RABINDRA BHARATI UNIVERSITY
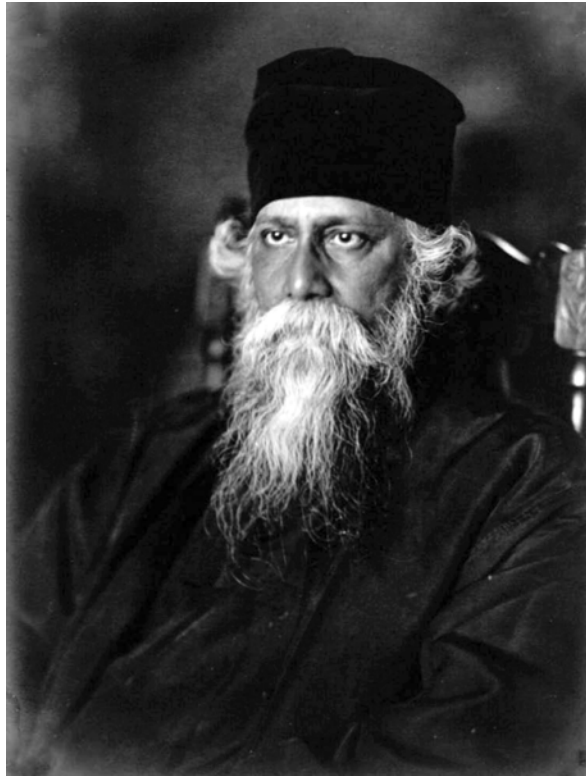## CENTRE FOR DISTANCE & ONLINE EDUCATION

Self-Learning Materials

for

M.A. (POLITICAL SCIENCE)
(Under CBCS)

Semester	C.C	Units
3	**3.3**	**1-8**

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C.C : 3.3

Public Policy

Contents

Unit-1

The Public and its Policies

Contents

1.1 Objectives

The major objectives of this unit are as follows:-
- To explore what public policy is all about.
- To make students understand the concept of 'public' as well as of 'policy.'
- To elucidate the nature and scope of public policy.
- Understanding different types of public policy.
- To know various models of public policy making.
- To know the significance of studying public policy.

1.2 Introduction

Public policy is as old as government. Whatever is the form, oligarchy, aristocracy, monarchy, tyranny, democracy and so on, whenever and wherever governments have existed, public policies have been formulated and implemented. The policymaking process is a part of politics and political action. The policy is often associated simply with legislation and regulation, but in reality, it encompasses a wide variety of activities. Public policies follow a particular purpose: they are designed to achieve defined goals and present solutions to societal problems (Knill and Tosun, 2008). Initially, public policy was studies under the domain of political science and public administration in different universities across the globe. In the 21st century it has now become a distinguished expertise field of inquiry for academics and practitioners all accross the globe. In the developing countries, most of the universities and institutions of higher learning still teach public policy under the shadow of either political science or public administration, while in developed countries, public policy as an academic field of inquiry is being studied in a separate school under various universities. This makes a huge difference in the quality of research in public policy discourse and policy analysis in both western and non-western countries. For this basic reason, the public policy of government in the USA, Britain, Germany and any other western countries have so far succeeded to a great extent to solve public problems in comparison to many third world countries. Who makes public policies? The policy comes from those who have legitimate authority to impose normative guidelines for action. It is made by elected officials acting in concert with advisors from the higher levels of the administration. Government ministers are the elected officials at the apex of government who have the right to articulate policy. Non-elected officials then are required to implement the policy through programmes. For effective public policy formulation, analysis of such policies is truly significant. Public policy analysis is concerned with government's behaviour (Bhattacharya, 2000). Public policy analysis is the study of how governmental policies are made and implemented, and the application of available knowledge to governmental policies for the purpose of improving their formulation and implementation (Lasswell, 1971; Henry, 2012). There is always an opportunity of improving policy-making and mechanisms of implementation. Lerner and Lasswell's work 'The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments

in Scope and Method' (1951) was the first book on public policy analysis. The universities' interest in public policy can be traced to a conference held in 1965 under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council (Ranney, 1968; Henry, 2012).

One of the essential functions of government is policy formulation. In the words of Paul Appleby, the essence of public administration is policymaking. Without the policy, government and administration are rudderless. The policy is prior to every action. It is a prerequisite to all management. Major policy decisions are taken by government authorities in such areas as defence, industry, agriculture, education, health, environment and many others. Traditionally, public policy as an academic field focused on the internal policy of a country. However, the wave of economic globalization that occurred in the late 20th and early 21st centuries created a need to focus on global governance, especially the issues that transcend national borders like terrorism, climate change, disaster management and economic development.

1.3 Concept of Public Policy

Public policy is a course of action enacted typically by a government in response to public and real-world problems. However, there is not a single definition of public policy that is acceptable to all. Different experts have tried to define and understand public policy in their fashion and experience. Thomas Dye famously said, "Public policy is whatever a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye, 1972). Yehezkel Dror describes public policymaking as a 'dynamic process which decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by governmental organs. These guidelines (policies) formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means' (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2017). According to him, policy science is a discipline that seeks general policy-issue knowledge and policymaking knowledge and integrates them into a distinct study.

B. Guy Peters defines public policy as "the set of activities that governments engage in for the purpose of changing their economy and society", effectively saying that public policy is legislation brought in with the aim of benefiting or impacting the electorate in some way" (Peters, 2015). Peters claims that public policy is the 'sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens.' James Anderson defines public policy as 'a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. David Easton defines public policy as "a web of decisions and actions that allocates values" (Easton, 1953). However, public policy is decisions and communication for the public good and public purpose. Such policies may be sometimes good or bad for the public. Public policy needs to be effective to curb people's problems.

Any policy is a decision. The policy creates orderly structures and a sense of direction. Public administration cannot exist in a policy vacuum. It must have administrative structures that are directed by leaders who wish to do something - even if only to maintain the status quo. Thus all of public administration is inherently an instrument of policy - whether those instruments play well, poorly, or not at all (Shafritz,

Russell, Borick and Hyde, 2017). A popular way of understanding and engaging in public policy is through a series of stages known as "the policy cycle". The characterization of particular stages can vary, but a basic sequence is as follows: agenda setting - formulation - legitimation - implementation - evaluation. The term 'public policy' refers to a set of actions the government takes to address issues within society. For example, public policy addresses problems over the long term, such as issues with healthcare or poverty eradication. The public policy addresses issues that affect a wider swath of society, rather than those pertaining to smaller groups.

The public policy process is very dynamic, complicated and is modified and changed in need. It essentially deals with problems of the 'public.' Every department in particular and government, in general, is always said to have a problem-solving goal. To achieve such a goal, government authorities set priority based agenda. They give priority to those problems that are challenging for the regime. After identifying the major problems and needs of the people, government formulates policies that are subsequently legitimized in the legislature or by executive order. The most important and also challenging task that comes next is the implementation of such policies. Within a few days of implementation, people, political executives and public officials come to know how effective has been the policy. On the basis of public opinion and criticism from the opposition, government may evaluate the performance of the policy and re-design accordingly for better results.

In general, the term 'public' denotes two different connotations: addressing common people as a whole and government entity. The essence of the public is publicness, commonness and togetherness. For example, often we talk about some common aspects like public awareness, public opinion, public health, and public interest that fall under the first sense and latter includes public office, institutions and public officials. Within the term 'public', two sorts of relationships are prominent: service provider and service receiver.

Policy is a plan of action agreed or chosen by a legitimate political authority. In the modern state system, the government enacts such policies based on the demand and pressures from within and outside of a political system in a given society. More precisely, policies are government statements of what it intends to do or not to do, including law, regulation, ruling, decision, or order (Birkland, 2001). Policies are major instruments that are carefully formulated to move the society towards the goal (Bhattacharya, 2000). In a society, policy emerges for different sectors and each sector wants their members to get maximum benefits of such policy. A government policy is supplying activities of demand and pressure from the public. The term policy takes various forms and is an outcome of the political system.

1.5 Types of Public Policies

Public policy analysis is said to be a dynamic, complex and observant phenomenon. It has a socio-economic and cultural orientation. In general, public policy can be classified into five types namely substantive, distributive, redistributive, regulatory and capitalization.

1.5.1 Substantive policies

Substantive policies are concerned with the general welfare and development of the society. Programmes like education, employment generation, poverty eradication, law and order enforcement, environment protection legislations are examples of such policies. It has vast areas of operation with a view of general development. This kind of policy is formulated keeping in view the main character of the constitution and the existing social and economic problems of the country.

1.5.2 Regulatory policies

Regulatory policies limit the discretion of individuals and agencies, or otherwise compel certain types of behaviour. Such policies may deal with the regulation of trade and commerce, quality of education and safety measures. This type of regulation is conducted by autonomous bodies that work on behalf of the government. In India, the University Grants Commission (UGC), Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI), Reserve Bank of India (RBI) are some of the few examples of autonomous bodies that regulate certain stakeholders. Moreover, these policies are generally thought to be best applied when good behaviour can be easily defined and bad behaviour can be easily regulated and punished through fines or sanctions.

1.5.3 Distributive policies

Distributive policies of the government extend goods and services to citizens, as well as distribute the costs of the goods/services amongst the general public. Examples include government policies that impact spending for social welfare programmes for women, widows, children and old aged, agricultural subsidies to the farmers, public education, public health and so on. Disaster relief and assistance also could be grouped in this category. In this type of policy, the government becomes more interested in serving particular interests rather than in serving the public interest due to the political compulsions (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2016).

1.5.4 Redistributive policies

Policies are dynamic; they are not just static sorts of goals or laws. Public policy is adopted and implemented with a defined objective, but its benefits are not always certain. For this, redistribution becomes a priority. Redistributive policies are primarily concerned with the rearrangement of policies that bring about basic social and economic changes in society (De, 2012). If an implemented policy fails partially or fully to provide benefits to the target group (s), government authorities may rethink the redistribution of resources and services. It aims at redistributing resources from one section of the community to another section of the community. The question here would be why is redistribution required in society? It is done for uplifting the socio-economic condition of the underprivileged and building an egalitarian society.

1.5.5 Capitalisation policies

The public policies pertaining to this framework is concerned with the levels of government (De, 2012). 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. It does contribute but indirectly. It is basically infrastructural and development policies for government business organizations to keep functioning properly.

1.4 Characteristics of Public Policy

Public policymaking can be characterized as a dynamic, complex, and interactive system through which public problems are identified and resolved through the creation of new policy or reform of existing policy. Public policymaking is a time-consuming process. Public problems can emerge in endless ways and require different policy responses (such as regulations, subsidies, import quotas, and laws) at the local and national levels. The public problems that influence public policymaking can be of economic, social, cultural or political nature. Sometimes public policy targets all citizens of the country and sometimes a section of the community. Here, I would draw examples from the Indian scenario. On 8th November 2016, the Government of India announced the demonetization of all Rs.500 and Rs.1,000 banknotes of the Mahatma Gandhi series. It further announced the issuance of new Rs.500 and Rs.2,000 banknotes in exchange for the demonetised banknotes. Such economic policy has taken for all in India. Another example is the recent pandemic. To combat the adverse effects of health hazards (Covid-19) most of the countries declared either complete or partial lockdowns to save the lives of their citizens and imposed some ordinances and regulations on Covid appropriate behaviour. In this case, such government decisions are enforceable to all and it has had the largest target group. On the other hand, some policies in India like Pradhan Mantri Fasal Bima Yojana (PMFBY) is only for particular sectors life the farmers. PMFBY is aimed to provide a comprehensive insurance cover against the failure of the crop so that it can help in stabilising the income of the farmers. Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana (Prime Minister's Rural Housing Scheme) is another social welfare programme to provide housing for the rural poor in India.

Public policy has some salient characteristics as provided below.

- Public policy is not decided by a single individual or institution. There are multiple stakeholders involved in the process, from identifying the problem to evaluating the success of a policy.
- Public policymaking demands coordination between different individuals and institutions. A successful public policy is yielded out of the procedures when each of them coordinates and perform well with their duties and responsibilities.
- The making of public policy is a very complex phenomenon.
- It is also a dynamic process, which changes from time to time.
- The primary aim behind making a public policy is to lay guidelines for the public with regard to a certain problem of general concern. Every public policy aims at laying out feasible and agreeable guidelines and bringing them into action. Hence, the making of public policy is a result-oriented process.

- While designing public policy, policymakers also look at the ways in which it would affect the future. Public policy are crafted, direct towards the future.
- It is the citizens who are supposed to get benefits from a public policy. Therefore, every public policy takes into account the interests of the public.
- Public policymaking is a time-consuming process.

1.6 Models of Public Policy

Policy analysis requires a framework for understanding. Such frameworks are considered models or approaches by academics. Focusing on different aspects of the policymaking process, some frameworks have been developed in the literature of public policy. These are as follows:

1.6.1 Institutional Model

Institutionalism is the traditional way to understand and analyse public policy. Carl J. Friedrich's 'Constitutional Government and Democracy' (1941) is a notable work in this regard. According to this model, public policies have their origin in governmental institutions such as the legislature, executive, judiciary, bureaucracy, political parties and so on. A policy becomes public only when it is authoritatively determined by government institutions. The government lends legitimacy to policies. How does such legitimacy come? It comes from public consent that is given to a political party or alliance on the polling days. After the election and formation of a government, different sectors formulate and implement policies to serve the public. In fact, the constitution of every country is a fundamental source of public policy. It is regarded as the basis of the state's responsibility towards its people and vice versa. Structural changes in government institutions often bring about policy changes. Sometimes ideology of a government may push for establishing a new institution for the purpose of policymaking. For example, in India, a few years back National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog) has replaced the erstwhile Planning Commission. The government's argument behind such a decision is that Planning Commission has so far failed to transform India into New India. It aims to achieve sustainable development goals with cooperative federalism by fostering the involvement of all state governments in the economic policy-making process using a bottom-up approach. It is said former Planning Commission focused on the top-down model. An institution is, in part, a set of regularized patterns of human behaviour that persist over time and perform some significant social activities. 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 (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2016). Later on, the institutional model has experienced a resurgence known as the neo-institutional model. It categorizes public policies according to policymaking subsystems and predicts institutional behaviour accordingly (Henry, 2012).

1.6.2 Group Model

The group model of public policy is predicated on the "hydraulic theory of politics", in which the polity is conceived of as being a system of forces and pressures pushing against one another in the formulation of

public policy (Zeigler and Peak, 1972; Henry, 2012). Arthur F. Bentley's 'The Process Government' is one of the great works that contribute to this model. Group theory believes that group interest and attitude are influential factors in determining public policies. Public policy is the product of group struggles. Earl Latham says, "what may be called public policy is the equilibrium reached in this (group) struggling at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to weigh in their favour……The legislature referees group struggle ratifies the victories of the successful coalition, and records the terms of the surrenders, compromises, and conquests in the form of statutes" (Bhattacharya, 2000). It says that interest groups pressure and interact with the policymakers on the basis of preferences and self-interest. According to the group theorists, public policy at any point in time reflects the equilibrium reached in the group struggle. A public policy is a realm of the public sphere where an individual's choice and preferences don't get a priority rather group or community problems get attention. In any society, different interest groups interact with the government stakeholders for survival. Only powerful groups are able to influence the government in policymaking in favour of them. For a government, policy-making and implementation are not difficult in a sector where interest groups are weak. Many interest groups play the role of pressure groups because they have abilities to influence governmental decisions. For example, the Indian Agriculture Act (2020) was passed by the Indian Parliament that got President's consent on 27 September 2020, but the government could not implement it due to strong protests from farmers organizations like Bharatiya Kisan Sangh (BKS). Therefore, the Supreme Court on 12 January 2021 stayed the implementation of farm laws in the country.

1.6.3 Elite Model

Another way to look at public policy formulation is that it reflects the values and preferences of governing elites. It believes people are passive, apathetic and ill-informed about public policy. Initiative for public policy does not come from the masses. Public officials and administrators merely carry out the policies decided by the elite. In this model, policies flow 'downward' from elites to masses. They don't arise from mass demands. The credit for the elite model mainly goes to Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, C. Wright Mills, Robert Michels and Thomas R Dye. Elite theorists are of the view that the elite class possesses intellectual superiority and skills which connot be found in the masses. Pareto who emphasized the 'circulation of elite' says elite can be replaced by a new one and transition from elite to non-elite is possible. Mills developed the concept of 'power elite.' The power elite comprises those that occupy the dominant positions, in the dominant institutions (military, economic and political) of a dominant country. Mosca focused on the 'ruling class.' He defined modern elites in terms of their superior organizational skills. These organizational skills were especially useful in gaining political power in modern bureaucratic society. According to Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy', all organizations eventually come to be run by a "leadership class", who often function as paid administrators, executives or political strategists for the organization. These people dominate the organization's power structures. On the other, Dye in his book 'Top-Down Policy making', argues that U.S. public policy does not result from the demands of the people, rather from the elite consensus found in Washington D.C. based non-profit foundations, think tanks, special interest groups and prominent lobbying.

1.6.4 Rational Choice Model

Rational choice theory refers to a set of guidelines that help understand economic and social behaviour. A rational choice is adopted at both individual and governmental levels. An individual will perform a cost-benefit analysis to determine whether an option is right for them. On the other, the government should choose policies resulting in maximum gains to the society. A policy is rational when it is most efficient. In calculating efficiency, all social, political and economic values achieved or sacrificed by a public policy have to be considered. Maximization of 'net value achievement' is thus the hall mark of a rational policy (Bhattacharya, 2000). Herbert Simon and **Yehezkel Dror** are the main protagonists of this model. According to Simon decisions are made at all levels of the organization. In his celebrated book 'Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision-making Processes in Administrative Organization' (1947), he says three kinds of activities are involved in a rational policy-making process: intelligence activity, design activity and choice activity. For an effective public policy formulation, sufficient information and knowledge are required to find out all possible alternatives. With these administrators are to determine all consequences resulting from each of the alternatives. Finally, public authority chooses a policy amongst alternatives that will help achieve the objective. Simon's work concerns with human decision-making rest on the idea of rationality which is limited but not irrational and has given the concept of 'bounded rationality.' For the government taking an 'optimum policy' to achieve a set goal, is always difficult if, not impossible. Therefore, the government remains satisfied by taking a good enough policy decision.

