



**Virtual University of Pakistan**  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY

COMPLETE SLIDES

# Introduction to Public Policy

MGT522

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# What Is Public Policy? Why Study It?

## **Public Policy:** **Definitions**

# Public Policy: Definitions

- **Public policy** is the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society (D. Easton;1953)
- **Public policy** is a purposive course of action followed by government in dealing with some topic or mater of public concern (J. E. Anderson , 1975)

# Public Policy: Definitions

- **Public policy** is whatever governments choose to or not to do (T.R. Dye, 1978)



# Public Policy: Definitions

- **Public policy** consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals (C. L. Chochran & E. F. Malone, 1995)
- **Public policy** is also a study of who get what, when and how

# What Is Public Policy? Why Study It?

## Why Study Public Policy

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Make Personal Decisions

- It is important to know the decisions which effect our lives? For example,

# Why Study Public Policy

- The decisions of federal government of Pakistan
  - Provide loans to students?
  - Encourages private sector investment in higher education?
  - Enforces standards for education?
  - Allows banks to provide car financing?
  - Shuts down restaurants which sell adulterated food?

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Make Personal Decisions

- ❑ We can make decisions about personal lives by knowing public policies. For example,
  - Access loan to open a business
  - Prepare to secure admission in educational institutions

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Understand Public Action

- ❑ It is important to know why government makes particular decisions?
  - It helps us know the causes of government action.  
Sometimes governments adopt policies
    - To solve problems
    - To resist social pressure
    - To meet international requirements
    - To secure legitimacy deficits
    - To secure political mileage
    - To penetrate society

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Understand Public Action

- Policy is an exercise in problem solving; but governments don't solve all social problems
  - Sometimes government prefer not to do anything about some problems
    - It is important to know why governments prefer not to act

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Know Who Benefits

- ❑ It is important to know who benefits from a particular public policy?
  - The benefits of public policies may not be distributed equitably. For example, some policies, such as
    - privatization of higher education benefit rich people
    - English-medium school give advantage to their students in finding jobs and opportunities of foreign study
    - the consumer financing have benefitted banks, motor car entrepreneurs, and related businesses



# Why Study Public Policy

## To Know Who Benefits

- The “losers” or “excluded” sections may become dissatisfied, which can
  - contribute to instability or conflict

# Why Study Public Policy

## To Improve Governance

- ❑ The states and societies across the world are becoming complex, highly complex
  - It is difficult for the governments to 'govern' alone
  - Governance can only be improved with partnerships between state and non-state actors
    - Governments across the world seek citizen participation in decision making
      - Citizen participation improve public policy making and its implementation

# What Is Public Policy? Why Study It?

## Summarizing

# Summarizing

- ❑ General Reasons:

- ❑ To be informed

- ❑ Scientific/Academic Reasons:

- ❑ To build general knowledge of policy process, policy change, etc

- ❑ Professional Reasons:

- ❑ Policy analysts inside and outside of government

- Political and Social Reasons:

- To seek ways to achieve political mileage; Policy advocacy for policy changes

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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**Philosophy**

# Philosophy

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- ☐ Logic
- ☐ Ethics
- ☐ Epistemology
- ☐ Postmodernism
- ☐ Morality

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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## **Political Philosophy**

# Political Philosophy

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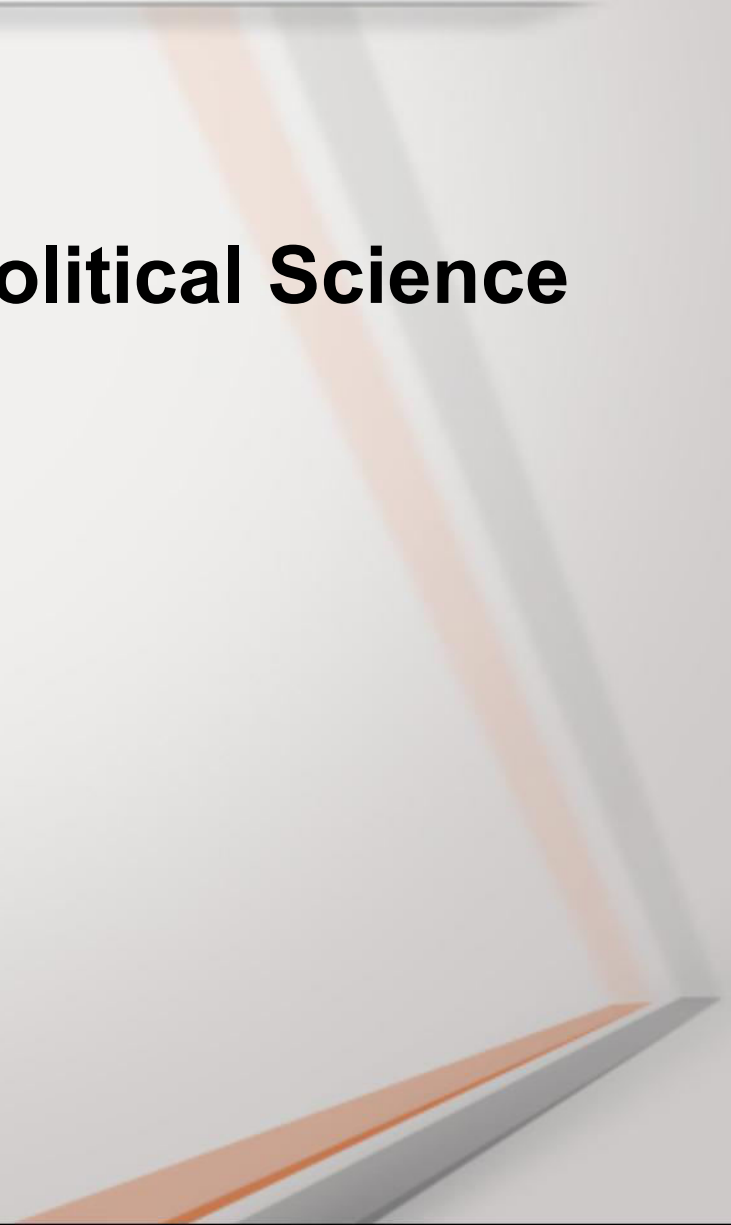
- ❑ Political philosophy is the study of the philosophical basis of concepts such as justice, equality, liberty, freedom
  - Normative theory
  - Deliberative theory
  - Ethical theory
- ❑ Policy analysis can't be conducted without attending the philosophical and ethical issues



# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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**Political Science**

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# Political Science

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❑ Political science is the study of

- Polities
- Politics
- Public policy

❑ Political science-based policy analysis is leading way of policy studies and policy analysis

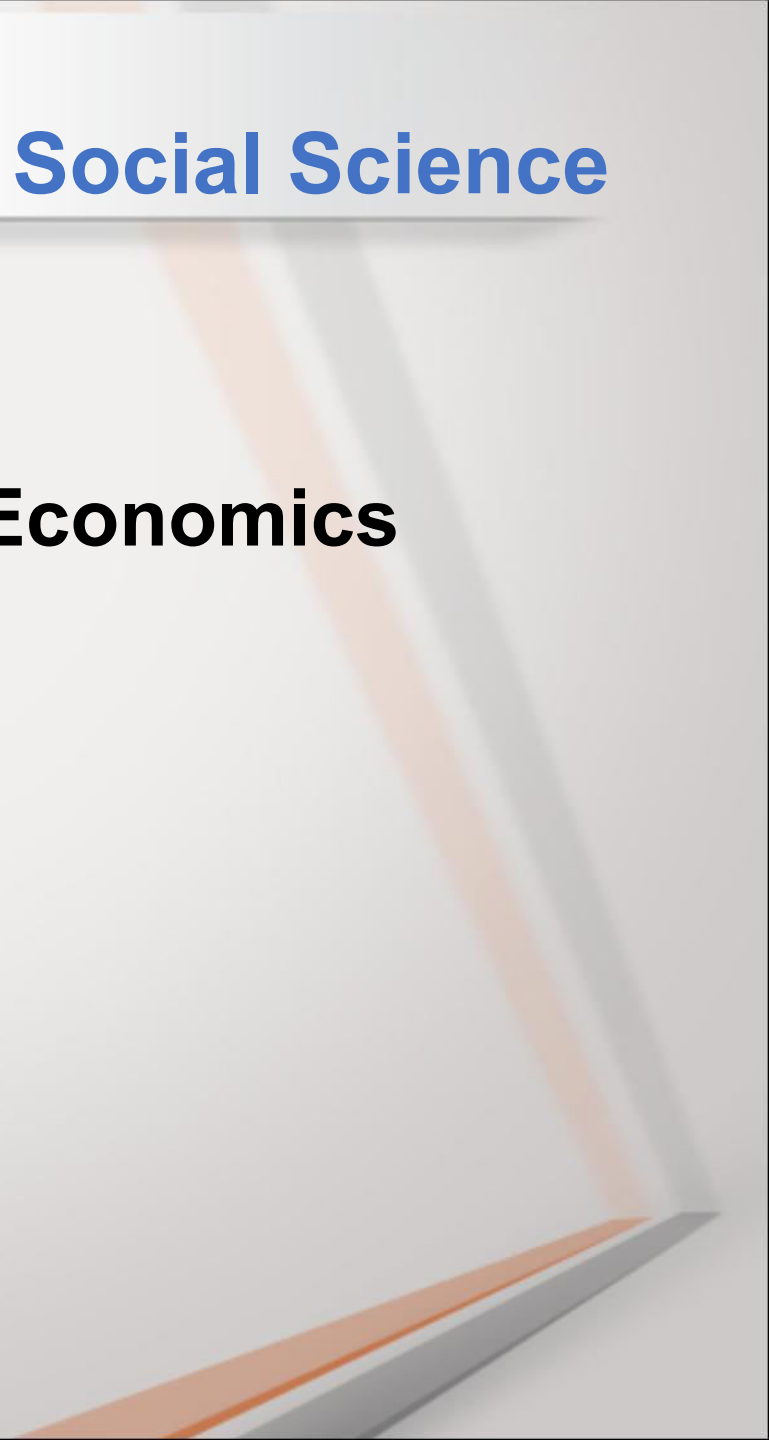
- Political science helps understand
  - The influence of political institutions on public policies

# Political Science

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- How political institutions help shaping public policies
- Why some political institutions are better than others
- Which political institutions help economic growth
- Political science provides rich literature in political theory
  - Guides policy research
  - Guides policymaking such as ethical theory and normative theory provide policy prescriptions
- How political processes influence policies
  - Political contestations, power struggles, political agitation contribute to policymaking and policy change

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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**Economics**

# Economics

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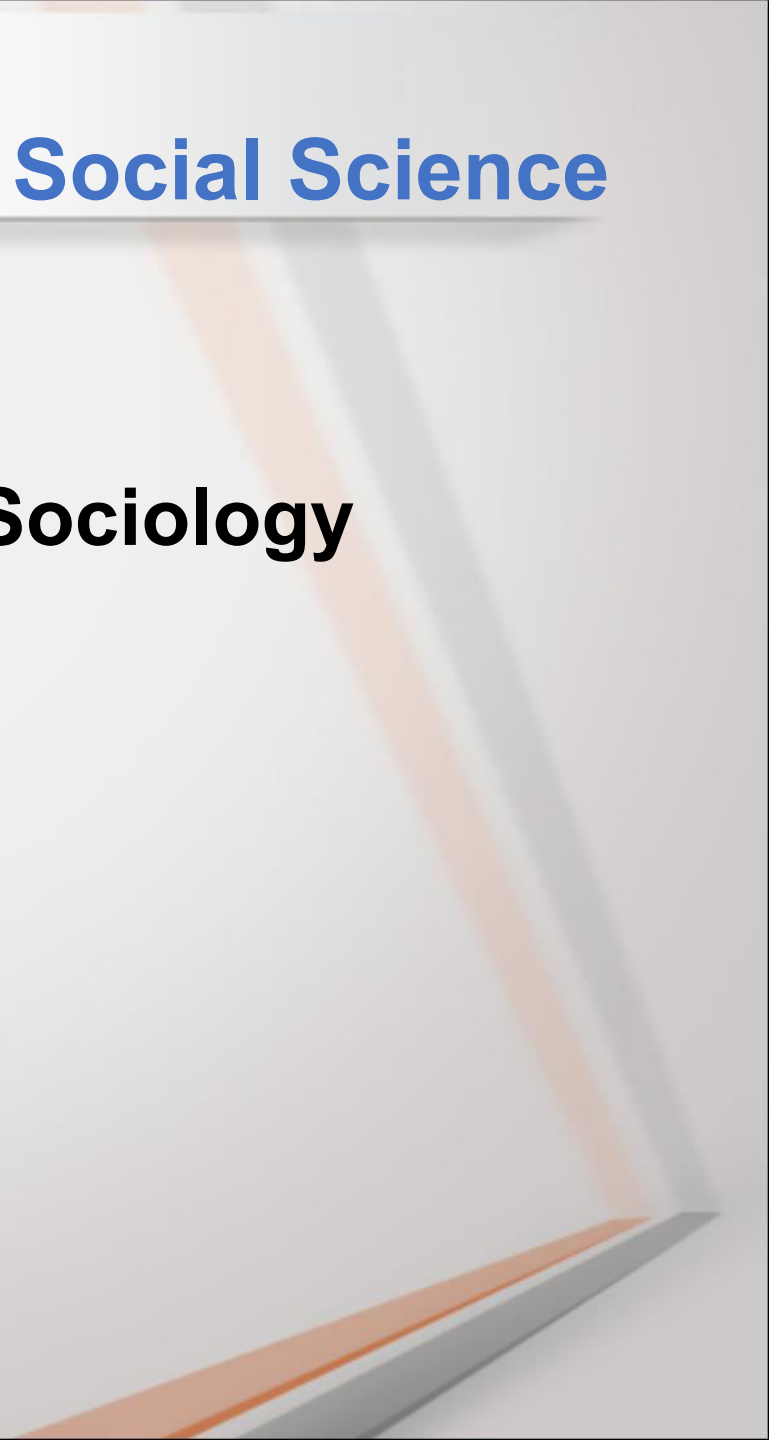
## □ Economics studies

- Allocation of scarce resources
- Creation and distribution of wealth

## □ Economics contributes to public policy studies in following ways

- Economic-based analysis of public policy is one of the three ways of policy analysis
  - Micro-economic analysis has long dominated policy making and policy analysis
  - Cost-benefit analysis is widely used method in policy analysis
  - Econometric analysis of public policy decisions

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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**Sociology**

# Sociology

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## ❑ Sociology studies societies

### ▪ Sociological theory

- Emile Durkheim
- How culture, class, ethnic differences, gender roles influence public policies
- Why public policy making should attend to the needs of cultural and sociological factors

### ▪ Sociological Research Methods

- How to conduct interviews
- How to design questionnaires
- How to collect data and analyze it

# Sociology

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- ❑ Sociological Studies have influenced public policy making considerably



# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

## **Public Administration**

# Public Administration

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❑ Public administration deals with the questions of implementing public policies and running the state

- Implementation Studies
  - To what extent public policies are actually implemented
  - How particular ways of policy implementation produce particular outcomes
  - How to improve implementation
  - Why good policies fail in implementation?
  - How to evaluate public policies?

