CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the concept of Welfare State has led to the growing importance of public policy among the social scientists in general and policy researchers in particular. The advance in science and technology, industrialisation, urbanisation and the vast increase in population have immensely complicated the problem of food, shelter and other necessities of life to the citizens. Therefore, it has become necessary for the State to play a positive role in solving these complex problems. This has led to an expansion in the activities of Government. The Government has framed public policies to alleviate poverty and to improve the quality of life of all sections of society, in order to solve the problems of citizens. Policy-making is the most important function of the Government. Public policies and their success determine the capacity of the Government.

Public policy is concerned with the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of the governmental activities. It also deals with developing scientific knowledge about various forces shaping public policies.

In the management of public affairs, decisions of varying magnitude are taken. Trivial and repetitive decisions are called routine actions, and complex decisions having wider
ramifications are called tactical decisions. Decisions having the widest ramifications, requiring the most information and contemplation, are known as 'policy.'\(^1\) Policy-making relates to those decisions made at the upper levels of the organisational hierarchy for the purpose of controlling and guiding lower level decisions.\(^2\)

**Definitions**

Yechezkel Dror suggests that policies are 'general directives on the main lines of action to be followed.'\(^3\)

Brian Smith defines public policy as the outcome of decisions about the political allocation of resources which is characterised by the use of legal and coercive sanctions, the application of political values to problem-solving, and is of general concern.\(^4\)

Thomas R. Dye's definition states that 'public policy is whatever Governments choose to do or not to do.'\(^5\) However, this definition does not recognise that there is often a divergence between what is decided and what is actually done by the Government.

According to Richard Rose, 'policy-making involves a long series of more-or-less related activities rather than a single, discrete decision.'\(^6\) Rose's definition makes it clear that policy is a course or pattern of activity and not simply a decision to do something.
James E. Anderson observes that 'policy is a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern', and that 'public policies are those policies developed by governmental bodies and officials.' The word 'purposive' in the definition indicates that a policy usually involves deliberate, goal-oriented behaviour and not simply random or chance behaviour. However, some policies can have their origin in such behaviour, though most will not.

A policy is a statement, either explicit or implicit, directed or derived, as to what are the goals and intentions of a Government, a branch of Government, an agency, or some other unit of organisation. Policy itself is given meaning and set into action through:

- Policy actions, such as legislation;
- Programmes;
- Projects;
- Regulations, taxes and other operations of the instruments of Government.

It is through these means that Government does its work and accomplishes its objectives.
Essential Characteristics of Public Policy

According to Christopher Pollitt, the essential characteristics of public policy are as follows:

i. Policies are a process of decision-making and activity. They customarily involve a series of decisions taken over an extended period of time, an exercise of power and rationality.

ii. This process of decision-making takes place mainly within a framework of prescribed organisational roles, which constitute a series of formal institutions of the State with special legal characteristics.

iii. Policies commonly involve exchange of information and resources, discussion, bargaining, etc., between and within the State agencies.

iv. Policy-making usually entails interaction with a variety of 'external' interest groups. The content, closeness and timing of these interactions is an important subject for empirical investigation.

v. Not all decisions are part of 'policy', but only those of a strategic (in a military sense) or guideline nature are so.

vi. Policy is directed at increasing the probability of occurrence of desired states of the world in the future.

vii. The State institutions which claim responsibility for public policies almost invariably legitimate their activities by claiming that their policies are in the general (public) interest rather than favouring any group, section or individual.
Components of Public Policy

Austin Ranney has given the following description of the components of a public policy:

i. A particular object or set of objects, which refers to a designated part of the environment, i.e., an aspect of the society or physical world, which is to be affected.

ii. A desired course of events, which means a particular sequence of behaviour desired in the particular object or set of objects.

iii. A deliberate selection of one line of action from several possible lines, to bring about the desired course of events.

iv. A declaration of intent, in the form of some statement by the policy-makers as to what they intend to do, how, and why.

v. An implementation of intent, which refers to the actions actually undertaken vis-a-vis the particular set of objects in pursuance of the choices and declaration.11

Categories of Public Policy

Public policies have been classified into five categories. Policy demands are the claims upon public officials by other actors for action or inaction on specific issue or issues. Policy decisions are decisions made by public officials that authorise or give direction and content to public policy actions. Policy statements are the formal expressions of public policy. Policy outputs are the tangible manifestations of public policy. Policy outcomes are the consequences for society's either intended or unintended results of a governmental action or inaction.12
Types of Public Policy

Public policies are of various types and can be substantive or procedural, material or symbolic.

