Introduction

Etymologically, the term "policy" comes to us from Greek, Sanskrit, and Latin languages. The Greek and Sanskrit root *polis* (city-state) and *pur* (city) evolved into the Latin *politia* (State) and later, into the Middle English *policie*, which referred to the conduct of public affairs or the administration of Government. The etymological origins of policy are the same for two other important words*: police and politics. This is one of the reason why many of the modern languages, for example German and Russian, have only one word (*politik, politika*) to refer both to policy and politics.[1] A policy is a blue print which guides the Government for the achievement of desired goals. It may be defined as a public need assuming importance and as far as possible, appropriately assessed for its actual fulfillment. It involves an identified and definite public problem and the preparation of State to meet it in particular style. It conceives a line of action to achieve a certain result negative or positive and to refrain from acting on a specific issue or matter. Policy as a rule is the product of extensive study and intensive analysis of available data and information. Therefore, it is apparently believed to be superior function confined to the top layer of administration.[2]

The essence of public administration is policy making. Policies are vital for planning a course of action. They supply necessary guidelines which help in planning, implementing and realizing desired objectives and in keeping the activities of the objective within a prescribed frame work of action. Policies thus

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1 William N. Dunn, *Policy Analysis: An Introduction*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1981, p. 7.
2 S.N. Sadasivan, Dynamics of Public Policy , *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 1985, pp. 1204.

give meaning and form the objective. Although public policy has been a major concern of social scientist and the general public for a long time, there is considerable disagreement over what public policy is and what it is not. There are two standard definitions of public policy-one broader and one narrower. The narrower definition of public policy focuses on direct impact of specific governmental decision, the more comprehensive definition includes the governmental and non-governmental factors influencing those decisions.[3]

The term policy is a course of action adopted and pursued by a Government, party, etc.; any course of action adopted and pursued as advantageous or expedient. David Easton defines policy as the 'outputs' of the political system[4] and public policy as "the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society."[5] Anderson suggests that policy be regarded as "a relative stable purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern."[6]For Parson "a policy is an attempt to define and structure a rational basis for action or inaction.[7]Public policies are the policies adopted and implemented by Government bodies and officials. Public policies are formulated by what Easton calls the "authorities" in a political system, namely "eldors, paramount" chiefs, executives, legislatures, judges, administrators, counselors, monarchs and the like" according to him, these are the persons who " engage in the daily affairs of a political system", and are

3   Manas Chakrabarty and Aleya Mousami Sultana, Public Policy Making in India and the Schedule Caste, *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, Jan-March 2008, p. 192.
4   David Easton, An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, *World Politics*, Vol.9, No. 1, April 1957 p. 384.
5   David Easton, *The Political System*, New York: Knopf, 1953, p.129
6   James E. Anderson , *Public Policymaking: An Introduction*, 6th edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin,2006, p. 6.
7   W. Parsons, *Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Public Policy*, Chatham: Edward Elgar, 1995, p. 14.

"recognized by most members of the system as having responsibility for these matters" and take actions that are "accepted as binding most of the time by most of the members so long as they act within the limits of their role."[8]For Dye "public policy is whatever Government chooses to do or not to do"[9]

Policies may take various forms such as legislation, executive orders, or others official acts. A policy may be general or specific, broad or narrow, public or private, simple or complex, qualitative or quantitative, discretionary or detailed, explicit or implicit. From the view point of public policies, governmental activities can be classified in to two categories, such as: those based on

- Definite or specific policies; and
- Those based on general, vague and inconsistent policies.

Important public policies are often made more explicit, particularly where the issue of a law, a regulation, or a plan and the like is involved. The Supreme Court of India may, through its decisions, give new interpretations to some of the Articles of the Constitution which may amount to a new policy. Furthermore, policies are often too, vague or too general and are not always consistent with each other. In a turbulent environment, Government departments often have to take immediate action without reference to any specific policy. Public policies are mostly adopted formally by the Government authorities. A public policy may also be narrow, covering specific activity or it may spread to a wider range applied to all people in the country. Each level of Government may have its

8   David Easton, *A System Analysis of Political Life*, New York: Wiley, 1965, p. 212.
9   Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, 10th edition, Singapore: Pearson Education, Indian reprint, 2004, p. 1.

specific or general policies. Then there are mega policies. There are general guidelines to be followed by all specific policies. They are a kind of master policies according to Dror, "mega policies involve determination of the postures, assumptions, and main guidelines to be followed by specific policies. They are a kind of master policy, clearly distinct from detailed discrete policies, though these two pure types are on a continuum with many in between cases"[10]

"A public policy may be either positive or negative. Some form of overt governmental action may deal with a problem on which action is demanded (positive), or governmental official may decide to do nothing on some mater on which Government involvement was sought (negative)"[11]Public policies sometimes have a legally coercive quality that citizens accepts as legitimate. This legally coercive nature of public policies makes public organizations distinct from private organization. Public policies are designed to accomplish specified goals or produce definite result, although these are not always achieved. But Government can have a policy without any clear objective or purpose. Government can also adopt a policy which is so vague or general that it may become susceptible to various interpretations. While examining the policies of a Government together as whole, the multi-dimensional nature of goals and objectives become obvious. Sometimes Government adopted such contradictory policies to satisfy the demands of pressure groups and political parties.

Bureaucracy after Independence

The word 'bureaucracy' was coined in the 18th century to refer to "a State dominated by appointed officials". Max Weber, whose name is closely

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10   Yehezkel Dror, *Design for Policy Science*, New York: Elsevier, 1971, p.63.
11   James. E. Anderson, *Public Policy Making : An Introduction*, op. cit., p.9

associated with bureaucracy, has emphasized its indispensability for the rational attainment of the goals of an organization. He has advocated modern bureaucratic form of organization as it is based on legal –rational authority. In fact, it is the legal rational character of the bureaucracy that is supposed to determine the overall form and content of organizations in the present context. The rules, regulations, procedures, written documentation, impersonal norms, neutrality, anonymity, nonpolitical criterion of selection, training –all are expected to contribute to the strength of legal-rational framework of organization.[12]