# Public Administration

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- Bureaucratic Reforms
  - How to reform civil services?
  - How to make civil servants responsive to the needs of the people?
- Public administration studies help public policies change to enhance their benefits.

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

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**New Public Management  
and Governance**

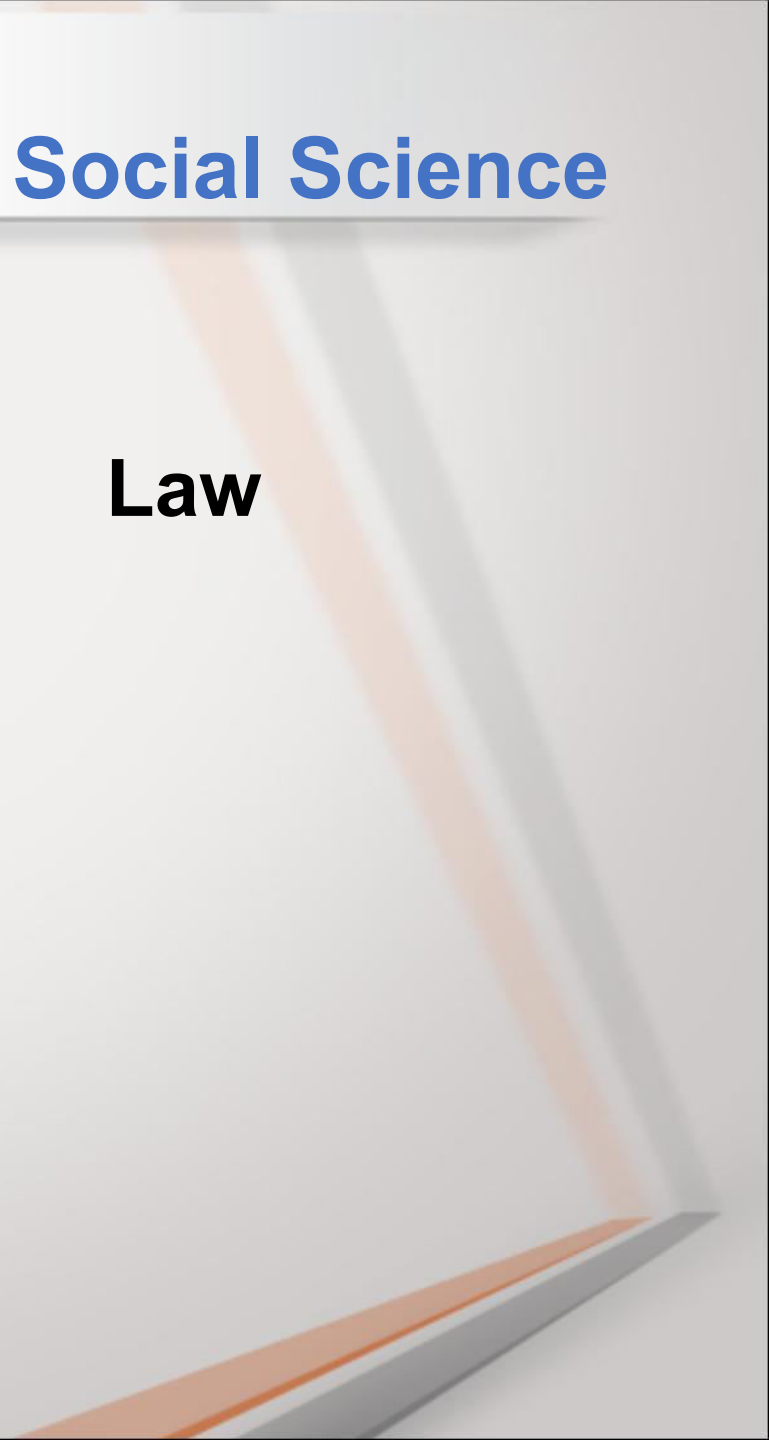
# New Public Management and Governance

- ❑ Public Management and Governance Studies concern with transforming states and public sectors through innovations
  - By adopting corporate sector practices in government
    - By hiring professionals on market rates
    - By working on target achievements (managing by objectives)
  - Public-private partnerships and government-society partnerships

# New Public Management and Governance

- ❑ New Public Management advocates including citizens in public policymaking
  - It also advocates turning the public sector organizations into non-hierarchical organizations

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science



**Law**

# Law

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- ❑ The law is the formal expression of public policy
  - Legal studies form important basis for public policies
    - In some countries such as Malaysia policies are enforced in the form of laws
- ❑ In some countries such as Germany and the United States, superior Courts play important roles in shaping public policies
  - This process is called judicialization of public policies



# Law

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- ❑ Public policy research often recommends making laws
  - The policy research on violence against women in Pakistan recommended enacting laws to criminalize violence against women. As a result, *The Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Bill 2009*, and *Protection against Harassment of Women at Workplace Bill 2009* were enacted.

# Place of Public Policy in Social Science

## Media and Journalism

# Media and Journalism

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- ❑ Media studies concern with the role of mass media in society
- ❑ Media is an important source of information and feedback on public policies
  - Governments inform people about policies through media
  - Citizens and citizen groups provide feedback on policies through media

# Media and Journalism

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- ❑ Media is a source of policy advocacy
  - Advocacy for making new policies such as making gun control policy in USA
  - Advocacy for changing policies such as making changes in education policy in Pakistan

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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## **Three Reasons**

# Three Reasons

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1. To Understand Evolution of Public Policy
2. Learn from the Ancient Political Ideas and Practice
  - To Reform Social Science/Policy Sciences
  - To Solve Modern Policy Problems
3. Learn How Philosophers Think about Public Policy
  - Different Policy Thinking for Different Policy Problems
  - Which Thinking Styles Don't Work

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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## **Scholarly Opinions**

# Scholarly Opinions

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**Yehezkel Dror**

From the beginnings of human thought, public policymaking has been a central subject for study and discussion by social philosophers and practical politicians alike.

Public Policy Making  
Reexamined

5<sup>th</sup> ed, 2003



# Scholarly Opinions

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Aristotle, Plato and Machiavelli are just the most well known among these philosophers

# Scholarly Opinions

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The great figures of classical philosophy considered the fundamental problems of policy from the point of view of men who had to exercise authority and to make practical decisions. Even where they themselves lived in remoteness from practical affairs, the clarification of standards for the judgment of public policy was always close to the centre of their attention (Shils, 1965, P. 1432)

# Scholarly Opinions

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It may be argued that really much of the history of political and social thought is characterized by preoccupation with advice about courses of action and modes of training for rulers and would be rulers.

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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**Ancient (Western)**

# Ancient (Western)

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1. The Discipline of Public Policy has Ancient Roots
  - Because Rulers always needed Advisors decision Making/Policymaking
2. Public Policy has Roots in Political and Moral Philosophy
  - Plato's Republic
  - Aristotle's Politics
  - Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments
  - J.S Mill's on Liberty and Utilitarianism

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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**Ancient (Asian)**

## Ancient (Asian)

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All authorities agree, however, that it was mainly because of Kautilya that the Mauryan empire under Chandragupta and later under Ashoka (reigned c. 265–c. 238) became a model of efficient government.

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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## **Medieval Philosophy**



# Medieval Philosophy

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- ❑ From 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century, Machiavellian philosophers/intellecuals would act as policy advisors
  - Remember *The Prince*
    - Written in 1505/published in 1515

# Why Study the Origins of public Policy

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## **Early Modern Social Science**

# Early Modern Social Science

- ❑ Social scientist as a distinct knowledge producer started emerging as an alternative to Machiavellian philosopher
  - The term social science as a distinct field was used in the early years of French Revolution, 1789
  - The goal was to create ordered, rationalist, happy society
- ❑ Many classical social thinkers wanted to become “Newton (1643-1727) of the social sciences” after 1750
  - Montesquieu
  - Scottish: Ferguson, Millar, Hume, Smith

# Stages of Policy Process

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## **Policy Cycle Model**

# Policy Cycle Model

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## ☐ What is a “Model”?

- “A model is merely an abstraction or representation of political life”
- Example, model of a building and a real building
- Or model of a plane and real plane
  - Models are generally simpler than the real objects. If they are as complicated as the objects they represent, we can’t understand them.

## ☐ This model assumes that policy is made in a series of stages

## ☐ Conventional way to describe the chronology of a policy process

# Domination of Policy Cycle

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- ❑ In political science, the **policy cycle** is a tool used for the analyzing of the development of a policy item. It can also be referred to as a "stagist approach", "stages heuristic" or "stages approach". It is a fiction rather than the actual reality of how policy is created, but has been influential in how people look at policy in general. It was developed as a theory from Harold Lasswell's work.

# Policy Cycle Model

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❑ Policy cycle model is also named as:

- Heuristic Model/Heuristic Device/Rule of Thumb
- Model
- Textbook Model
- Stages Heuristic
- Stages Model
- Framework
- Rational Model

❑ It has origins in Harold S. Lasswell's Stages Model

# Stages of Policy Process

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## **Conventional Policy Process Model**



# Stages of Policy Process

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**Domination of Policy Cycle**

# Domination of Policy Cycle

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- ❑ One standardized version includes the following stages:
- ❑ Agenda setting (Problem identification) - The recognition of certain subject as a problem demanding further government attention.
- ❑ Policy Formulation - Involves exploring a variation of options or alternative courses of action available for addressing the problem. (appraisal, dialogue, formulation, and consolidation)

# Stages in Policy Cycle

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## Policy Formulation

- According to Cochran and Malone,
  - policy formulation takes up the “what” questions: “What is the plan for dealing with the problem? What are the goals and priorities? What options are available to achieve those goals? What are the costs and benefits of each of the options? What externalities, positive or negative, are associated with each alternative?” (1999, 46).

# Stages in Policy Cycle

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## **Policy Formulation**

- In a traditional stages model of the public policy process, 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.

# Domination of Policy Cycle

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- ❑ Decision-making -  
Government decides on an ultimate course of action, whether to perpetuate the policy status quo or alter it. (Decision could be 'positive', 'negative', or 'no-action')
- ❑ Implementation - The ultimate decision made earlier will be put into practice.

# Domination of Policy Cycle

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- ❑ Evaluation - Assesses the effectiveness of a public policy in terms of its perceived intentions and results. Policy actors attempt to determine whether the course of action is a success or failure by examining its impact and outcomes

# Harold S. Lasswell

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❑ The stages of Harold Lasswell

- 7 steps

❑ Harold S. Lasswell's Model was

- More prescriptive and normative
- Not descriptive and analytical.
- 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 in organizational theory

# Domination of Policy Cycle

□ In 1960s and 1970s, Policy Cycle Model Was

- A conventional way to illustrate the chronology of a policy process (it still remains to some extent)
- A major base of policy theory
- A source of organizing and systemizing public policy knowledge.
- Adapted, Refined, Extended
- Variations Developed by Scholars, i.e.
  - Brewer and deLeon (1983),
  - May and Wildavsky (1978),
  - Anderson (1975), and
  - Jenkins (1978)



# Stages in Policy Cycle

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## **Benefits**

- ☐ It is simple and understandable.
- ☐ It can be applied to all political systems.
- ☐ The emphasis on cycles highlights fluid policymaking.
- ☐ There is also a wide range of important studies (and key debates) based on the analysis of particular stages – such as the top-down versus bottom-up approaches to the study of policymaking.