Substantive policies involve what Government is going to do, e.g., construction of highways etc.

Procedural policies include organisational matters like who is going to take action or how it is going to be done.

Material policies provide tangible resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries, e.g., Minimum Wages Act.

Symbolic policies have little impact on people and do not deliver what is promised. E.g., the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, by which the United States of America and fourteen other countries agreed to outlaw war.

Material policies can be rendered essentially symbolic by administrative action or the failure of the legislature to provide adequate funds for their implementation.

Apart from these, there are various types of public policy put forth by different authors, which are stated briefly here.
Theodore J. Lowi has developed, a typology containing regulatory, distributive, redistributive and constituency policies, and argued that policy processes will differ significantly depending on the policy type involved.

Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., are of the view that the public policies of nations can be summarised and compared according to their outputs, that is, the kinds of action Government takes in order to accomplish their purposes. They have classified these kinds of action or outputs as, extractive, distributive, regulative and symbolic policies.

Mark V. Nadel is of the view that private entities, particularly giant corporations also make public policy, and has advanced a typology of privately-made public policy which is based on the categories posited by Theodore Lowi and Almond and Powell. These are resource transfer, regulatory and constituent policy.

Fred M. Proehl has categorised two types of public policy. One is capitalisation in which business people, local and State Governments receive distributive largesse in the form of subsidies from the federal Government, which is aimed at increasing the productive capacity of society's institutions, e.g., cash incentive payments to farmers. The other is ethical, in which public policies establish the correct practice for some moral issue, e.g., abortions.
Donna Kerr has propounded two types of policies. One is rule policies which specify actions to be performed. The other is goal policies which set goals to be achieved by any number of actions.  

Robert H. Salisbury has contributed a self-regulatory type of policy which involves restriction or control of some matter by the regulated group as a means of protection or promotion of their own interests.

Stages in the Public Policy Process

The public policy process involves the following distinct stages of activity:

1. Problem Formation

A problem can be defined as a condition or situation that produces a need, deprivation, or dissatisfaction on the part of people for which relief or redress is sought. The situation becomes a public problem when many people are involved and are affected adversely and seek governmental action for a solution and alleviation of the problem.

2. Policy Agenda

A policy agenda designates those problems or issues to which the members of a governmental body feel compelled to give active and serious consideration. While people seek governmental action for their various needs and wants, only a few of the problems receive serious attention from the policy-makers and compose the policy agenda.
3. **Policy Formulation**

Policy formulation involves the development of pertinent and acceptable courses of action proposed for dealing with public problems. Many political actors are either directly or indirectly involved in the formulation of public policies. In democratic political systems, the task of making policy decisions is identified with the legislature, and also involves the issuance of an administrative rule or directive, or the promulgation of a judicial decree.

4. **Policy Adoption**

Policy adoption involves the development of support for a specific proposal so that the policy is legitimised or authorised. In general, legitimization is performed through the legislative process, the administrative process designed for the issuing of regulations, and the courts.

5. **Policy Implementation**

The implementation or administrative stage of the policy process is important because without implementation, the policy has no effect, and sometimes the mode of implementation itself changes the nature of policy. Implementation is generally undertaken by the public bureaucracy. To implement public policies, Government requires money and the budgetary process allocates the available resources among the competing interests.
6. **Policy Evaluation**

The next stage of the public policy-making process is the assessment or evaluation of the results obtained from selection and implementation of a policy. It is an attempt to determine whether the policy has worked beneficially or not. While some declare a policy as a failure, others defend it as a success, thus making major policy areas battle grounds for divergence of opinions and analysis.

Methods of evaluating policies are of two types. The first is, the cost-benefit analysis which assesses all the costs and benefits in purely economic terms. This gives the decision-maker a relatively clear choice among the alternatives competing for the use of scarce resources. The second method is ethical, in which other values like life, liberty, and equality can be pursued through the policy-making process. Policies and the policy process are dynamic entities in a changing environment. Support as well as opposition to a policy can subside or increase over a period of time. However, a policy is not generally given sufficient time to prove its success.

7. **Policy Change**

The next stage is policy change and in practice it will contain elements of one or more of four ideal types of change like policy innovation, policy succession, policy maintenance, and policy termination.
Thus, the public policy process is initiated if a problem exists. Policy termination takes place if either the policy is successful and the problem no longer exists or the given policy aggravates the problem it was designed to correct.22

The Public Policy-Making Process

Charles E. Lindblom views policy-making as "an extremely complex process without beginning or end and whose boundaries remain most uncertain."23 Public policy-making is very often a co-operative endeavour and a collective effort in which governmental bodies and officials directly, and non-governmental agencies either directly or indirectly, influence the public policy-making process.