1.6.5 Incremental Model

In public policy, incrementalism is the method of change by which many small policy changes are enacted over time in order to create a larger broad-based policy change. It evaluates public policy as small changes or adjustments in past policies. Charles E. Lindblom is the pioneer of the incremental model of public policy. According to him, decision-makers do not annually review the whole range of existing and proposed policies because of the lack of time, intelligence, and cost it involves. According to Lindblom, policymakers always start with the accepted programmes and budgets and then try to add new programmes and policies to the existing ones. To explain the policy process in government, he used two concepts that are 'marginal incrementalism' and 'partisan mutual adjustment.' The first concept explains the limited and fairly conservative change of policy that is feasible in a specific situation. The second underlines the importance of accommodation of divergent viewpoints and interests in a particular decision situation. The emphasis is more on the practice of "adjustments" of opinions and interests than merely rational and comprehensive decision-making as a scientific method. Policymaking is looked at realistically as marginal and uncoordinated adjustments in situations of conflicting demands and interests and in the face of unforeseen consequences of decisions. Hence, it takes the character of "disjointed incrementalism" (Braybrooke and Lindbloom, 1963; Bhattacharya, 2000). Incrementalism means that policymakers consider and implement very slowly, very few, and very small-policy changes. Lindblom initially called disjointed incrementalism "muddling through" a frankly more descriptive and less pompous moniker (Lindblom, 1959; Henry, 2012).

1.6.6 System Model

A political system is a group of interrelated structures and processes that authoritatively allocates resources for society. The systems model relies on the concepts of information theory (especially feedback, input, and output) and conceives of the policy process as being cyclical and unending. The policy is originated, implemented, adjusted, re-implemented, re-adjusted, ad infinitum (Henry, 2012). David Easton presented the input-output analysis in his article 'The Analysis of Political Systems' published in "World Politics" in 1957. It is like a small box (black box) that consists of two sets of inputs, one output and a feedback mechanism to the input side. On the input side, Easton includes demands and supports. Demand is the name of pressure that flows from the environment to the political system to bring about a change in the allocations of values or resources. And support is the second input. It is the energy in the form of actions or orientation promoting and resisting a political system. Outputs are decisions and public policy. Therefore, inputs transform into outputs and outputs to inputs through a feedback channel.

1.6.7 Public Choice Model

The public choice model is the application of economic analysis to public policy-making. Public choice takes the same principles that economists use to analyze people's actions in the marketplace and applies them to people's actions in collective decision making. Economists who study behaviour in the private marketplace assume that people are motivated mainly by self-interest. Although most people base some of their actions on their concern for others, the dominant motive in people's actions in the marketplace - whether they are employers, employees, or consumers - is a concern for themselves. According to this model, "the basic unit of social analysis is the individual and purposive action by the individual is essence of social behaviour" (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2016). The public choice model examines the behaviour of politicians and other government officials. It eschews the traditional notion that these agents are motivated by a selfless interest in the public good, and instead considers them as typically self-interested, like other agents. W. A. Niskanen, James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock are the proponents of this theory. Buchanan and Tullock's book 'The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy' (1962) is considered one of the landmarks in the public choice theory of decision-making. They build out a framework within the calculus of constitutional decision making and structures. This framework differentiates decisions that are made into two categories: constitutional decisions and political decisions. Constitutional decisions establish long-standing rules that rarely change and govern the political structure itself. Political decisions are those that take place within and are governed by the structure. It is assumed that all political actors seek to maximize their personal benefits in politics as well as in the marketplace. Niskanen in his noted book 'Bureaucracy and Representative Government' (1971) offered the budget-maximizing formula - the notion that bureaucrats will always attempt to maximize their agency's budget and authority.

1.6.8 Game Theory Model

It is an abstract model of policy making. The theory is applied into such situations where there is no best alternative available and the best outcome depends on what others do. The underlying idea is that policy

makers are involved in choices that are independent. The strategies are evaluated in terms of pay-offs. The game theory's significance lies in encouraging thoughtful examination of options prior to action.

The Garbage Can Model :Decisions are taken on the basis of four factors—participants, solutions, problems and choice opportunities. At a particular moment certain solutions and certain problems come together and aids in decision making. A choice activity is like a garbage can where we dump the problems and the multiple solutions. The mix of garbage in a single can depends partly on the labels attached to the alternative cans as well as to what garbage is being produced at a particular moment. It also depends on the speed with which garbage is collected and removed from the scene.A society at a particular time has within it has certain ready solution based groups which are in search of their constituency. The moment a problem is tracked and a solution picked up from the can is found to be suitable policy makers quickly attach them.

1.7 Significance of Public Policy

The government policies are said to be for the public and such policies touch every sphere of human activity. Therefore, how it affects enhancing the qualities of public life is an important aspect to be known with zeal. Public policy should be studied because it helps to understand the causes and consequences of policy decisions which improve our knowledge of society. It is primarily concerned with the public and their problems. It gives us a clear picture of the approach of governance of a regime in a political system. Apart from that, there is a growing demand for public policy analysis as a professional field. Public policies help us understand the levels of democracy in a country. Public policy should be a cup of tea for politicians, bureaucrats, professionals and the public.

1.8 Summing Up

a)   Public policy is a course of action enacted typically by a government in response to public and real-world problems. Public policy is decisions and communication for the public good and public purpose. Such policies may be sometimes good or bad for the public.

b)   Public policy analysis is said to be a dynamic, complex and observant phenomenon. In general, public policies can be classified into five types namely substantive, distributive, redistributive, regulatory and capitalization.

c)   The public problems that influence public policymaking can be of economic, social, cultural or political nature. Sometimes public policy targets all citizens of the country and sometimes a particular section of the community.

d)   Policy analysis requires a framework for understanding. Such frameworks are considered models or approaches by academics. These models include institutional, group, elite, rational choice, incremental, system and public choice.

e)   Public policies help us understand the nature of governance in a country. Public policy should be a cup of tea for politicians, bureaucrats, professionals and the public.

1.9 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Define public policy. Discuss the nature and scope of public policy.

2. Examine the different types of public policies.

3. Discuss the different models of public policies.

4. Write an essay on the statement 'Public policy is about problem solving.'

5. Which model do you think is best to understand public policy formulation? Argue your case.

6. Briefly discuss the relevance of public policymaking.

1.10 Suggested Readings

a) Bhattacharya, M. (2000). *New Horizons of Public Administration.* Jawahar Publishers & Distributors.

b) Birkland, T. A. (2001). *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making.* M. E. Sharpe.

c) Chakrabarty, B., & Chand, P. (2016). *Public Policy: Concept, Theory and Practice.* Sage.

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f) Dye, T. R. (1972). *Understanding Public Policy.* Prentice-Hall.

g) Easton, D. (1953). *The political system: An enquiry into the state of political science.* Alfred A. Knopf.

h) Henry, N. (2012). *Public Administration and Public Affairs.* PHI Learning Private Limited.

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Unit-2

Institutional and Historical Background

Contents

2.1 Objectives

This unit focuses on the emergence of public policy from a historical and institutional perspective.It attempts to trace public policy from the ancient period to the modern one and in the process discusses the transformations within public administration as an umbrella discipline. The unit further lays a special emphasis on policy science as a general approach to public policy. In doing so, the contribution of Harold Lasswell and Yehezkel Drorhas been discussedbriefly. The unit also attempts to understand the overall development of public policy specially after the publication of Harold Lasswell's work 'The Policy Orientation' in 1951. Finally, the unit alsoexplores the praxis in public policy in terms of its theory, applicability and implementation, as it is quite pertinent to analyze the changes that the world has witnessed afterthe second world war.

2.2 Introduction

Throughout history, public policy leaders have contributed to the approaches now seen in modern government. History takes place every day. People with a mastery of public administration and public policy

develop the skills and experiences necessary for the analysis and administration of local and world-changing policies. There are many major historic public policy documents that helped shape the modern approach to how public policy is created. The Magna Carta and the U.S. Constitution, among several, show how the world changed toward modern ideals.

When we attempt to understand the historical background or its emergence, it is fact that there is no adequate forecast on public policy during any time of the history. It is often argued that no political thinker has specifically given attention to public policy as a concept or special field in any political system before the 1940's. Therefore, in order to discuss the evolution of public policy, we have to explore the following time periods: ancient –Emergence of Greek and Roman Empires, from BC427; Medieval –AD 1400-1600, Renaissance in Europe and the era of Modernity, Pre and Post World War I period, Post Second World War period and the current period starting from the 1970's. However, in this unit we will remain mainly focused on the Modern period.

The study of political systems is dated back to ancient Greece. The study of Political systems has largely been dominated by moral philosophy, political philosophy, political economy and history. All these disciplines were concerned with the normative determinant of what ought to be and with deducing characteristic and function of an ideal state but public policy as a concept was not concerned of any of these disciplines. Similarly, during the ancient period in India, the antecedent of politics can be traced back to Rig Veda, Samhitas, Brahamas, Buddhist Pali Canons, Kautilya's Arthashastra and so on. Though we find the content of 'policy' in these works but adequate attention was not given to the concept and facts. In ancient Rome, famous historians like Polybius and Livy documented the rise of the Roman republic and histories of other nation while others like Caeser and Cicero provided us with examples of politics of the Republic and Roman empire. The study of politics during this period was oriented mainly towards the understanding of history, exploring the method of governing and describing the operation of governments. The orientation towards public policy was there. In the medieval period, the study of politics was highly dominated by the churches and courts. In fact, the works of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas synthesise the current philosophy and political tradition with those of Christianity, redefining the border between what was religion and what was political. Niccolo Machiavelli established direct empirical observation of political system. In case of Islamic states, Aristotelean political analysis as the overall idea of policy perspective was rather absent.

There are many major historic public policy documents that helped shape the modern approach to how policy is created. The Magna Carta is one of the several documents that show how the world changed toward modern ideals. *Magna Carta* is a powerful symbol of democracy and the rule of law worldwide. The Magna Carta stands as one of the most prominent and longstanding pieces of public policy in history. Magna Carta (which by convention does not have the definite article) is, we are told, the foundation of English liberties and the bedrock of the rule of law. The legal instrument sealed by King John at Runnymede at the insistence of the Barons and the Church projected the idea of a constitution based on the rule of law, which was in turn became the foundation of a liberal political and legal order. Therefore, it led upwards and onwards to modern

democracy. Proposed by England's King John I and signed in 1215 CE, the Magna Carta first introduced the idea that there should be checks on government power. The primary target for Magna Carta was the king himself, promoting the idea that he could no longer claim to be above the law. The Magna Carta is now more than 800 years old.

It is therefore not out of place to argue that, only during the modern times the discourse and idea of public policy has gained weightage. The public policy of the 20th century was marked primarily by expansion of government, bureaucracy and services to the public. During the First World War, Woodrow Wilson brought America and western Europe together as allies and he was instrumental in creating the League of Nations. He acted as the main advocate of an exterior change in American Public policy. The US state department noted that prior to Wilson, American governing system maintained largely a separatist approach to the politics of Western Europe. He in fact brought America and Western Europe together as allies and he played an instrumental role in formulating policies in such a way which would mediate international dispute. Similarly, the emergence of Behaviouralism in 1930s' in political science was the first major development after First World War. It attempted to differentiate itself from the traditional approaches such as historical, philosophical, institutional and legal. This approach demanded empirical study, was unbiased and value free and was useful for strategic policy making. In post-Second World War period, public policy as an academic field of study emerged and the concept of policy science first emerged in 1951. According to most accounts, the academic study of public policy grew out of the approach called the policy sciences.

2.3 Early Schools of Public Administration

The post reconstruction period in America witnessed a good amount of transfer in terms of diversification, expansion of federal set up, economic growth, and so on. Moreover, with the emergence of the Pendleton Act in 1883 establishing the federal civil service, political party machines were weakened. In theory, the Pendleton Act reformed the civil service and established the United States Civil Service Commission. It ended the spoils system of political patronage and established competitive examinations for hiring civil servants. Among the Western academics who wrestled with the development and complexity of the new American state was the future President Woodrow Wilson who with his most seminal work titled 'The study of Administration' 1887 strived to make clear cut distinction between politics and administration. He recognized the operational questions about how government can be practically administered, thereby arguing for more practical knowledge in the modern era because, in his words, "it is getting harder to run a constitution than to frame one." He made a clear-cut attempt to reflect the dichotomy between politics and administration when he said that administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not be allowed to manipulate its offices. While elected officials should establish the "broad plans of governmental action," Wilson's role for the disinterested public administrator was almost to mechanistically implement the

"systematic execution of public law." When we basically look at modern public administrators, two things can be understood: one, what government can properly and successfully do, and second, how government can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or energy. Moreover, knowing the less possibility of getting efficient models of efficient government at home, he said that even the administrators of America need to have close watch beyond its borders and strive to borrow from the best practice possible.

A good number of graduate programs came to being in the late nineteenth century, thereby emerging into a handful of schools to train the public administrators. Some of the notable institutions included the Institute of Public Administration at Columbia University, the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, the Training School for Public Service at the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago, and Johns Hopkins University. In 1939, as Guy has pointed out in 2003, 150 scholars from these fledgling institutions broke away from the American Political Science Association to form the American Society for Public Administration, the West stand-alone organization in the United States dedicated to improving government performance. The curricula of these early public administration programs and institutions primarily focused on providing the future public administrator. Moreover, these programs and institutions developed such courses with a tool kit of business-oriented techniques for effectively managing government programs in multifarious departments by including the various courses such as budgeting, accounting methods, finance, standardization of procedures, performance assessments, and industrial organizations. It has however been argued that the early administrator fails to provide any systematic discourse on wider considerations of the efficacy of policies and the needs of the citizenry.

2.4 The Post-First World War Boom in Public Administration

During the post-First World War period, one of the major attributes of the federal government was its expansion both in terms of the federal budget and that of the number of civil servants. The New Deal program, and other postwar social policies basically meant for social welfare not only created more interest groups but also started advocating for their overall protection and benefit. Woodrow Wilson's argument of keeping administration apart from politics slowly started to make impact on overall politics. During this period, administration was largely autonomous from any kind of partisan politics and thereby a strong sense of proprietorship developed on behalf of the administrators for the programs they managed. Scholars of public administration have also recognized this desire of government employees to protect their programs and meet the demands of affected constituents.

E. Pendleton Herring in his classic work titled Public Administration and the Public Interest (1936) argued that the congress had introduced the subject of administrative discretion,bypassing a statute and setting forth a general principle which to a great extent became an additional burden for the bureaucrats while implementing

public interest. The bureaucrats were thereby left with the decision with regard to the conditions that necessitate the law's application. Herring recognized this potential shortcoming, but contended that well-educated bureaucrats were best positioned to manage societal shifts and the evolving needs of target interest groups. Similarly, the most important person associated with public policy has been Harold Lasswell who sought to go beyond Herring to what he called the "policy sciences," by which he meant knowledge of the policy process and of the relevance of knowledge in the process. He sought to employ all of the available tools of social science to understand all relevant inputs in a policy issue area, including knowledge of the policy-making process itself. In fact, Lasswell has strived to bring about the interdisciplinary nature of public policy.

2.5 From Public Administration toPublic Policy

2.5.1 Policy Science and Harold Lasswell

The social sciences in general and public policy in particular, was greatly transformed by the rise of policy sciences. Policy science, an ambitious multidisciplinary movement founded by the preeminent American political scientist, Harold D. Lasswell, offered an unprecedented approach to public policy based primarily on an adaptation of the work of John Dewey and other pragmatists. Although parts of this new approach may be traced to the 19th century, the policy sciences were distinctive. Not only did they mandate the creation of knowledge about the process of policymaking; they also required that the knowledge so created be used to improve that process.

In simple terms, 'policy sciences' may be conceived as knowledge of the policy process and of the relevance of knowledge in the process. Policy science can also be regarded as the area of investigation; it is the modern edition of the common method to public policy. Though it has been present since the starting of the civilization but the current policy sciences have emerged from the 20th century. To be more particular, it was only in the 1940s that it came into existence and Harold Lasswell is considered as the founder or the father of the 'policy science'. This has remarkably persuaded the viewpoint of social scientists and the public institutions in the entire world towards transformation. This success is due to the hard work of Lasswell and the person behind the movement of the policy science. In his significant work titled "The Policy Orientation" published in 1951, the articulation and subsequent practice of the policy sciences have been discussed with regard to the multifaceted communications of the social scientists and socio-political dealings. He labelled policy sciences as the result of a discipline striving for "society relevant knowledge. Lasswell defined Policy Sciences as, "the disciplines concerned with explaining the policy making and policy executing process, and with locating data and providing interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period." The vision of Lasswell, about the policy sciences is as follows: a) It is multidisciplinary, b) it contains contextual and problem-oriented approaches and c) It is explicitly normative. The awareness of these aspiring objectives

became the main focus of the policy science community in the 1940s, because each objective signifies an emphasis on diverse social features and has an open influence on the progress and approval of the policy sciences.

2.5.2 The Kennedy school

During Kennedy's administration in 1960 he brought new frontiersmen whom he referred to as the "best and the brightest." They were employed basically to improve the performance of the government with their intelligence and technique. During this time, he implemented the Policy Planning Budgeting System (PPBS) which applied to the cost-benefit analysis of all the federal agencies. However, to develop and oversee PPBS, highly specialized skills were required and to meet this demand, major universities responded by establishing programs for training students in public policy analysis. In fact, as scholars like Fleischman and Walker have pointed out, between 1967 and 1971, graduate programs at the masters or doctoral level in public policy were created at the Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan; the Kennedy School at Harvard; the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley; the School of Urban and Public Affairs, Carnegie-Mellon University; the RAND Graduate School; the Department of Public Policy and Management, University of Pennsylvania; the School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota; the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas; and the Institute of Policy Science and Public Affairs, Duke University. Along with this, the Ford Foundation granted the eight-guarantee program which aimed to shift from Public Administration to public policy. In fact, the emerging public policy schools also created professional associations. In this context, names like the Graduate Education for Public Administration renamed as National Association of Schools of Public Policy and Administration (NASPAA) and the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) are worth mentioning. Moreover, these public policy associations started few peer-reviewed journals such as the Journal of Public Affairs Education (founded by NASPAA in 1955), Policy Analysis and Public Policy, later merged into the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, founded by APPAM in 1981. This public policy association and the journal they founded served as an outlet for multidisciplinary research into public policy issues, and as a sounding board for shifts in the profession.

The Kennedy school of Government, which was earlier known as the Graduate School of Public Administration (GSPA), after its foundation, was not able to establish any remarkable mark of its own in the field of Public Policy. Several scholars have in fact substantiated this argument such as Harvard president (from 1953 to 1971) who recognized that the GSPA was an institution lacking in strategic vision, or sense of purpose. Similarly, Edith Stokey – economist, teacher, administrator, and "founding mother" of Harvard Kennedy School, described the GSPA in the early 1950s as follows: "There was an institution, but it didn't have a curriculum of its own." The GSPA's low status within the Harvard community was a major handicap. Thus, the desire of the Kennedy family to memorialize President John F. Kennedy after his assassination in 1963 played an essential part in the school's turnaround. In 1966, the GSPA was

officially renamed as the John F. Kennedy School of Government (KSG), and the Institute of Politics was created. Under that banner, Harvard recruited Richard Neustadt—a distinguished political scientist and author of Presidential Power—become the director of the new Institute of Politics within the new School. In time, Neustadt recruited an all-star cast of professors from across the University, including Francis Bator, Joseph Bower, Charles Christenson, Philip Heymann, Ernest May, Fredrick Mosteller, Howard Raiffa, and Thomas Schelling, to build a new curriculum for a new Public Policy Program. The whole curriculum of KSG was designed in a manner which would bridge the gap between theory and practice of public policy and train individual (students, public Officials, and so on) to manage public organizations and offer policy advice.

