation process in the USA and agencies involved in it;
- how policy is evaluated in India and the superior role of political executive; and
- the similarities in policy evaluation of USA and India.

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Much of the interest in the public policy making process centres on the dynamic energy that goes into the decisions. Once the policies are made, interest often drops off in favour of focussing on other problems in need of resolution and discussion begins anew. Yet we know from out of examination of policy that what happens to a policy after it has been put into action. In fact, it is only during the implementation phase that we learn whether the policy was carried out as the public policy makers designed. But still, there is one more step in which the public policy making cycle which tells whether or not policies are achieving their predetermined goals and objectives or not, and if not, what are the reasons behind it.

4.4.2 THE CONCEPT OF POLICY EVALUATION

In its simplest form, policy evaluation is concerned with learning about the consequences of public policy. It means evaluating alternative public policies as contrasted with describing them or explaining why they exist. Essentially, there are two distinctive tasks in policy evaluation. One task is to determine what the consequences of a policy are by describing its impact and the other task is to judge the success or failure of a policy according to a set of standards or value criteria. Robert Hageman claims that the central tenet of policy evaluation research is its focus on the activities of the public sector and its influence on society. As such it is the "effort to understand the effects of human behaviour and in particular to evaluate the effects of particular programs. Another definition is "policy evaluation is the assessment of the overall effectiveness of a national program in meeting its objectives, or an assessment of the relative effectiveness of two or more programmes in meeting common objectives. Still another definition is that the evaluation of agency programmes or legislative policy is the use of scientific methods to estimate the successful implementation and resultant

outcomes of programmes or policies for decision-making purposes. What differentiates policy evaluation from other types of policy analysis is the focus on policy results or consequences as opposed to policy characteristics or causes.

4.4.3 POLICY EVALUATION PROCESS IN INDIA & USA

Within the national govt, policy evaluation is carried by variety of actors in a variety of ways. Sometime it is highly systematic, other times rather haphazard and sporadic. In some instances policy has become institutionalised; in others it is quite informal and unstructured. The evaluation of both India and USA is different which is discussed below

4.4.4 POLICY EVALUATION IN USA

In USA we find a few forms of policy evaluation, including congressional oversight, the General Accounting Office, Presidential Commissions, and agency action which will be examined briefly.

4.4.4.1 Congressional Oversight

One of the important functions of the Congress is the scrutiny and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of law or policy this evaluation may be exercised in number of techniques, including:

1. Case work, that is, intercession with agencies as a consequence of constituent demands and requests;

- 2. Committee hearing and investigation;
- 3. The appropriation process;
- 4. Approval of presidential appointment; and
- 5. Committee staff studies.

In course of these activities, and other, the congressmen reach conclusion regarding the efficiency, effectiveness, the impact of the particular policy and programme - conclusions that can have profound consequence for policy process. Congressional oversight in essence, is more fragmented and disjointed than continuous and systematic.

4.4.4.2 General Accounting Office

This agency, generally regarded as "the arm of congress", has broad statutory authority to audit the operation and financial activities of federal agencies, evaluate their programme, and report its finding to the congress. Evaluation study may be taken by the GAO on its own initiative, on the basis of directives in legislation, at the request of congressional committee, or sometime at the request of individual member of Congress.

4.4.4 Presidential Commission

Other than policy formulation, the presidential commissions play a significant role in the policy evaluation. Whether it is specifically set up to evaluate policy in some areas or for other purposes such as fact-finding, making policy recommendation, or simply creating the appearance of concern, most commissions do involve themselves in policy evaluation. The president's commission on income maintenance programmes was established by president Johnson with a mandate to evaluate existing and proposed income maintenance programmes and to recommend a new income- maintenance program that would better serve the nation's needs.