Until 1947, India was a colonial territory and a polis State. The civil service established in the pre independence era was meant mainly to serve the foreign masters. Its primary task was preservation of law and order and collection of revenue. People and their welfare was not their concern. But later on when the country attained independence reaching the destiny of 'Welfare State' is the constitutionally mandated development objectives of the State in India. Article 38 of the Indian Constitution provides that "the State should promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice- social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of the national life." Part 4th of Indian Constitution which refers the Directive Principle of State Policy embody the objectives of the State under the Republican Constitution, namely, that it is to be a 'Welfare State 'and not a 'Polis State' these Articles 36-51 aim at the establishment of economic and social democracy pledged for in the Preamble of the Constitution. They

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12 Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* Talcott Parsons and A.M. Henderson, (tr.), New York: Free Press, 1969, pp.35-64.

emphasize that the goal of Indian polity is not unbridled laissez-faire but a Welfare State, where the State has a positive individual consistent with the unity and integrity of the nation by making them fundamental in governance and making of the laws of the country and the duty of the State to apply these principles. The founding father made it the responsibility of future Indian Government to find a middle way between individual liberty and public good, between preserving the property and privilege of the few and bestowing benefits on the many in order to liberate the powers of all men equally for contributions to common good.[13]

After independence, the Indian Government, both at the Center and the State, adopted policies for ensuring economic development and social justice for meeting the rising expectation of masses. This led to the increase in the size complexity of the Government operations and greater responsibility upon the shoulders of senior administrator as they have to respond positively to the process of economic development and social change. This resulted in the expansion and consolidation of formal powers in the hands of bureaucracy. Besides, it has left substantial discretionary powers with them as the rules and regulations are not extensive and elaborate enough to cover all matters. Moreover it created significant competence and expertise and in turn increase the effectiveness of the role of public officials who became experts on the problems. The observation of C.P. Bhambri on this aspect is worth to be noted which says: "from limited Government we have moved to the era of "big Government."….though "big Government" is a universal phenomenon but in the

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13   Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: The Cornerstone of a Nation*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1972, pp.37-38

developing countries it assumes special significance. "big Government" assumes "big bureaucracy" it is truism to say that the greater the area of public policy ,the greater is the role of implementation and service agencies" .[14]

In a parliamentary form of Government, authority is concentrated in the hand of Cabinet whose members are Member of Parliament and are responsible to it. Since, they normally swim and sink together; the system creates powerful motives for members to be united in putting Government policies in the Parliament. Thus in such a system, it is Cabinet which is potent directorate for the bureaucracy. Needless to mention that parliamentary regimes need bureaucratic support as they have to rely upon career officials to help them govern. These officials are expected to give priority to their governmental responsibilities with minimal extra governmental commitments as they have fixed tenure and assured income. No doubt, they also have their own interest and they exercise substantial political power as advisors to the Cabinet. In this regard Riggs has rightly pointed out that: In view of the reliance placed by the parliamentary Cabinet on career bureaucrats, it is understandable that these officials should exercise great influence over public policies, especially by "advising" their "masters".[15] Likewise, it would be worth recollecting the observations of Presthus that "the bureaucracy plays a more predominant role in the policy making function in a parliamentary system than in a presidential system."[16]

14 C.P. Bhambri, *Administrator in Changing Society*, Delhi: National, 1972, pp. 8-9.
15 Fred W. Riggs, Bureaucratic Links between Administration and Politics, in Ali Farazmand (ed.) *Handbook of Comparative and Development Administration*, New York: Marcel Dekker, 1991, pp. 494.
16 R.V. Presthus and William Monopoly, Bureaucracy in the United States and Canada: Social, Attitudinal and Behavioral Variables, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol.18, No.1-2, 1977, pp.176-190.

Policy Approaches and Models

The development of policy approaches or policy analysis goes to the notion that social problems could find their solution through the application of human reason and knowledge. A model involves the notion of constructing a boundary around reality which is shared, or held in common by a group of scholars or theorists. In the development of policy approach, the contribution of four scholars, namely, Harold Lasswell, David Easton, Charles Lindblom and Herbert Simon is far reaching.

Harold Lasswell's Policy Approach

The idea of modelling the policy process in terms of stages was first put forward by Lasswell. As a part of his attempt to establish a multidisciplinary and prescriptive policy science, Lasswell[17] introduced a model of the policy process comprised seven stages: intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal. The model itself has been highly successful as a basic framework for the field of policy studies and became the starting point of a variety of typologies of the policy process. Lasswell's understanding of the model of the policy process was more prescriptive and normative rather than descriptive and analytical. His linear sequence of the different stages had been designed like a problem solving model and accords with other prescriptive rational models of planning and decision making developed in organization theory and public administration.

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17   Harold D. Lasswell, *The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis*, Maryland: University of Maryland, 1956, pp. 6-13.

Lasswell's article set out the state of the policy sciences in 1970 in the first issue of the Journal of policy sciences,[18] and introduced the idea of knowledge of the policy process and in the policy process, and argued that the outlook of policy sciences is that they are

(a) Problem- oriented. This problem focus means that the subject aims to be (b) multi-disciplinary, and involved in the synthesis of (c) ideas and techniques.

One of the more distinctive qualities of the policy science approach was to be its interdisciplinary nature, and its openness to a variety of techniques and tools chosen on the basis of their appropriateness to a particular problem.

Lasswell defines the 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."[19]

Easton's Model of Policy Analysis

David Easton's[20] work constitutes an important contribution to the development of policy approaches and developed a model of the political system that greatly influenced the relationship between policy making, policy outputs and its wider environment. Estonian model is viewing the policy process in terms of conversion from inputs into policy outputs and then to outcomes.