Official policy-makers are those who are legally empowered to formulate public polices. These include legislators, executives, administrators and judges.24 The functions of the legislators include budget appropriation, legislation, overall supervision and investigation, and the setting of public policy. These functions, of course, rarely result in direct impacts on citizens, but are implemented and activated through the executive branch of the Government and reviewed by the judicial branch.
The Government is merely a means of dividing work. Parliament, executive and judiciary must then be viewed as independent, only in the constitutional sense and otherwise regarded as inter-dependent sub-systems responsible for improving the quality of life through interaction with other sub-systems. Thus, it is common for the different State institutions to simultaneously have a hand in any given policy, even if only one institution is formally charged with policy initiation. Besides official policy-makers, many others such as interest groups, political parties and citizens participate in the policy-making process. They considerably influence policy formation without possessing any legal authority to make policy decisions. The function of public policy-making cannot be vested exclusively with any one authority of the Government. All levels of Government, viz., national, state and local, either jointly or independently make public policies. Thus, there are myriad centres or arenas of public policy-making.

Different political systems have their own unique ways of policy formulation. United States of America, which follows a Presidential system of Government, lays more emphasis on the Theory of Separation of Powers. Here, the task of policy formulation is exclusively vested with the Congress which is their legislature.
In the Parliamentary system of Government, as in United Kingdom and India, policy formulation is the exclusive function of the political executive at the helm of the Government and a policy by and large originates in individual ministries under the collective guardianship of the Cabinet.

The public policy-makers work within a framework consisting of the broad social and economic environment, the system of power and influence, the dominant ideas and values in the society and the formal institutional structures.26 The policy-makers are provided with the political, social and economic resources that are necessary for policy formulation and implementation by the environment. In addition, it defines the parameters of policy issues.

Environment includes geographical characteristics such as natural resources, climate, and topography, demographical variables such as population size, age distribution, and spatial location, political culture, social structure and the economic system.27

The framework of the public policy movement, which emerged within the developed countries of the West, is not suitable to the developing countries of the Third World. Public policy in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries tends to be made in an environment characterized by several elements that differ sharply from those prevailing in advanced industrial
countries. Variations between developed and developing countries regarding public policy-making are found with regard to the institutions, the participants, the resources available to the participants, the power of the State in the society, the capacity of the State to do its will, the scope of State policy activities and the configuration of issues.28

The environment of public policy-making in a developing country like India includes a complex society of unity in diversity, having a vast area and population, various regional, language, religious and minority groups. Public policy-making in India is shaped within the framework of the country's constitutional system, consisting of a Parliamentary form of Government and federalism. The social, economic and political philosophy of the country has been articulated in the Preamble, the Directive Principles of State Policy, and the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution.

Public policies do not necessarily emerge as a series of logical steps to reach the pre-determined goals. But during crisis, they act according to the exigencies of the situation, without even following the logical steps. While framing and implementing public policies, various socio-economic and political factors interact with one another and in turn, influence the public policies.
Review of Literature

Extensive research work has been undertaken by social scientists to isolate and explain the specific sequences of events and the roles played by individuals and institutions in the formulation and implementation of public policies, through the precincts of political science, public administration, sociology and economics. There are also a number of journals like Policy Sciences, Public Interest, and Policy Studies Journal. Two popular journals, viz., Policy Analysis and Public Policy were combined and now published as the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management.


In India, the journals which publish articles on aspects of public policy-making include the Indian Journal of Political Science, the Indian Journal of Public Administration and Management in Government.
When the term 'Policy Science' is mentioned, it is associated with Harold Lasswell and Yehezkel Dror who are considered as major contributors to the field. Harold Lasswell is the 'intellectual father' of policy sciences. In 1951, Lasswell\textsuperscript{30} together with Lerner, edited a volume entitled 'The Policy Sciences' in which Lasswell wrote an introductory essay titled 'The Policy Orientation'. In this he proposed the development of policy science as an interdisciplinary field to embrace all the social sciences and to produce knowledge applicable to policy problems.

Yehezkel Dror,\textsuperscript{31} in his wide-ranging studies, has emphasised the need for great integration of the existing knowledge for the enrichment of policy sciences. James E. Anderson\textsuperscript{32} has discussed the different theories and approaches to public policy, and also the role of official and unofficial policy-makers, and has analysed the importance of policy formation, adoption, implementation, impact, evaluation, and change.