2.6 Policy Science and Public Policy: Transformations in the 1970's and 1980's

Apart from Harold Lasswell, YehezkelDror is another very eminent person in the area of policy sciences, and regarded as the pioneer by many in this discipline. He has funded the upliftment of this subject. He was very strong in his struggles to ensure that it develop into a complete and totally new discipline with different aspects of public policy formulations. Based on this concept, Dror tried to developpolicy sciences by developing many concepts and ideals. He mainly stressed on describing the fundamental aspects of public policy making and recommended the enhancement in the quality of policy making. He developed an optimum model of policy which can give an efficient standard with regard to the evaluation of public policy. This model becamea very significant theoretical model in the area of public policy. The development of policy science as a separate discipline dealing with the diverse components of public policy making was the main challengefor Dror. He stated that there is a huge amount of information inthe literature on social science discussing various components of public policy making. He opined that this sort of information must be assimilated with the real policy making procedure so to boost the connection between information and power. He also stated that social problems can be easily resolved by the use of scientific information. He also claimed that, this information must deal with the key procedures and structures of public policy making. By assimilating the scientific information public policy is likely to improve in terms of quality. Droralso stressed the need for the improvement of policy sciences and the need for its growth in order to solve the vital difficulties that arise in modern societies.

Public Policy Making Reexamined (1983)by Yehezkel Droris now recognized as a fundamental treatise for public policy studies. Although it caused much controversy when it was first published, the book is acknowledged as a modern classic of continuing importance for the teaching and research of public policy, planning and policy analysis, and public administration. The paperback includes a new introduction, updating and supplementing many of the author's original ideas.Dror combines the approaches of policy analysis, behavioral science, and systems analysis in his examination of the reality of public policymaking

and his suggestions for its reform. Policymaking is carefully evaluated in his theory with the help of explicit criteria and standards based on an optimum model approach, a model which is likely to result in in detailed proposals for improvement. He applied a scientific orientation to the study of social facts and theory.

2.7 Development of Public Policy and Policy Science

In general, two paths have been proposed to outline the development of the policy sciences. Although they do not stand in opposition to one another, the respective chronologies of Beryl Radin (2000) and Peter deLeon (1998)draw upon the heritage of American public administration. For instance, whilesaying that the study of policy analysis represents a continuation of the early twentieth-century Progressive movement in the United States, itemphasizesthe scientific analysis of social issues and democratic polity. Radinhas chalked out an institutional framework with regard topolicy studies approach and has indicated the progression from a limited analytical approach practiced by a relatively few practitioners (nominally from the RAND Corporation in California, which was the training ground for defense-turned-health analyst Nelson) to a growing analysis by a large number of governmental institutions and universities. Thus, Radin (2000) has viewed the growth of policy analysis as a "growth industry," in which a few select government agencies of the West adopted an explicitly innovative analytical approach,and an industry developed to service them. Radin's analysis pays hardly any attention to the hallmarks of the policy sciences approach: there is little direct focus on the problem orientation of the activity andthe normative groundings of policy issues and recommendations. As such, her analysis describes the end product of a movement as institutional analysis, generally portraying a very positive image of the dissemination of the profession and its practitioners. DeLeon (1988) has offered a parallel but somewhat more complicated model, in which he has linked analytical activities with specific political events (what he terms "supply," that is, events that provide analysts with a set of particular conditions to which they could apply their skills) with an evolving requirement for policy analysis within political circles and government offices ("demand," which represents a growing requirement for the product of policy analysis skills). His underlying assumption was that "supply" and "demand" are mutually dependent and, if the study of public policy is to be intellectually advanced and be utilized by policy makers, both must be present. In particular, he suggested the number of political events as having been seminal in the development of the policy research, in terms of 'lessons learned.'Events like Second World War, the War against Poverty in the early 1960s, largely spurred by the emerging civil rights demonstrations,the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandals, and the energy crisis of the 1970shas a great impact on the way that the American people viewed their government and its processes. As a result, the role that public policy research could play in informing government policy makers. Finally, it is important to observe that political activities and results are not synonymous with the practice ofpublic policy or the policy sciences.

2.8 Praxis in public policy

The relevance of public policy in general andthe institutional viability of the policy sciences, in particular, is not up to the promised discourse.This often gets reflectedin the contemporary relationship between policy makers and their would-be advisers, a relationship tampered by the history of the policy sciences and their applications, filled with institutional complexity, with much to promise, and miles to go before those promises are realized. Due several reasons policy sciences approach is losing whatever currency it once held among policy makers, policy scholars, and the cognizant public. Some cite the issue of consensus on framingthe analysis and others cite difficulty in framing policy discourse as major flaws in commitment towards making public policy a real deal. However, it is important to realize that the policy science and thereby public policy as whole, is a fruitful exercise for future policy makers which so far has not necessarily been traditionally presented. Several authors and scholars have lent a definition to the overall development and continuation of policy science such as Dan Durning (1999) who has described the field as ''the transition from traditional to postpositive policy analysis?.'' A more precise criterion as well as introducing a new approach is offered by Maarten Hajer and Hendrik Wagenaar. Hajer and Wagenaar speak directly of the normative compass of the policy sciences: ''Whatever we have to say about the nature and foundation of the policy sciences, its litmus test will be that it must 'work' for the everyday reality of modern democracy.'' Who, what, and why in Laurence Lynn's (1999) expression, warrants ''a place at the [public policy] table.'' One can say that the traditional public policy analysis mode is primarily based on a social welfare mode.

2.9 Summing Up

- It is generally considered in the academic circle that the study of public policy grew out of the policy sciences.
- It was only during the modern times, particularly after the Second world war, that Public Policy emerged as an academic discipline.
- The social sciences were irrevocably transformed by the rise of the policy sciences which have been associated with Harold Laswell.
- Policy science can also be regarded as an area of investigation; it is the modern edition of the common method of studying public policy.
- Lasswell's "The Policy Orientation" (1951) Yehezkel Dror's"Public Policy Making Reexamined" (1983) are recognized as fundamental treatises for public policy studies.
- The praxis in public policy can be consideredin terms of its theory, applicability and implementation, as it is quite pertinent to analyse that the world has certainly changed since the early 1950s.

- Among the Western academicians to wrestle with the development and complexity of the new American state was the future President Woodrow Wilson who wrote his most seminal work titled 'The study of Administration' 1887.
- E. Pendleton Herring's classictitled Public Administration and the Public Interest published in 1936 was the major work in the area of public administration and public policy.
- A major shift was witnessed during the1960's within the field of public administration and public policy with a focus on the improvement of the performance of the government with their intelligence and technique of Kennedy, known as the "best and the brightest" from Harvard.
- The foundingKennedy school of Government (earlier known as Graduate School of Public Administration) was consideredin its later stage as a major institution in the field of public policy.

2.10 Self-Assessment Questions

a) What is Policy Science? What are its major attributes?

b) Discuss the contribution of Harold Lasswell and his idea of Policy science.

c) Highlight some major contribution and development of Policy Science after Harold Lasswell.

d) Write a detailed note on the overall institutional development of Public Policy.

e) Discuss briefly about the major shifts from the field of public administration to public policy.

f) How far the emergence of the Kennedy school of Government can be considered as one of the major factors with regard to the institutional development in the field of Public Policy.

2.11 Suggested Readings(See suggested readings folder CC 3.3 unit 2)

a) Lasswell, H. (1970). The emerging conception of the policy sciences. *Policy Sciences*, *1*(1), 3-14.

b) Dror, Y. (1983). *Public Policy Making Reexamined*. Routledge.

c) Radin,B. A.(2000). *Beyond Machiavelli: Policy Analysis Comes of Age.*Georgetown University Press.

d) DeLeon, P. (1988). *Advice and Consent: The Development of the Policy Sciences.*Russell Sage Foundation.

e) Goodin, R., Moran, M., & Rein, M. (2008). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.

f) Castles, F. G. (Ed.). (1989). *The Comparative History of Public Policy.* Oxford University Press.

g) Herring, E. P. (1936). *Public administration and the Public Interest*. McGraw-Hill.

h) Wilson, W. (1887). The study of Administration. *Political Science Quarterly*, *2*(2), 197-222.

i) Yates, D.C. (1977). The mission of Public Policy Programs: AReport on Recent Experience.*PolicySciences*, *8*(3), 363-373.

j) Fleishman, J. (1990). A new framework for Integration: Policy Analysis and Public Management. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *33*(6), 733.

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Modes of Policy Analysis

Contents

3.1 Objectives

This unit intends to understand the intricacies of policy analysis especially how policy proposals are scrutinized before they are actually implemented in reality. Further the unit also discusses the evaluation of policy after it is implemented.

3.2 Introduction

Generally speaking, policy analysis intends to offer us an understanding of and responses to the basic question relating to legitimacy, efficiency and durability of public action. It is essentially a process of multidisciplinary inquiry 'aiming at the creation, critical assessment and communication of policy relevant knowledge.' With an objective of practical problem solving, policy analysis draws on the critical synthesis of the methods, theories and findings of social sciences. Hence, the methodology of policy science is 'productively eclectic' as the practitioners take the liberty to choose among the range of scientific methods compatible to their quest for reliable knowledge. It seeks to provide nuanced input about the proposed or actual policies. However, a word of caution needs to be sounded in this context so that the epistemology of policy analysis should not be confused with the methodologies of constituting disciplines used in public policy

analysis. For example, the methodology of policy analysis cannot be reduced to the theories and analytical tools of microeconomics like rational choice, expected utility, opportunity cost and so on. So is the case with the methods of political studies as the solution for the practical problems calls for something more than analysis of power, rule, authority etc. As a problem-solving discipline, it draws on social science methods for critical assessment and communication of policy relevant knowledge. It combines both descriptive and normative methods. It is descriptive because it draws on traditional knowledge of social sciences to explain the causes and consequences of policies. Similarly, it is also normative in so far as it offers value judgements. According to Shafritz, policy science is the sum total of techniques that tries to address the perennial issue of the probable impact of a policy before it is actually operationalized. Hence, policy analysis has two advantages, one is known as 'before-the -fact analysis'; and other is known as 'after-the fact analysis.' The utility of the 'before-the fact 'analysis is to identify any deformity in of the proposed policy before that is actually initiated. Hence, it provides room for modification of policy. On the other hand, 'after-the -fact analysis' is known for those kinds of analyses which are conducted either on a particular policy that is underway or has already been executed. Therefore, the 'after-the-fact analysis' is essentially evaluative in nature. According to George Kent, policy analysis is a systematic, analytical and creative study whose primary purpose is to produce feasible recommendations for action in dealing with practical political problems. Hence, to quote Chandler and Plano, policy analysis can be defined as 'an attempt to measure organizational effectiveness through an examination and evaluation of the qualitative impact of an agency's programme ; a systematic and data-based alternative to initiate judgement about effects of policy or policy option; it is used for (i) problem assessment and monitoring, (ii) as a 'before-the-fact' decision tool; and (iii) for evaluation.' The Rand Corporation has underscored the utility of policy analysis as 'it posits policy analysis as an inquiry, the purpose of which is to assist decision makers in choosing a preferred course of action from among complex alternatives under certain conditions.'

3.2 Defining Policy

The ubiquitous presence of the term in official discourse is, however, of no use as the term is often confused with similar words like output, decision etc. For the sake of clarity, in this sub-section we will discuss some of such confusions. Putting it simply, it can be defined as the purposive course of action taken by those who are at the helm of affairs with an objective of addressing certain problems. However, such definition fails to capture the nuances of the term. Adding the prefix 'public' has further complicated the definition of policy. For example, public policies normally include only those policies that are adopted and implemented by government bodies and officials. But in actuality, public policies cannot be confined to governmental bodies alone as there are multiple players involved in the governance process. Likewise, several ambiguous definitions are often put forward to make the situation even worse. For example, Thomas Dye defines public policy as 'whatever governments choose to do or not to do', which is no less

unsettling for an effort to capture the meaning of public policy. Hence, to define public policy as *the purposive course of action what government chooses as guidance* is not conclusive either. Actually, public policy can be better understood as the interplay of several factors (state being the dominant factor) which are sometimes even not intended or designed. Such a degree of uncertainty in public policy making is evident in the words of Lindblom. He wrote: "a policy is sometimes the outcome of a political compromise among policy makers, none of whom had in mind quite the problem to which the agreed policy is the solution. Sometimes, policies spring from new opportunities, not from 'problems' at all. And sometimes policies are not decided upon but nevertheless 'happen'" (Lindblom: 1968).The major focus of public policy is to bring about rapid socio-economic development. It may be narrow in its focus, concentrating on a particular area or it may be wider in its scope encompassing all the people in a country. Moreover, public policy is often confused with certain similar concepts, which need to be distinguished. For example it is usually confused with decision-making, goals and planning.Public policy making does involve decision making, however decision making does not necessarily constitute a policy. Public policy provides a sense of direction to the administration decision. Similarly, public policies are often confused with goals. No doubt, public policies involve certain objectives or goals towards which policies are directed, but they are not synonymous. Thus, public policy is an extremely complex 'analytical and political process', which has no beginning or end as such. It is a continuum. As Carl Friedrich wrote: "Public policy, to put it flatly, is a continuous process, the formation of which is inseparable from its execution. Politics and administration play a continuous role in both formation and execution though there is probably more politics in the formation of policy, and more administration in the execution of it. Insofar as particular individuals or groups are gaining or losing power or control in a given area, there is politics; insofar as officials act or propose action in the name of public interest, there is administration". Moreover, it is not sequential either as it is often so equated with several steps of decision making (like-preliminary appraisal of or the inquiry into the problem, identification of goals or objectives, canvassing of possible policies to achieve goals, choice or design) or what Simon has categorized as –intelligent activity, design activity and choice activity. Moreover, public policy making involves both political and administrative components. The distinctiveness of public policy is more revealing if we place it in a constitutional democracy. Within a constitutional democracy popular consent is at the heart of public policy making. Policy makers in a constitutional democracy have translated the will of the people into viable policies in accordance with established norms and procedures. Usually, in a democratic framework most of the public policymakers are elected officials. Other policymakers, who have exercised considerable influence in the overall process of policy making, are also appointed. In addition to that, there is a parallel line of command of non-elected cadre of bureaucrats or civil servants in the administration, who are equally instrumental in public policy making. Hence, functioning in a democratic milieu policymakers have to be the managers of public trust, who are either directly or indirectly accountable to the public (Gerston: 2008). Moreover, public policy making presupposes a constitutionalism at work, within which public policy has to work.

3.4 Methods of Policy Analysis

Assessing the pros and cons of a proposed policy is said to be a perennial human activity. It has been considered as an important preoccupation of the power-that-be, no matter what is the complexion of it. The formal recognition of policy analysis as a serious component of governance came with written languages. One can find the notion of policy analysis implied in the legal rules of the Babylonians, the ancient Hebrews, and the Egyptians, as well as in written and unwritten legal systems of ancient groups in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Among the first philosophical books in ancient Greece, one can find a concern for political principles, such as how governments should be structured. Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Ethics represent a concern for evaluating public policy, even if they did not use the same kind of analyses that are used by contemporary policy analysts. Policy analysis, therefore, can be best interpreted as a 'dynamic multilevel process in which methods of problem structuring are crucial to the success of the methods of problem solving. If we go through the mushrooming of literature on public policy the following methods of policy analysis can be discerned. They include among others *structuring of policy problem*, *forecasting of expected policy outcome*, *monitoring observed policy outcome*, and *evaluating policy performance*.

3.4.1 Structuring of Policy Problem

Married to an empiricist world view, some policy analysts often draw on the belief that 'facts speak for themselves' and analyse policy accordingly. However, such approach precludes the complexity of multiple interpretation of the same fact in practical policy situation. Hence, proper structuring of policy problems constitutes an important part of policy analysis. Policy problems are unrealized needs , values or opportunities for improvement. The structuring of policy problem, which is essentially a phase of inquiry where analysts are supposed to compare, contrast and evaluate competing formulations of a problem , constitutes the most critical component of policy analysis. The other phases of policy analysis are contingent upon the successful structuring of the policy problem. However, policy analysts cutting across the ideological positions seem to have overlooked the criticality of structing policy problem, leading to the failure of policy analysis. Here , before we get into the nuances of structuring of policy problem a brief discussion of policy problem deserves some space here. It should be noted at the outset that policy problems should not to be treated as discrete mechanical entities. In fact, they are purposeful systems in which no two members are identical, let alone their properties, and behaviour. The major characteristics of policy problem can be enumerated as follows. They are namely, a) interdependency; b) subjectivity, c) artificiality; and d) instability

a) **Interdependency:** Unlike the theoretical understanding, policy problems in reality should not be considered as independent entities. In fact, policy problems are the parts of the whole systems of problems. It is often observed that policy problem in one area affects the policy problem of others or the vice versa.

b) **Subjectivity:** another important characteristic of policy problem is subjectivity. In policy discourses it is often found that external issues that give rise to policy problem are selectively defined, classified

and evaluated. In other words, policy problems are mostly abstracted from the problem situation by the analysts, leading to distortions in policy analysis. However, it should be noted that in actual situation policy problems appear to be partly subjective and partly objective or what is captured by the epistemological doctrine of objective relativism

c) **Artificiality:** As a product of subjective human judgement, policy problems are mostly constructed socially. In fact, they are possible only when human beings make judgement about the desirability of altering some problem situation.

d) **Instability:** Like multiple definitions of a policy problem, there may be different solutions to that problem as problems and solutions are constantly in a state of flux. Hence, policy problems do not stay solved for ever as the solution to a given problem may turn out to be obsolete, demanding a new solution. Hence, instability is another important characteristic of policy problem.

On the basis of relative complexity policy problems may be classified into three categories viz. well-structured problems, moderately-structured problems, and ill-structured problems. Whereas, the well-structured problems comprise one or a few decision-makers and a small set of alternatives, the moderately structured problems constitute of a few decision makers and a relatively limited number of alternatives; and the ill-structured policy problems involve 'many decision makers whose value are either completely unknown, or if known, impossible to rank in a consistent fashion.' In case of well-structured policy problems, a consensus on values is clearly discernible that is ranked in accordance with the preferences of the decision makers. The moderately structured policy problems on the other hand, is often encountered with disagreement that can be resolved either by bargaining or by mutual adjustment. The ill-structured policy problem, unlike moderately structured problems, has witnessed conflicts among the competing goals.