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18   Harold D. Lasswell, The Emerging Conception of the Policy Sciences, *Policy Sciences*, Vol.1, No. 1, 1970, pp.3-14.
19 .   Harold D. Lasswell, The Policy Orientation, in D. Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 14-15.
20   David Easton, *The Political System*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1953 and *A Framework for Political Analysis,* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965.
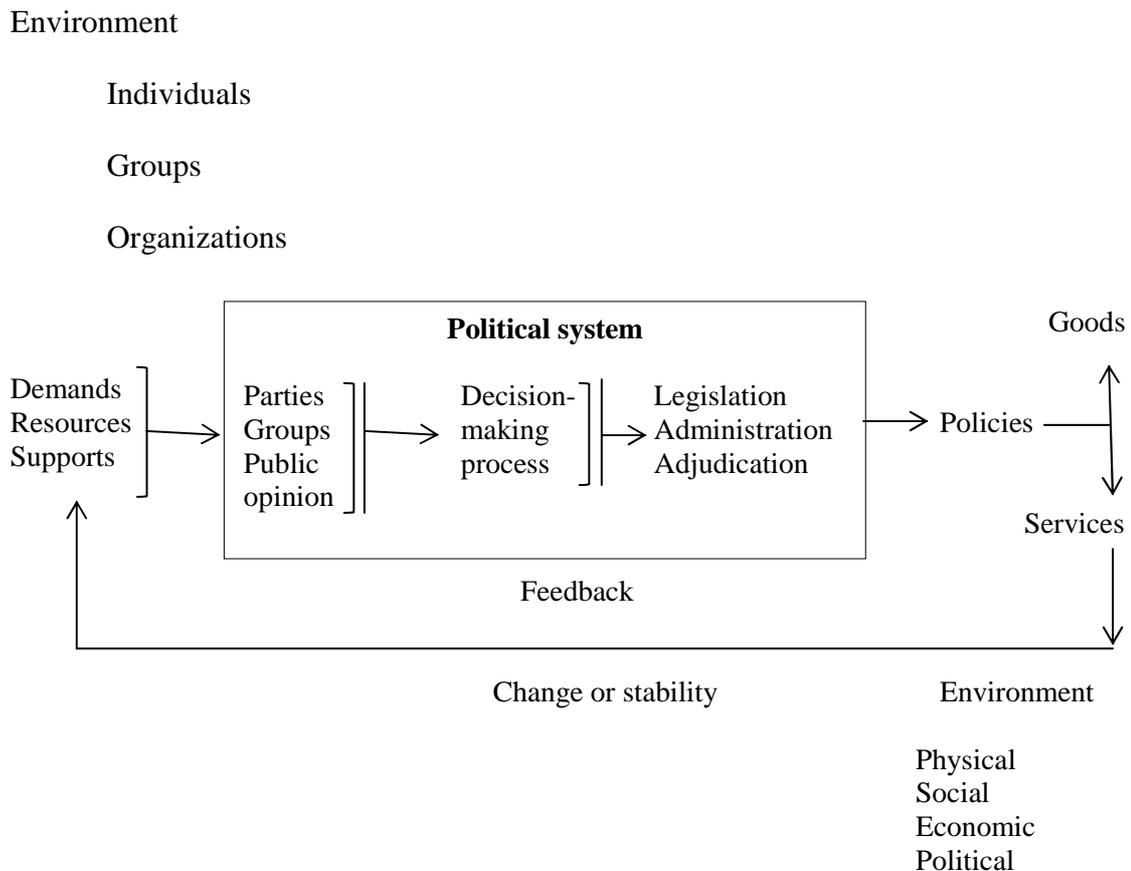
Environment

    Individuals

    Groups

    Organizations

Fig. 1.Policy making process

Source: Adapted from Easton (1975)

The policy making process has been regarded as a 'black box' which converts demands of the society into policies. Easton[21], in his analysis of political system argued that the political system was that part of the society engaged in the "authoritative allocation of values". This outlook gives a rough idea of what political scientist have in mind when they describe Easton's policy approach. Forces generated in the environment which affect the political system are viewed as inputs. Inputs are received into the political system in the form of both demands and support. Demands occur when individual or groups in response to environmental conditions act to affect public policies. The environment is any condition defined as external to the boundaries of the

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21   David Easton, An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems, op. cit., p. 384.

political system. Supports of a political system consist of the rules, laws and customs which provide a basis for the existence of a political community and the authorities. Supports are rendered when individuals or groups accepts the decision or laws outputs are the authoritative value allocations of the political system, and these allocation constitute public policies. System theory portrays public policy as an outputs (public policies) may have a modifying effect on the environment and the demands generated therein, and may also have an effect upon the character of political system, feedback plays vital role in generating suitable environment for future policies.

Limitations of System Approach in Policy Analysis

Thomas R. Dye says that value of the system model to policy analysis lies in the question that it poses, such as,

"1. what are the significant dimensions of the environment that generate demands upon the political system?

2. what are the significant characteristics of the political system that enable it to transform demands into public policy and to preserve itself overtime?

3. how do environmental inputs affects the character of political system ?

4. how do characteristics of the political system affect the contents of public policies?

5. how do environmental inputs affects the content of public policy?

6. how does public policy affect, through feedback , the environment and the character of political system?"[22]

The input output model ignores the fragmentary nature of the 'black box'. The missing ingredients in the system approach are the "power personnel, and institutions" of policy making. Lineberry observes that while examining these, "we will not forget that political decision- makers are strongly constrained by economic factors in the environment in the political system."[23] The extent to which the environment –both internal and external – is said to have an influence on the policy making process is influenced by values and ideologies held by the decision makers in the system. It suggests that policy making involve not only the policy content but also the policy maker's perceptions and values. The values held by the policy makers are fundamentally assumed to be crucial in understanding the policy alternatives that are made.

Lindblom's Incremental model

Lindblom had provided an alternative approach to the traditional rational model of decision making. His article, The Science of Mudding Through published in Public Administration Review in 1959,[24] gained wide recognition in the development of policy approach as being concerned with the "process" of policy making. Under rational approach all the possible alternatives are scrutinized which will determine the optimal approach. Lindblom argued that constraints of time, intelligence, and cost prevent policy makers from identifying the full range of policy alternatives and their consequences.

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22   Thomas R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice- Hall, 1980, p.39.
23   Robert L. Lineberry, *American Public Policy: What Government Does and What Difference It Makes*, New York: Marcel Dekker, 1984, p.47.
24 .   Charles Lindblom, The Science of Muddling through, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Spring 1959, pp. 79-88.

The incremental approach of decision making advocated by Charles Lindblom involves a process of "continually building out from the current situation, step by step and by small degree". In contrast, the comprehensive rational model advocated by Simon was to start from "fundamentals a new each time, building on the past only as experience embodied in a theory, and always prepared to start from the ground up".