# Stages of Policy Cycle

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## **Critique of the Policy Cycle Model**

# Critique of the Policy Cycle Model

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- ❑ “It is advanced as a one-way model, in which the stages happen in order.”  
(Thomas A. Birkland)
- ❑ In reality, policymaking do not follow these stages in a linear way
- ❑ Too simplistic
- ❑ Does not explain

# Colonial Public Policy

**Principles/Rules/  
Ideology of  
Policymaking**

# Principles/Rules/Ideology of Policymaking

## **Civilizing Mission**

- control local population
- maintain social control/order
- incorporate local elite in colonial government
- establish superiority of the British by promoting Victorian culture
- bureaucratize social life
- introduce English ideas to Indians

# Principles/rules/Ideology of Policymaking

## **Capitalistic Economy**

- Integrate Indian economy with the international capitalistic economy
- Extract resources

# Colonial Public Policy

## Institutions of Policymaking

# Institutions of Policymaking

- British parliament
- Secretary of the state
- Colonial office
- Centralized state
- Top civil servants
- Central role of European scientists/experts
- Limited role of legislative councils



# Colonial Public Policy

**Implementation**

# Implementation

- Separation of policymaking and implementation
- Hierarchical
- Civilian bureaucracy as in-charge of implementation
- Local mediators

# Colonial Public Policy

**Low Budgetary  
Allocations**

# Low Budgetary Allocations

- Largest current expenditure was defence 40%
- More than 10% for police, jails, courts
- Very low rate of capital formation between 1860-1947 (1-1.5%)

# Low Budgetary Allocations

- In 1936, less than 3% of the national income for agriculture
- 1.5% for the social sector, i.e. education and health

# Colonial Public Policy

## Resource Extraction

# Resource Extraction

- Two major land tax systems
  - Zamindari: Phillip Francis and Lord Cornwallis
  - Ryotwari: Thomas Munro

# Resource Extraction

## **Mercantilism**

- First phase of mercantilism 1757-1813
  - Exporting Indian goods bought with Indian revenues
- Second phase of mercantilism 1813-1858
  - India made a market of British goods



# Resource Extraction

## **Mercantilism**

- Third phase of mercantilism 1858-1947
- British capital controls Indian banks, foreign trading firms, managing agencies

# Colonial Public Policy

**Exclusion in  
Policies**

# Exclusion in Policies

- Indian history downplayed; Indian institutions sidelined
- Local knowledge not utilized in policy making
- Local traditions subordinated to the emerging bureaucratic traditions

# Exclusion in Policies

- ordinary people not represented in policy making and implementation e.g. peasants, teachers, traders
- European precepts of democracy and equality not part of policy discourses
- Indians have little control on changing policies

# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Bureaucracy**

# Bureaucracy

- Bureaucratic organization remains generalist
- Basic structure of bureaucracy unchanged
- Civil servants remain in control of policymaking and implementation
- Bureaucracy works at a distance from people
- Policies framed to serve the power and powerful

# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Lower Level  
Officials/  
Administration**

# Lower Level Officials/Administration

- To act as implementers
- Possess little knowledge of policies
- Act as mediators between citizens and bureaucrats
- Keep the state machinery working



# Lower Level Officials/Administration

- Work in as secretive manner as the bureaucracy
- Use public resources for private benefits

# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Lack of People's  
Participation**

# Lack of People's Participation

- No consultations with people before policy formulation
- No public hearings for development projects
- No referendums for major policy changes
- No feedback collection on services
- No encouragement for political framing of public policies

# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Outdated Laws and  
Policy Making  
Framework**

# Outdated Laws & Policy Making Framework

- Laws do not relate to the contemporary realities
- Policymaking frameworks are underdeveloped
- Little capacity for making policies for emerging challenges such as cyber crimes and climate change

# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Exclusions**

# Exclusions

- Public policy silent about many issues such as democracy within family institution
- Excludes the issues of the poorest people such as gypsies, minorities, tribal people

# Exclusions

- Suppresses the voices of scavengers, sanitary workers
- Denies equal citizenship rights to the cultural minorities



# Colonial Influences on Policymaking

**Possibilities of  
Decolonization**

# Possibilities of Decolonization

- Establish public policy as the political undertaking
- Make public policies by deliberating on issues
- Redesign the bureaucracy
- Establish strong local governments

# The Measures of Good Policy

**Builds on Trends**

# Builds on Trends

- Difference between conditions and trends
- Limitations of condition responsive policies
- How trends help make good policies

# The Measures of Good Policy

**Builds on Local  
Solutions**

# Builds on Local Solutions

- Every place evolves local solutions
- Local solutions are easy to adopt
- They are low cost
- They may be adapted to changing circumstances easily
- They are likely to be durable
- Is Qing Qi a local solution?

# The Measures of Good Policy

**Creates Ownership  
Among Beneficiaries**

# Creates Ownership Among Beneficiaries

- Current state of policies isolated from their beneficiaries
- Even implementers do not know policies
- Deliberation during making and implementation creates ownership



# The Measures of Good Policy

**Develop Feedback  
Mechanism**

# Develop Feedback Mechanism

- Easy to use feedback mechanisms make good policies
- Feedback should be collected from all possible sources
- All kinds of feedback should be respected
- Feedback should not be wasted
- Good feedback should be rewarded

# The Measures of Good Policy

**Flexible**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines, creating a sense of depth and movement.

# Flexible

- Policies and their implementation should be flexible
- Avoid using standardized approaches for policy implementation
- Respect variations in cultures, and needs of the recipient populations

# The Measures of Good Policy

**Improvise**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines. The pattern is more dense on the right side and fades towards the left. The word "Improvise" is centered in the middle-right portion of the slide.

# Improvise

- Good policies always improvise
- They keep on accumulating knowledge
- They become self-corrective
- They encourage learning and use the learning

# Improving Policy Implementation

**Disseminating  
Policy**

The background of the slide features a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping, semi-transparent geometric shapes. These include various rectangles, squares, and circles in shades of light gray and white, creating a sense of depth and movement. The overall aesthetic is modern and technological, with a focus on clean lines and layered composition.

# Disseminating Policy

- People hardly know policies, even bureaucrats don't
- Translations, summaries in English, Urdu and other languages
- Newspapers, television, and other media; disseminate among journalists



# Disseminating Policy

- Disseminate among writers, intellectuals
- Do not forget to disseminate among political parties, politicians
- Curriculum and textbooks

# Improving Policy Implementation

**Training  
Implementers**

# Training Implementers

- Educate the direct implementers
- Educate the complementing/COORDINATING officials
- Do not forget training implementers on how to implement e.g. mid level officials
- Keep training the line agencies

# Training Implementers

- Training should be easy, interesting
- Training manuals should be useable
- The use of training should be rewarded

# Improving Policy Implementation

## Creating Partnership

# Creating Partnerships

- Partnerships within the government and with the private sector important
- Partnerships should help create synergies
- Partnerships should be mutually empowering and benefitting

# Improving Policy Implementation

## **Strengthening Civil Society**

# Strengthening Civil Society

- NGOs and independent public forums need to be strengthened for
  - Monitoring, transparency, accountability and policy evaluation purposes
- NGOs should be capacitated to link citizens with government



# Improving Policy Implementation

**Developing  
Feedback  
Mechanisms**

# Developing Feedback Mechanisms

- Beneficiaries opinions very important for the policy implementation
- Implementers should have a say in implementing, i.e. teachers should have authority over teaching
- Citizens opinions must be collected

# Developing Feedback Mechanisms

- Proper analysis should be undertaken of the opinions
- Implementers should be enable to transform implementation in the light of feedback

# Improving Policy Implementation

**Improving  
Implementation**

The background of the slide features a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping, semi-transparent geometric shapes. These include various rectangles, squares, and circles in shades of light gray and white, creating a sense of depth and movement. The overall aesthetic is modern and technical, complementing the theme of policy implementation.

# Improving Implementation

- Documentation of implementation experience
- Implementation case studies
- Preparing implementation knowledge
- Teach implementation knowledge to the implementers

# Rational Choice Theory

## Introduction

# Introduction

- Choice theory, Rational action theory
- Orthodox, Dominant
- Not a single theory, but a 'family of theories'
  - Game theory and individual decision theory
  - Main paradigm in micro-economics
  - Main paradigm in political science

# Introduction

- RCT borrows heavily from economic assumption of individual preference
  - Understanding and modeling individual behavior
  - Mathematical, Deductive, a priori
  - Motivation assumptions
  - Homo economicus



# Introduction

- Winner of Nobel Prize in Economics Sciences in 1992, Gary Becker popularized RCT
- Herbert Simon
- Anthony Downs, electoral behavior and party competition
- Mancur Olson
- William Riker .

# Rational Choice Theory

## Basic Assumptions

# Basic Assumptions

- Individualism: individual is rational, self-interested, self-calculating, self-maximizing, utility maximizer; instrumental actor
  - Individuals adopt course of action which increases their utility and welfare

# Basic Assumptions

- The rest flows from this basic assumption
- RCT begins from the viewpoint of the individual
- Individual is the starting point, individual is the foundation, unit of analysis, starting point

# Basic Assumptions

- Individuals decisions can be explained in terms of goal-oriented, purposive, self-interested behavior
- Individual decision making produce macro outcomes
- People have ordered, stable preferences;

# Basic Assumptions

- People have the correction information to assess outcomes relative to objectives;
- Optimality: make strategic decision based on their preferences, calculations of costs, risks and rewards (Jones, Boushey, & Workman, 2006) .

# Rational Choice Theory

## Application

# Application

- RCT tries to explain public policy in terms of the actions of self-interested individual policy actors, whether they are voters, corporate lobbyists, agency officials or legislators



# Application

- It says that policy actors choose policies on the basis of the consequences for their personal welfare
- RCT is being applied widely to study government

# Application

- Political decision-makers are self-interested utility maximizers, who hold stable preferences and objectives, and make strategic decisions to maximize the benefits of given choice

# Application

- To understand the politics at aggregate level, the researchers need only to understand the ordered preferences of individual actors who populate an institution .

# Rational Choice Theory

**Using RCT at  
Various Stages of  
Policy**

# Using RCT at Various Stages of Policy

RCT is used in:

- Policy making

- a) Use of incentives and sanctions

- b) Assumption: preferences are determined exogenously

- c) Individuals change behavior on the bases of their calculation of gain versus pain

# Using RCT at Various Stages of Policy

- Policy implementation
- Policy evaluation
- Policy change .

# Rational Choice Theory

**How to Apply?**

# How to Apply?

- Downs: Rational choice theorist should 'calculate the most reasonable way for a decision-maker to reach his goals, and [assume that] this way will actually be chosen because the decision-maker is rational'.
- Preferences+rules=outcomes



# How to Apply?

- RCT used to evaluate PP along a spectrum of areas:
  - Standards of policy performance as Return on Investment
  - The notion of opportunity costs in achieving public benefits

# How to Apply?

- Highlighting the superiority of market forces over governmental intervention in the economy .

# Rational Choice Theory

**Current Status and  
Future**

# Current Status and Future

- Highly influential in OECD, the World Bank, the IMF
- Shaping the large tracts of world in line with the RCT
- Underpinned the neoliberal reforms of the public sector rolling back welfare state

# Current Status and Future

- Justification for applying RCT to policymaking=more efficient provision of services
- Cost-shifting to the grey sector: welfare services from charities .

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

**What is (and is not)  
Advocacy**

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

- Influencing the choices and actions of public or private policymakers and implementers
- To implement effectively
- To enforce policies without discrimination
- Influencing the choices and actions of resources allocators

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

- Engaging decision-makers in an outcome-oriented process to advance agenda for social change
- Opposing or favoring a policy
- Suggesting better courses of action
- Supporting a cause
- But mostly for policy change



# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

- Professional or political work
- Convincing government that something needs to be changed

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## Two Types of Advocacy

- Normative-based advocacy
  - Based on constitutions, covenants such as Convention of Child Labor
- Evidence-based advocacy
  - Based on quantitative or qualitative data

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## **Advocacy is Not**

- Extension  
work/Awareness Raising  
on Human Rights
- Not a Public  
Campaign/Information,  
Education, and  
Communication to  
change specific practices
  - It is targeted at  
individuals, not  
policymakers

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## **Advocacy is Not**

- Fund-raising
- Lobbying
  - Lobbying involves advocacy but advocacy do not always involves lobbying

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## Summing up

- Advocacy involves trying to influence a governmental agenda,
- Corporate behavior,
- A specific public policy,
- The implementation of a policy.

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

**Why Advocacy?**

# Why Advocacy?

- Advocacy is a powerful tool
  - When policymakers or implementers do not fulfill their responsibilities
  - Voice the rights of excluded, voiceless

# Why Advocacy?

- Even well intentioned policies do not benefit everyone
  - Lack of information
  - Uncertainty
  - Social changes



# Why Advocacy?

- The implications of policies are known in the implementation process
  - Environmental implications are not known in advance
  - Sheesha Café's
- Prevent social unrest/conflict
- Promote Equity and democracy .

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## **Traditional Forms of Policy Advocacy**

# Traditional Forms of Policy Advocacy

- Petitions to the policymakers
  - Colonial, postcolonial times
  - Influential would petition
  - Anjuman's/Associations would petition
  - Traders, landlords, influential groups
- Interest-based not right based

# Traditional Forms of Policy Advocacy

- Not inclusive of diversity
- Direct lobby, little grass roots work
- Letters to the editor/
- Kachehris/public hearings by government officials as forums for advocacy
- Municipal hearings
- Columnists/radio programs/ posters

# Traditional Forms of Policy Advocacy

- Protests and strikes
  - Appealing and mobilizing general public for advocacy
- Confrontational advocacy
- Mostly in the form of lobbying

# Traditional Forms of Policy Advocacy

- Traditional advocacy forms may use confrontational strategies and may result in
  - Political polarization
  - Gridlock
  - Inferior policy outcomes .

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## NGOs and Policy Advocacy

# NGOs and Policy Advocacy

- NGOs and think tanks are replacing traditional advocacy forums such as Anjuman's/Associations, columnists
  - Foreign funding
  - Expertise
  - Data
  - Familiarity with foreign practices and ideas



# NGOs and Policy Advocacy

- For example,
  - Sustainable Development Policy Institute of Pakistan
  - Social and Policy Development Centre
  - Shirkat Gah
  - Aurat Foundation
  - Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

# NGOs and Policy Advocacy

- Urban Resource Centre, Karachi
- Punjab Urban Resource Centre, Lahore
- Four Advocacy Roles of NGOs/Think Tanks
  - Advising
  - Media campaigning to win voters, legislators, bureaucrats
  - Lobbying
  - Activism .

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## **Citizen Groups and Policy Advocacy**

# Citizen groups and Policy Advocacy

- Citizens groups are different from NGOs
- Voluntary groups of citizens on social change
- Few and far between, currently in formation in Pakistan
  - Lahore Conservation Society
  - Obaidullah Sindhi Foundation
  - Shehri-CBE, Karachi

# Citizen groups and Policy Advocacy

- Trade Unions are also moving beyond their traditional agendas

# Citizen groups and Policy Advocacy

- Problems of citizens groups advocacy
- Opportunities for citizens groups advocacy
- Political parties as citizens groups .

# What is (and is Not) Advocacy

## **Policy Advocacy and Policy Change**

# Policy Advocacy and Policy Change

- Policy advocacy is expanding in Pakistan
- Google search “policy advocacy in Pakistan”
  - 12,200,000 results on 04 February 2015
- Lahore Conservation Society
  - Made efforts to prevent canal road widening and tree cutting in 2006



# Policy Advocacy and Policy Change

- Youth policies in provinces by Bargad
- Laws to punish harassing of women in 2009
- Freedom of Information laws .