3.4.2 *Forecasting of Expected Policy Outcome*

Forecasting of the expected policy outcome is considered to be another important method of policy analysis. It offers a prospective picture of the policy outcome and thereby facilitates the analyst with advance capacity to control the future course of action. Forecasting can be defined as 'a set of procedures for creating information about the future state of society on the basis of present and prior information.' Forecasting is said to have taken three principle forms: extrapolation, predictions and expert judgements. The *extrapolative forecasting* predicts future societal state based on past, current and historical data. It resorts to the Time Series Analysis to provide summary measures of the amount and rate of change in past and future years. This type of forecasting is usually adopted to project economic growth, population decline, energy consumption, quality of life and agency workload. The theoretical forecasting method assists analysts to predict future state of society on the basis of theoretical propositions and current and historical data. Unlike the extrapolative forecasting wherein assumptions on historical recurrence helps making forecast, theoretical forecasting is rested on assumptions about the cause and effect contained in various theories. Several procedures are used for theoretical forecasting which include among others theory mapping, causal modelling , regression analysis,

point and interval estimation and correlational analysis. The judgemental forecasting, unlike extrapolative and theoretical forecasting, elicits and synthesizes informed judgement from the experts and other knowledgeable people. The logic of judgemental forecasting, is partly abductive as analysts begin with a claim about a valued state of affairs. Since, deductive , inductive and abductive methods are mutually exclusive, judgemental forecasting is often supplemented by extrapolative and theoretical forecasting.

3.4.3 *Monitoring observed policy outcome*

Since the outcome of the policies cannot be anticipated in advance, the policy analytical procedure of monitoring the policy outcome becomes an essential tool of policy analysis. Monitoring actually helps analysts to produce relevant information about the causes and consequences of policies. It goes beyond the mere normative prescription of economic analysis by establishing factual premises about policies. In this context it should be noted that since the factual and value premises are in a state of continuous flux and facts and values are interdependent in nature, only monitoring factual claims during and after policies have been adopted and implemented. Further, monitoring has contributed to the policy analysis by performing several functions of policy anlysis like compliance, auditing, accounting, description and explanation.

3.4.4 *Evaluating Policy Performance*

Policy evaluation is the most important part of public policy making. It seeks to assess the impact of public policy especially whether it reaches its intended goal. "Evaluation is concerned with what happens once a policy has been put into effect". It follows implementation. "Viewed as a 'follow-up' experience, evaluation helps us understand the impact of a policy on the various parts of the political, social or economic systems that it has been designed to address". "It can be done on an interim basis in the middle of a project; it can also be done in a post-implementation context at the end of the experience"(Gerston). However, evaluation is not monitoring. Monitoring is concerned with establishing factual premises about public policies. It is fundamentally about control and exercise of power. Monitoring answers the question: " what happened, how and why?". On the contrary, evaluation answers the question: " what differences does it make?" evaluation is retrospective and occurs after actions have been taken. It is concerned with 'trying to determine' the impact of policy on real-life conditions"(Sapru). "The uniqueness of evaluation is that the experience allows a post-implementation audit of the policy commitment as well as opportunities for change. By examining the consequences of the public policy that has been put in place, we get a handle on whether to continue, amend, or possibly scrape the policy altogether. In this respect evaluation represents simultaneously the end of the policymaking process and the beginning of the next wave of that process". Having said all that the next question automatically arises as to who evaluates. "in a sense, we are all evaluators. Throughout the course of our daily routines, we review our own activities from a variety of perspectives such as whether they turned out as we originally hoped; whether they cost more than we anticipated; or whether our goals may have changed over time."(Gerston). However to get the evaluating job professionally in the public policy making environment, decision makers usually call upon special agencies. Hence, the task of evaluating public policy

is a collaborative venture, which is conducted by virtually a battery of people including an operating staff ,specialized evaluation staff , external evaluator commissioned by the delivery organization, and legislative bodies.

Operating staff are the insiders of organization, who are the first to evaluate public policy. Being the insider, the operating staff have the opportunity and knowledge to go into the nitty-gritty of the policy concerned to evaluate it. However, the involvement of operating staff is often criticized for the lack of specialized skill for good evaluation.Evaluation by Specialized Staff within the Organization- Policy evaluation is also carried out by a group of specialized staff within the organization, who are specially entrusted with the duty of evaluation. Unlike the operating staff, who are mainly concerned with the delivery of programme, evaluation staff have no such vested interest in the continuation of any given programme. The evaluation of public policy is also be done by the bodies or agencies external to the organization concerned. There are a whole lot of them who could have been instrumental in evaluating public policy like academic groups, non-profit organization, commercial firms, management consultants and the like. Several reasons can be identified for the popularity of having this kind of evaluators: first, commissioning external experts for evaluation of public policy instills a great amount of confidence among the people regarding the policy; second, outsourcing the duty of evaluation beyond the organizational boundary is also hailed for its perceived objectivity and credential. Evaluation is also done by Funding or Legislative Bodies and this kind of evaluators of public policy do not strictly fall within the purview of evaluators. The legislative and executive bodies are originally concerned with the formulation of public policy. These bodies are generally engaged in evaluation process to counter the embarrassment of policy failure. Such evaluation can be done directly by the staff of the executive or legislative bodies or by delegating to the outside consultants (Hogwood& Gunn). Hence, there is no denying that evaluation is the most important part of policy making process. However, a question automatically arises here: evaluation on what basis? What should be the criteria of evaluation of public policy? There is hardly consensus among the scholars on this question. Frohock has identified four criteria of evaluating public policy : equity, efficiency, Pareto Optimality and public interest. Suchman has proposed a five-dimensional scheme for policy evaluation : effort, performance, adequacy, efficiency, and process. Sapru has identified six major categories for policy evaluation- effectiveness, efficiency, adequacy, equity, responsiveness and appropriateness.

3.5 Concluding Observations

In the foregoing analysis an attempt has been made to explore the intricacies of policy analysis. With an intention of providing an understanding of and responses to the basic question relating to legitimacy, efficiency and durability of public action, policy analysis has been posited as a multidisciplinary venture. It constitutes the heart of a successful policy implementation.

3.6 Self-Assessment Questions

1) What are the different modes of policy analysis?

3.7 Suggested Readings

a) Chakrabarti, R., & Sanyal, K. (2017). *Shaping Policy in India: Alliance, Advocacy, Activism*. Oxford University Press.

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Unit-4

Producing Public Policy

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Contents

4.1 Objectives

After studying this Unit, students will able to understand, how public policies are produced and will further have an idea that how complex the process is to create or produce any public policy, as it is far more complicated than the legislative work of a bill becoming a law. This unit will further help to understand the various steps that are involved in producing any public policy such as Identification of problem and Definition, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimation, policy implementation, policy Evaluation and impact and policy change via policy Maintenance, succession or termination.

4.2 Introduction

Making or producing public policy has traditionally been the main function of any form government, both democratic and non-democratic. Public policy plays a central role in the life of every person on the planet.

The main purpose of the government is to have lawmakers set policy and then government workers carry out those policies. They affect the life of every citizen, from how and when we vote to where we can park and what does and does not constitute a crime. Therefore, the study of Public Policy may lactrived two choices: for or against a particular issue, since that is how often public policy choices are framed. The main idea of creating policy is to improve life for members of the public. Officials design policies that move the public closer to a desired state or public goal.

The origin of any policy itself is one of the important objectives of the policy maker and those who are in rule. However producing of any public policy is not certainly a cake walk, rather to the origin of any policy several factors contribute, Therefore, to understand how public policy is produced, we need to look into a vast array of divergent environmental circumstances, ranging from an immediate specific cue or impetus to more general spirit of the time or even a belief in a self-evident universal truth. If we speak in a very generalist manner then we can say that State is basically a producer of any public policy and states that produce public policies that continuously select and prorities public problems and, conversely, withdraw from/dismantle former domains of public action, and renew the instruments they employ.

4.3 Process of Producing Public Policy

Even if ideas come from outside government, the creation of policy rests with public officials. Harold Lasswell, an important figure in the development of policy sciences at the University of Chicago and Yale University in the 1950s, created a policy making model still used today. It contains five distinct steps, according to the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Producing Public policy has acquired widespread attention of late and today, scholars and practitioner have begun to attach importance to this field. Although the language used to describe the steps of the policy making process have evolved over the intervening decades, the steps of making or producing public policy can be thought of in the following terms (1) problem identification and definition, (2) agenda setting, (3) policy formulation, (4) policy legitimation, (5) policy implementation , (6) policy evaluation and impact and 7) Policy change via Policy Maintenance, Succession or termination

4.3.1 Identification of problem and Definition

There is an old maxim "The first step in solving a problem is recognizing there is one" and this is substantially true in terms of producing any public policy. Governments at all levels whether in India or outside have to deal with many different public problems and policies each year. But how do the problems generate interest to begin with? That is, why do people pay attention to them, or why are they considered important enough to solve? And why do some problems, such as crime or the performance of public schools, command so much attention at times while others, such as population growth or energy use, tend to be ignored? If a problem does rise to a level of visibility, as refuge issues have in recent past (Rohingya refugee crisis of 2015), who determines that it is the government's responsibility to address it rather than leave it to individuals and the private sector? These questions are at the center of the problem identification and spell out clear and

precise definitions. In many ways, this step is certainly the most critical of all mainly because if a problem is not properly identified and defined, and if the public, the media, and policymakers cannot be persuaded to pay attention to it, it may go unresolved, even if society continues to suffer the ill effects. It is therefore very much crucial to know what constitute public problems and what not?

Just because one thinks an issue may be a problem does not necessarily make it a public problem. For We can understand this by citing the following example. For instance, not having enough movie theaters nearby or figuring out which pair of shoes to wear might be a problem for you, but it does not rise to the level of a public problem. Therefore, public problems are what constitute policymaking efforts. For example, public problems might include the rise of opium abuse nationwide or concerns about the proper disposal of batteries and outdated technology. Of course, it bears remembering that just because you think any of these aforementioned challenges is a public problem does not mean there is widespread agreement among others that they are problems. A particular region of the country or a state might champion a particular issue, but that may not capture the attention of the nation, for instance. Therefore the definition of public problem is central to an understanding and producing of any public policy and also in agenda setting which is the second important step in producing public policy. It refers to 'what we choose to identify as public issues and how we think and talk about these concerns' (Rochefort and Cobb,1994: vii). The key point is that problems do not necessarily receive the most attention because they are the most important or immediate. There is no objective indicator to determine which 'real world condition' is the most deserving of our attention.

4.3.2 Agenda setting

After the identification of problem and clear definition of it, the second most important step of producing of any public policy is having certain agenda for action. Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention. 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 elements of 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 presently 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, nonprofit organizations, or through joint action by some or all of these institutions (*Thomas A. Birkland, 2007*). Now we shall discuss the concept of agenda setting as another step in order to produce public policy. In the first stage a problem or challenge that affects the public is initially identified and defined and then viable solutions are put forward by interested parties both inside and outside of the government. Agenda setting typically goes through the following stages:

- **Systemic agenda**. All issues public officials feel are worth addressing
- **Institutional agenda**. Distilled from the systemic agenda list, these issues are chosen as the ones policymakers should analyze and consider acting on.
- **Discretionary agenda**. This list comes directly from lawmakers, not from the systemic and institutional agendas.
- **Decision agenda**. The final list of issues that policymakers will consider for action.

It is also important to understand that at this stage of policy making, most of the policies related with public often fail to get desired conclusion because the problem identifying and define does not always mean it will get through. In his write up, titled 'Agenda Setting in Public Policy,' argues that the most crucial thing is that the problem has to captive the attention of government and public to compel action. Infact a variety of circumstances can bring a particular public problem to the attention of government. Often discrete incidents that capture the attention of citizens and policymakers alike .Furthermore in this stage, the issues that are in need of government action are brought to the attention of the policy makers, and various aspects of these issues are assessed; the most concerning areas are prioritized. This analysed is helpful in determining the objectives of the policy. The definition of problem setting is always contestable and depends on the ruling government's ideologies, their sight of benefits and prejudice. One of the main problems with policy making in India is the fragmentation in the structure. The Planning Commission was an institution of the Government of India, which formulated India's Five-Year Plans Now it has been replaced by the NITI Aayog. These plans were then approved by the legislature. However, with the passing of years, more power has shifted into the hands of the executive. Other than this, India has adopted the parliamentary form of democracy, as well as a quasi-federal structure of governance, which means that there are various levels of hierarchy to be considered before setting objectives. Such fragmentation fails to recognize that actions taken in one sector have serious implications on another and may work at cross purposes with the policies of other sectors. Besides, it becomes very difficult, even for closely related sectors, to align their policies in accordance with a common overall agenda.Moreover the Growing economic and political interdependence among nations' aspects the substance and procedures of national policy making, including of course the agenda setting process. (Giandomenico Majone 2006)

4.3.3 Policy Formulation:

In traditional stages of producing public policy, policy formulation is part of the pre-decision phase of policy making. 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. (*Mara S. Sidney 2007*) According to Cochran and Malone (1999), 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 benefit of each of the options? What externalities, positive or negative, are associated with each alternative?"

Infact, this is the stage that gives structure to the public policy. Goals are set, costs are determined, policy instruments are chosen, possible effects are evaluated, and stakeholders are established. Multiple solutions are put forward, with consideration of meeting objectives within established limitations. Policy formulation is the development of proposed courses of action to help resolve a public problem. Several actors are involved in policy formulation which indeed the actors from government, such as legislators, chief executives, and agency officials, who are especially influential at this stage. In most policy areas, the appointed and career officials in a bureaucracy are among the most experienced and knowledgeable policy actors. They have the technical information needed to develop policy and the political knowledge that comes from working in the policy arena. Their expertise can cut both ways, however. On the one hand, it can be valuable in formulating new

policy approaches. Similarly the interest groups are also active contributors to policy formulation. There are several organised pressure groups that can demand that the government should act in a scrupulous method. For instance, there are associations of business and industry like Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) or of central government employees or trade unions that attempt to power government's policies. Social protest movements, like the Chipko Movement can also attract government's attention towards specific issues. Like the bureaucracy, interest groups have a great deal of information at their disposal to provide background or specific solutions to problems. It is therefore worth mentioning that the opinion of those affected by the policy should also be taken into account as it can certainly influence the very success of the public policy.

4.3.4 Policy Legitimation:

Policy Legitimation is the stage of producing public policy where the best solution is chosen from amongst the different solutions based on the policy instruments used. It can involve one or a combination of: legislative approval, executive approval, seeking consent through consultation with interest groups, and referenda. (Paul Cairney 2012) One can define the Policy legitimation as giving legal force to decisions, or authorizing or justifying policy actors. It may come from a majority vote in a legislature or a formal executive, bureaucratic, or judicial decision (Jones 1984). From some perspectives, the process of legitimation includes the legitimacy of the action taken—that is, whether it is thought to be a proper exercise of government authority and its broad acceptability to the public and/or other policy actors. (Michael E. Kraft &Scott R. Furlong 2018)

It is, probably the step of producing the public policy process where one can best understand, which public related policies are decided and enacted. In other words, this is the step in which a bill becomes a law. At the government level, policy legitimation occurs when for example Lok Sabha (Lower house of India) or Rajya Sabha (Upper House of India) passes a bill; at the state level, policy legitimation occurs when a state legislature (or State legislative Assembly) passes a bill.For a brief refresher on the lawmaking process: a bill has to be drafted, introduced into one House of Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha Or Rajya Sabha in Centre and State Legislative Assembly (in State), referred to committee, and then usually referred to a sub-committee for hearings and investigation. Then those committees make changes to the bill before voting on whether to refer it to the entire house. From there, the entire legislative house debates on a bill and then finally votes. If all of these pieces fall into place, the process starts in the other House. And then, if the entire legislative body supports the bill, the bill moves to the executive (president in case of central government or governor in case of state government) for signature of bill or a veto. Only after both legislative and executive approval, a bill actually become a law and then a policy is finally legitimated. It is worth pausing for a moment and thinking about the difficulties associated with passing legislation, particularly at the federal level, in recent years. The policy process is incumbent on decisions being made at this stage of the process. It is therefore clear that certain public policies to reach the stage of enactment need various approvals from different levels of the government. The federal structure of India via its various constitutional provisions makes demarcations certain legislative powers and duties, that is, the power to make laws on certain subjects is divided across Centre, the States or both, with central list state list and concurrent list. Inspite of this often we see a kind

of ambiguity among the various levels of governments considering various power and duties. For instance though there is clear demarcation of power between centre and state yet, some of the autonomy provided to States is subject to financial requirements, which are often decided by the Centre. Therefore it is quite clear that the Friction or differences in understanding between the States and the Centre can also prove to be detrimental to the policy makers, where certain States refuse to follow the mandate of the Centre which no doubt enjoy extra prerogative under various constitutional provisions.

4.3.5 Policy implementation

Now we come to the stage of policy implementation which, in simple words 'The implementation of policies through government bureaucracies, public expenditures, regulations, and other activities of executive agencies.'(Thomas R. Dye, 2013) This is a very crucial stage in producing public policy. In order to achieve the public policy objectives, we have to see that the policy is implemented with full enthusiasm and commitment. There has been an assumption in most of our Five Year Plans (in Indian Context) that once a policy has been formulated, it will be systematically implemented and the desired results as envisaged through the policy makers will follow. But this assumption rests upon several political and organizational factors. All policies may not be the result of a serious commitment to resolve the issues. One can argue that the various decisions on a specific course of action and the adoption of a program does not guarantee that the action on the ground will strictly follow policy makers' aims and objectives. The stage of execution or enforcement of a policy by the responsible institutions and organizations that are often, but not always, part of the public sector, is referred to as implementation. One can also broadly define Policy implementation as "what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action" (O'Toole 2000). This stage is critical as political and administrative actions at the frontline are hardly ever perfectly controllable by objectives, programs, laws, and the like (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Therefore, policies and their intentions will very often be changed or even distorted; its execution delayed or even blocked altogether.

An ideal process of policy implementation would include the following core elements: a) Specification of program details (i.e., how and by which agencies/organizations should the program be executed? How should the law/program be interpreted?), b) Allocation of resources (i.e., how are budgets distributed? Which personnel will execute the program? Which units of an organization will be in charge for the execution?), c) Decisions (how will decisions of single cases be carried out?) (Werner Jann and Kai Wegrich. 2007. This is with regard to how the policy will be put into action. This often means creating working networks where actors, resources and knowledge are connected. This may involve clear communication with the required agents, such as executive public bodies like the Ministry of Human Resource Development, or creating say, an organisation, to implement policy decisions. These agents will have to account for the usage of resources, whether monetary, human, legal or the likes.

Monitoring implementation is another important part of this stage. Proper implementation is critical to the success of any policy's objectives. This means establishing a clear chain of command and putting effort into

its coordination and control. This can come at a great expense to the government. The successful implementation of social sector schemes requires a high degree of political commitment and administrative coordination.