In 1979, Charles E. Lindblom elaborated his idea of incrementalism. As an analytic approach, incrimentalism encompasses, "simple incremental analysis", which considers as alternatives, only incremental changes form current conditions "disjointed incrementalism", which employs "a mutually supporting set of simplifying and focusing strategies" including the fragmentation of analytical work to many participants, and "strategic analysis".[25] Lindblom proposes that "successive limited comparison" is both more relevant and more realistic in such a condition of "bounded rationality". Lindblom favored the benefits of 'non comprehensive analysis' rather than to search out new techniques. As he points out:

"In the method of successive limited comparison, simplification is systematically achieved in two principle ways. First, it is achieved through limitation of policy comparisons to those policies that differ in relatively small degree form policies presently in effect. Such a limitation immediately reduces the numbers of alternatives to be investigated and drastically simplifies the character of investigation of each... The second method of simplification of

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25 .   Charles Lindblom, Still Muddling, Not Yet Through, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 39, No. 6, 1979, pp. 517-518.

analysis is the practice of ignoring important possible consequences of possible policies, as well as the values attached to the neglected consequences."[26]

In his article, Still Muddling Not Yet Through, Lindblom makes clear that the core idea in an incrementalist approach, is the belief in skill in solving complex problems, and that his aim is to suggest "new and improved" ways of "muddling through". To do this, he draws a distinction between: (a) incrmentalism as a political pattern, with step by step changes, (b) incrementalism as policy analysis.[27] He further argues that there are three main forms to incremental analysis such as: (i) simple incremental analysis, (ii) strategic analysis, and (iii) disjointed incrementalism.

In his work, the Intelligence of Democracy[28], he argues that decision making is a process of adjustment and compromise which facilitates agreement and coordination. Partisan mutual adjustment, he agrees, is the democratic and practical alternative to centralized hierarchical controls. Lindblom argues in his 1993 work: "… policy evolve through complex and reciprocal relations among all the bureaucrats, elected functionaries, representative of interest group, and other participants".[29]

Critical Evaluation of Lindbloms

Since 1959, Lindblom advocated incremental decision making. Later in his writings he attacked the idea of Pluralism and offered a radical critique of business, and advocated the need for drastic radical change in a whole range of

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26 .   Charles Lindblom, The Science of Muddling Through, *op. cit.* pp. 84-85.
27 .   Charles Lindblom, Still Muddling Not Yet Through, *op. cit.* pp. 517-25.
28 .   Charles Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy*: *Decision Making Through Mutual Adjustment*, New York: Free Press, 1965.pp.57-70
29 .   Charles Lindblom and E.J. Woodhouse, *The Policy Making Process*, 3rd edition, Englewood Cliff: Prentice Hall, 1993, p. 68.

policy areas, beyond simple incremental change. He has developed his ideas about policy making process as moving slowly, but has continued to maintain that it can be improved. Dror finds Lindblom's 'incrementalist model' of decision making conservative and is suitable only in those situation where policies are satisfactory, and problems are quite stable over time. Further, he observes that the approach justifies the status quo and ignore the possibility of fundamental change.[30] The incrementalist approach to policy making is indecisive. As Lane puts it: "its deductive power is constrained by the difficulty in specifying what an increment is whilst its degree of confirmation is reduced by the typical occurrence of shift points in policy making which defy the interpretation of the incrementalist equation as stable linear growth models".[31] The central concern of Lindblom's work has been to explore the constraints that shape decision making in the modern policy process. Lindblom thus exhorts, "Hence anyone who wants to understand what goes wrong in the effort to use government to promote human well-being needs to comprehend how power relations shape and misshape public policies and to probe how power relations might be restructured to produce better policies".[32]

Etzioni's Mixed Scanning Approach

Amitai Etzioni has criticized the rational approach and put forward a third approach, offers a realistic model which avoids the conservatism of the incrementalist position as articulated by Lindblom, and calls his model mixed scanning: "A rationalistic approach to decision making requires greater

30 . Yehezkel Dror, Muddling Through – 'Science' or 'Inertia'? *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1964, pp. 153-157.

31 . Jane-Erik Lane, *The Public Sector*, 3rd edition, London: Sage, 2000, p. 75.

32 . Charles Lindblom and E.J. Woodhouse, *The Policy Making Process*, op. cit., p. 76.

resources than decision makers command. The incremental strategy which takes into account the limited capacity of actors fosters decisions which neglect basic societal innovations. Mixed scanning reduces the unrealistic aspects of rationalism by limiting the details required in fundamental decisions and helps to overcome the conservative slant of incrementalism by exploring long run alternatives."[33]

In 1968, Etzioni published, The Active Society[34], which is the best introduction to his idea of the policy analysis. In his book, The Active Society, Etzioni examines the social context of knowledge, the relationship between power and knowledge, the distribution of knowledge and 'societal consciousness'. His view is that, the rational model and incrementalist approach are neither realistic nor satisfactory, and cannot be the basis for promoting an 'active society'. This is a society in which people, through social collectivities and social knowledge, can transform society in accordance with its values. In this context he declares: "No man can set himself free without extending the same liberty to his fellow men and the transformation of self is deeply rooted in the joint act of a community transforming itself."[35] Etzioni does not abandon the use of analysis, to improve society. The emphasis on 'community' has to be placed in the context of his belief in the role of knowledge in bringing about a more open and more 'authentic' public policy process.[36] For Etzioni, public involvement in analysis is necessary for an active society. Moreover, in an active society, the knowledge elites should interact with public in a form of collective

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33 . Amitai Etzioni, Mixed Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision Making, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 27, No. 5, December, 1967, p. 385.
34 . Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Process*, New York: Free Press, 1968, pp. 13-30.
35 . Ibid., p. 2.
36 . Ibid., p. 635.

reality testing.[37] Rebuilding society, therefore, involves both a knowledge and moral dimension.[38]

Mixed scanning approach tries to combine:

1. High order, fundamental policy making processes which set basic directions, and

2. Incremental ones which prepare for fundamental decisions and work them out after they have been reached.[39]

Etzioni considered the mixed scanning approach is a description of the reality of decision making strategies and it is also a model for better decision making.[40]

Rational Policy Making Model

Rational policy making is "to choose the one best option".[41] Dye equates rationality with efficiency when he says, "A policy is rational when it is most efficient, that is, if the ratio between the values it achieves and the values it sacrifices is positive and higher than any other policy alternative".[42] Dror prescribes certain requirements to policy makers in selecting a rational policy. They must:

1. Know all the society's value preferences and their relative weights.

2. Know all the policy alternatives available.

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37 .   Ibid., pp. 155-170.