4.4.4 Administrative Agencies

Programme and policy evaluation is engaged in by the administering agencies, either on their own initiative or at the direction or behest of others. A few developments and examples will be commented upon to give some notion of this source of evaluation. Much attention in the 1960s was given to the planning programming budgeting system which was first of all used in the Department of Defence by Secretary Robert McNamara. In 1973, the office of Management and Budget announced the official birth of another planning and evaluator technique- Management by Objective. The 1977 zero-base budgeting, brought to Washington by the Carter Administration, made its nation government debut. The basic function of all these was to measure the performance of programmes to insure a dollar's worth of service for each dollar spent.

4.4.5 POLICY EVALUATION IN INDIA

In India policy evaluation is taken at the three levels viz. Administrative level, judicial level, and political level. At the administrative level governmental agencies, financial and

administrative experts attached to different government departments. Evaluation by govt agencies has important implications. A big advantage is that an administrator will have no problem regarding access to information. It is generally confined to finding out how efficiently the services of the govt are being delivered to the target groups. The intention here is to insure that policies are accomplishing their expected goal at the minimum cost. The judicial evaluation is concerned with legal issues relating to the manner in which government programmes are implemented. These evaluations are carried out by the courts which examine the constitutionality of the policy being implemented, or whether the implementation of the policy violates the rights of the persons challenging the validity of policy.

4.4.5.1 Political Evaluation

Political evaluation is done by those who are interested in politics viz., political parties, pressure groups, media, non-governmental agencies etc. These evaluations are not systematic and are politically motivated. Nevertheless political evaluation has its significance, especially on occasions like the general elections. Here following techniques are used for policy evaluation:

- 1. Questions and debates,
- 2. Various motions in parliament like no confidence, call attention, etc.,
- 3. Committee bearing and investigations, and budgetary process.

The role played by other agencies is also of crucial importance for policy evaluation.

4.4.6 SIMILARITIES IN THE POLICY EVALUATION PROCESS OF INDIA AND USA

After a careful analysis of policy evaluation process of both the countries, some of the common agencies have been found that work in similar way. These agencies are:

• **Media:** media makes the evaluation of various public policies adopted by the government from time to time. It is the time honoured function of the press to identify the public problems and evaluate the public policies framed by the government. In addition to the almost daily evaluation, in the country's great newspapers, many magazines devote several articles to every issue to judge the performance of policies. In addition to print media electronic media is also significant in making the evaluation of different policy

programmes adopted by the authorities.

• **Intelligentsia:** the intelligentsia section of the society which include the research scholars, teachers and the awakened masses play a significant role in the policy evaluation and analyse the impact of these policies on the society and to see whether the predetermined targets have been achieved or not. If the policy failed to achieve its goals intelligentsia section finds out the reason behind it.

• **Private research institutes**; some of the research institutes are of paramount significance in the context of evaluation of public policies. Research studies conducted by these institutes lay the emphasis on what have been the impacts of a particular policy or programme on the beneficiaries.

• **Pressure groups:** the role of the pressure groups in the policy evaluation is formidable as it is the interest of these groups which is affected by the public policies. At times the evaluation conducted by these groups are quite comprehensive and thus of paramount significance for both the society as a whole as well as the policy makers.

• NGOs: some of the non-governmental organisations are engaged in the policy evaluation process whole heartedly. They from time to time highlight the drawbacks and loopholes of the policy and draw the attention of the countries towards the functioning of these policies and programmes.

Thus, in nut shell, it can be said that though the evaluation of the policy process in both the countries is different but there are some common agencies which are working in both the countries in an un-structured manner.

4.4.7 LET US SUM UP

Evaluation offers the opportunity to assess outcomes of the public policy making process and reshapes the direction of that process; it is the mechanism that compares promise with performance, as well as the linkage between the present and the future. Although measurement characteristics (quantitative assessment) may imply a clear cut benefit of some forms of evaluation, the process is often dependent upon values and issues (qualitative assessment) that underlie the policy under review. In addition, the results of the evaluation experience may be affected by the values of those individuals and agencies assigned the evaluation task.

4.4.8 EXERCISE

- 1. Explain the policy evaluation process.
- 2. Discuss the problems involved in public policy evaluation.
- 3. Comment on the policy evaluation process in USA.

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