For example, Aadhar linkage and Kerala's Kudumbashree scheme may be cited as successes. Aadhar, India's biometric ID system is used to avail multiple utilities, such as food rations, to those who are registered with the Aadhar Ecosystem. Kudumbashree through micro-credit and empowerment schemes like vocational training allows poor women at the grassroot levels to organise themselves. In India's case, while many policies of social inclusion have been put into place, the implementation has been suspect. Illiteracy, lack of awareness and lack of empowerment means the weaker sections of society, which any given policy is supposed to target, are often unable to access the benefits. It is also the case that the services offered by the government are usually of poor quality. Autonomy in implementation at various levels can help the cause. Execution of the policy is often hindered by confusion in the government as bureaucratic ineffectiveness, ineptitude and corruption confounds the policy implementation process.

Let us look into the example of the Right to Education Act (2009), which made free and compulsory primary education a basic right for children of the age group of 6 to 14 years. It sets aside a 25% quota for children from economically and socially weaker sections in unaided, non-minority schools. It has been contended that there has been more focus on the quota than on the quality of education, with issues of teacher absenteeism, lack of teaching resources, lack of basic infrastructure, and so on. This has resulted into high enrollment in schools, however, it has also been responsible for high dropout rates. One could say that the policy is input oriented as opposed to outcome oriented. For instance, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan also faced problems in adjusting with mindsets of people, lack of proper waste management practices, often a lack of water, lack of sustainability of the provided infrastructure, as well as a lack of dedicated on-ground enforcers.

4.3.6 Policy Evaluation and impact

Policy evaluation refers to the ex post assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of public programs and projects. (Bovens, Hart & Kuipers, 2006). Policy evaluation, or program evaluation, is an assessment of whether policies and programs are working well. In particular, analysts look for evidence that a program is achieving its stated goals and objectives. For example, the Government of India launched the Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) Program on 1st Jan 2013 to directly transfer the benefits to the under-privileged population covered under 34 central schemes but the following questions may arise: how far this Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) Program able to helps the poor during emergencies? Or to be it prove: an efficient channel in disbursing Covid relief to tackle the economically distressed people? Or did the No Child Left Behind law increase student test scores? Do the programs have unanticipated consequences, particularly any that are viewed as harmful? Similarly in the rush to house victims of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) (that supports citizens and emergency personnel to build, sustain, and improve the nation's capability to prepare for, protect against, respond to, recover from, and mitigate all hazards) of USA ordered trailers and mobile homes worth $3 billion only to discover later that many of those temporary housing units had excessive levels of formaldehyde, a dangerous chemical. That outcome was attributed to FEMA's weak contracting with the manufacturers, inconsistent regulation, and use of low-quality plywood

imports from China. Evaluation involves judging a program's success in terms not only of the program's policy outcomes but also of its legitimacy or need, regardless of how well it is working, especially for programs that comes under prior criticism from several. Infact, policy evaluation is the most significant stage in producing of any public policy. In order to determine the success or failure of a policy, it is essential that a systematic and effective policy evaluation system exists in the country. A precondition to foolproof policy evaluation system is proper policy monitoring. After the implementation of the programme, it has to be ensured that implementation machinery functions adequately. Agencies, people, and institutions involved in implementation are not corrupt, possessions needed for carrying out the program are sufficiently accessible and intelligently spent, and the duration targets are met with. Only after keeping a track of all these activities can proper evaluation of a policy is possible. However some definitions tie evaluation to the stated "goals" of a program or policy. But since we do not always know what these "goals" really are, and because we know that some programs and policies pursue conflicting "goals," we will not limit our notion of policy evaluation to their achievement. Instead, we will concern ourselves with all of the consequences of public policy, that is, with "policy impact."(Thomas R.Dye, 2013)

The impact of a policy is all its *effects on real world conditions,* including:

● Impact on the target situation or group

● Impact on situations or groups other than the target (spillover effects)

● Impact on future as well as immediate conditions

● Direct costs, in terms of resources devoted to the program

● Indirect costs, including loss of opportunities to do other things

Ideally, all the benefits and costs, both immediate and future, should be measured (Thomas R.Dye, 2013)

4.3.7 Policy change via Policy Maintenance, Succession or termination

This stage determines whether any public policy is to be maintained by improving or further developing it. Often, if problems are identified with the current policies, they are either modified or terminated. That means the notional final stage arrives when policymakers decide, on the basis of their evaluation, if the policy should be continued. As Jones (1970) puts it, 'the end is the beginning', because government action results from the 'continuing application and evaluation of ongoing policies.' A decision made in the past also influences how the next decision will be made (Colebatch, 1998). For example, it may be easier to amend a policy (and present it as new) than crate an entirely new one. Hagwood and Peters (1983) have suggested that 'policy succession' is more likely than 'innovation' because most of the hardwork has already been done: the issue is recognized as a legitimate problem for the government to solve; a service delivery organization exists; the policy has resources devoted to it; and, it has an established clientele. More significant innovations would require not only a process ·to establish these factors, but also the termination of another policy. Yet, termination has immediate financial costs, may produce the perception of policy failure, and may be opposed by interest groups, clients and the organizations that depend on the policy to survive (Hagwood and Peters,

1983, Parsons, 1995; deLeon, 1978; Hagwood, 1987). The policy cycle therefore tends to 'end' with the process of policy succession. (Hagwood and Gunn, 1984).

4.3.8 Summing Up:

- Producing public policy has traditionally been the main function of any form any democratic form of government.

- Harold Lasswell, an important figure in the development of policy sciences at the University of Chicago and Yale University in the 1950s, created a policy making model which is still used today.

- First step of producing any public policy is to identify and recognize that there is a problem and thereby define it in clear terms.

- Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention and it goes through these four main stages i.e., systemic agenda, institutional agenda, discretionary agenda and decision agenda.

- Policy formulation is a part of the pre-decision phase of policy making which 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. It basically takes up the "what" question.

- Policy legitimation is giving legal force to decisions, or authorizing or justifying policy action. One can say that this is the step where a bill becomes a law.

- Policy implementation can be considered as the step where public policies applied are practically apply in real world. One can also consider it as "what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something, or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action"

- Policy evaluation, or program evaluation, is an assessment of whether policies and programs are working well.

- Policy change via Policy Maintenance, Succession or termination can be considered as the last step in producing any public policy and in this stage government basically determines whether any public policy is to be maintained by improving or further developing it.

4.3 Self-Assessment Questions

a) Discuss briefly the various steps revolved in of producing a public policy.

b) Of the steps outlined in the stages of producing public policy, which is the most complicated and likely step where a policy might fail? Why?

c) Write briefly about the process of policy legitimation by citing examples from Indian context.

d) Discuss some of the major challenges during the policy implementation stage with reference to the Indian context.

4.5 Suggested Readings

a) Fischer, F. & Miller, Gerald G. (Eds.). (2007). *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods*. Routledge.

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Unit-5

Constraints on Public Policy

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Contents

5.1 Objectives

The present unit intends to identify the major constraints on public policy. It is often said that policymaking is always a matter of choice under constraint. Unlike the popular portrayal of public policy as a systematic enterprise, reality presents an altogether different picture which shows how public policy has been subject to several constraints, which include among others economic constraints, political constraints, institutional constraints, social and cultural constraints, and so on. An attempt has been made in the present unit to identify the major constraints that have plagued the successful implementation of public policy.

5.2 Introduction

Until recently, Public Administration as a separate discipline was more or less preoccupied with the implementation of public policies. No serious attempt was made in the discipline to unravel the intricacies of public policies. It was dominated by the scholars of Political Science. However, their focus has never really been on the policies. They were primarily concentrating on the institutional and philosophical part of public policy. The introduction of this new approach in the field of Public Administration has brought a qualitative transformation in the study of administrative decisions. There is no mutually agreed definition of public policy.

It has been conceptualized in several ways. To some public policy-making is whatever governments decide to do; whereas others view public policy-making as "intertwined relationships of offices, public leaders and issues, all of which constantly change in a kaleidoscope-like fashion"(Gerston, 2008). Public policy, as Nicholas Henry defines, 'is a course of action adopted and pursued by government.' The public policy approach is therefore sought to explore how the government policies are made and implemented. Public policymaking worldwide has been in the throes of change. Bovaird and Loffler have nicely put this evolving paradigm of public policymaking in the following words: "the paradigms of public policymaking have changed significantly during the past three decades-the 'old public administration' was partly replaced by the 'new public management, which in turn has been partly supplanted by the 'public governance' perspective" (Bovaird and Loffler, 2009).

Meaning of Policy-The ubiquitous presence of the term in official discourse is, however, of no use as the term is often confused with similar words like output, decision, and so on. For the sake of clarity in this sub-section, we will elaborate on some of such confusions. Putting it simply, it can be defined as the purposive course of action taken by those who are at the helm of affairs to address certain problems. However, such a definition fails to capture the nuances of the term.For example, public policies normally include only those policies that are adopted and implemented by government bodies and officials. But in actuality, public policies cannot be confined to governmental bodies alone as there are multiple players involved in the governance process. Likewise, several ambiguous definitions are often put forward to make the situation even worse. For example, Thomas Dye defines public policy as 'whatever governments choose to do or not to do', which is no less unsettling for an effort to capture the meaning of public policy. Hence, to define public policy as *the purposive course of action what government chooses as guidance* is not conclusive either. Actually, public policy can be better understood as an interplay of several factors (of which state is the dominant factor) which are sometimes even not intended or designed. Such a degree of uncertainty in public policy making is evident in the words of Lindblom. He wrote: "a policy is sometimes the outcome of a political compromise among policymakers, none of whom had in mind quite the problem to which the agreed policy is the solution. Sometimes, policies spring from new opportunities, not from 'problems' at all. And sometimes policies are not decided upon but nevertheless 'happen'" (Lindblom, 1968). The major focus of public policy is to bring about rapid socio-economic development. It may be narrow in its focus concentrating on a particular area or it may be wider in its scope encompassing all the people in a country. Moreover, public policy is often confused with certain similar concepts, which need to be distinguished. For example, it is usually confused with decision-making, goals, planning. Public policymaking does involve decision-making, however, decision-making does not necessarily constitute a policy. Public policy provides a sense of direction to the administration's decision. Similarly, public policies are often confused with goals. No doubt, public policies involve certain objectives or goals towards which policies are directed, but they are not synonymous.

Thus, public policy is an extremely complex 'analytical and political process, which has no beginning or end as such. It is a continuum. As Carl Friedrich wrote: "Public policy, to put it flatly, is a continuous process, the formation of which is inseparable from its execution. Politics and administration play a continuous role in both formation and execution though there is probably more politics in the formation of policy and more administration in the execution of it. Insofar as particular individuals or groups are gaining or losing power or control in a given area, there is politics; insofar as officials act or propose action in the name of public interest, there is administration". Moreover, it is not sequential either as it is often so equated with several steps of decision making (like-preliminary appraisal of or the inquiry into the problem, identification of goals or objectives, canvassing of possible policies to achieve goals, choice or design) or what Simon has categorized as –intelligent activity, design activity, and choice activity. Moreover, public policy-making involves both political and administrative components. The distinctiveness of public policy is more revealing if we place it in a constitutional democracy. Within a constitutional democracy, popular consent is at the heart of public policymaking. Policymakers in a constitutional democracy translate the will of the people into viable policies as per established norms and procedures. Usually, in a democratic framework, most of the public policymakers are elected officials. Other policymakers, who have exercised considerable influence in the overall process of policymaking, are also appointed. In addition to that, there is a parallel line of command of a non-elected cadre of bureaucrats or civil servants in the administration, who are equally instrumental in public policymaking. Hence, functioning in a democratic milieu policymakers have to be the managers of public trust, who are either directly or indirectly accountable to the public (Gerston, 2008). Moreover, public policymaking presupposes constitutionalism at work, within which public policy has to work. The gives of Public Policy Making lies in the fact that Human beings have been conducting policy analysis ever since they have existed. They have been recording policy analysis ever since there were written languages. One can find implicit policy analysis in the legal rules of the Babylonians, the ancient Hebrews, and the Egyptians, as well as in written and unwritten legal systems of ancient groups in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Among the first philosophical books in ancient Greece, one can find a concern for political principles, such as how governments should be structured. Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Ethics represent a concern for evaluating public policy, even if they did not use the same kind of analyses that are used by contemporary policy analysts.

5.3 Economic Constraints

Among the major constraints of public policymaking, the economic constraint is perhaps the most debilitating one. It is a kind of perennial problem of allocating scarce resources. Every policymaker is suffering from this, one point or another. The economic constraints of public policy may include among others the budget balance constraint, the external balance constraint, the twin deficit, and globalization.

Simply put, the government's budget balance is known as the gap between revenue collected mostly through taxation and public expenditure. It is a typical dilemma for any policymaker as common people want

public expenditure to be enlarged and taxation to be progressively reduced. The budget balance constraint requires that government consumption and payment of benefits must be equalized with the government income. There is no denying that borrowing may allow higher consumption at the present but at the cost of lower consumption and higher taxation in the future. In fact, there is a popular short-term strategy of using the government's capacity to mint money. But this strategy runs the risk of inflationary tendencies and the resultant reduction of existing holding of money and also outstanding obligations on government bonds. Another strategy that is popularly resorted to across the globe to avoid budget balance constraints is the selling of government assets mostly through the privatization of government business enterprises. It has been argued since the 1990s that the selling of public assets could reduce government debts without the need for a tax hike or cut in public spending.

Secondly, the external balance constraint is another critical economic constraint the policymaker has to grapple with. In the case of external balance constraint, policymakers have to deal with international flows of goods, services, and capital.

Thirdly, the 'twin deficit' is considered to be another economic constraint of public policymaking. The 'twin deficit' hypothesis takes place when adjustment is made in the form of more borrowing from abroad

5.4 Political Constraints

The public policy-making domain has undergone a radical transformation from an essentially political domain of government/state to a highly complex inchoate plural realm comprising non-governmental sectors, civil society organizations, business groups, and interest groups. Consequently, the government/ state has lost its prerogative to determine the nature and direction of public policy. Thanks to the neoliberal conditionality of rolling back of the state from the center of governance including the social sector and the corresponding enthroning of market and third sector, the public policy has claimed to become a collaborating enterprise. However, in reality, confusions reign supreme as the policymakers have to grapple with multiple pressures and pulls from local to global actors operational in the policy situation. Since power, which constitutes the crux of politics keeps changing its location from time to time, policymakers find themselves in a fix.

5.5 Socio-Cultural Constraints

The plurality of socio-cultural factors also creates a serious impediment for policymaking. As an analytical frame, socio-cultural diversity is a problematique. It is very difficult to pin down the exact meaning of it. Interestingly, these factors have substantially determined the policymaking process. However, in most cases plurality of socio-cultural factors did not get the recognition either in the public policy

discourse or in the public organizations and institutions it deserved. Being the prisoners of homogeneity and uniformity, policymakers tend to avoid the pertinent issue of ethnocultural diversity. Before we figure out how the socio-cultural factors have determined the fate of any given policy, we must provide a working definition of it. *The Diversity Dictionary* defines socio-cultural diversity as 'differing cultures, languages, ethnicities, races, sexual orientations, religious sects, abilities, classes, ages, and national origin of the individual in an institution, workplace, or community.' Here, *by socio-cultural diversity, we encapsulate all those social and cultural factors, which are believed to have their bearing on the living conditions of the people and on public policy*. Until recently, social and cultural diversity was treated as a problematique of governance. A conscious effort has so long been taken to overlook the phenomenon of socio-cultural diversity in favour of homogeneity in administrative deliberations. Multiculturalism in recent times has addressed the concept of socio-cultural diversity more positively and thereby contributed to the discourse on diversity. For analytical convenience, four major markers of socio-cultural diversity may be identified: religion, ethnicity, caste, and culture.

Religion

Religion is one of the oldest and perhaps the most powerful marker of socio-cultural diversity. It has the potential of both the strong in-group bonding among the believers and even stronger out-group enmity. Religion fastens its followers in a rigorous system of beliefs, code of conduct, attitudes and practices which they share in groups. Therefore, it substantially constructs behavioural patterns, especially their attitude regarding any given policy. For example, if we look at the health policy fertility behaviour or preventive health measures among the people in different communities, we will find the determining role of religion in public policymaking. However, there is no generalized pattern as such. The religious construction of human behaviour is highly diverse in nature and widely varies from one culture to another. Even within the same religious group, there are variations in human behaviour depending upon spatial dimension.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is another important constituting element of socio-cultural diversity, which has its definite bearing on health outcome. It is a typically imprecise term, which "refers to the self-ascribed cultural and linguistic characteristics of a group claiming a common origin" (White, 2009). Every ethnic group has a distinct sense of history. It possesses its own culture, customs, norms, beliefs and traditions, which have substantially shaped the behavioural pattern of its members. For example, if we consider tribal communities and their health-seeking behaviour we will find the overwhelming presence of their ethnic customs, beliefs and norms. In fact, ethnic customs and belief are instrumental in constructing the health behaviour of the tribal communities which include the perception of disease or illness, causes of illness, modes of treatment, fertility behavior, food habit and so on. However, ethnic groups are not always free to choose their health options in accordance with their

cultural belief systems. In fact, on many occasions ethnic groups have been subject to a number of ethnicity-related stressors like discrimination, stereotyping, and own-group conformity pressure, which have their impact on health-seeking behaviour of the people. Whereas ethnic discrimination involves unfair treatment to a group of people that is often attributed to their ethnicity; stereotyping involves pejorative construction of a group based on their belief, culture, food habits, language, religion, and so on; and one's own-group conformity pressure refers to the pressure of expectation that is generally associated with group membership. Ethnic discriminations could have as many as five different manifestations such as verbal rejection like insults, ethnic slurs; avoidance like shunning; disvaluation or negative evaluation; inequality-exclusion i.e. denial of equal treatment or access; and threat-aggression i.e actual or threatened harm.

Class

Class is generally perceived as an economic parameter, which differentiates people on the basis of economic potentials. Interestingly, it is considered to be one of the critical components of the socio-cultural diversity. Class and ill health has had a long association. It is believed that a person's likelihood of experiencing disease, ill health and premature death is largely contingent upon his/her position in the social hierarchy. History is replete with examples of positive correlation between poverty and ill health.