38 .   Amitai Etzioni, *An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the Twenty First Century*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1983, pp.43-45

39 .   Amitai Etzioni, Mixed Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision Making, op. cit., p. 385.

40 .   Ibid.

41 .   Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policymaking Reexamined*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publisher, 1989, pp. 132-141.

42 .   Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, op. cit., p. 17.

3.   Know all the consequences of each policy alternative

4.   Calculate the ratio of benefits to costs for each policy alternative

5.   Selective the most efficient policy alternative.[43]

The rational model was described by Lindblom[44] as the one which is used by a rational man who is faced with a given problem. A rational man clarifies his goals, values or objectives and organizes them. He then considers the alternative policies to achieve his goals, make a careful study of the consequences of each alternative policy and compare the consequences with goals. So a rational man should choose the policy with consequences that most closely match his goals.

In a rational decision-making process, instead of making an 'ideal' decision, as Simon[45] argued, policy makers break the complexity of problems into small and understandable parts, choose the one option that is best and satisfactory, and avoid unnecessary uncertainty. This means that "although individuals are intensely rational, their rationality is bounded by limited cognitive and emotional capacities".[46]After implementation, the rational policy maker is required to monitor the implementation systematically to find out the accuracy of the expectations and estimates. If necessary, policy maker will try to fill up the loopholes, if any in the policy or give it up altogether this is a feedback stage of rational policy making.

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43 .   See Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policymaking re-examined*, op.cit., pp-129-197

44 .   Charles E. Lindblom, *The Policy-Making Process*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968, p. 12.

45 .   Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, 2nd edition, New York: McMillan, 1957, pp. 39-45

46 .   Laurence Lynn, *Managing Public Policy*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1987, p. 84.
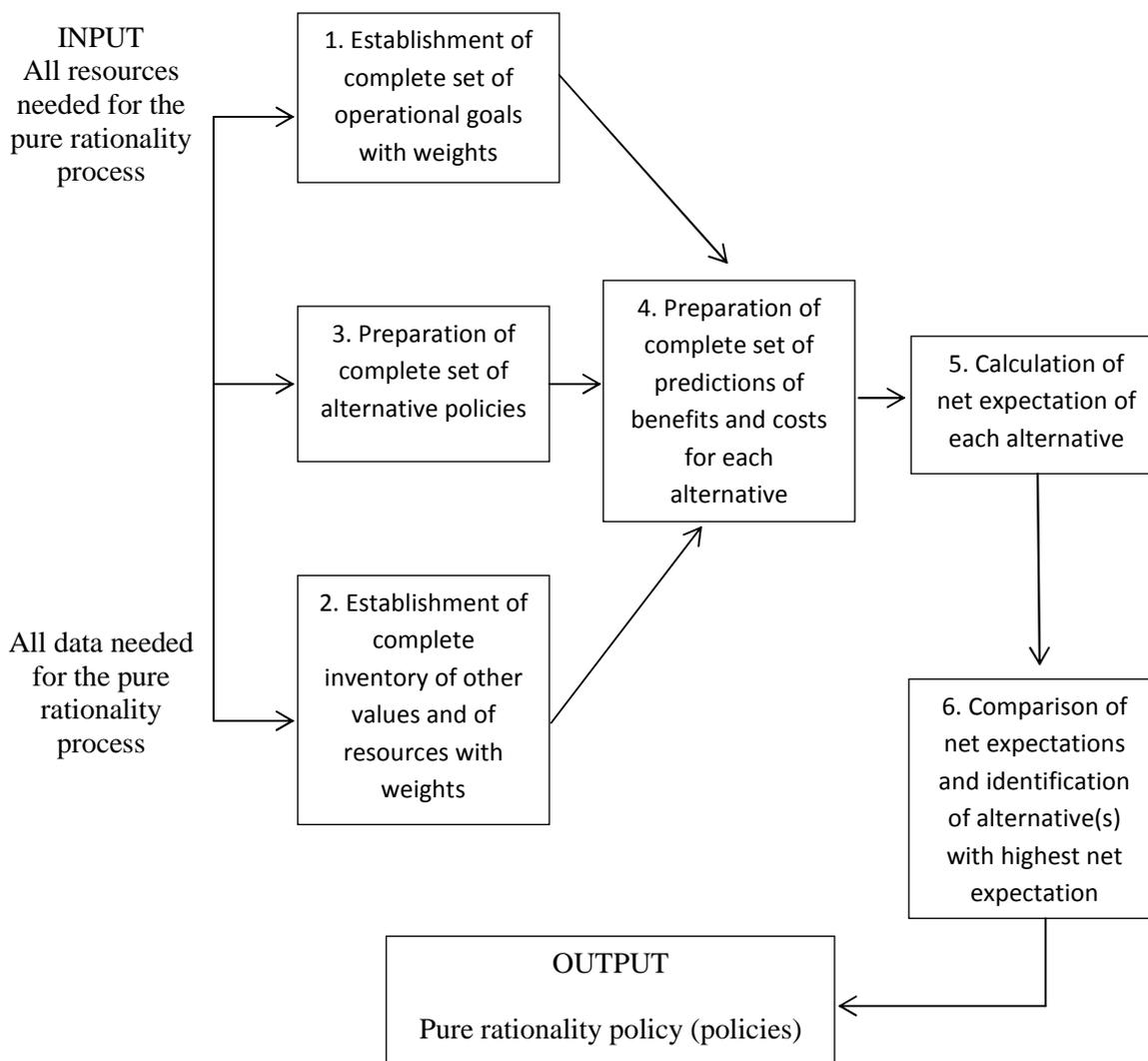
INPUT
All resources
needed for the
pure rationality
process

1. Establishment of
complete set of
operational goals
with weights

3. Preparation of
complete set of
alternative policies

4. Preparation of
complete set of
predictions of
benefits and costs
for each
alternative

5. Calculation of
net expectation of
each alternative

All data needed
for the pure
rationality
process

2. Establishment of
complete
inventory of other
values and of
resources with
weights

6. Comparison of
net expectations
and identification
of alternative(s)
with highest net
expectation

OUTPUT

Pure rationality policy (policies)

Figure 2. A rational model of a decision system
Source: Adapted from Thomas Dye, 1987

Limitations of the Rational Approach

Rationale policy making is a difficult exercise. Simon, in this context, declares, "It is impossible for the behavior of a single, isolated individual to reach any high degree of rationality".[47]

- The motivation for policy-makers to try to maximize net goal achievement is lacking. They merely try to satisfy certain demands for progress, and do not strive forward until they find one best way.