# How to Design Policy Advocacy

**Steps in Planning  
Policy Advocacy?**

# Steps in planning Policy Advocacy

- Decide whether to advocate for a policy
  - Determine on the bases of ethics and analysis if a policy needs advocacy
  - Determine if the context will allow an intervention

# Steps in planning Policy Advocacy

- Decide where to focus
  - Determine where to focus change/intervention in a selected policy area
- Get decision makers' attention
  - Check if the context is open enough for an initiative

# Steps in planning Policy Advocacy

- Develop a support base
  - Networks, coalitions, organizations
- Developing a proposal
  - Develop solution developed using policy analysis and put them into appropriate format

# Steps in planning Policy Advocacy

- Implement policy advocacy
  - Collect resources implementing advocacy plan
- Evaluate your advocacy plan
  - Collect data about the performance of your policy advocacy project\*

# How to Design policy Advocacy

**Research and Skills  
for Policy Advocacy**

# Research & Skills for Policy Advocacy

- Since advocacy for change may take years; it is a long process, and since advocacy efforts may not be successful
  - Research is very important
  - Gathering policy and political information is important



# Research & Skills for Policy Advocacy

- Four kinds of Skills
  - Analytic skills
    - Used to evaluate issues, develop proposals, establish need, identify barriers, and design program evaluations

# Research & Skills for Policy Advocacy

- Political skills
  - Need the ability to use power when establishing a political strategy
  - Building strategic relationships

# Research & Skills for Policy Advocacy

- Interactional skills
  - Be able to facilitate, participate in task groups, committees, etc.
  - Establishing your credibility as an advocate
  - Maintaining focus

# Research & Skills for Policy Advocacy

- Value-clarifying skills
  - Ability to use principles to organize practice\*

# How to Design Policy Advocacy

## **Presentation of Advocacy Content**

# Presentation of Advocacy Content

- Policymakers and implementers, legislators and executive have little time
- It is important to construct persuasive arguments
- Short policy briefs having argument, reasons and evidence

# Presentation of Advocacy Content

- Alternative proposals should be constructed, i.e. proposed policy actions should be clear and specific
- Alternative proposals should be practical
- The potential of alternative proposals can be demonstrated through social experiments\*

# How to Design policy Advocacy

## **Features of Effective Advocacy**



# Features of Effective Advocacy

- It is based on good technical and political understanding
- It identifies actual individuals who make policy decision, knows their interests, etc.
- It can be sustained for a long time

# Features of Effective Advocacy

- It can be undertaken with the help of self-sustaining networks and coalitions
- It can adapt to the changing circumstances
- It can learn from its own experience
- It has the ability to proceed along a predefined track

# Features of Effective Advocacy

- It has the ability to deal with opposition constructively
- It employs available technologies to its advantage\*

# How to Design Policy Advocacy

## Measuring the Effects of Advocacy

# Measuring the Effects of Advocacy

- It is difficult to measure the impact of advocacy
- Many forces are at work simultaneously
- Continuous evaluation of advocacy plan is necessary
- Third party evaluations are better
- Both quantitative and qualitative data are necessary for evaluation

# Measuring the Effects of Advocacy

- Policy changes during advocacy plan need to be monitored and documented
- Evaluation should identify the strong and weak features of advocacy\*

# How to Design Policy Advocacy

## Improving Advocacy

# Improving Advocacy

- Since advocacy is an important tool for policy change
- It needs to be improved continuously
- Many organizations have produced knowledge on advocacy
  - UNDP
  - Care Foundation
  - WaterAid
  - Unicef



# Improving Advocacy

- But more efforts are needed to be undertaken to improve advocacy
- Knowledge on what makes advocacy successful in developing countries like Pakistan is limited
- More efforts are needed to produced advocacy knowledge in Pakistan\*

# Writing Policy Briefs

**What is a Policy Brief?**

# What is a Policy Brief?

- Many organizations have developed guidelines.
- International Development Research Centre, Canada's guidelines are comprehensive
- This talk is based on them

# What is a Policy Brief?

- Short document
  - Findings, recommendations of a research
  - Presents lessons of a policy research
  - Provides policy advice to policymakers
  - General and non-specialist readers
    - Knowing audience is important

# What is a Policy Brief?

- What audience know?
- What are their needs, interests and concerns, so that information can be organized and presented in accessible ways
- Audience research is important

# What is a Policy Brief?

- Should be stand alone, should address one topic or issue only
- Provides alternatives, recommends one of the alternatives
- Suggests how the recommendation can be implemented
- Two to four pages long
- Contains a maximum of 1,500 words

# What is a Policy Brief?

- Five components of a policy brief
  - Executive Summary
    - Three to five sentences to provide overview
    - Like a “Lead in” to a popular novel
    - Provides the gist of the conclusions
  - Introduction

# What is a Policy Brief?

- Approaches and Results
- Conclusion
- Implications and Recommendations.\*



# Writing Policy Briefs

## Persuasion in Policy Briefs

# Persuasion in Policy Briefs

- Persuasion is very important
  - Answer the question “What value does this have for me?”
  - Tell the reader about the urgency of the situation
  - What are the benefits and advantages of writing policy brief

# Persuasion in Policy Briefs

- Reader should know the benefits of reading the brief
- Do not describe research but focus on: “What does this mean?”
- Use terms like this: rising violence, loss of fresh water, rising accidents, etc

# Persuasion in Policy Briefs

- Then highlight the benefits your solutions offer
- Better persuasion requires writing clear objectives/purposes
- Write in clear and plain language
- Construct arguments clearly\*

# Writing Policy Briefs

**Writing  
Introductions,  
Approaches &  
Results**

# Writing Introductions, Approaches & Results

## Introduction

- You should know that reader sees introduction first, you will write it last
- A good introduction answers the question why brief was written
- It also explains the significance/urgency of the issue

# Writing Introductions, Approaches & Results

## Introduction

- It narrates research objective
- It gives overview of findings, conclusions
- It creates curiosity for rest of brief
- Like a synopsis, it provides an overview of the findings and implications

# Writing Introductions, Approaches & Results

## Introduction

- It should entice the reader to read rest of the document



# Writing Introductions, Approaches & Results

## **Approaches & Results**

- How the study was conducted
- Methods used to collect data
- Results mean what was learned
- Information should move from general to the specific
- Claims should be supported with proof

# Writing Introductions, Approaches & Results

## Approaches & Results

- You should demonstrate what you state
- Statements can be supported with facts and examples.\*

# Writing Policy Briefs

**Conclusion: What  
Does it Mean?**

# Conclusion: What Does it Mean?

- Interpret data
  - motorcycle accidents
  - divorces
- Aim for concrete conclusions

# Conclusion: What Does it Mean?

- Remember World Health Organization:
  - “One of the main barriers between research and action is the inability to condense research results into conclusions which could facilitate policy formulation”

# Conclusion: What Does it Mean?

- The value added of a policy brief lies in the interpretation of data rather than the data itself
- It is your job to interpret the data and answer the question “what does it mean?”

# Conclusion: What Does it Mean?

- Group all the important findings, conclusions and advice in one clearly marked section so that busy decision makers can easily find and read them all.\*

# Writing Policy Briefs

## Implications and Recommendations



# Implications and Recommendations

- Implications mean what could happen
- Recommendations are what should happen
- Both flow from conclusions
- Both must be supported by evidence

# Implications and Recommendations

- You should state either implications
  - what the researcher believes will or could happen,
- or recommendations
  - which are what the researcher would like to see happen

# Implications and Recommendations

- implications and recommendations should flow out of the conclusions
- they should be well supported by data
- *Implications: If...Then...*
  - An implication is a statement of the natural consequence of something else

# Implications and Recommendations

- As a result, this statement is often presented in a if....then...format.
- The question that remains unanswered is of course what should happen next
- In some instances, it may not be possible or politically appropriate to make recommendations.\*

# Writing Policy Briefs

**Recommendations:  
Call to Action**

# Recommendation: Call to Action

- Describe clearly what should happen next
  - A recommendation is a clear suggestion for what should happen next
- State as precise steps
- Ensure they are relevant, credible and feasible.\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

**Why PDWP?**

# Why PDWP?

- Water scarcity
  - Water tables going down
  - Over extraction
- Environmental degradation
  - Water is polluted



# Why PDWP?

- Millennium Development Goals
  - Although Pakistan largely achieved water related MDG, a lot remains to be done
- Water borne diseases
- Arsenic
- Exclusions in access to water
- Water crisis?\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

## Key Features of PDWP

# Key Features of PDWP

- Reducing water leakages
- Reducing non-revenue water
- Rationalize tariffs
- Cost recovery of all water connections by metering them by 2016
- Private sector participation
- Role of donors\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

## Implementation of Policy

# Implementation of Policy

- Implementation has been slow
- Implementability is low
  - Institutional changes were not in place
  - Overlaps between Housing, Urban Development, and Physical Health Engineering Department (HUD&PHED) and Local Governments

# Implementation of Policy

- In 2014, Government of the Punjab established Punjab Saaf Pani Company adding to the existing agencies
- Water and Sanitation Agencies in major cities are also being turned into companies

# Implementation of Policy

- Allocation of funds to water sector do not follow norms of equity and inclusion\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

**Budgetary  
Allocations to  
Water, 2011-12**



# Budgetary Allocations to Water 2011-12

- It is important to know the budget
- Sometimes only half of the budget demands are provided
- The allocated amounts are not spent
  - In 2008-09, only 45.08% of the Annual Development Plan of Punjab's allocation were spent

# Budgetary Allocations to Water 2011-12

- Of the Rs. 155 bn, Rs. 112 bn released and Rs. 71 bn spent by March 2009
  - Block allocations
  - Unapproved schemes
  - Thin Spread
  - Throw Forward\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

**How to Improve  
PDWP**

# How to Improve PDWP

- Address root causes of water problems
  - Drinking water is an issue of local governments
  - Effective use of allocations
  - Reduce reliance on loans and donors
  - Save water from contamination

# How to Improve PDWP

- Recover cost of water by rational tariffs, water metering and cost recovery
- Low cost, affordable methods of constructing water schemes\*

# Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

**How to Conduct  
Research on  
Water  
Policies(RWPs)  
in Pakistan**

# How to Conduct Research

- A lot of research on water is needed in the context of climate and demographic changes in Pakistan
- Identify exclusions in access to water
- Critical analysis of water related agencies
- Critical analysis of bottled water

# How to Conduct Research

- Developing institutional designs to conserve water
- How community participation can be ensured in water schemes
- How budgetary allocation can be made following equity and inclusion framework\*



# Harold Dwight Lasswell

## Biography of Lasswell

# Biography of Lasswell



Harold Lasswell

# Biography of Lasswell

- Lasswell, 1902-1978
- Leading American political scientists, communication and propaganda theorist
- Professor at Yale University in America
- President of American Political Science Association

# Biography of Lasswell

- President of World Academy of Arts and Science
- “Ranked among the half dozen creative innovators in the social sciences in the twentieth century.”  
Gabriel Almond
- One of the most productive and original scholars of twentieth century

# Biography of Lasswell

- Lasswell employed insights from psychology, psychiatry, sociology, statistics, economics and other disciplines to develop policy sciences
- Father of modern policy sciences
- Founder of political psychology
- Major contributor to content analysis\*

# Harold Dwight Lasswell

## Major Ideas

# Major Ideas

- Three distinct characteristics of public policy:  
**Multidisciplinary/multi method**
- Policy sciences would break from the narrow study of political institutions and structures and embrace the work and findings of fields such as sociology, economics, law and politics

# Major Ideas

## Problem Solving

- policy science would adhere to a strict canon of relevance, orienting itself towards the solution of real world problems and not engaging in purely academic and often sterile debates



# Major Ideas

## **Normative**

- Policy science should not be cloaked in the guise of “scientific objectivity”, but should recognize the impossibility of separating goals and means, or values and techniques, in the study of government actions
- Sciences of democracy

# Major Ideas

- Promoting human dignity
- Policy should enhance the “dignity of man, not the superiority of one set of men”

# Major Ideas

- “It is foreseen that the emphasis will be upon the development of knowledge pertinent to the fuller realization of human dignity. Let us for convenience call this the evolution of the ‘policy sciences of democracy.’”
- Policy orientation to social sciences\*

# Harold Dwight Lasswell

**Major Work**

# Major Work

- The Policy Orientation, 1951
  - “The fundamental problems of man in society, rather than upon the topical issues of the moment” (1951: 8). Lasswell elaborated on his vision for the policy sciences in his 1971 book

# Major Work

- Pre-View of Policy Sciences, 1971
- “Policy sciences are a contemporary adaptation of the general approach to public policy that was recommended by John Dewey and his colleagues in the development of American pragmatism” (4, pXIV)

# Major Work

- How policy scientists should be educated.
- GOAL  
CLARIFICATION: what future states are to be realized as far as possible in the social process?

# Major Work

- **TREND**  
**DESCRIPTION:** To what extent have past and recent events approximated the preferred terminal states? What discrepancies are there? How great are they?



# Major Work

- ANALYSIS OF CONDITIONS: What factors have conditioned the direction and magnitude of the described trends?
- PROJECTION OF DEVELOPMENTS. If current policies are continued, what is the probable future of goal realizations or discrepancies?