Gender

Gender is an inseparable element of socio-cultural diversity. Gender constructions invariably determine the fate of any service. Gender profiling is considered to be the most powerful instrument in unraveling the hidden structural bias against women. Conceptually gender, as it differs from sex, highlights the socio-cultural profiling of man and woman on the basis of biological or anatomical differences. Gender profiling in access to health facilities and health outcome is one of the serious patriarchal discrimination perpetrated against women. The gender bias in health can be summed up in the following ways: first, discriminatory values, norms, practices and behaviour, in relation to health within households and communities; second, differential exposures and vulnerabilities to disease, disability and injuries; third, biases in health systems; and fourth, biased health research. (Sen and Ostlin, 2010)

Culture

Culture is another crucial element of socio-cultural diversity. It substantially shapes the behavioural pattern of the people. However, the issue of the supposed interrelationship between culture and administration came into being in the wake of technical assistance programme. These programmes failed to make much headway in the target country. Rather they evoked strong reactions among the recipient countries. Consequently, cultural factors came into consideration[4]. Before we go about it and to see how cultural constructions determine public policy, a definition of culture deserves some space here. Edward B. Taylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"

5.6 Ideological Constraints

Ideology also turns out to be a major constraint of public policy. Value pluralism is the hallmark of any democratic society. Despite the essential virtue of value pluralism in a society, it turns out to be a veritable constraint for the policymakers as the contesting ideological positions pose a series of dilemma for them.

5.7 Concluding Observations

Unlike the popular conceptualization of public policy as a systematic enterprise, the present unit has demonstrated that public policy is the outcome of continuous deliberations. For the smooth execution of public policy, a proper understanding of the many and varied constraints is urgently called for. In the foregoing analysis, an attempt has been made to identify the major constraints of public policy like economic constraints, political constraints, Socio-cultural constraints, ideational constraints, and so on.

5.8 Self-Assessment Questions

a) Discuss is details the various definitions of and perspectives towards public policy.

b) What are some of the Economic constraints of Public Policy.

c) Write a detailed note on the socio-cultural and idological constraints of public policy.

d) In what way political fectors act as constraints or public policy making?

5.9 Suggested Readings

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Unit-6

Policy Intervention

Contents

6.1 Objectives

The major objectives of this unit is to familiarise the students with

a)   The concepts of public, policy and intervention,

b) To provide an operational definition of public intervention,

c) To present a differentiation between policy implementation and intervention in public policy,

d) To highlight the characteristics, types and subjects dealt by policy interventions,

e) To give explanation to the steps in policy intervention process, and

f) To be able to assess the major governmental policies intervention in India with the help of case studies.

6.2 Introduction

Public policies are as old as governments. Whatever is the form, oligarchy, monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, democracy and so on, whenever and wherever governments have existed, public policies have been formulated and implemented. To cope with the varied troubles and demands of the people the government has to create several policies and these policies legislated by the government are known as public policies. Public policies entail interventions prior as well as post to policy making and involve any course of action, programme or activity taken or mandated by national or international authorities and non-state actors. This includes, for instance, regulations, market-based incentives, information schemes and the provision of infrastructure. Policy interventions often address a variety of measures including technologies, processes, practices and behaviour.

6.3 Concepts of Public, Policy and Intervention

Despite the fact that 'Public Policy' as a discipline has been as old as political science and public administration, the concept as an academic pursuit emerged only in the later half of twentieth century and since then it has been acquiring new dimensions. The studies on public policies during its commencement 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 section, their structures and their success in achieving their targets. 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. Therefore, it is important to understand the concept of 'public' 'policy,' and 'intervention.'

The basic assumption is that a policy means a plan of action adopted by an individual, group, business or government following some kind of formal decision making. Policies transmit the best of the nation's goals, aims and intentions and aspire the wellbeing of the people. Whenever the government bodies decide for a course of action to achieve the desired ends it is known as public policy. The happiness of the greatest number of masses and the peace of the nation are attainable through positive realization of public policy.

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" and a guide of administrative decisions. Thomas Dye's definition states "Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do" and essentially, 'Interventions' are defined as the act of interfering with the outcome or course especially of a condition or process as to prevent harm or improve functioning.

6.4 An Operational Definition of Policy Intervention

Across policy research literatures, there exists a habitual confusion between the terms 'implementation' and 'intervention.' These terms are often used interchangeably and at times synonymously on account of the lack of conceptual clarity and ambiguity in their applications. However though the terms resemble one another yet can be considered discrete. Intervention they 'intervene', originating from the Latin connotation 'to come in between', or means to improving or helping a situation and implementation is an inflection of 'implement' meaning 'filling up', or putting something into action.

From a semantic perspective, intervention and implementation could be used interchangeably, considering that implementation is itself an intervention but an intervention does not equate to implementation and instead overlaps with implementation (Eldh et al, 2017).

In the policy research context, policy implementation is a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieving them. It encompasses those actions of private and public individuals that are directed towards achievement of goal and objectives set forth in prior policy decision (Meter and Horn, 1975). On the other hand as per the definition of Ceres 2030 modelling work, Policy intervention can be defined as a public action aimed at altering the existing state of the world. The action is intended to solve a problem (such as a market failure). It targets a specific population, it is associated with a set of expenditures paid by one (or several) economic agent and it has a given set of direct effects (Labordo, Bizikova and Smaller, 2019).

Policy interventions are applicable to any national and international action. For example, a request for negotiations or an offer of aid to earthquake victims is an intervention in the sense that the request or the offer comes between the condition that preceded it and the response. Intervention in a designated social problem can be seen as a purposive attempt to create a situation. The structures and processes of social life, flowing as they do from situation to situation in a series of sequences, are deflected in some way by intervention or the attempt of change and a new set of sequences.

Policy Interventions are basically governmental interventions or social policy interventions. It can be understood as the intentional interference of a government in a country's economic system through regulatory actions. It refers to a situation when a government is actively affecting decisions taken by individuals or organizations. Further it also includes intervening in the social conditions under which people live to improve human welfare and to meet human needs. Many policies that are ostensibly economic, such as cash assistance to the poor, fall under the rubric of social policy interventions because they have a direct impact on the social

conditions under which people live and are aimed at improving human welfare and meeting human needs. Social policies may also regulate and govern human behaviour in such areas as sexuality and morality. Policies that involve access to abortion or laws governing marriage and divorce therefore fall within the sphere of policy interventions.

6.4.1 Categories of Interventions

Policy interventions are designed on the basis of various classification or methodology:-

- By proximity to the target,
- By nature of the instrument (i.e., price policies, investment policies etc.) or
- By policy domain (i.e., social, agricultural, environmental).

6.4.2 Subjects dealt under public interventions

Interventions are carried out in the following sphere:

1. Rural development, such as infrastructure, education, storage, access to markets and value chain development.

2. Land reforms: Social safety nets to support poor consumers through cash transfers and food stamps. Developing the critical infrastructure needed in both rural and urban areas to support broad and inclusive growth.

3. Industrial policies: Enabling policies, such as legal and policy reform and building institutions.

4. Anti-poverty programmes: Launching special programmes for livelihood support for the poor and the vulnerable, aimed at directly improving their income earning capabilities and at mainstreaming them in the overall growth process.

5. Health policies: ensuring that every citizen must have access to essential public services of acceptable quality in health, education, skill-development, safe drinking water, sanitation etc.

6.5 Types of Policy Interventions

Because public policy interventions are made to intervene in the needs of people, they are often broken down into different types and categories as they relate to society.

6.5.1 Substantive policy interventions

These are the interventions 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.

6.5.2 Regulatory policy interventions

These interventions are concerned with regulation of trade, business, safety measures, public utilities, and so on 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 policy interventions.

6.5.3 Distributive policy interventions

These are the policy interventions 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, and so on are all examples of such policies.

6.5.4 Redistributive policy interventions

These policy interventions 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.

6.5.5 Capitalization policy interventions

These policy interventions 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.

6.5.6 Constituent policy interventions

It is the policies relating to constituting new institutions/ mechanisms for public welfare.

6.5.7 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.

Thus, interventions are context-specific, covering private and public actions, policy, or project-based activities. Policy makers might be motivated to make an intervention address challenges faced by a given sector, region or population. For example, in the context of agriculture, the challenge could be a market failure due to terms of overuse of water, or limited access to fertilizers, leading to inefficient "free-market" outcomes. The government might then decide to create a water licensing program, or a support for farmers to reduce the cost of fertilizers. Public interventions are as such exogenous actions not driven by market forces but will influence market behaviour and will move the economy from one- equilibrium to another.

6.6 Steps in Intervention Development

Once a problem has been identified as needing intervention, the six crucial steps that should be taken are:

1. Defining and understanding the problem and its causes;

2. Identifying which causal or contextual factors are modifiable: which have the greatest scope for change and who would benefit most;

3. Deciding on the mechanisms of change (theory of change);

4. Clarifying how these will be delivered (theory of action);

5. Testing and adapting the intervention; and

6. Collecting sufficient evidence of effectiveness to proceed to a rigorous evaluation.

6.7 Major Policy Interventions in India

A policy intervention may take place prior-to or after the making of public policies or policy implementations which go through a long process. Initially a problem in the society, state or country needing urgent attention gathers attention of the policy makers. They evaluate and intervene in the current circumstances of a specific population. Second, a methodology is made to address their issues such as planning or making a strategy for achieving a tangible outcome. The decision making is then done to check the effectiveness and efficiency of the plan and after analysing the effect of the decisions on the society, a policy is implemented and enacted by the governments or legislators of each country.

In India, the development of the country and the community has always been the top priority of the ever since her independence. The Constitution of India mandated the Goverment to establish an egalitarian social order by securing to the people social, economic and political justice. Hence, the country embarked onto a path of planned socio-economic development to attain the goals of justice.

Policy making in India is shaped within the framework of the constitutional system. Firstly, a democratic and sovereign, republican form of government makes the governments at the central, state and local level derive their powers from the people. The people are the real sovereign and their sovereignty makes them the final authority for determining the policies of the country. The people elect their representatives to run the government at different levels. These representatives work according to the decisions of the citizens and hold office at the will of the people. Secondly, policy interventions must conform to the provisions of the Indian Constitution such as those laid down in the Preamble, fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. Thus policy making in India is governed by the people's will and constitutional principles.

For the past several years, social development has acquired a new salience in development thinking. During 1950s – 80s development was seen mainly in terms of accumulation of material wealth and was measured in terms of GDP growth rate. Economic growth itself was regarded as the function of capital inputs. The main pursuit of economic policy was to mobilize the resources required for achieving a desired rate of

growth. Acceleration in the rate of growth was supposed to take care of both – economic and social problems. Even post- 1980s when the development thinking went about a paradigm shift with its emphasis on human development, social development, inclusive development and sustainable development, social sector development in India continued to suffer due to government's preoccupation with the introduction of economic reforms as part of the process of market based governance approach. There had been overemphasis on correcting the fiscal imbalance at the cost of social development. In fact, the state, as a matter of deliberate policy, started scaling down its constitutional responsibility for providing "public goods" in such crucial areas such as education, health, housing, sanitation etc. This responsibility was increasingly being transferred to the private sector operators. As a result, there has been a sharp deterioration in the conditions of the poorest and the marginalized, particularly the SCs, STs, women, minorities and children.

Since late 90s modern developmental economists like Mahboob-ul-Haq, Amartya Sen, Joseph Stiglitz and others started highlighting the failures of governance in terms of human and social development in the developing world including India. According to Prof Amartya Sen, investing in the social sector will create expansion of freedom for individuals and social groups. In the social sector, health and education are considered to be most critical to human development. To Prof. Sen, health inequality is the most basic form of inequality. Health leads to capability building of individuals. Health together with education enhances his or her capacity to learn and earn. In fact, Gunnar Myrdal, the famous Swedish economist and Nobel laureate had said long back that the development process must involve removing those factors or barriers which are responsible for sustaining underdevelopment, e.g unemployment, illiteracy, ill-health and so on. By the turn of the new millennium the global community also pushed for a new agenda for social development in the form of MDGs (Millennium Developmental Goals) which emphasized poverty alleviation, creating a disease free world community, providing universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowerment of women, reducing child mortality and soon. Driven by all this, the Government of India took up social sector development on a priority basis in its Five Year Plans.

Major Governmental Interventions in the Social Sector in Recent Years:

a) Health :
1. NRHM/NHM (National Rural Health Mission)
2. JSY (Janani Suraksha Yojana)
3. National Vector-Borne Disease Control Programme
4. PMSSY (Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana)
5. AYUSH (Aayurveda, Yoga & Naturopathy, Unani, Siddhi, Homoeopathy)

b) Education:
1. RTE (Right to Education)
2. SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan)
3. MDMS (Mid-Day Meal Scheme)
4. Sakshar Bharat (National Mission on Female Literacy – an adult education programme)

5. RMSY (Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan)

6. RUSA (Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan)

c) Rural Development:

Poverty Alleviation through Rural Employment (for Livelihood Security)

1. MGNREGA - implemented by MoRD

2. NRLM/Aajeevika (formerly SJGSY) - implemented by MoRD

Development of Critical Infrastructure in Rural areas

1. IAY for Housing (Indira Aawas Yojana) - implemented by MoRD

2. PMGSY for Rural Roads (Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana) - implemented by MoRD

3. RGGVY for Rural Electrification (Rajiv Gandhi Gramin Vidyutikaran Yojana) implemented by Ministry of Power

4. NRDWP for Rural drinking water supply (National Rural Drinking Water Programme) - implemented by MoRD

5. TSC/NBA for Rural Sanitation (Total Sanitation Campaign) - implemented by MoRD

6. AIBP for Irrigation (Accelerated Irrigation Benefit Programme) – implemented by Ministry of Water Resources

7. NLRMP (National Land records Modernisation Programme)

Agricultural Development

1. RKVY for Agricultural development – implemented by MoA.

d) Urban Development

Urban Infrastructure Development

1. JNNURM – implemented by Ministry of Urban Development & Ministry of Housing and Poverty Alleviation

2. ILCSS (Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme)

Housing & Urban poverty alleviation through employment generation

1. RAY

2. SJSRY (Swarna Jayanti Shahri Rozgar Yojana; now restructured as NULM under the 12th Plan) - implemented by Ministry of Housing & Poverty Alleviation

e) Women & Child Development

1. ICDS (Integrated Child Development Services) implemented by MoWCD

2. Sabala/RGSEAG (Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls)

3. IGMSY (Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana)

4. NMEW (National Mission for Empowerment of Women)

5. RMK (Rashtriya Mahila Kosha)

6. Policies to address violence against women, e,g (PWDVA)

f) Skill Development

1. National Skill Development Mission

g) Social Security

1. AABY (Aam Aadmi Beema Yojana)

2. RSBY (Rashtriya Swasthya Beema Yojana)

3. SSAs (Social Security Agreements)

4. The Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008

5. NSAP (National Social Assistance Programme).

Education, health, rural development, urban development, women and children, social security and so on have been critical dimension of human capability and therefore needs as much greater attention in government's development policy. As such numerous interventions have been made. However, attainment of better outcomes is not just a matter of government interventions but of proper public policy implementation and execution. The policy process is a long process involving evaluation of a current situation, identifying the appropriate policy to be executed that touches on several aspects of people's life, broadly seen in the socio-economic and political spheres. Further, 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. In the operational strategies 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.

Finally 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.

6.8 Few Case Studies on Policy Intervention

6.8.1 Panchayati Raj

Some forms of rural institutions or the other have been in existence in India since the ancient period. With the adoption of planning as a strategy for development after independence, if required securing cooperation

of the people in rural areas to implement development programmes. Since then the Panchayati Raj system in India was initiated to give opportunities for the emergence of democratic leadership and growth of democratic decentralization, to realize the values of participatory democracy, to serve as an instrument for rural development and modernization and to bring the decision- creation authorities nearer to people. To achieve these objectives the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee recommended a three-tier structure of Panchayati Raj, while in 1977 the Ashok Mehta Committee came up with the suggestion of establishing a two-tier structure of PRIs. In 1992 PRI was constitutionalized through the **73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992** to build democracy at the grass roots level and was entrusted with the task of rural development in the country. This step acted an intervening mechanism in the governance and development of the local areas.

Troubles in the Functioning of PRIs

However, there are a number of troubles faced by the Panchayati Raj Institutions. There is a lack of clarity concerning the concept of Panchayati Raj and in relation to the objectives for which the institutions have been recognized. Secondly, while establishing PRIs, no uniform pattern is adopted for creating units and identifying the unit of planning and development. This may not be a cause of failure but structures that have been adopted through several state governments are just not capable of performing the role that is expected of them.

Thirdly, the existing socio-economic structure of the Indian society is a major factor which is responsible for the limited success of PRIs. It is proved beyond doubt that the elected members at all the stages of PRIs and the office bearers are normally from the rich dominant sections of the rural society. They have vested interests in preserving the existing system and would not do anything that would strengthen the position of the downtrodden in their areas. Therefore, the leadership of the PRIs does not let the benefits flow to the weaker sections of rural areas.

6.8.2 Anti-Poverty Programmes

Poverty reflects itself in several shapes like malnutrition, overcrowding, slum, housing circumstances, high infant mortality, illiteracy, and so on, these malnutrition is the worst Policy Intervention: Case Studies form poverty, attempts to measure absolute poverty in India. The usual on method is to fix a poverty line on the basis of minimum stage of per capita expenditure required for normal calorie intake; the extent of poverty is measured through estimating the number of people whose overall per capita consumption falls below this stage called "the poverty line". The government, so, has formulated several policies to bring about rural development and poverty removal. Five Year Plans have given adequate attention to develop the infrastructural facilities in rural areas, given employment opportunities to rural poor and create ample provisions for basic amenities like health and water supply etc. Several centrally sponsored schemes to alleviate poverty have been launched like Community Development Programme (CDP), Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmer and Agricultural Development Agency (MFA & DA), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP),

Food for Work Programme (FFWP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), and so on.

Troubles

Despite all the effort of the government, not much impact has been made on poverty situation in rural area through the centrally sponsored schemes. The programmes appear to be quite a success if one looks at the statistics relating to the targets and achievements in conditions of the number of SCs, STs and women sheltered and assets distributed. But the qualitative impact of the programme has been minimal.

6.8.3 Industrial Growth Strategy

The Indian economy before 1947 presented the features of an underdeveloped country integrated into world capitalism as it was a colony of the British. This is apparent from a study of its national income through industrial origin, occupational sharing of work force, stages of saving and investment, stages of technology, nature and pattern of agricultural production, pattern of industrial output and imbalanced regional development. All these were the outcomes of the dual economic structure of the country resulting from British colonial policy and the predominance of British capital in India.

The government's intervention to promote economic development of the country was based on the need for industrial growth in the country. This policy of economic development through giving priority to industrial development was necessitated through the state of the Indian economy and the consequent troubles of the country on the eve of political independence. Specifically, industrial growth was needed to overcome the predominance of agricultural activities in the economy and stagnancy of agricultural production (leading to lack of self-sufficiency in food granules), tackle the widespread and rising unemployment problem, and the adverse foreign trade circumstances for primary goods exporting countries and overcome the lack of a capital base, the lack of infrastructural facilities for investment and the general stagnancy of the stages of economic activity and standards of living.