George D. Greenberg\textsuperscript{33} holds the view that it is difficult to build an adequate theory of public policy due to problems such as the temporal nature of the policy process, the multiplicity of participants and of policy provisions, and the contingent nature of theoretical effects upon some other variable. He is of the opinion that the solution lies in framing precise hypotheses and use of systematic empirical data.
Thomas R. Dye\textsuperscript{34} has discussed a number of models of policy analysis, illustrated them with case studies, and has compared their utility for policy analysis. The edited book of Raymond A. Bauer and Kenneth J. Gergen\textsuperscript{35} consists of a series of essays dealing with theoretical and methodological concerns in the study of public policy. Fred M. Frobock\textsuperscript{36} has combined theory and practice in treating both normative and empirical policy issues and the policy process.

George C. Edwards III, and Ira Sharkansky\textsuperscript{37} have written a book which is an introduction to the study of public policy formation which cover matters like problems in rational decision-making and economic and political constraints on decisions. B.Guy Peters\textsuperscript{38} has made a comprehensive study of the policy-making process in the United States, and has also discussed certain substantive areas of policy such as education, energy, and defence policy. Christopher Pollitt's\textsuperscript{39} edited book presents a series of articles by various authors on the ingredients of a policy, policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. Articles presented in the book are based on theoretical as well as substantive case studies.

G.Ronald Gilbert's\textsuperscript{40} edited book deals with the processes and approaches used by public managers to make and guide public policy. The book consists of a series of articles by different authors, and is divided into three major sections
as Policy Formulation, Policy Analysis, and Programme Evaluation, drawing on examples from major categories of public service, such as, education, health, energy, environment, transportation and defence. George C. Edwards III\textsuperscript{41} has given a general treatment of policy implementation, focussing on communication, resources, dispositions or attitudes, and bureaucratic structure, as four major factors shaping policy implementation, using a wide range of illustrations.

Donna H. Kerr\textsuperscript{42} has developed conditions that can be used as logical tests for three types of policy success, viz., implementation success, instrumental success and success in normative justification. Thomas B. Smith\textsuperscript{43} has developed a three-dimensional framework of policy design, policy process and policy achievement, to assess failure and success, taking into account the policy analysts' perspectives as well as the participants in the policy arenas.

Brian W. Hogwood and B. Guy Peters\textsuperscript{44} have aided the conceptualisation of the policy process by emphasising on the growing importance of policy succession and its implications for policy-makers. Eugene Bardach\textsuperscript{45} has explained the reasons for the relative rarity of attempts by political leaders to terminate ongoing public policies, programmes, or organisations, and has described the conditions which facilitate efforts at policy termination.
Martin Burch and Bruce Wood⁴⁶ have introduced the 'Policy Approach' which is based on the resources of Government and characterised in terms of three major processes, viz., acquiring resources, dividing resources and applying policies. Richard Simeon⁴⁷ looks at public policy in terms of five general approaches. He says that policy can be seen as a consequence of the environment, the distribution of power, ideas that are prevailing, institutional frameworks, and the process of decision-making. Simeon suggests that these approaches are not mutually exclusive, and that the interactions between them are important objects of study.

Brian Smith⁴⁸ has examined the policy-making in British Government from two dimensions, viz., power and rationality, and the influence of groups and institutions in affecting public policy in both Central and local Government. Charles E. Lindblom⁴⁹ has examined the way in which policies are evolved in a State and the interrelationship between different organs which help to formulate public policies. Peter Woll⁵⁰ has concentrated on the context of public policy formation in United States, and the role of major political forces in public policy-making, such as, interest groups, political parties, the Presidency, Congress, courts and the bureaucracy.
Donald L. Horowitz has examined the regularities and divergences in public policy-making between the Third World developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the developed Western countries. As regards the work of Indian scholars on public policy, Krishan Saigal, while analysing policy-making in India, has attempted to delineate an approach which makes optimal policy-making possible in India.

In the edited work of K.D. Madan, various authors have, in a series of articles, discussed several concepts and analyses in relation to the policy sciences, and the policy-making processes, along with an analysis of substantive policies on water, food, science and technology. In R.S. Ganapathy's edited work, various contributors have focussed their discussion on the conceptual approaches and methodologies for policy analysis, and have discussed the processes of policy-making and implementation in India with the use of certain case studies such as health, manpower, science and technology. Ishwar Dayal has made a study of the pattern of formulating public policy in the Government of India with the help of case studies.