47 .   Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, op. cit., p. 79.

- Policy makers are not motivated to make decision on the basis of societal goals, but try instead to maximize their own rewards, such as power, status, and money.

- Time factor is also very crucial in rational model of policy making. In an emergency situation, action is sought immediately, and the time is too short to make any careful analysis. In routine policy making also, the sheer number of potential issues limits the time available to analyze any one issue carefully.

- Uncertainty about the consequences of various policy alternatives compels policy makers to stick as closely as possible to previous policies to reduce the likelihood of disturbing, unanticipated consequences.

- The predictive capacities of physical, biological or social and behavioral sciences are not advanced enough to enable policy makers to understand the full range of consequences of each policy alternative.

- Another important obstacle to rational policy making is the environment of the bureaucracies. Thomas Dye observes :

"The segmentalized nature of policy-making in large bureaucracies makes it difficult to coordinate decision-making so that the impact of all of the various specialists is brought to bear at the point of decision".[48]

Simon's Bounded Rationality

Herbert Simon is a leading contributor to the development of policy approach. His work (Administrative Behavior) is central to the analysis of

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48.   Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, op. cit., p. 19.

rationality in decision making. His concern with human decision making rest on the idea of rationality which is limited but not irrational and has given the concept of bounded rationality. Herbert Simon developed bounded rationality as an effort to bring together the strict economic assumptions of comprehensive rationality with actual decision making exposed by the empirical study of organizations. Preferences and choices seemed bounded by cognitive and emotional constraints that interfered with the process of purely rational decision making. Much like comprehensive rationality, bounded rationality offers an efficient method for moving between individual decisions and organizational outcomes. Bounded rationality retains the hallmarks of a theoretical model – it confines only those aspects of human behavior need to understand collective decision making. Simon believed the most evident problem with comprehensive rationality was its focus on outcomes rather than the process of individual decision-making. By ignoring the procedures of choices, rational choice theory casually accepted that 'rational' outcome emerged from self-interested behavior. Such an approach is especially dangerous when attempting to understand the broader mechanism of collective policy making, where the motivations for preference formation and political behavior are at least as important as the outcome itself. Simon explains: "here is a fundamental difference between substantive and procedural rationality. To deduce substantively or objectively, rational choice in a given situation, we need to know only the choosing organism's goals and the objective characteristics of the situations. We need know absolutely nothing else about the organism, nor would such information be of any use to us, for it could not affect the objectively rational behavior in any way.

To deduce the procedurally or boundedly rational choice in a situation, we must know the choosing organism's goals, the information and conceptualization it has of the situation, and its abilities to draw inferences from the information it possesses. We need know nothing about the objective situation in which the organism finds itself, except insofar as that situation influences the subjective representation".[49] Simon argued that a theoretical mode oriented toward understanding procedurally or boundedly rational decision making would provide a more realistic bridge between individual and collective choice. A behavioral model of rationality would take a decidedly scientific and inductive approach to understanding decision making.

Simon[50] management is equivalent to decision making. He has identified three stages in decision making process. These are: intelligence activity, design activity, choice activity. In addition to these, he includes "evaluating past choice" as the fourth phase of the decision making process that may be used to compare programmed and non-programmed decision making in the organization. He explains that, although one stage precedes the other in a sequence, each stage in itself can be a complex decision making process. Simon pays attention to the actual processes of decision making in the organization. For him, human behavior involves conscious or unconscious selection of a particular alternative or choice. Decision making deals with the process of choice which creates action.

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49 .   Herbert A. Simon, Human Nature in Politics: The Dialogue of Psychology with Political Science, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol, 79, No 2, June 1985, pp. 294.

50 .   Herbert A. Simon, *New Science of Management Decision*, New York: Harper & Row, 1960, pp. 1-4.

Simon deals with two basic kinds of decision procedure, namely the programmed and non-programmed. A distinction can be drawn between routine and non-routine decision types. Simon defines the two types "programmed and ill structured", views routine decision as those that can be made in a prescribed manner.[51] Non programmed decision are those which are new and instructed, non-routine or ill structured decision involve complex problems and issues for which no precedent exists.

Satisficing Man Model

Simon[52] proposes a new model of decision making man as satisfying man, that is, a decision maker accepts alternative which are satisfactory or sufficient enough because of the limited cognitive and analytical abilities. Consequently, he rejects the concept of economic man. Simon maintains that the actual human nature of rationality involves 'bounded rationality' or limited rationality. It is in the concept of bounded rationality that Simon proposes a model of administrative man (in place of economic man).[53] In making decisions, a satisficing man does not examine all possible alternatives; he ignores most of the complex inter-relationships of the real world, and makes decision by applying relatively simple rules of thumb or heuristics.[54]Because he operates in an area of bounded rationality.

Simon says, it is impossible for the behavior of a single, isolated individual to reach any high degree of rationality. The number of alternatives he

51 . Herbert Simon, The Structure of Ill-Structured Problems, *Artificial Intelligence*, Vol. 4, No.3, 1973, pp. 181-201.
52 . Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, op. cit., p. xxiv.
53 . Quoted from D.S. Pugh, D.J. Hickson and C.R. Hinings, *Writers on Organizations*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, p. 109.
54 . Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior*, op. cit., p. xxvi.

must explore is so great, the information he would need to evaluate them so vast that even an approximation to objective rationality is hard to conceive.[55] Various factors have contributed in limiting the human rationality these are, incomplete knowledge, imperfect estimation of future consequences, existence of multiple values and the large measure of uncertainty and organizational environment. To Simon, decision making involves both theory and practice. At theoretical level, decision analysis involves the study and recognition of the limits of human rationality in organizational context. In practical terms, it entails designing the organizational environment that "the individual will approach as close as practical to rationality in his decisions.[56]

Simon's theory of decision making and approach to rationality has been criticized on several grounds. In criticizing the rational model as advocated by Simon and others, Lindbloms rejects the idea that decision making is essentially something which is about defining goals, selecting alternatives. He contends that rational decision making is simply "not workable for complex policy questions".[57]Argyris[58] observes that Simon, by insisting on rationality, has not recognized the role of institution, tradition and faith in decision making. He argues that Simon's theory uses satisficing to rationalize incompetence, and that his theory has not taken into account the material conditions historical and cultural factors which largely govern human behavior. Also the productive forces and the general human relations factors which largely determine the value judgment and choice of behavior have not been properly analyzed in his

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55 .   Ibid., p. 79.
56 .   Ibid., p. 241.
57 .   Charles E. Lindbloms, The Science of Muddling through, op. cit., pp. 79-88.
58 .   Chris Argyris, Some Limits of Rational Man Organization Theory, *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 33, No.3, May-June 1973, p. 255.

approach. Apart from these criticisms, Simon's contributions to decision making is well recognized.