Critique of Industrial Policy

Industrial development of backward economies like India could not be left to the market economy. The required infrastructure and capital base, supply of willing and capable entrepreneurs, asset preferences in favour of equity investment, supply of wage-goods for urbanization, and so on were all unfavourable. Moreover, large sectors of the economy were survival economy in nature and, so, largely out of the market economy. For these and other causes, it was inevitable that the industrial development of the country necessitated the intervention of the State. Intervention through the State, though, could take the form of either strengthening the market economy or replacing/supplanting it through centralized planning. India opted for a mixed economic system but its direction was not towards progressively strengthening it.

6.9 Conclusion

Policy intervention and policy making is quite a long process. In India there is a single implementing agency which tries having a complete understanding of situations, conditions of the society, decides on a set of objectives to be achieved and agrees towards fulfilling them through any means. There is also continued communication among the coordinators like state government and local government officials with the centre yet the problems faced during policy intervention in India prior and as well as post policy implementation phase stand numerous. Even with a relatively good administrative structure, public policy often does not have its intended impact due to conceptual and political problems. Intervention from the government sometimes leads to shortfall due to insufficiency of the requisite resources such as time, material, money or manpower. Apart from resources, the political leadership in both the national and the state level is another crucial force behind being failure in spite of intervention. Thus, for effective success of the intervening machinery, there must be such goals decided as legislation which mandates policy objectives that are clear and consistent or at least provides substantive criteria for resolving conflicts. There must be maximum probability that implementing officials will perform as desired for the target groups. Adequate resource and expenditure has to be sanctioned by the government for the target population and then even after implementing laws, plans, policies, the intervening aspect of the government should be carried on. However, as none of these steps are easy, the evaluation of policies must be set as an alternate opportunity for re-planning of better policies and better intervention.

6.10 Self Assessment questions

a) What are public interventions?

b) Is there any difference between policy implementation and policy intervention?

c) Explain the types of policy interventions.

d) What steps are involved in deciding for a policy intervention process?

e) Give some examples of major governmental policy intervention in India. Cite few case studies.

6.11 Suggested Readings

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Unit-7

Politics of Policy Evaluation

Contents

7.1   Objectives

The prime objectives of this unit are to make the learner to understand

- The meaning, nature, and significance of policy evaluation;
- The types and approaches to policy evaluation;
- The role of evaluating agencies in policy evaluation;
- Rationale of politics in policy evaluation

7.2 Introduction

For a modern democratic Polity and society, there is no problem which is more momentous than developing rational, responsive and goal-oriented policy. Once the policy is formulated, with the contribution

of both the governmental and nongovernmental agencies, it is put to execution. At the stage of policy implementation also, several channels and agencies involved in it work for achieving the stated objectives of the policy. The outputs of the policy bring to light certain outcomes, which in other words could be said as the impact of the policy. Policy impact is of crucial importance in the overall policy creation process. 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 creation itself. It is a means policy makers through which get the relevant information and knowledge concerning a policy problem, in relation to the relative purposefulness and effectiveness of past and prevailing strategies for addressing, reducing or eliminating the problem, and concerning the observed effectiveness of specific policies. Because of such knowledge and information, uncertainty and risk in policy creation is reduced, administrative accountability in a tangible manner is enhanced, and administrative control in excess of 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 several issues for creation of policies and putting these on policy agenda after viewing the several alternatives from dissimilar angles and therefore selecting the ones best required in accordance with the need of time and society.

During the mid and later half of the twentieth century, we witnessed intense concern towards evaluative studies with the help of better scientific methods, inter-disciplinary approaches and use of electronic data processing systems. Many observers of the functioning of government tend to think that policies may be improved upon, and inefficiencies and mal-administration can and be corrected on the basis-of scientific policy evaluation. However, a viable evaluation of policies and action is a difficult exercise in itself. Sometimes it is fraught with political implications.

7.3 Nature and Significance of Policy Evaluation

The term evaluation embraces a wide range of activities. Evaluations are undertaken in all spheres of life, in informal or formal ways. A distinction is made between the activities of appraisal, monitoring and evaluation. 'Appraisal' is usually taken to mean a critical examination of a policy normally before the latter is approved for implementation and funding. Both monitoring and evaluation are undertaken to find out how a programme performs or has performed. Monitoring primarily covers issues of finance, and quality pertaining to inputs and outputs as well as actors, and time used in implementation. Usually, monitoring encompasses some current assessment of the progress of a project, including difficulties in obtaining the expected results; these may possibly be analyzed more thoroughly in some subsequent evaluation. 'Evaluation' is a more systematic and scientific attempt with emphasis on impacts and efficiency, effectiveness, relevance, reliability and sustainability. Rossi and Freeman (1993) specify it as a systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualization, design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programmes.

Policy evaluation can be briefly described as a procedure that appraises the worthwhileness of a policy, and considers the special context and political and economic variables of the situation. For example,

evaluation research may pinpoint the extent to which the goals of a policy are achieved besides identifying the constraints associated with it. Poor results obviously imply lack of effectiveness and efficiency. However, policy evaluation may suggest changes in policy to obtain desired results. Evaluation research also assumes that the programme can be scrapped, if it is not effective. For a policy maker, policy evaluation is a means of getting the relevant information and knowledge regarding policy problems, the effectiveness of past, and prevailing strategies for reducing or eliminating the problems so as to improve the effectiveness of specific policies. Thus, uncertainty and risk in policy-making are reduced because of such knowledge and information, administrative accountability is enhanced, and administrative control over policy is appropriately increased. Policy evaluation, thus, plays a significant role that starts right from the identification of various policy issues and selecting of the best course out of the various alternatives. Over the years, public policy evaluation has become more sophisticated. From simple analysis of the outcomes and cost-benefit analysis, it has developed its own methodology. Built on the basic principles of maximizing income minus costs, new methodology is also focusing on non-monetary policy outcomes measuring retarding factors, equity, effectiveness, organizational and human factors and so on. Policy evaluation has also become more proactive rather than reactive. Sometimes, it is too late to wait for the outcome of policies after their implementation. As a result, there is an increasing trend towards using preadoption projections or deductive modeling rather than just post-adoption before and after analysis. Moreover, policy evaluation is becoming increasingly inter-disciplinary, drawing on a variety of disciplinary sources for ideas as to means or policies for achieving given goals. Policy evaluation is increasingly using the components of political science, economics, sociology, psychology, law, public administration, business administration, statistics, social work and so on. Thus, there has been an increasing use of behavioral sciences as well as technology.

7.4 Types of Evaluation

Daniel Lerner has talked about the following three types of evaluation:

7.4.1 Process Evaluation

Primarily while evaluating a policy, there are two questions with which one is concerned with. First, whether a specific policy has been implemented in accordance with the policy guidelines issued at the time of policy creation or not. Such an evaluation is recognized as Process Evaluation. It centers on two points: whether or not the policy has been directed at the appropriate and - specified target group or target area; and whether or not the dissimilar 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 significant because in the absence of specific knowledge and information concerning the policy goals, objectives, target groups, and target areas, it is hard to evaluate the outcomes of the policy outputs. Second, the required intervention strategies for the implementation 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.

7.4.2 Impact Evaluation

The first question one is confronted with is concerning 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 conditions of goals attained or not of the policy. The circumstances prevailing before the implementation of the policy and after that are reviewed in order to bring to fore the impact of the policy. "In conditions of impact evaluation, a design is required that allows the investigator, in a persuasive method, to demonstrate that the changes that occur are a function of the scrupulous programme intervention and treatment and not accountable for in other methods."

7.4.3 Comprehensive Evaluation

Comprehensive evaluation is the culmination of both the process and impact evaluation explained above. In fact, it is hard to create an objective evaluation without taking into consideration the process 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 significant administrative functions, they are of enormous significance. Though, from the stand point of public policy, it is comprehensive evaluation which is more useful.

7.5 Politics of Policy Evaluation

Debate about the political and ethical dimensions of policy evaluation did not emerge as a serious academic endeavour until the 1980s. Until then, policy evaluation was regarded as a specialised application of social science research and, as such, was presumed to conform to the politically neutral and scientifically ethical position of all researchers. Although Macdonald (1977) had already asserted that 'the political stance of the evaluator has consequences for his choice of techniques of information gathering and analysis', Sieber's work (1980) offered one of the more concentrated discussions of ideological and ethical issues in relation to policy evaluation as an investigative exercise in its own right. Later, the work of Guba and Lincoln (1987) drew attention to the development of policy evaluation in their analysis of the different evolutionary stages through which it had progressed.

Efforts to re-construct the role of evaluators stems largely from discontent amongst researchers about what is understood to be the pernicious influence of political power groups upon the autonomy and utility of evaluators. Chelimsky (1987) urges evaluators to be aware of the 'politics of evaluation.... We must be useful to others if we are to be successful' and there is a need to understand the political system in which each evaluation operates and the information needs of policy actors who use evaluation.

'Being useful to others' is probably an uncontestable aspiration of most evaluators and an expectation shared by those who commission evaluation. If evaluation is regarded as an aid to decision-making, then we

have to ask forevidence of its impact upon policy. Weiss (1979) has argued that the influence of evaluation studies upon government policy is subtle and cannot be subjected to a short-term analysis of research findings upon decision-making. Results may permeate the policy making process rather than have an immediate, recognizable effect. The prior questions, however, in prescribing a policy-impact role upon evaluators are whether the evaluation is useful for all interest groups and, if so, in what way is it useful. Secondly, do those who act as evaluators care whether the findings are useful or not? Veney and Kaluzny (1984) refer to a number of possible reasons why evaluation findings might not be used:

- Timeliness - the results of the evaluation take too long to be produced. Things have moved on and the findings now seem 'stale.'

- Relevance - this might be the result of what the organisation sees as tardy feedback from evaluators and/or the results are timely but have little potential for influencing decisions.

- Generality - evaluations are sometimes so narrowly focused that they neglect factors that have a bearing on the overall context. For example, school lunch programmes are not simply about nutrition; they also provide socialising and employment opportunities. In some cases, evaluation commissioners might use data generated by the evaluation but ignore possible findings that could have had a bearing on decision-making.

- Cost - while the findings are relevant and timely, the resource implications of implementing the required action are prohibitive. It would, however, be ingenuous to assume that all commissioned evaluation is predicated on the need for positive action of some sort.

As Hedrick (1988) has pointed out, many studies are initiated primarily to confirm existing beliefs or an existing policy position. Similarly, commissioning an evaluation study may be used as a delaying tactic when policy makers are reluctant to take action. Furthermore, it must not be taken for granted that the explicit programme objectives which are often dictated by government departments for evaluators to 'run with' are, in fact, the primary motivation for commissioning an evaluation report.

As supporting evidence for this statement, Veney and Kaluzny cite the Medicaid and Medicare programmes in the USA which purported to be aimed at reducing social injustices in access to medical care but which, according to Veney and Kaluzny, were instituted for political reasons.

7.5.1 The Evaluator as a Neutral Researcher

Hedrick's espousal of politics as a force helping to develop and sustain evaluation as a research enterprise goes some way to acknowledging the process and product of evaluation as ends in themselves; evaluation as a model of 'pure research.' Within this paradigm, Hedrick emphasizes the need for 'neutrality' in this way, it is extremely important that applied researchers maintain the same neutral posture as that of the basic scientific researcher. The line between advocate and information provider for a program or issue cannot be a fuzzy one. Researchers may be advocate for the responsible use of their results, but not for political objectives.

Chelimsky (1987) also stresses the need for objectivity and insists that 'the main value to policy in the long run is not its capacity for political influence but its contribution of systematic, independent, critical thinking to the decision making process.' Evaluators need to understand the political system in which evaluation operates and the information needs of those policy actors who use evaluation. Providing systematic, independent, critical thinking is not, however, necessarily compatible with being 'useful to others.' As almost always the key stakeholders in terms of the capacity to make decisions, agencies that commission evaluation studies are free to reject research findings. Furthermore, it would be something of a travesty to argue that politicians and senior executives are politically motivated whereas evaluators are or should be politically impartial. The Labour government which commissioned research into the health of the British population by regions, was voted out of office before the eventual Black Report of 1980 was published. The incoming Conservative administration chose not to act upon any of the findings, which revealed marked disparities in health status and access to health services across different regions and social classes. The results of the report would have been very useful to a government ideologically disposed towards reducing inequalities in health and health care. To the particular government in power, the findings were not useful because the results were out of accord with a political commitment looking at ways in which the National Health Service could function more economically. 'Usefulness' is clearly in the eye of the beholder. The proposition could also be put that those who constituted the committee, of which Sir Douglas Black was chairman, were selected for their sympathetic alliance with Labour policy and the findings would, therefore, inevitably supply information that conformed to the image of society held by those in power. In other words, it is possible, that certain researchers might refuse to offend their paymasters and will therefore seek not to 'discover' but to 'prove.'

7.5.2 Positive and Negative Aspects of the Political Dimension of Policy Evaluation

To deal with the negative aspects first of all, we can refer to the work of Hedrick (1988).He draws attention to some of the pressures sometimes exerted on evaluators. One is the short time-frame known in some marketing circles as a 'quick and dirty job.' This situation is likely to confront those carrying out an evaluation with a dilemma. In this context, Karlsson (1996) and Hedrick (1988), noted that political pressure may be exerted to complete the evaluation within a short time, to use the results selectively and to delay or suppress a report.

According to Colin Palfrey and Paul Thomas, the role of evaluators they should accept the reality and rationality of the political world. There are, however, what might be termed higher level responses which derive their own rationality from deeply held values. The idea that evaluators become advocates for the downtrodden and disadvantaged is contestable and we shall address this matter later. But that evaluators should be 'neutral' in an ethical or political sense is also problematic because even if evaluators try to be neutral, their influence is unlikely to be evenly distributed among the stakeholders.

As a counterbalance to adverse critiques of the influence of politics on the results and process of evaluations, Hedrick asserts that politics can have a positive influence. Although many evaluation studies are intended to act as a form of external confirmation of existing practice and policies, Hedrick suggests that

the act of commissioning evaluation creates resources for this type of research and provides opportunities to generate additional information that is consistent or inconsistent with the prevailing viewpoint. Second, it gives an opportunity to expand knowledge about a social programme or problem. Adversarial politics also ensures the existence of organisational entities that conduct such studies since political opponents are unlikely to accept each other's findings. In short, according to Hedrick, politics can stimulate good quality evaluation work.

7.6 Conclusion

Concerns about social justice can be expressed and acted upon within the boundaries of the evaluation process. The character of the research design and data collection methods will be influenced by the evaluator's own ideological stance. Action research, involving continuous feedback to all participants and an inclusive approach to stakeholder involvement in the evaluation - not least in determining the most appropriate and acceptable design and methods at the outset, reflects a commitment to the principle of democracy. Attempts at predetermining the results and impact of the evaluation are manifestly at odds with the ethics of research, whether this be in line with a positivist or phenomenological paradigm.

For an evaluator to become an advocate of social justice in terms of a tendentious assertion of desired uses of the research findings, is impractical and ethically questionable. Resolution of potential conflicts is a matter of shaping the research process according to the logic of research design and not the application of the data to a political agenda. Evaluation takes place within a political context but it would be arrogant of those carrying out the evaluation to plead their own cause as primary amongst a diversity of stakeholders.

7.7 Self Assessment Questions

a) What is public policy evaluation?

b) What are the types of policy evaluation?

c) Who are the stakeholders of policy evaluation?

d) What should be the role of policy evaluators?

e) Write a detailed note on the impact of politics in policy evaluation.

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Unit-8

Democratizing the Policy Process

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Contents

8.1 Objectives

The major objectives of this unit are as follows:-

a) To understand what kinds of environment is needed for policy formulation,

b) To know how policies are made and implemented,

c) To explore the relationship between politics and good policy making,

d) To comprehend how democratic practice affects the democratization process of public policy,

e) To know what is required in the post-pandemic world concerning public policymaking.

8.2 Introduction

The term 'policy process' suggests that there is some sort of a system that translates policy ideas into actual policies that are implemented and have positive effects (Chakrabarty and Chand, 2016). Public policies affect every single moment of our lives. Public policy involves actions taken by politicians, public officials and public institutions to meet the challenges of real-world issues. The main idea of creating policy is to improve life for members of the public. Any government democratic or authoritarian engages in a policy-making process with a certain goal. It is believed that democracy produces good policies for the public. On the contrary, an authoritarian regime adopts policies based on the ruler's choices. Democracy is a great ideal that must prevail in every sphere of society. We often judge democracy on the ground of elections, the presence of opposition, independent media and so on, but beyond this, some other perspectives need to be looked at for a better understanding of the true nature of a democratic government. One of the important perspectives for policy analysts would be to study the process of policymaking and to a greater extent to know how different actors interact in this process.

A government consists of three branches: legislature, executive and judiciary. All of these branches are somehow indispensably involved in the policymaking process. And the government functions in a political system and the latter operates within an environment. Policymaking cannot be understood adequately in isolation from the environment in which it takes place. The political process relates to its environment as much as a plant or animal does, and it is both influenced by and influences its environment. A democratic environment is arguably considered conducive for effective policy formulation. This is because in a democratic environment all actors involved in the policy process get opportunities for interaction and are capable influencing of each other. In a public policy two ends exist, provider and receiver. Therefore, interaction and communication between these two ends hold key for people-friendly policymaking.

According to David Easton's system analysis, a political system consists of 'inputs' and 'outputs.' Input takes the form of 'demands' and 'supports' and output means the 'decisions.' The support derives from the satisfaction of the outputs of the system. However, it is the responsibility of government agencies to satisfy the public with its decisions and policies. Almond and Powell in their structural-functional analysis argued that, in order to understand a political system, it is necessary to understand not only its institutions (or structures) but also their respective functions. According to them for system's persistence seven functions are to be performed: political socialization and recruitment; interest articulation; interest aggregation; political communication; rule-making; rule application; and rule adjudication. The first four falls under the 'inputs' function and the last three belongs to the 'output' functions. A careful examination might show that all of these functions may be disturbed if the democratic practice is not ensured. It is in fact, a 'burden of democracy.' Democratic practice is possibly the best way to eradicate 'democratic deficits.' Such deficits are seen highly where low political culture exists. Almond and Verba in 'The Civic Culture' highlighted three types of political culture based on the level of political participation and the nature of the public's attitudes towards politics. These are parochial, subject and participant. In parochial culture, citizens have neither knowledge nor interest in politics or public affairs. Whereas in subject culture, citizens, though aware of politics or affairs that affect them, has little scope

for dissent. But citizens can influence government decisions and policy in participant political culture. So the latter is extremely important to curb democratic deficits. However, both the internal and external environment of a democratic political system influences the public policy process.