# Major Work

- INVENTION, EVALUATION, AND SELECTION OF ALTERNATIVES. What intermediate objectives and strategies will optimize the realization of preferred goals. (p 39)\*

# Harold Dwight Lasswell

**Other Major  
Publications and  
Their Reception**

## Other Major Publications

- Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927; Reprinted with a new introduction, 1971)
- Psychopathology and Politics, (1930; reprinted, 1986)
- World Politics and Personal Insecurity (1935; Reprinted with a new introduction, 1965)

## Other Major Publications

- Politics: Who Gets What, When, How (1936)
- "The Garrison State" (1941)
- Power and Personality (1948)
- Political Communication: Public Language of Political Elites in India and the US (1969)\*

# Harold Dwight Lasswell

## Future of Lasswellian Ideas

# Future of Lasswellian Ideas

- Many scholars are adopting policy sciences approach
- Policy sciences provide a good alternative to the economics-based policy analysis and the political science-based policy studies perspectives

# Future of Lasswellian Ideas

- The Lasswellian vision of policy sciences is taught at
- The Yale University Law School,
- The University of Colorado Department of Political Science



# Future of Lasswellian Ideas

- The policy sciences movement is supported by the
  - Policy Sciences Center, a non-profit organization established in 1948 by Lasswell, McDougal, and George Dession, all members of the Yale Law School faculty

# Future of Lasswellian Ideas

- Society for the Policy Sciences, which was created in 1995.
- The Society for policy sciences holds annual research meetings and sponsors a respected international journal, Policy Sciences, which is published by Springer\*

# Harold Dwight Lasswell

**Ideas Relevance  
to Pakistan**

# Ideas Relevance to Pakistan

- Who gets what in Pakistan and How?
- How to promote democracy and human dignity in Pakistan?
- Promoting policy orientation to connect social scientists in Pakistan\*

# Institutionalism

**Why Need Rules?**

# Why Need Rules?

- Do you play cricket?
  - What do we need to play cricket?
    - Actors: We need players, umpires
    - Infrastructure: We need bat, ball, wickets, uniforms, hats

# Why Need Rules?

- Rules of the Game:  
We need rules to play cricket (players and umpires need to agree on those rules)
- Organization: We need organization to enforce rules, i.e., Pakistan Cricket Board and International Cricket Council

# Why Need Rules?

- Let us think about any other game!
  - Wrestling (kabbadi), horse race, chess
    - Can we play any of this game without rules?
    - Certainly, not!



# Why Need Rules?

- Let us think about businesses
  - Shopkeepers, bazaars, markets, factories need some rules
    - Otherwise transactions can't happen
  - Even criminal gangs, mafias have some rules

# Why Need Rules?

- Watch Hollywood or Bollywood movies
- Do you use computer?
  - Can you use computer without rules?
  - Certainly, not!
  - Why? Because computer only perform actions as written in its soft wares
  - Software engineers keep on writing rules

# Why Need Rules?

- There are other examples, too
  - Sociologists term following arrangements as institutions
    - Family
    - Marriage
    - Religion
    - Education
    - Trade

# Why Need Rules?

- Because these arrangements are based on rules, which are enduring overtime
- We learn to live our lives according to the rules, or institutions
  - So that players can't cheat, do not fight, do not intimidate to win

# Why Need Rules?

- Similarly, organization of political life also needs some rules
  - From tribes in Africa to State in the United States
    - All political arrangements are organized following some rules
    - That is why studying rules/institutions is important

# Why Need Rules?

- But rules can be formal and informal
  - Cricket has evolved formal rules enforceable by formal organizations and professionals
  - Kabbadi has evolved rules, but they are enforced informally

# Why Need Rules?

- It means the games people play, they play on the basis of rules
  - Though some rules can be bypassed, others can't be
  - You can play cricket without following ICC rules, but can't play cricket if you are playing with Pakistani cricket team

# Why Need Rules?

- You can only operate a software following the rules
- It also means that rules/institutions are needed for collective action problems
- It is, therefore, philosophers and statesmen are studying rules/institutions since ancient times



# Why Need Rules?

- Plato (b. 428 BCE)
- Aristotle (b. 384 BCE)
- Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)
- John Locke (1632-1704)
- But some rules/institutions are better than the others
  - Example: the rules of Cricket have changed over time

# Why Need Rules?

- Socrates and Plato  
utopia was to create  
virtuous men/good men
  - But good men could  
be produced by good  
institutions
    - Political institutions  
designed to allow  
people to become  
political

# Why Need Rules?

- Institutionalism is all about studying institutions, correcting their flaws, if any, and designing good institutions\*

# Institutionalism

## **Institutions & Public Policy**

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Why should public policy students study institutions?
  - Because many factors determine public policy
  - But most crucial are polity and politics
- Again, in order to live in a society and deal with social problems

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Human beings need rules and regulations
  - To coordinate, to regulate behavior
  - To resolve conflicts
- Human beings also need structures and arrangements
  - To enforce these rules
  - To punish and to reward

# Institutions & Public Policy

- These rules are institutions, but let us think about a formal definition
  - Institutions are defined in opposition to nature
    - Nature does not provide us rules
    - Human beings create them

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Institutions are “sets of legal rules that can be enforced by state actors”
- “Rules of political game”



# Institutions & Public Policy

- An institution is any structure or mechanism of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given human community

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interactions
- Until 1950s, political science studied the political institutions
  - Compare executive with legislature
  - Political parties and electoral systems

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Constitutions
- The aim was to improve political systems by comparing various political systems and learning from them
- Legal and historical method dominated the political science

# Institutions & Public Policy

- But Structural functionalism, rational choice theory and behaviouralism
  - Rational choice theorists explained public policy in terms of individual interest
  - Behaviorists studied the behavior of politicians and voters

# Institutions & Public Policy

- Neo-Marxists focused on systematic power (owners of capital)
- There was much more to the politics than formal arrangements for representation, decision making and policy implementation\*

# Institutionalism

## **Foundations of Modern Institutionalism**

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- It is important to study Federalists
  - Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804)
  - John Jay (1745-1829)
  - James Madison (1751-1836)
- Institutional tradition is dominant mode of American governmental organization

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- Dominant mode of political thought in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries
- Institutionalists were skeptical of human political capabilities/human nature
  - Greed
  - Avarice
  - Conflict



# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- “If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” James Madison
- Weight of self-interest can be countered through properly designed institutions

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- Malicious affect of majority rule on minorities
  - Division of power among legislature, executive, judiciary
  - Devolution of powers to sub national units

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- Rather than relying on the following as foundations of government
  - Community
  - Public spiritedness
  - Social equality
  - Ethics
  - Virtue

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- Institutional devices were considered effective for solving social and political problems

# Foundations of Modern Institutionalism

- The vocabulary on institutional theory is as follows:
  - System
  - Mechanism
  - Control
  - Realism
  - Skepticism
  - Facts\*

# Institutionalism

## State Theory & Public Policy

# State Theory & Public Policy

- 19<sup>th</sup> Century German historical sociologists and legal theorists, such as
  - Otto Hintze (1861-1940)
  - Max Weber (1864-1920), focused on the role of state in policy making

# State Theory & Public Policy

- Public policy as institutional output
  - Policy is authoritatively determined, implemented, and enforced by state institutions (legitimacy, universality, and coercion)
  - Executive, legislative, and judicial branches



# State Theory & Public Policy

- Individuals have little impact;  
structure/design affects outcomes
- State is sovereign organization
- Unprecedented financial, personnel and coercive resources
- State is central to study society, public policy and development

# State Theory & Public Policy

- Leading institution in society
- Key agent in political process
- State's monopoly on the use of force reorders social relations
- Enduring institutional structures are building blocks of social and political life\*

# Institutions & Public Policy in Pakistan

**Why Learn about  
Institutions of  
Policymaking?**

# Why Learn about Institutions of Policymaking?

- Public policies are determined by institutions
- Policymakers make choices within the institutional framework
- Policies are implemented through institutions
- Understanding of institutions help designing policy research

# Why Learn about Institutions of Policymaking?

- A good understanding of institutions is required to design policy proposals
- Briefly, policy students must know
  - How the state and government functions
  - What are the relationships among various organs of the state

# Why Learn about Institutions of Policymaking?

- How do various organs of state interact?
- What are their powers?
- How state functionaries exercise powers?
- How government/state institutions undertake changes?\*

# Institutions & Public Policy in Pakistan

**Policy is  
Contingent on the  
Prescriptions of  
Institutions?**

# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973
  - Constitution is ‘fundamental laws that determines the central institutions and offices, and powers and duties of the state,’



# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- Chapter 2 of the Constitution: Principles of policy
  - All organs and authorities working on behalf of state required to follow Principles of Policy

# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- President and Provincial Governors responsible for organizing discussion on the progress of Principles of Policy in national and provincial assemblies

# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- Important principles:
  - Promotion of local government institutions with special representation for women, labor, peasants
  - Sectarian, racial, tribal, provincial prejudices not allowed

# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- Full participation of women in all spheres of national life
- Protection of minorities, due representation in all services
- Social justice
- Elimination of oppression

# Policy Prescriptions and Institutions

- Social and economic well-being of people\*

# **Institutions & Public Policy in Pakistan**

## **Organization of National Political Life**

# Organization of National Political Life

- Bicameral
- National Assembly of Pakistan/Lower House
  - 342 seats (272 general, 60 seats for women, 10 for non-Muslims)
- Senate of Pakistan (Upper House)
  - 104 seats
- Senate of Pakistan is a permanent legislative body

# Organization of National Political Life

- A legislative bill becomes a law when passed by both NA and the Senate
- Provincial Assemblies
  - Provincial legislation
- Cabinets
  - National and Provincial Cabinets are highly important policy forums



# Organization of National Political Life

- Standing Committees
  - Standing Committees are legislative committees
    - Undertaking deliberations
    - Oversight of government ministries/departments
    - Protecting public interest in legislation

# Organization of National Political Life

- “Eyes, ears, hands, brain of the parliament”
- Standing Committees of Senate, National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies

# Organization of National Political Life

- Senate and National Assembly Standing Committees are empowered to:
  - Suo moto examination of expenditures
  - Administration
  - Legislation
  - Public petitions
  - Policies of the ministries and attached bodies

# Organization of National Political Life

- Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 2012
- Rules, Functions and Procedures/Senate Manual 2012
- National Assembly Rules of Procedures

# Organization of National Political Life

- Some Provincial Assemblies do not give suo moto powers to the Standing Committees
- How Can Policy Students Support National Political Arrangement?
  - The students should read Rules of Procedures

# Organization of National Political Life

- Visit websites of the Senate, the NA, and Pas frequently
- Read publications
- Read Standing Committees reports
- Standing Committees need research reports
  - The better you know the system, the practical your advice will be\*

# Institutions & Public Policy in Pakistan

## **Political Parties/ Administrative Structure**

# Political Parties

- Political parties play important roles in setting preferences
- They also articulate public opinion
- But they need research support
  - Policy analysis
  - Budgetary allocations
  - Transparency
  - Accountability



# Administrative Structure

- Administrative Structure of Pakistan
  - Ministries and departments play important role in policymaking, as they
  - Suggest policies
  - Suggest legislation/draft bills
  - Suggest procedures
  - Most importantly, allocate budgets

# Administrative Structure

- How to Support Administrative Structure in Policymaking?
  - Visit websites of the ministries and departments
  - Read their rules of business
  - Suggest alternatives\*

# Charles E. Lindblom

## Biography

# Biography

- Charles Lindblom (b. 1917)
- Sterling Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Economics at Yale University
- Former President of American Political Science Association

# Biography

- Former President Association for Comparative Economic Studies
- Former Director, Yale Institution for Social and Policy Studies\*

**Charles E. Lindblom**

**Comment on  
Rationality**

# Comment on Rationality

- Dominance of Rationalist Model in Policy Sciences
- Synoptic, Comprehensive
  - Technical or formal rationality
    - Adequate, efficient, mechanical way of doing

# Comment on Rationality

- Economic rationality
  - Doing more with less money; efficient use of resources
- Other Characteristics of Rationalist Model
  - Means/Ends
  - Instrumental
  - Abstract
  - Not matches with the context



# Comment on Rationality

- Application of rationality produced by the analysts mind
- Privileges technical over democratic
- Basing decisions and actions on scientifically valid comparison of all alternatives
- Gives too much power to the analysts and experts

# Comment on Rationality

- Lindblom's Critique of Rationalist Model
  - Limited human problem-solving capacities
  - Inadequacies of information
  - The costliness of analysis (lack of time & money)

# Comment on Rationality

- Failures in constructing a satisfactory evaluative methods
- The closeness of observed relationships between fact and value in policymaking
  - Challenge of identifying all values in society

# Comment on Rationality

- The openness of the system of variables with which it contends
- The analyst's need for strategic sequences of analytical moves
- The diverse forms in which policy problems actually arise
- Rationalist model fails to understand these limitations

# Comment on Rationality

- Rationalist model is Impractical
- Unrealistic
- Morally dubious ideal
- Compromises democracy by rejecting ordinary knowledge
- Politics, Economics and Welfare (1953)
- “The Science of Muddling Through” (1959)\*

# Charles E. Lindblom

## **Lindblom's Alternative**

# Lindblom's Alternative

- Incrementalism
  - Also called gradualism, baby steps, muddling through, Echtertnach theory
  - Evolution and not revolution

# Lindblom's Alternative

- Based on his broad studies of Welfare policies and Trade Unions in Europe and America
  - Modifications in existing policies
  - “Action first, science later”



# Lindblom's Alternative

- Regards ordinary knowledge important for social problem solving
  - On the grounds that social science expertise is too limited, partial
  - Expensive, unnecessary, counterproductive noise

# Lindblom's Alternative

- Parallel with architectural design, Prince Charles and vernacular design
- Collective, political rationality
- Democracy\*

# Arguments for Incrementalism

- Descriptive:  
Incrementalism mirrors actual decision making
- Prescriptive: Managers can improve decision making by eschewing rationalist model implicit in classical theory and by relying on 'muddling through'\*

**Charles E. Lindblom**

**Polyarchy and  
Corporatism**

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Polyarchy and Corporatism important contributions
  - No single, monolithic elite controls government and society
  - A series of specialized elites compete and bargain with one another for control

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Competition and compromise between elites in politics and the marketplace drives free-market democracy
- Some elite groups gain key benefits, become too successful and establish monopoly

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- They collude and not compete-Polyarchy turns in corporatism
- Privilege position of business in Polyarchy (Politics And Markets 1977),
- "Circularity", or "Controlled Volitions"

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- “Even in the democracies, masses are persuaded to ask from elites only what elites wish to give them.”
- Any real choices and competition are limited.
- Any development of alternative choices



# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Any serious discussion and consideration of them is effectively discouraged.
- Two party political system in the United States