Yehezkel Dror's Normative Optimum Model of Policy Making

According to Dror, Lindblom's incremental model is conservative and unsatisfactory. He finds that incremental approach is unjust because it creates gap between those who have little power and those who have more power. People with little power face difficulties in bringing change. Dror has given an alternative model, which accepts –

i)   Need for rationality

ii)   Need for introduction of management techniques for increasing rationality of decision making at lower levels.

iii)   Policy science approach to deal with complex problems requiring decision at higher levels.

iv)   Need to take account of values and irrational elements in decision making.

The main purpose of Dror is to (a) enhance the rational content of Government and (b) to build into his model the 'extra rational' dimension of decision making. He maintains, "What is needed is a model which fits reality while being directed towards its improvements, and which can be applied to policy making while motivating a maximum effort to arrive at better policies".[59]

Dror proposes a modified form of rational model which can move policy making in more rational direction. Policy analysis, he argues, must acknowledge

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59 .   Yehezkel Dror, Muddling Through Science or Inertia?, op.cit., p. 164.

that there is a realm of extra rational understanding based on tacit knowledge and personal experience.[60] He argues that the aim of analysis is to induce decision makers to expand their frameworks to deal better with a complex world. Thus, in place of a purely rational model, Dror offers a more complex model of 18 stages[61], listed as follows:

Meta policy-making stage

1. Processing values

2. Processing reality

3. Processing problems

4. Surveying, processing and developing resources.

5. Designing, evaluation and redesigning the policy making system

6. Allocating problems, values and resources

7. Determining policy-making strategy

Policy- making stage

8. Sub-allocating resources

9. Establishing operational goals, with some order of priority

10. Establishing a set of major alternative policies including some 'good ones'

11. Preparing a set of major alternative policies, including some 'good ones'

12. Preparing reliable predictions of the significant benefits and cost of the various alternatives

13. Comparing the predicted benefit and cost of the various alternatives and identifying the 'best' ones.

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60 .	Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policy Re-examined*, op. cit., pp. 163-164.
61 .	Ibid, pp. 163-164.

14. Evaluating the benefit and cost of the 'best' alternatives and deciding whether they are 'good' or not.

Post policy- making stage

15. Motivating the execution of policy

16. Executing the policy

17. Evaluating policy making after executing the policy

18. Communication and feedback channels interconnecting all phases

Dror framework operates at two interacting phases. In phase I "the processing of values", decision making will involve "specifying and ordering values to be a general guide for identifying problems and for policy making". At the rational 'sub phase', this involves "gathering information on feasibility and opportunity cost", and at the extra rational sub phase, decision making will involve "value judgments, tacit bargaining and coalition formation skill".[62] Normative optimalism combines both descriptive and prescriptive approach. According to Dror, there is the need to bring about changes in the personnel, and in structure and process, as well as in general environment of policy making.

Thus, Dror's model aims at analyzing the real world which involves values and different perceptions of reality, and has created an approach which combines core elements of the rational model with extra rational factors.

Political Policy Process Approach

This approach has been described by writers, such as Laurence Lynn[63] and Peter de Leon[64]. This approach viewed public policy making as a 'political

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62 .   Yehezkel Dror, *Public Policymaking Reexamined,* op. cit., p. 312.

63   Laurence Lynn, *Managing Public Policy*, Boston: Little Brown, 1987.

64   Peter de Leon, *Democracy and the Policy Sciences*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1977.

process' instead of 'technical process'. The approach emphasizes the political interaction from which policy derives. Lynn sees public policy as the output of Government. He says:

"Public policy can be characterized as the output of the diffuse made up of individuals who interact with each other in small group in a frame work dominated by formal organizations. Those organizations function in a system of political institutions, rules and practices, all subject to societal and cultural influences."[65] According to Lynn "to understand policy-making it is necessary to understand the behavior of interactions among these structures: individual holding particular positions, groups, organization, the political system, and the wider society of which they are all a part".[66] The focus in this Political process of policy-making approach is on understanding how particular policies are formed, developed and work in practice. Lynn argues that policy making encompasses not only goal setting, decision making, and formulation of political strategies, but also supervision of policy planning, resource allocation, operations management, program evaluation, and efforts at communication, argument, and persuasion.[67] Lynn uses 'managers of public policy' who operate under a variety of influences in this context, he observes: public executives pursue their goals within three kinds of limits: those imposed by their external political environments; those imposed by their organizations; and those imposed by their own personalities and cognitive styles.[68] Rather than being technical experts, effective managers of public policy, argues Lynn,

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65   Laurence Lynn, op.cit. p.239.
66   Ibid, p.17.
67   Ibid. p.45.
68   Ibid. p.42.

1.   Establish understandable premises for their organization's objectives;

2.   Attain an intellectual grasp of strategically important issues; identify and focus attention on those activities that give meaning to the organization's employees;

3.   Remain alert to and exploit all opportunities, whether deliberately created or fortuitous, to further their purposes;

4.   Consciously employ   the   strong   features of their   personalities as instruments of leadership and influence;

5.   Manage within the framework of an economy of personal resources to govern how much they attempt to accomplish how they go about it,"[69]

Mixed Approach by Hogwood and Gunn

Mixed approach described by Hogwood and Gunn concerned "both with the application of techniques and with political process."[70] Hogwood and Gunn set out a nine step approach to the policy process which they say is mixed, that is, can be used for both description and prescription.