Democracy is a form of government in which the people have the authority to deliberate and decide legislation or to choose governing officials to do so. The former is called direct democracy and the latter is called representative democracy. Democratic ideals represent various aspects of the broad idea of 'government of the people, by the people and for the people. They include political characteristics that can be seen to be intrinsically important in terms of the objective of democratic social living, such as freedom of expression, participation of the people in deciding on the factors governing their lives, public accountability of leaders, and equitable distribution of power. Democratic institutions go beyond these basic intents and include such instrumental arrangements as constitutional rights, effective courts, responsive electoral systems, functioning parliaments and assemblies, open and free media, and participatory institutions of local governance (such as panchayats and gram sabhas) (Dreze and Sen, 2002). According to Dreze and Sen, democratic institutions provide opportunities for achieving democratic ideals and these are realized through democratic practice. Democratic practice depends on the extent of political participation, public awareness, and the vigour of the opposition, the nature of political parties and popular organizations, and various determinants of the distribution of power. Both democratic institutions and democratic practice are important in achieving democracy in the fuller sense, but the presence of the former does not guarantee the latter (ibid).

Public policy in India is best seen as an outcome of democratic practice. Democratic practice is a more exacting process that is ultimately more effective and appropriate. It is also essential to clarify the goals and priorities of public policy (Dreze, 2017). In a recent book, Dreze mentioned "koilawalas" (coal guys) who are prominently seen in BIMARU states in India. BIMARU is an acronym formed from the first letters of the names of the Indian states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. It was coined by Ashish Bose in the mid-1980s. The Hindi word BIMARU is meant 'sick.' This was used to refer to the poor economic conditions within those states. This acronym does not have the currency what it had in the 1980s and 1990s as these states have advanced to some extent in terms of development imperatives. Nevertheless, poor development policies and lack of political commitment were the prime setbacks for their poor economic conditions. However, coal guys steal coal and sell it in the markets of cities for a living. Why are they in such a situation? Dreze says the only answer is "chance". Perhaps a few of them drank or gambled away their land, but most are in that situation for no fault of their own. They were born in a poor family of the wrong caste, suffered from undernutrition in childhood, did not get a chance to study, and so on. In a different environment, they might have become geologists, engineers, artists or hockey champions. But they never had a chance (ibid). Taking his views, it could be argued here that creating a 'chance' or opportunity for the underprivileged sections of the society is a responsibility of the government whom the people have given the right to govern. Thus, public policymaking as a process must consider social and economic factors of the environment.

8.3 Policy Process

The 'policy' is a plan of action agreed to or chosen by a legitimate political authority. In the modern state system, the government enacts such policies based on the demand and pressures from within and outside of a political system in a given society. More precisely, policies are government statements of what it intends to do or not to do, including law, regulation, ruling, decision, or order (Birkland, 2001). Policies are major instruments that are carefully formulated to move society towards the goal (Bhattacharya, 2000). In a society, policy emerges for different sectors and each sector will want their members to get maximum benefits from such policies. A government policy is an outcome of demand and pressure from the public. It takes various forms and is a product of the political system. Policymaking is a process or in other words, we can call it the 'policy cycle.' In the policymaking process, three main features can be identified. First, policymaking occurs in presence of multiple constraints like shortage of time and resources, public opinion and of course the constitution. Second, policymaking involves the existence of various policy processes. Governments are not unitary actors but consist of different departments that overlap and compete with each other. Third, these policy processes form an infinite cycle of decisions and policies (Knill and Tosun, 2008).

Harold Lasswell, an important figure in the development of policy sciences at the University of Chicago and Yale University in the 1950s, created a policymaking model still used today. Public policies are crafted by legislature, executive and judiciary and are evaluated by policy analysts, experts, media and political leaders. It involves different stages, and can be summarized into the following:

a) **Problem identification:** The first step is to identify the problem regarding which the government has to intervene in the form of a public policy. This might be identified by the government via various means, such as general identification, public protests, through the media etc.

b) **Agenda setting:** This step helps policymakers decide the agenda of problems to be addressed. Types of agendas include:

Systematic agendas - comprise all issues that policymakers find worthy of attention.

Institutional agendas - analyze problems and their solutions within a time boundary.

Discretionary agendas - address problems that are chosen by legislators and haven't been included in the former ones.

Decision agendas - contain the finalized list of issues to be moved to the next phase of the policy-making cycle.

c) **Policy formulation:** It involves the proposal of solutions to issues raised in the agenda. The process of policy formulation involves policymakers discussing and suggesting various methods to correct the issues raised by the agenda. Various methods and paths towards framing the most apt policy are considered, and finally, the most effective policy is chosen, on the basis of two factors: the policy must be an effective, reliable and implementable way to solve issues; and it must be politically feasible.

d) **Policy adoption:** This is the stage through which the finalized policy is adopted by government authorities for implementation. It must be adopted by relevant institutions of the government to be put into effect.

e) **Policy implementation:** This step involves the practical implementation of the theoretical proposal of the policy. The success of the implementation of a policy is evaluated according to:

   i. Whether it is communicated accurately from the creator of the policy to the bureaucratic governing body.

   ii. Whether the policy is clear, concise, and easy to interpret for the public.

   iii. Whether the resources used in the implementation integrate with the existing processes and agencies, not causing them extensive disruption, competition or conflict.

f) **Policy evaluation:** Policies may be evaluated and analyzed critically at various levels. Research and extensive studies are also conducted to analyze the success of the implemented policies. Policy analysts, politicians and the media play significant roles in evaluating the policies that are implemented. On evaluation, policies may be found to be either successful or failures. A policy may have a poor outcome due to errors in identifying the problem, faults in formulating the policy and inaccurate implementation of the policy. Therefore, there is always a bright scope of improvement in every stage of the policy process.

8.4 Actors in Policy Making

It must be known that who are involved in the policy process. The policy process involves a variety of key stakeholders. Individuals, institutions and agencies are engaged in the policy process are called actors. The government is often thought of to be the only entity involved in policymaking. The government does have the ultimate decision making and funding power, but many other actors also contribute to public policymaking, often in a network on which government relies for the delivery of complex policy goals. Broadly, actors in policymaking can be categorized into two: official and unofficial policymakers.

a) **Government:** It is well known to the students of political science and public administration that a government consists of legislature, executives and judiciary. The government is the highest legitimate body in a political system to formulate welfare policies for the public. Why a government is required in public life? Simply, because we cannot resolve our problems or conflict on our own. In a modern democracy, people form governments through political participation which control individual, group and institutions' behaviour. It sometimes uses coercive power through state apparatus to maintain order and harmony in the society.

b) **Cabinet:** The concept of government is broader. It is the cabinet that takes a decision on behalf of the government. A very few, but powerful political executives get a place in the cabinet. They are influential leaders of the ruling party and close to the chief of the government.

c) **Public servants:** Political executives do not work on a permanent basis. They are elected by the people for a short period; it may be four or five years in general. On the other, public servants or officials are recruited permanently. Having technical knowledge, they give policy advice and provide services to the people.

d) **Political parties:** Develop relationships in exchange for political support.

e) **Media:** Report information to the public, generate interest, and form public opinion.

f) **Interest groups:** Seek to advance interests of members, can have a major influence and can force policy networks to react.

g) **Legal system:** Interpret laws and acts independently and

h) **Public:** Elects the government, forms opinions, joins interest groups and coalitions and relies on the media for information.

8.5 Democratizing the Policy Process

A policy is good when it is implemented effectively. Even the most well-intended and well-thought-out policies may not have an impact if they are not implemented properly (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011). The real problem of development is not one of figuring out good policies. It is to sort out the political process. If the politicians are right, good policies will eventually emerge. And conversely, without good politicians, it is impossible to design or implement good policies, at least not on any scale (ibid). However, in practice, the implementation of community participation and decentralization matters quite a lot. Although there is scope for improvement in accountability and corruption even within the framework of generally "bad" institutions, there is, conversely, no guarantee that the good institutions necessarily work well in practice. Once again, it depends on how they operate on the ground (ibid). Good intentions are probably a necessary ingredient for good policies. Very bad policies are sometimes born out of the best of intentions, because of a misreading of what the real problem is. Hence, governments have a greater role in identifying problem areas. Governments exist to a large extent to solve problems that markets cannot solve - we have already seen that in many instances government intervention is necessary precisely when, for some reason, the free market cannot do the job. So the government actions should be directed towards the betterment of public life. Only an accountable, responsive and transparent governance system could ensure the making of good policies for the public. Public policies should not always intend at vote bank or re-election aspirations.

Democracy will always need more democratization. Democratic norms and values are supposed to provide effective solutions to the problems of the public. Anywhere in the world, some common standards could be easily recognized as prerequisites for better governance. The General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) proclaimed 15th September as the 'International Day of Democracy.' Democracy is a core value of the United Nations. The UN supports democracy by promoting human rights, development, and

peace and security. It promotes good governance and supports civil society to strengthen democratic institutions and accountability. However, the UN does not advocate for a specific model of government but promotes democratic governance as a set of values and principles that should be followed for greater participation, equality, security and human development. Democracy provides an environment that respects human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in which the freely expressed will of people is exercised. People have a say in decisions and can hold decision-makers to account. For several years, the UN General Assembly and the former Commission on Human Rights endeavoured to draw on international human rights instruments to promote a common understanding of the principles and values of democracy. In 2002, the Commission declared the following as essential elements of democracy:

a) Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

b) Freedom of association,

c) Freedom of expression and opinion,

d) Access to power and its exercise in accordance with the rule of law,

e) The holding of periodic free and fair elections by universal suffrage and by secret ballot as the expression of the will of the people,

f) A pluralistic system of political parties and organizations,

g) The separation of powers,

h) The independence of the judiciary,

i) Transparency and accountability in public administration and

j) Free, independent and pluralistic media.

Democracy is the most acknowledged form of governance worldwide since the 1950s onwards. Further, since the publication of the World Bank report entitled "Governance and Development" in 1992, mere governance is not enough for human development; rather the idea of 'good governance' has received greater attention in public administration. According to the WB, good governance is a way of measuring how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in a preferred way. It is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). According to former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan "Good governance is ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law; strengthening democracy; promoting transparency and capacity in public administration." However, a democratic political system is usually reflected in its policymaking process. The democratic policy process is more seriously threatened when the interests of professional representatives depart systematically from that of their constituency and when the electoral mechanism is too weak to compel representatives to respond to the interests of citizens who use political power to advance their ends (Fung, 2006). As a global body, the United Nations advocates for democracy and it wants that its members must practice democracy while making policies for its citizens. The twenty-first century is also the century of democracy and rising people's

power demanding transparency, openness, and participation in governance. For quick response to the dynamic citizens' demands, administrative leadership should be more encouraged. Administrative leadership defines the responsibilities and accountability clearly. It provides opportunities to the citizens in the cooperative decision-making process for the success of the citizen-centric governance and public service delivery system (Kundu, 2021). The concept of citizen-centric governance highlights the quintessential idea of democracy. People's participation in governance can also be seen as the demand side of citizen-centric administration (ibid).

Larason and Ingram put forward the concept of 'democratic citizenship' in public policy discourse. Democratic citizenship refers to the characteristics and actions that people should exhibit in a democracy if they are to be considered worthy and deserving of the privileges and rights of society. Because democracies are self-governing entities, their citizens are expected to support the values and engage in the behaviour needed to sustain a democratic way of life. Democratic citizenship also refers to the ways the society and its public policies should treat people - namely, that all are created equal and entitled to equal rights, to equal opportunity, and to equal inclusion in membership of the nation (Larason and Ingram, 2007). Policy affects citizen attitudes and behaviours through explicit "citizenship education" initiatives.   Nevertheless, there are some universal indications by which we may notice the democratization process in policy-making like decentralization, public opinion, citizen participation, strong parliament and accountability.

8.5.1 Decentralization

Decentralization is the dispersal or transferring of decision-making power to the lower levels of the organization. It is the delegation of authority on decision-making function closer to the people (Kundu, 2021). According to Cheema-Rondinelli, 'Decentralization now encompasses not only the transfer of power, authority, and responsibility within government but also the sharing of authority and resources for shaping public policy within society' (cited in Bhattacharya, 2011). Decentralization is just the opposite of the centralization of power that is prominently seen in authoritarian political systems. In a democracy, distribution of power has to be ensured by the policymakers, if not, there would be a higher possibility of avoiding public accountability. In general, local people to a great magnitude get the opportunity to express themselves in decentralized governance. In federal systems like India and United States, policies are made and implemented at national, state and local levels. Every unit is empowered to make new policies or implement them within their respective boundaries. With regard to national policy success, all these units have an important role in the implementation of policies. Different stakeholders get opportunities in the decision-making process in a decentralized system.

8.5.2 Public Opinion

The quality of citizen preferences in democracies depends in large measure upon the quality of the institutions of the public sphere - media and secondary associations - through which political perspectives and debates reach citizens. In order to contribute to the articulation of popular preferences, deliberative and participatory efforts should seek to involve as many citizens as possible. The public opinion takes a critical

role in politics. Whatever is the form of the political system, public opinion always exists, but only in a democratic political environment does it act as an influential force. Public opinion helps decision-makers to realize the requirements of the society and it is a basic need in a democracy for effective functioning. Democracy permits public opinion flourish. In this case, political parties, civil society organizations, media that includes print, electronic and today's social media are actively but indirectly involved in policy demand and policy interpretation.

8.5.3 Citizen Participation

Greater citizen participation needs to be ensured to facilitate public-friendly policy formulation. People must be enthusiastic and be aware of the social, economic and political issues in the country and raise their concerns through different available ways. Today, citizen participation in governance mainly happens at the time of elections. During the election, people can exercise their choices in electing their representatives. In today's representative democracy, people cannot directly influence the government policy-making process; rather they are to reach their local representatives to address issues. If there is such an environment, policies would be more effective as well as democratic.

8.5.4 Accountability

Political representatives, public officials and institutions are accountable for policy formulation and its alleged failures. Citizens give legitimacy to a government by voting and the onus of good policymaking rests on the decision-makers. Participatory and deliberative forums in which citizens engage with each other and with officials can strengthen popular accountability.

8.5.5 Strong Parliament

A strong parliament does not mean only a strong government. It is much broader. The presence of strong oppositions in the parliament is highly significant which provides a guard towards not being authoritarian while making policies for the public. It is said that in a democracy, the opposition political party always keeps vigilance over the activities of the ruling party. They have critical roles at the time of discussion and debate on the bills and pressing issues. It could be easily argued that opposition makes parliament stronger everywhere. It is seen where and when parliament is weak, the government takes the opportunity of passing bills in an undemocratic manner. For example, during the pandemic, governments of many countries including India in the absence of physical meetings or regular sessions in the houses of the legislature took the opportunities of emergency and disaster management acts and subsequently without any debate and discussion take unitary decisions on several public issues which in a democracy must be discussed in the houses of the legislature.

8.6 Conclusion: Public Policies in a Post-Pandemic World

What changes the global community is going to witness in the post-pandemic world is a fundamental question and quite debated at academic and commercial forums since the spread of the Covid-19 virus that

all countries have been battling for the last two years. Most of the countries' health policy has proved to be inadequate to deal with this invisible foe. The event is an eye opener for all nations. The pandemic already killed 50 lakhs people across the globe and health infrastructure and capacity of every country even United States, China, Canada, Italy were seen hapless to cope with the health crisis. India saw the worst humanitarian crisis ever after 1947 partition. Millions of people have been jobless and were in deplorable circumstance due to poor management of the situation. Therefore, states are forced to restructure or formulate new policies for health and economic sectors. In earlier days, epidemics were considered something outside of human responsibility. But today it is an issue of research, development and management. Development policies in the age of information and technology have achieved a lot of implausible things, yet when Covid-19 hit, America's medical emergency system crashed. The United States alone devotes almost three-quarters of a trillion dollars to its defense budget every year. And, yet were unprepared to defend against a tiny microbe (Zakaria, 2020). In his noted book, Zakaria presented ten lessons that should be remembered and exercised in the post-pandemic world for better governance at national and global level. One of the significant lessons he raised is that what matters is not the quantity of government but the quality. He says, for the twentieth century, the great political debate was about the size and role of government in the economy - the quantity of government. But what seems to have mattered most in this crisis was the quality of government (ibid). He moreover, claimed that "markets are not enough" to deal with such emergent crises. Markets have always a profit motive; it does not bother about poor, weak and incapable individuals and sections. It has been very clear during the high waves of pandemic across the globe. In India, people have witnessed unimaginable incidents of patients' miseries while they were taken to private hospitals. Not only in the health sector, rather there is the urgent need for more funding and investment in education, employment, science and technology, climate change and disaster risk reduction.

Democratizing the policy process should be a need of the hour especially in the post-pandemic world. Here, capacity building of different institutions must be given priority by the policymakers, if not; there would be more and more democratic deficits. Democratic deficits like lack of public awareness, participation, weak civil-society organizations, weak opposition, chained media and the biased judiciary are the burdens of democracy. The policymaking process always goes through interaction between various groups, individuals, and organizations. If these groups get equal opportunities to share their concerns and are aware of how a policy is made would be good for democracy.

8.7 Summing Up

1. The term 'policy process' suggests that there is some sort of a system that translates policy ideas into actual policies that are implemented and have positive effects.

2. Policymaking cannot be understood adequately in isolation from the environment in which it takes place. The political process relates to its environment as much as a plant or animal does, and it is both influenced by and influences its environment. A democratic environment is arguably considered conducive for effective policy formulation. If public policymaking is a process, it must consider social and economic factors of the environment.

3. Democratic institutions provide opportunities for achieving democratic ideals and these are realized through democratic practice. Democratic practice depends on the extent of political participation, public awareness, and the vigour of the opposition, the nature of political parties and popular organizations, and various determinants of the distribution of power.

4. Public policies are crafted by legislature, executive and judiciary and are evaluated by policy analysts, experts, media and political leaders. The policy process involves a variety of key stakeholders. Individuals, institutions and agencies are engaged in the policy process and are called actors.

5. Good intentions are probably a necessary ingredient for good policies. Only an accountable, responsive and transparent governance system could ensure the making of good policies for the public. Public policies should not always intend at vote bank or re-election aspirations.

6. The concept of citizen-centric governance highlights the quintessential idea of democracy. People's participation in governance can also be seen as the demand side of citizen-centric administration.

7. There are some universal indications by which we may notice the democratization process in policy-making like decentralization, public opinion, citizen participation, strong parliament and accountability.

8. Democratizing the policy process should be a need of the hour especially in the post-pandemic world. Here, capacity building of different institutions must be given priority by the policymakers, if not; there would be more and more democratic deficits. Democratic deficits like lack of public awareness, participation, weak civil-society organizations, weak opposition, chained media and the biased judiciary are the burdens of democracy.

8.8 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What do you mean by 'policy environment'?
2. Critically examine the policy process and actors involved in policymaking.
3. Write a note on democratiging the policy process.
4. What is 'democratic deficit'? How such deficits can be eliminated?
5. What standards should be maintained while making policies for the public in the post-pandemic world?

8.9 Suggested Readings

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