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Complex issues turned into two simple choices
  - No competition of ideas
  - Media determines who participates in the national dialogue
- Criticism of democratic capitalism and polyarchy

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Praise for the political-economy of Tito's Yugoslavia
- Labeled a "Closet Communist" and a "Creeping Socialist"
- The Market System: What It Is, How It Works, and What to Make of It (2001)

# Polyarchy and Corporatism

- Market System can creating and fostering wealth and innovation
- It can't assign non-economic values and distributing social or economic justice\*

# Charles E. Lindblom

## **Lindblom's Solution**

# Lindblom's Solution

- Egalitarianism
- Political and economic equality
- Competition of ideas
- End to indoctrinating citizens
- High level of political participation
- Freedom mediated through politics\*

# National Education Policy 2009

## **Problems of Education in Pakistan**

# Problems of Education in Pakistan

- Enrolment
  - Retention and dropouts
- Quality
  - Poor learning
  - Inability to apply learning in real life
- Scientific thinking (Teachers and Students)
  - Memorizing and reproduction of texts



# Problems of Education in Pakistan

- Curriculum and textbooks
  - Largely unrelated to context
  - Civic education
  - Violence
  - Gender and minorities
  - Uninteresting
- Compare Pakistan with Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh\*

# National Education Policy 2009

**Education Policy-A  
History of Failure?**

# Education Policy-A History of Failure?

- Reports in 1947, 1951, 1977
- Policies: 1958, 1969, 1971, 1979, 1992, 1998, 2009
- Goals of policies:
  - Increase spending
  - Universalize education
  - Teaching of science
  - Good citizens
  - Place among the nations\*

# National Education Policy 2009

**What could have  
Failed Education  
Policies?**

# What could have Failed Education Policies?

- Inability to evolve national education system
  - Multiple streams of education exist in country
  - No dialogue among these streams
  - Issue of mother tongue unresolved

# What could have Failed Education Policies?

- Inability to make education a political priority
  - Little debate among political parties
  - Little debate in parliament (except for school building and jobs for teachers)
  - Political ownership of policy non-existent

# What could have Failed Education Policies?

- Inability link education with society
  - Curriculum does not match with local realities
- Inability to link education with employment\*

# National Education Policy 2009

## Key Features of NFP 2009



# Key Features of NFP 2009



# National Education Policy 2009

## Implementation and Performance

# Implementation and Performance

- Implementation of education policy unsystematic
- Reviews of implementation performance non-existent
- Highly bureaucratized\*

# National Education Policy 2009

**Way Forward**

# Way Forward

- Research needs to be translated into policy actions
- Learn from Malaysia, Sri Lanka\*

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

**Trade Policy of  
Pakistan**

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

- Centrality of trade; economists' views
- Trade not aid slogan
- Trade policy means export policy
- Many countries have grown through trade
- Have trade policies in Pakistan?

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

## **Failure of trade Policy Framework 2009-2012**

- Rs 3 billion disbursed of Rs 35 billion allocated
  - Capacity building of exporters, undone
  - Promotion of exports, undone
- Though exports crossed \$24.5 bn, more than the target of \$23.6 bn



# Trade Policy of Pakistan

- Trade policy focuses on export targets
  - Promoting the export of established products
  - Export portfolio remain slim
  - 55% share of textile and clothing, little diversification

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

- Export-oriented industries needed to be made efficient
- 70-80% of the initiatives not implemented, lack of human resource at MoC
- Product-specific training of trade officers
- Lack of coordination on trade policy implementation

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

- Pakistan's share in food trade was limited
  - Agricultural standards non-existing
  - Supply chains/cool chains were not established
- Little focus on domestic commerce/cottage industry
- Little focus on inter-provincial trade

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

- Largely focused on textile, cloth; ignored other sectors; undiversified exports\*

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

**Trade Policy  
2012-15**

# Trade Policy 2012-15

- Focus on regional trade
- Strengthening of the institutional framework for promotion of exports
- Creation of regulatory efficiencies
- Export development initiatives
- Increase exports from less developed regions of Pakistan

# Trade Policy 2012-15

- Promotion of domestic commerce
- Strengthen the monitoring and evaluation mechanism\*

# Trade Policy of Pakistan

## Reforming Trade Policy



# Reforming Trade Policy

- Economist Sakib Sheerani suggests trade policy “embedded” with industrial policy
- Common elements of successful trade policies (China, India, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Turkey, Cambodia)
  - Export incentives

# Reforming Trade Policy

- Under-valued exchange rate
- Subsidized credit
- Selective liberalization of imports
- Long term export strategy needed
- Import-bias need to be replaced with export-bias

# Reforming Trade Policy

- Musharraf era anti-export policy bias; stable exchange rate
- State Bank of Pakistan: cheap credit for import-based consumption
- Qaiser Bangali: 85% of economy constituted by consumption economy
- Writing off hundreds of billions of consumer loans

# Reforming Trade Policy

- Drastic reduction in import tariffs, Free Trade Agreement with China in 2006
- In 2008, Pakistani imports more than \$40 bn/exports financing less than 50% of import payments

# Reforming Trade Policy

- Manufacturing sector shrank due to imports
  - Manufacturing share in GDP increased in Asian countries; decreased in Pakistan
  - Tires, ceramics, footwear
- Under-invoicing, smuggling affected industry

# Reforming Trade Policy

- Cautious liberalization of imports; no wholesale opening of imports
- Free trade not a solution: US protects steel, auto, financial industries
- Japan: agriculture, steel
- South Korea: Ship building

# Reforming Trade Policy

- European Union:  
Subsidies to  
agriculture\*

# Herbert Simon

## Intellectual Profile



**(1916-2001)**



# Intellectual Profile

- PhD in political science from Chicago in 1936
- One of the most influential thinkers and intellectuals of 20<sup>th</sup> century
  - Innovative ideas, intelligence and personality

# Intellectual Profile

- Multidisciplinary and dynamic
  - Political scientists, economist, sociologist, psychologist, computer scientist
  - Key Motivation: Decision theory, problem solving
    - Policy science are about decisions and problem solving

# Intellectual Profile

- Scholarship: Modern management, public administration, philosophy of science, economics, cognitive psychology, organization theory, complex system, artificial intelligence, computer science, information processing, mathematics, statistics, operations research

# Intellectual Profile

- Ground breaking discoveries in decision making
- All of his scholarship was unified by decision making studies
- Synthesized all this into his key theory
- Almost a thousand highly cited publications to his credit

# Intellectual Profile

- His multidisciplinary approach was reflected in his academic life:
  - As Richard King Mellon Professor at Carnegie Mellon University
  - School of computer science at Carnegie Mellon
  - Tepper School of Business

# Intellectual Profile

- Department of Philosophy, Social and Decision Sciences
- Psychology
- Intellectual journey starts with The Administrative Man
  - Classic of public administration, public policy and decision making

# Intellectual Profile

- Awards:
  - Distinguished Scientific Award of the American Psychological Association, 1969
    - Excellence in cognitive psychology
  - A. M. Turing Award for work in computer science, 1975

# Intellectual Profile

- Nobel Prize in economic science in 1978
- Outstanding lifetime award for contributions to psychology, 1993
- One of 14 scientists: Chinese Academy of Science Award



# Intellectual Profile

- American Society of Public Administration's Dwight Waldo Award, 1995\*

# Herbert Simon

## Context of Simon's Scholarship

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- At the time of Herbert Simon, three ideas were dominant in decision sciences and problem-solving scholarship
  - That comprehensive/full/perfect rationality existed
  - That optimum decisions could be made

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Optimum: utility maximizing
- Developed staunch critique of the neoclassical economic
- Developed critique of Savagian conception of rational human behavior

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Developed behavioral economics as an alternative to the dominant neoclassical school in economics (1950s/1960s)
- Used the insights of political science to alter economic theorizing

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Bases of criticism:
  - Man possessed limited information-processing abilities
    - . . . the capacity of the . . . mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

solution is required for objectively rational behavior in the real world—or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality. (Simon 1957: 198)

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Developed heuristics and problem solving ideas in the tradition of John Dewey and William James
- Developed the ideas of George Polya, mathematician



# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Disliked concepts such as creativity and discovery, which he thought were metaphysical
  - Problem solving was a better concept
  - Problems are solved using some rules

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Thought machines could be used for problem solving
  - Worked on artificial intelligence
  - It proved to be dead end
- Offered the theory of “bounded rationality”—enduring contribution
  - Full rationality did not exist

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Notion of full rationality="A heroic abstraction of expected utility theory"
- "Satisficing" is the most important concept
  - "Satisficing" vs. optimizing, or maximizing
  - A theory of ordinary decision-making

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Approximation of actual decision-making
- “Satisficing” = “satisfy” and “suffice”
- Contrary to classic economics: individuals so not seek to maximize their benefits
  - Can't digest, process all the information

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- But even if they all the information, they can't process it
- Humans are bounded by “cognitive limits”
- Applicable to simple decisions, e.g.
  - Where to eat lunch?
  - Which school to attend?
  - Where to buy shirts?

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- We search for “good-enough”/”satisfactory” solutions, rather than searching best/optimal solutions
- The real world behavior is “satisficing”
- Application to organizations:
  - Managers and administrators make decisions like shoppers in a mall

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- “Administrative man can make decisions with relatively simple rules of thumb that do not make impossible demands upon his capacity for thought.”
- The cost of collecting additional information and processing it may exceed the total benefit of decision

# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Simon described his own life as a series of satificing decisions in *Models of My Life*, 1996
- One's life has no overriding/central theme
- Simon accepts humans have no single self



# Context of Simon's Scholarship

- Simon's life consistent with the theory of bounded rationality
  - Recommends local form of decision making: building life in a series of choices\*

# Herbert Simon

**Contribution to  
Save Rationality**

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Despite believing that
  - Perfect/comprehensive rationality does not exist as economics tells
  - Invisible hand of market forces did not exist
- Simon made valiant effort to save rationality

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- He maintained beliefs:
  - Human beings are intendedly rational
  - They are goal oriented
  - But their ability to calculate is limited
  - World is complex, they do less well than they would like
  - Memory

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- To save rationality, he emphasized heuristic model
- Like Dewey and Lewin before him, Simon wanted to link theory to practice;
  - How people in government agencies made decisions and how their decisions could be improved

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Heuristics (discovery)
  - Strategies suggested by experience with practical affairs
  - And not by theory
  - Instead of logically derived rules, heuristics are informal rules
    - useful in discovering knowledge and problem solutions

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- From the 1950s to the 1970s,
  - Used heuristic and similar terms in his uncompromising attack on
    - The behavioral foundations of neoclassical economics

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Alternative he proposed in the form of human decision making based on heuristics
- Individuals use rules of thumb or heuristics to make decisions
  - Example: Aspiration price for the house one wishes to sell



# Contribution to Save Rationality

- The first offer that exceeds the aspiration price
- The heuristic could be to accept the best among the first  $n$  offers
  - Such a heuristic was meant to optimize the decision made, given the

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Constraints, the individual faced in terms of information,
- cognitive capacity, and
- time.
- If the heuristic yielded a satisfactory outcome,
  - It would be maintained;

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- If not,
  - It would be adjusted
- Heuristic theories in public policy emphasize on learning to solve problems through
- Experimentation
- Experiential learning
- Trial and error

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Heuristic approaches are not haphazard but involve feedback and evaluation
  - They are about discovering new ways to solve problems
- Unlike incremental theories
  - Which emphasize marginal changes to existing policies

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Heuristic approaches encourage developing new and innovative solutions
- Heuristics suggest: when frequent efforts fail to solve a problem, try new solution
- Heuristic is selective trial and error, using rules derived from previous experience

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Applying Heuristics:
  - Well organized and stored information
  - Long-term commitment to the problems
  - High level of motivation to solve the problems
  - Using long term memory to incubate the problem

# Contribution to Save Rationality

- Use of tools, technology to aid analysis (computers)\*

# Theory in Public Policy

**Theory in Public  
Policy**



# Theory in Public Policy

- Theory is a lens
- Theory is an effort to explain how things work i.e. You can fix a car's engine, if you know how it works
- There is nothing more practical than a good theory

# Theory in Public Policy

- To solve real world problems, public policy students must know theory\*

# Theory in Public Policy

## Growth of Theory in Public Policy

# Growth of Theory in Public policy

- Last major advance in public policy theory in 1993
  - Baumgartner and Jones'
    - Agendas and Instability in American Politics
  - Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's
    - Policy Change and Learning

# Growth of Theory in Public policy

- Complementary
- Set off research programs (detailed empirical researches)\*

# Theory in Public Policy

**Lack of Theory in  
Public Policy?**

# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

Paul Cairney (2012):

“No-one has managed to produce a theory applicable to public policy as a whole.”