S.R. Maheshwari has made a brief study of the public policy-making institutions in India and has pointed out the absence of systematic study and research, departmentalism, information gap, centralism and poor implementation as the
hindrances to public policy-making. B. Sivaraman\(^57\) has studied policy formulation in the Government of India and has given a brief account of the role of party system, pressure groups, people and the press in influencing public policy formulation in India.

R.B. Jain\(^58\) has focussed on the Indian Parliament's role in influencing public policy, with the use of few case studies like the foreign and defence policies, science and technology policy, economic policy, the Government's Price Policy for sugarcane and sugar, as well as cotton and cotton textiles. S. Nibal Singh\(^59\) holds the view that the personalities of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi have influenced the role of the Indian Parliament in policy-making, and he has also examined the impact of Parliament in formulating policies in three broad areas of defence, external affairs and domestic issues.

P.R. Dubashi\(^60\) has given importance to the substantive issue of policy-making in India with the main focus on the policy landmarks in agriculture and rural development. A. Venkataraman\(^61\) has analysed the recommendations of the different committees appointed by the Government of India to study the energy problems, and the role of the various governmental institutions involved in the formulation of energy Policy. S.M. Sadasivan\(^62\) has made a brief study of a number of
factors ranging from personal philosophy and propaganda, to political adequacy and organisational capability, as well as the role of the civil servant in influencing policy formulation in Parliamentary and Presidential systems of Government.

Aim of the Study

Public policies have to be viewed from a long-term perspective because they take shape, mature and have their impact only in the long run. Only then can one clearly perceive the circumstances in which policies evolve, their impact and their capacity to withstand the test of time. For this, it is necessary to analyse the pressures of the environment, the interactions of the political influences surrounding policy disputes, the norms, assumptions, values found in the culture and ideology, and the opportunities and constraints imposed by the institutions.

The present study is undertaken by the researcher with a view to focus on the official policy-makers and the various influences which shape the alternatives considered by them, the assumptions made and the different actions taken by the policy-makers in India since Independence. Research studies pertaining to the study of public policy-making in India from this angle have been limited. The studies available either restrict themselves to specific substantive issues or to the study of a particular organisation. Hence the present study has been attempted by the researcher.
Objectives of the Study

In this study, an attempt has been made to analyse the role of the official policy-makers, within the framework of the public policy-making process in India. Consequently, the objectives of the study are:-

1. To examine the nature of public policy and the policy-making process;

2. To study the various models used in explaining the formulation of public policy;

3. To discuss the framework that affects the public policy-making in India;

4. To study the institutions involved in the formulation of public policy in India;

5. To assess the role of the legislature in public policy-making in India;

6. To trace the role of the executive in public policy-making in India;

7. To analyse the role of the judiciary in public policy-making in India;

8. To examine the role of extra-constitutional forces like political parties and pressure groups which influence the public policy-making in India;

9. To examine the recent trends in public policy-making in India.

Methodology

The methodology followed in the present study is descriptive and analytical, as the descriptive method is best suited to the objectives of the present study.
Sources

Relevant information have been collected from the primary sources, viz., Government records, Government of India rules, Committee reports and newspapers. Secondary sources include books and articles published in various journals and periodicals. A few informal, unstructured interviews were conducted with policy-makers including officials of the Government of India as well as academicians.

Chapterisation

The scheme of this study is as follows: The work is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter, 'Introduction' presents an overall view of the concept of public policy and the public policy-making process, along with the review of literature, aims and objectives of the study, methodology adopted, sources of data collection, and chapterisation.

The second chapter, 'Models in Public Policy-making' deals with the major models that are most frequently used to explain the formulation of public policy.

The third chapter, 'Public Policy-making in India - A Framework', analyses the constitutional framework and socio-economic factors involved in public policy-making in India.
The fourth chapter, 'Legislature and Public Policy-making in India', discusses the powers and functions of the Parliament in relation to public policy-making in India.

The fifth chapter, 'Executive and Public Policy-making in India', assesses the role of the Executive as well as the institutions involved in public policy-making in India.

The sixth chapter, 'Judiciary and Public Policy-making in India', critically analyses the role of the Indian Judiciary in public policy-making.

The seventh chapter, 'Conclusion' provides an overall view of the various aspects of the public policy-making process in India. A Bibliography along with Appendices is also provided at the end of the thesis.
END NOTES


10. Christopher Pollitt, et.al., (Eds.), Public Policy in Theory and Practice — A Reader, English Language Book Society, Great Britain, 1985, pp.ix-x.


13. See Theodore J. Lowi -


31. Yehezkel Dror -