1.   Deciding to decide (issue search or agenda setting)

2.   Deciding how to decide

3.   Issue definition

4.   Forecasting

5.   Setting objectives and priorities

6.   Option analysis

7.   Policy implementation, monitoring, and control

8.   Evaluation and review

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69   Ibid. p.271.
70   Brian Hogwood and Lewis A. Gunn, *Policy Analysis for the Real World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, p.6.

9. Policy implementation, succession, or termination.

The policy process model is typical, and while its roots may be in the rational model, it does cross the political aspects of the policy process they opt for a "process focused rather than a technique oriented approach to policy analysis", which is seen as "supplementing the more overtly political aspects of the policy process rather than replacing them".[71]

Anderson's Framework of Policy Process

Anderson's model of the policy process has five stages, namely

1. Problem identification and agenda formation

2. Formulation

3. Adoption

4.   Implementation

5. Evaluation.[72]

As a separate approach, it is useful in studying the interaction between the Government which produces policies, and its people for whom the policies are intended. Now there are two public policy approaches, first is policy analysis and the second is political public policy. The response from the continuum of theories would show that there is a wide gap between the public and its problems which can be bridged simply by improving the policy making process.

Policy Making Process in India

Policy making is a vital function of Government. The process of policy making begins with the ideas and opinions people have about the actions they want the Government to undertake. When the Government undertakes such a

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71   Ibid, p.267.
72   James E. Anderson, *Public Policy Making*, 3rd edition, New York: Holt Reinhart, 1984, p.19.

commitment, it has the legal authority to do something that individuals cannot do. The governmental and administrative processes comprise of a vast mass of a decisions made almost daily. A policy decision involves action by some line official or body to reject, alter or accept a preferred policy alternative. If positive, it takes the shape of legislation or the issuance of an executive order. Indian democracy is based on Rule of Law. Top level policy making has to be translated into detailed and explicit laws, rules and regulations and the process of law before the implementation. As the State assumes the welfare approach trade, commerce and industry sector emerged as vital sector of policy making. Constitution of India allows the State to exercise monopoly in certain sector of trade and commerce, State control a substantial parts of banking which affects private business as well. Decision making in this sector rest with top bureaucrats to a great extent subjected to only broad policies laid down by the present Government. In a vast country like India growth problem combined with welfare approach is multifaceted and requires cooperation of various authorities. In a welfare State, administrator has to perceive coordinated policy approach to satisfy all the facets of a program and promote the principle of social justice. In performing these entire tasks a professional policy coordinator turns as a policy maker with a transition stage of policy guide.[73]

Under Article 77(3) of the Indian Constitution, the Government has framed Rule of Business for its conduct. The Rule of Business govern the procedure for decision making within the ambit of these rules, policy decision are taken by the Council of Ministers, particularly by Cabinet. Policy and

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[73] . B. Sivaraman, Administrator as Policy Maker, *Management in Government*, Vol.3, No 2, July-September, 1971, p. 95.

administration are intimately related and are an integral part of executive Government. It may be said that policy decisions are decisions made by public officials that authorize or give direction and the content to a public policy action. A decision may be taken formally or informally if it is to be implemented. Union Cabinet on 3 October 2008 gave a nod for payment of Productivity Linked Bonus (PLB) equivalent to 73 days wages to the eligible non-gazette railway employees for the financial year 2007-2008. It also gave its approval for rising the age of superannuation of ICMR scientists from 60 to 62 years to enable the Council to retain the service of experienced scientists and attract talented scientists to join the Council, thereby bolstering Medical research activities in the country.[74] This policy decision by the Union Cabinet was not placed before Parliament for approval. Indeed, it may be said that some important decision on policy are often taken informally.

Cabinet makes use of the Committee system to facilitate decision making in specific areas like Cabinet Committees on political affairs, economic affairs, minorities' welfare, trade and investment and adhoc Committees which are constituted to investigate and report on specific issues as and when the need is felt. A vast number of decisions are of course, taken by individual ministers within the ambit of the rules for the business of the Government, and these are fully authoritative decisions on behalf of the Government. The actual functioning of the Cabinet system largely depends on the leadership style of the Prime Minister and, in recent times, the holders of this office have tended to be the principle decision makers supported by their independent Secretariat over a period of time the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), headed by a Secretary has

74 .   See, The Tribune, 4 October 2008.

tended to become a super ministry of officials who are accountable only to the Prime Minister. In addition, the Prime Minister often enlists the support of experts as advisor to assist him in the discharge of his policy making functions in certain areas e.g. science and technology. In some ways the National Development Council (chaired by the Prime Minister and the inter alia comprising Central Government Ministers and the Chief Ministers of the State Government) is the highest policy making body in the country. It is, in effect, a forum for arriving at a consensus on major policy issues. The other "super" policy making body is the Planning Commission which too is chaired by the Prime Minister.

Technically speaking, most of the decisions in various matters involving policy issues of less importance are taken by the administrative Secretaries or Committees of the Secretaries, some of which serve as a Cabinet Committee. The Secretary to Government heads the Government departments and other subordinate officials, are vested, in particular matters, with delegated authority. For the conduct of Government business, there are large volumes of departmental rules of procedure and of guidance in the making of decisions in each particular agency. In a complex system a vast number of social, political, economic and administrative forces influence the choice of a policy. The election manifesto of the political party in power, civil service organization, international bodies and many other institutions, all these have functions bearing directly or indirectly on the policy making. Thus with in the constitutional area, these institutions and factors may, and frequently do, exercise a profound influence on a Government policy.

Thus public policy making is a highly complex process which, in reality, does not constitute an identifiable sequence of events. As Lindblom rightly points out, policy making is "an extremely complex analytical and political process to which there is no beginning or end, and the boundaries of which are most uncertain".[75] The Parliament is emerged by the Indian Constitution with the function of representing the people in making policies through the passing of laws. In India, all basic policies have to be determined by the legislative enactment, although legislation also permits more specific policy making by the executive branch of the Government within the legislative and constitutional framework, and the review functions of the judiciary. Vast majority of policies approved and sanctioned by the Parliament are initiated by the Cabinet members, having been planned within the Secretariat of the department concerned after consultation with affected interests.

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75 . Charles E. Lindblom, *The Policy Making Process,* op. cit., p. 4.