- The world is too complex to allow parsimonious explanation

# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

Peter John (1998):  
Much of the public policy  
literature represents  
'thick descriptions' – a  
process of modeling or  
mapping a complex  
terrain



# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

Goodin, Rein, and Moran (2006) in The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy regard policy:

- A mood more than a science, a loosely organized body of precepts and positions rather than a tightly integrated body of systematic knowledge, more art and craft than a genuine 'science'

# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

Kevin B. Smith &  
Christopher W. Larimer  
(2009) argued that public  
policy:

- Is not concentrated on  
a single academic  
discipline

# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

23 disciplines according to Yehezkel Dror

- Has no fundamental problem
- Has no unifying theory/or conceptual framework
- No unifying methods of analytical tools

# Lack of Theory in Public Policy?

They further say:

- A field – distinct, defensible, coherent discipline – needs theory
- Policy scholars are viewed as theory takers not theory makers
- They do not generate generalizable knowledge\*

# Theory in Public Policy

**Is Having no Theory  
Beneficial?**

# Is Having no Theory Beneficial?

- Deborah Stone, Peter DeLeon, Frank Fischer think it is good to have no theory of public policy
- Deborah Stone (2002) “public policy from the irrationalities and indignities of politics”
- Policy is political and value-laden

# Is Having no Theory Beneficial?

- Rationalistic policymaking should be abandoned
- Normative theories should be adopted\*

# Theory in Public Policy

## **Normative Theories as Gyroscopes of Policy Studies**



# Normative Theories as Gyroscopes of Policy Studies

- Discourse theory
- Constructivism
- Argumentative theory
- No universal truths\*

# Theory in Public Policy

**Future of Policy  
Theory?**

# Future of Policy Theory?

- Implementation theories
- Uncertainty
- According to Kenneth J. Meier (2009):
- Defining the purpose of policy theory
- Incorporating management into our theories
- Making strategic choices about areas of study

# Future of Policy Theory?

- Addressing the parsimony comprehensiveness tradeoff, and
- Providing a more nuanced role for institutions\*

# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## Extent of Sanitation Problems

# Extent of Sanitation Problems

## Water & Sanitation Programme (WSP) of the World Bank

- Access to improved toilets:  
50.1%
- Out of them, 58.8%  
connected to sewer
- 29.1% connected to septic  
tanks
- Open defecation: 50 million  
people (31% of population)

# Extent of Sanitation Problems

- Shared toilets: 8 million (5% of population)
- Urban areas: 90%; Rural areas: 40%
- Total economic losses: Rs. 343.7 billion (US\$ 5.7 bn), 3.94% of the GDP of Pakistan
- Of this cost, direct financial cost: Rs 69.52 billion; (0.8% of GDP)
- Of this cost, health impact: 87.16%; Rs. 299.55 bn; (3.43% of GDP)

# Extent of Sanitation Problems

- Highly severe
- Sanitation related disease burden
- Work loss
- Water borne mortality
- Untreated sewerage used for crops, animals
- Rivers and ocean; water streams polluted
- Cleanliness, personal hygiene very low\*



# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## Infrastructure

# Infrastructure

- No disposals
- No treatment plants
- Old sewerage pipes/choked sewerage
- Drainage pipes mix with
- Sewerage pipes mix with
- Lack of hygiene education\*

# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## Reasons of Sanitation Crisis

# Reasons of Sanitation Crisis

- Development paradigm
- Absence of sanitation work at local level.
- Local governments out of sanitation business
- Lack of community participation
- Sanitary inspectors have become toothless
- Sanitation dominated by engineering solutions since colonial times\*

# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## National Sanitation Policy

# National Sanitation Policy

- Promise to universalize
- Promise to improve budget (only 0.1% of the GDP spent on sanitation during 2002 to 2005)
- Proper solid waste collection and management
- Operation & Maintenance\*

# National Sanitation Policy

- Public private partnerships
- 3 Rs: Reduce, reuse recycle
- Minimum biological treatment following National Environment Quality Standards (NEQS)
- Master plans for treatment of industrial and domestic waste water

# National Sanitation Policy

- Disposal of storm water
- Untreated effluents not to be thrown into water bodies
- Curriculum changes
- Penalties for insanitation
- Media
- Component sharing model



# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## Hope for Sanitation: Orangi Pilot Project

# Hope for Sanitation: Orangi Pilot Project

- Orangi Pilot Project
  - Component sharing model
  - Moral issue
  - Self-help
  - Low-cost
  - \*

# Hope for Sanitation: Orangi Pilot Project

- Four barriers
  - Psychological: government's responsibility
  - Technological: we do not have technical knowledge
  - Sociological: not organized for collective action
  - Economic: we can't afford

\*

# Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

## **Sanitation Related Initiatives in Pakistan**

# Sanitation Related Initiatives in Pakistan

- River Ravi Commission
  - Green Bench of Lahore High Court, 2012
  - Wetlands
- WaterAid Pakistan
- NGOs:
  - Muawin, Lahore
  - Himat, Bahawalpur
  - Lodhran Pilot Project (LPP)
  - Akhtar Hameed Khan Memorial Trust, Rawalpindi\*

# Making Pakistan Healthier

**Think about Health?**

# Think about Health?

- Selected health indicators 2005/06
  - Life expectancy: 63.8 years
  - Neonatal mortality rate: 54 per 1,000
  - Infant mortality: 78 per 1,000
  - Under-five mortality: 94 per 1,000

# Think about Health?

- Selected health indicators 2005/06
  - Leisure time inactivity (over 18): 91.5%
  - Overweight/obesity (over 18): 38.5%



# Think about Health?

- Central obesity (over 18): 48.35%
- High blood pressure (over 18): 13.7%
- Diabetes (over 25): 13.7
- Doctor-population ratio 1:1,326
- Nurse-population ratio: 1:22,622
- Dentist-population ratio: 1:3,039

Source: Sania Nishter, *Choked Pipes* (Oxford, 2010), p. 47.

# Think about Health?

- Mixed health system
  - 41.73 million or 26.62% population covered
  - Military, Employees Social Security Institute, Directorate of Labor
  - Out of pocket expenses 73.38%

Source: Sania Nishter, *Choked Pipes* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 38-39.

# Think about Health?

- Progress on health indicators in MDGs, 4, 5, 6 very slow
- Health is not a fundamental right in Pakistan\*

# Making Pakistan Healthier

**Why are We Facing  
Health Crisis?**

# Why are We Facing Health Crisis?

- Inequalities
  - Lack of food; under-nutrition among children 38%
- Lack of food regulation
  - Adulterated food
  - No food hygiene
  - Sanitary inspectors do not inspect meat shops, bakeries, eateries, food vendors, etc.

# Why are We Facing Health Crisis?

- Punjab Food Authority

# Why are We Facing Health Crisis?

- Inadequate regulation
  - Doctors and dentists
    - Pakistan Medical and Dental Council
  - Nurses
    - Pakistan Nursing Council
  - Traditional Medicine
    - Councils of Tibb and Homeopathy
- Dual practice of public doctors

# Why are We Facing Health Crisis?

- Health governance
  - Not improved after 18<sup>th</sup> amendment
  - Corruption
- Little focus on preventive health care
  - Hygiene education missing
  - Municipalities do not eliminate infectious sources



# Why are We Facing Health Crisis?

- Political economy
  - Low spending on health
  - Spending not transparent
  - Little accountability mechanism
- Liberalization of health
- Poor nutrition
- Water, sanitation crisis
- Ignorance of indigenous health systems\*

# Making Pakistan Healthier

## Issues for Health Policy

# Issues for Health Policy

- Inter-provincial coordination needed
- Donor coordination needed
- Technical support to provinces
- Resource mobilization
- Establishing disease surveillance system
- Training
- Fair deployment of health staff

# Issues for Health Policy

- Improving utilization of primary health care services
- How to allocate resources according to incidence and prevalence of diseases and cost effectiveness
- How to introduce safety nets to protect poor from catastrophic expenditures
- Family planning services\*

# Making Pakistan Healthier

## **Future of Healthcare in Pakistan**

# Future of Healthcare in Pakistan

- Expansion of private health care may exacerbate exclusions
- Integration of indigenous medical systems needed
- Water borne diseases can be dealt with providing safe water
- Health insurance needs to be provided

# Future of Healthcare in Pakistan

- Health education needs to be provided
  - Curriculum and textbooks
- Regulation of private health care
- Prioritizing health provision to poor areas\*

# Dealing with Climate Change

**Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?**



# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?



“ There are many other challenges the current government is focusing on and not much attention is being given to climate change issues.

Dr. Qamar-uz-Zaman Chaudhry (Special Envoy of the UN-World Meteorological Organisation on Disaster Risk Reduction and Climate Services for Asia.



54%

people surveyed by The Climate Asia Report across Pakistan think life has become worse in recent years. They have much lower confidence in their government to act.

- Recall your memories:
- Floods 2010

(Source: Dawn, 6 September 2014)

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?



- Recall your memories:
- Floods 2010



(Source: Dawn, 6 September 2014)



# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

## ■ Floods 2011



(Source: Dawn, 6  
September 2014)

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

## ■ Floods 2012



(Source: Dawn, 6 September 2014)



# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?



**234**

killed

**1.5 million**

people affected

**80,000**

houses affected

**1.5 million**

acres of crops affected

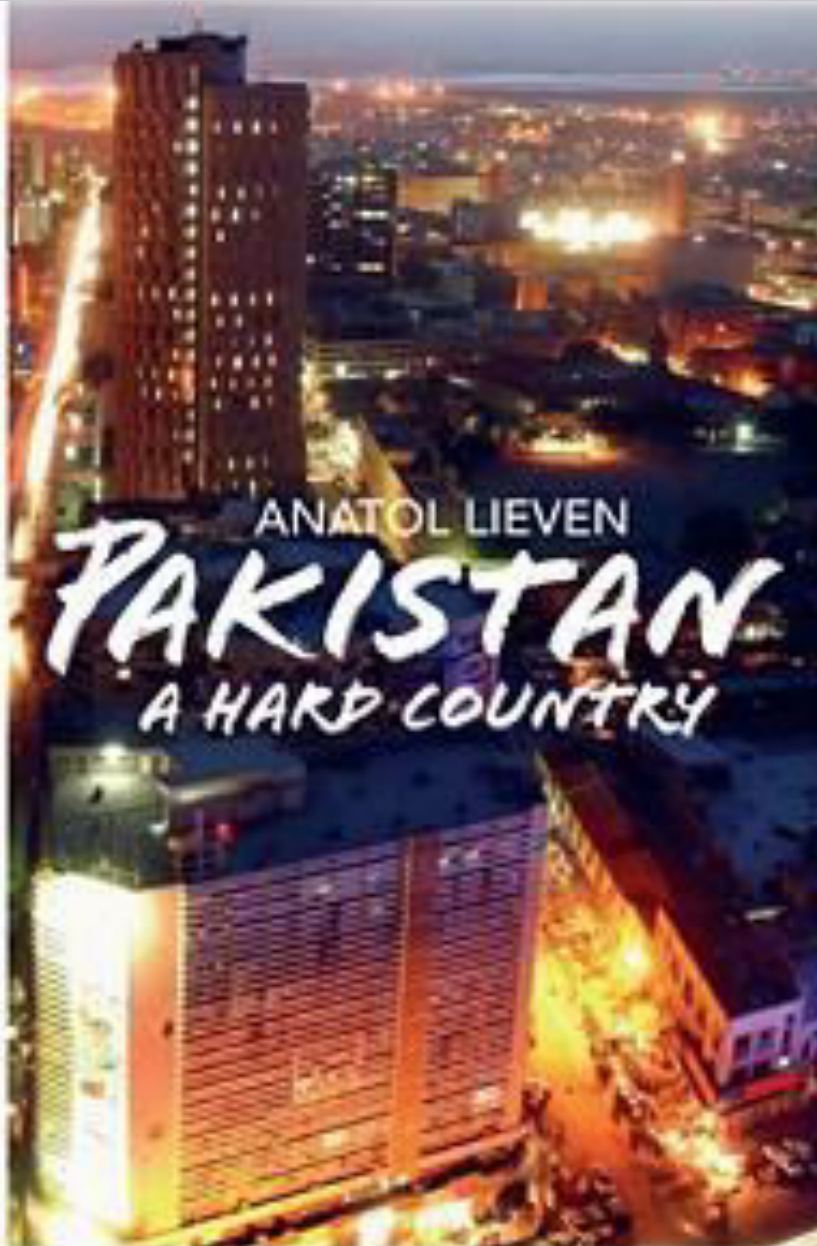
■ Floods 2013

(Source: Dawn, 6  
September 2014)

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

- Let us think: Never a disaster-prone country
  - Received adequate rainfall
  - Mild seasonal temperatures
  - 1,000 km of coastline
  - Four seasons

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?



- Was Anatol Lieven right?  
God forbid:

If floods continue,  
“Pakistan will be  
destroyed as a state  
and an organized  
society”

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

“the USA, India, or both together invade Pakistan and thereby precipitate its disintegration, the likelihood is that the country will hold together, and that if it eventually collapses, it will be not Islamist extremism but climate change – an especially grim threat in the whole of South Asia – that finishes it off.”



# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

“of all the countries in the world that are acutely threatened by climate change, Pakistan will be one of the most important.”

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

- Painful realities!
  - In 2010, Pakistan number one in climate related disaster: floods, cyclones, avalanches
  - In 2011, it was ranked three
  - In 2012, Haiti, the Philippines, Pakistan hardest hit

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

- What are the reasons?
  - Man made:  
deforestation,  
pollution
  - Western countries:  
Green House Gases
  - Pakistan has its own  
share

# Pakistan: Is Climate Change Dangerous?

- Deforestation increased fast: 2.1% per annum (past few years)
  - Highest in Asia,
- Mangrove forest depletion: alarming rate of 2.3 % annually
- No adaptation measures: problems aggravated\*

# Dealing with Climate Change

## **Pakistan: Some Signs of Climate Change**

# Pakistan: Sign of Climate Change

- Climate change
  - Highly technical topic
  - Change in atmosphere
- Average annual temperature increased by  $0.12^{\circ}\text{C}$
- Annual rise in sea level by 1.1 mm
  - Causing more rainfalls
  - Sea intrusion

# Pakistan: Sign of Climate Change



- Impacting agricultural output
- Extreme flooding
- Northern and coastal people are hard hit
- Mangroves protect
  - Coastal people from harsh climate
  - Shield from storms and floods

# Pakistan: Sign of Climate Change

- Potential habitat for shrimps and marine life
- Economically supporting fishermen communities
- Fast depleting mangrove forests
- Coastal areas vulnerable to harsh climatic conditions
  - Cyclones,



# Pakistan: Sign of Climate Change

- Floods,
- Sea level rise
- Loss of millions of hectares of land due to sea intrusion
- Wetlands of Pakistan are also affected
  - Migratory birds changed their patterns: affecting the entire ecosystem\*

# Dealing with Climate Change

## Understanding Climate Change

# Understanding Climate Change

- Documentaries and TED Talks best way
  - <https://www.ted.com/topics/climate+change>
  - A Crude Awakening: The Oil Crash (2007)
  - An Inconvenient Truth (2006)
  - Samsara (2012)
  - Meat the Truth (2008)
  - The Island President (2011)
  - Chasing Ice (2012)\*

# Dealing with Climate Change

**Responding to  
Climate Change**

# Dealing with Climate Change

## **National Climate Change Policy (NCCP)**

# National Climate Change Policy (NCCP)

- Improvement in flood forecasting systems across the country
- Increased capacity of storm drainage systems in urban areas
- 2012-2013 budget: Rs. 135 million for the Climate Change Division
  - 2013-2014 budget: reduced to Rs. 58.8 million

# National Climate Change Policy (NCCP)

- Integration of NCCP in the planning and development needed
  - Emphasis on mitigation and adaptation efforts in coastal areas of Pakistan
  - Resilience of coastal communities needed\*

# Climate Change Initiatives

- World Wide Fund for Nature-Pakistan (WWF-Pakistan): Indus for All Programme
  - To make coastal areas of Pakistan resilient to climate change
  - Planted 7,500 ha of mangroves in coastal areas of Sindh
- LEAD Pakistan\*



# Making Cities Work for Pakistan

## **Cities & Task Force on Urban Development**

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Annual rate of urbanization: more than 4%
- 78% of the GDP come from cities
- More than half of the urban population:
  - Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, Multan, Hyderabad, Gujranwala and Peshawar

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Urban regions/clusters/areas have become “ribbons of development” (small towns)
  - The Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Lahore triangle
  - Mansehra to Hasan Abdal corridor

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Expanding middle class comprising youthful and skilled labor force
- Women are increasing in labor force
- Little capacity to manage urbanism
- Urban development provincial issue

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Urban planning local (federal government interferes due to economic worth of cities)
- Local governments dependant on provincial transfers
  - Little motivation to mobilize local resources including private sector resources

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Provincial transfers hardly enough for salaries
- Existing legal framework and planning standards can't attend urban problems
- 28 June 2010: Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission constituted Task Force on Urban Development

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- To make
  - Cities strong, viable and functioning
  - Economically competitive; engines of economic growth
  - Development supporting infrastructure

# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- To review
  - Land use and building regulations; laws and policies related to urban planning and development
    - Determine cities competitiveness
    - Compatibility with growth



# Cities & Task Force on Urban Development

- Capacity to attract investment
- How inclusive they are\*

# Making Cities Work for Pakistan

## **Making Cities Work: Land**

# Making Cities Work: Land

- Land around small towns is owned by big landlords, small farmers, revenue department
  - “The big landlords as such determine the nature and shape of urban expansion”

# Making Cities Work: Land

- “The small farmers associate with developers to create low income settlements through the sub-division of agricultural land”
- Politicians and bureaucrats use land as an instrument of political patronage

# Making Cities Work: Land

- Shortage of land; high land prices
  - Land unavailable for commercial, industrial, housing, infrastructure projects
- Available land being used in extremely inefficient and uneconomical manner
  - Extravagant land use regulations and planning standards

# Making Cities Work: Land

- Land shortage, high prices makes land highly lucrative
- Land held for speculation increase land prices further
  - Appropriate development become difficult in the face of density related byelaws

# Making Cities Work: Land

- Multiple agencies control land use; little coordination among them; economically inefficient and wasteful
- Powerful agriculturalists control land in small and medium towns
- LDA (1975-2009): 3 Marla plots, 3792; 1 kanal 47097; 2 kanal 10354\*

# Making Cities Work for Pakistan

## **Making Cities Work: Economy**



# Making Cities Work: Economy

- Karachi contributes 60-70% of national revenue;
- Karachi contributes 40% of the value added in manufacturing sector
- Informal sector absorbs 30-70% of the urban labor force
- Pakistan ranked high on “Competitiveness Report 2009”

# Making Cities Work: Economy

- Expand inner city markets
  - Inner-city Market Assessment in Bogota and Johannesburg (using data-mining techniques)

# Making Cities Work: Economy

- Promotion of City Cluster Development
  - Existing practices: ribbons of development, linear commercialization along inner city roads; sprawl induced multiple commercial and central business districts must be reviewed; promote city cluster development

# Making Cities Work: Economy

- Capacity Building
  - Competent officers needed; the practice to transfer competent officers to provincial and federal governments should be ended
- Skill Development
  - TEVTA; construction, masonry, plumbing, electrical works

# Making Cities Work: Economy

- Sub-national Government Financing
  - Full financial autonomy to local governments\*

# Making Cities Work for Pakistan

## Housing and Real Estate

# Housing and Real Estate

- Urban property markets unregulated
- Distortion of the urban real estate prices
- By laws and zoning regulations suppress real estate development
- Housing for the elite; developed land unavailable for the poor

# Housing and Real Estate

- Low density, anti-pedestrian, anti-street, anti-mixed land use and anti-dissolved space central business districts and commercial centers
- No planned transport and cargo terminals, wholesale markets, warehousing and storage areas



# Housing and Real Estate

- Few rental housing project
- Housing finance: 1% of the GDP
- HBFC portfolio inadequate
- Housing Price Index and Housing Access Index
- Recognition of the real estate sector\*

# Making Cities Work for Pakistan

## Leisure and Entertainment

# Leisure and Entertainment

- Elite commercial and entertainment such as malls, ciniplexes should be supported but properly planned hawkers' bazaars and economic activity for the lower income groups also supported
- Parks and public spaces, tea houses, etc

# Leisure and Entertainment

- Automobile dependant urban sprawl; expansive urban transport
- Trees for averting environmental disaster
- Improve security and safety\*

# Deborah Stone

## Introduction



# Introduction

- Born 1946
- Teaches at MIT  
Department of Urban  
Studies and Planning
- Social policy scholar
- Member, editorial  
board, The American  
Prospect and the  
Journal of Health  
Politics, Policy and Law

# Introduction

- Postmodern, interpretive policy scholar
- Policy is storytelling, ideas, argument: difficult to grasp
- Arguing against the rational choice/economic model of policymaking
- It can be called market model of society also

# Introduction

- She presents a political model of society-Polis
- Written wonderful books: The Disabled State\*



# Deborah Stone

## Deborah Stone's Motivation Ideas

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- The Rationality Project
  - Core part of American political culture
  - Progressive reformers: Woodrow Wilson, John Dewey, John Riis,
  - Policymaking from elected politicians to professionals, managers

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- Legitimacy from science, not politics
- Politics: messy, erratic, inexplicable, irrational
- Analysis categories are apolitical: outside politics; above politics

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- Three Models
  - Model of Society
    - Society is a market; relations of trading, exchange: maximize utility
    - Collection of individuals, no community life

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- Model of Reasoning
  - Rational decision making following well-defined steps:
  - Identify objectives
  - Identify alternative courses of action for achieving objectives
  - Predict the possible consequences for each alternative

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- Evaluate the possible consequences of each alternative
- Select the alternative that maximizes the attainment of objectives

# Deborah Stones Motivation Ideas

- This model is pervasive: self-help books, child-rearing manuals
- Model of Policymaking
  - Production model; policy created in an orderly sequence of stages
  - Just like assembly line\*

# Deborah Stone

## Critique



# Critique

- Rational decision making model ignores feelings, emotions, intuitions
- All of them provide bases for behavior
- It does not help know why parents want their children to respect elders

# Critique

- People are connected through emotional bonds, traditions, loyalties, images
  - They want to promote values such as helping others, taking care of excluded
  - They want to pursue common/collective goals: health, water, education, justice\*

# Deborah Stone

## Alternative Ideas

# Alternative Ideas

- Model of political reasoning: reason by metaphor and analogy
- Political reasoning involves metaphor-making; category-making
  - Should girls' colleges organize theater?  
Singing competitions?

# Alternative Ideas

- Starting point of policy analysis should be political community, not market\*

# Deborah Stone

## Polis Model

# Polis Model

- A model of political community
- Inputs are simultaneously outputs
- A lot of inputs and outputs are not quantifiable/tangible
  - Efficiency for one person may be inefficiency/waste for others

# Polis Model

- Library collection: how to measure costs and benefits of library books?
- Even in rational model, decisions are political
- But that politics is experts politics, not people's politics



# Polis Model

- Community is the unit of analysis in the polis, not the individual
- Information not perfect by design
- In market model, all resources are scarce, competition is the means to success

# Polis Model

- In polis model, resources like social connections and advocacy skills grow with use
- Policy problems are not individual problems; but common problems\*

# Investment Policy of Pakistan

## Foreign Investment in Pakistan

# Foreign Investment in Pakistan

- Low investment in Pakistan
- ADB: Each year in 1990s
  - Negligible FDI: 0.2% of the world total
  - Less than 1% of the Asian subtotal in 1990s

# Foreign Investment in Pakistan

- Major concentration of FDI: power sector
  - Domestic-oriented sector, large foreign exchange costs
  - Serious balance of payment implications
- Urban violence, inconsistent economic policies
- Bureaucratic inefficiencies\*

# Investment Policy of Pakistan

## **Making Investment Policy**

# Making Investment Policy

- In 2012 & 2013
- Investment policy 2013
- Investment strategy 2013-17
  - No restrictions: no lower limit; no upper limit
  - A long list of steps for project's approval
  - Call for one window operations for the investors

# Making Investment Policy

- Investment policy: \$ 5.5 bn per year
- Special Economic Zones (SEZ) Act 2012
  - Industrial clusters
  - Liberal investment regime
  - Physical infrastructure in SEZs
  - Full legal protection of investment



# Making Investment Policy

- SEZs reduce the cost of business for investors
- Reducing barriers to investment
- All sectors and activities are open for FDI (except security/public safety
  - Arms and ammunitions;
  - High explosives;

# Making Investment Policy

- Radioactive substances;
- Securities,
- Currency,
- Mint;
- Consumable alcohol.
- Foreign investors can repatriate profits, dividends, or any other funds any time
  - Currency of the investment origin country

# Making Investment Policy

- Permission for opening of branches of foreign banks
- Foreign investors entitled
  - Sell shares,
  - Transfer ownership,
  - De-register under Companies Ordinance 1984
- Banking Companies Ordinance 1962

# Making Investment Policy

- The BoI + SBP, SECP and MoF promote investment:
  - Insurance,
  - Banking
  - Financial sectors.
- Foreign investors can exchange
  - Local currency into any other freely convertible foreign currency,

# Making Investment Policy

- Foreign Exchange Regulations of SBP.
- No restrictions on the use of foreign private loans
- Foreign investors allowed to access domestic borrowings
- Foreign investors entitled to lease land without limitation

# Making Investment Policy

- No limitation on the transfer of any land held by a foreign investor
- No restrictions on foreign real estate developers
- Foreign investors have a 60pc stake in agriculture projects.
- Investors hold 100pc equity in corporate farming\*

# Investment Policy of Pakistan

## Implications of Investment Policy

# Implications of Investment Policy

- Marginalization of domestic commerce
- Flight of capital
- Lack of encouragement to local entrepreneurship
- Lack of support for innovation
- Land grabs\*



# Investment Policy of Pakistan

## Balancing Investment Policy

# Balancing Investment Policy

- FDI may not be the solution
- Correcting institutions
- Encouraging entrepreneurship
- Encouraging innovation
- Business with social responsibility\*

# Globalization and Public Policy

## State and Public Policy

# State and Public Policy

- Theories of state: bases for public policies
- Public policy has been a captive of the word 'state'
- National public institutions: no more sole organizers for policy

# State and Public Policy

- New forms of authority emerging through:
  - Global public-private partnerships
  - Transnational executive networks
- Regional, global institutions co-exist alongside nation-state policy processes

# State and Public Policy

- New public spaces of global policies: multiple and various
- Hollowing out the state
- Globalization has State has been re-configured by globalization
  - Shrinking of distances
    - b/c of information/communication technologies

# State and Public Policy

- Reduction of barriers to investment/trade
- Unification/socialization of global community b/c of preferential trading arrangements\*

# Globalization and Public Policy

**Government,  
Governance, Public  
Policy**



# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- To understand globalization and public policy
  - Need to understand:  
Nature of government has changed globally
  - Today governance is distinct from government, globally
  - Governance...as organizing collective action

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Governance entails the establishing of institutions
  - Institutions being the rules of the game that permit, prescribe, or prohibit certain actions
- Governance is a way to manage POWER and POLICY
  - Government is an instrument to do so

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Governance is seen as an alternative to
  - Conventional top-down government control

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Governance clearly embraces government institutions, but it also subsumes informal, non-governmental institutions operating within the public realm” (Bøås, 1998 quoted by Weiss, 2000)

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Why Governance  
(Hollowing Out of the State (Rhodes, 1994))
  - A variety of social forces, such as
    - Increased complexity in social problems,
    - A growing and more specialized public administration,
    - Increased demand for expertise,

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Internationalization,
- Decentralization,
- And a rapid development of information and communication technologies (Pollitt 2003; Jessop 2002)

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Changed conditions have forced governments and parliaments at the national level to delegate activities
  - Downwards' to local governments,
  - Outwards' to private organizations,

# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Inwards' to semi-autonomous state agencies, and finally,
- But not least, 'upwards' to the global institution
- Result is a 'hollowing out' of the state
- Regulatory functions devolved: self-regulation of private organizations



# Government, Governance, Public Policy

- Classic examples:  
environmental, labor  
standards, women  
rights
- Governance: transition  
from hierarchical to  
more network based  
forms for decision-  
making
- Governance: diffusion  
of boundaries between  
private and public  
actors\*

# Globalization and Public Policy

## Public Policy in Global Times

# Public Policy in Global Times

- Globalization has become fashion; it is used to
  - Legitimize policy decisions
  - Promote policy prescriptions
  - Explain policy outcomes

# Public Policy in Global Times

- Globalization: means processes encompassing the globe
- Globalization of public policy:
  - Policy borrowing, policy exchange, educational isomorphism, health isomorphism

# Public Policy in Global Times

- Global public policy:
  - Orienting public policy to the requirements of globalization, i.e. the advance of neoliberal economy, market as an allocator
  - Pakistani educated people can find job anywhere, so they should know local and global at once

# Public Policy in Global Times

- Global institutions everywhere:
  - Corporations, NGOs, regional and international organizations, coalitions
  - Some examples:
    - Global banking,
    - Money laundering,
    - Dual-use export controls,

# Public Policy in Global Times

- Trade in chemical precursors
  - What students should know?
- How global norms can be used in informing domestic policies
  - How global norms can be used in reforming domestic policies\*

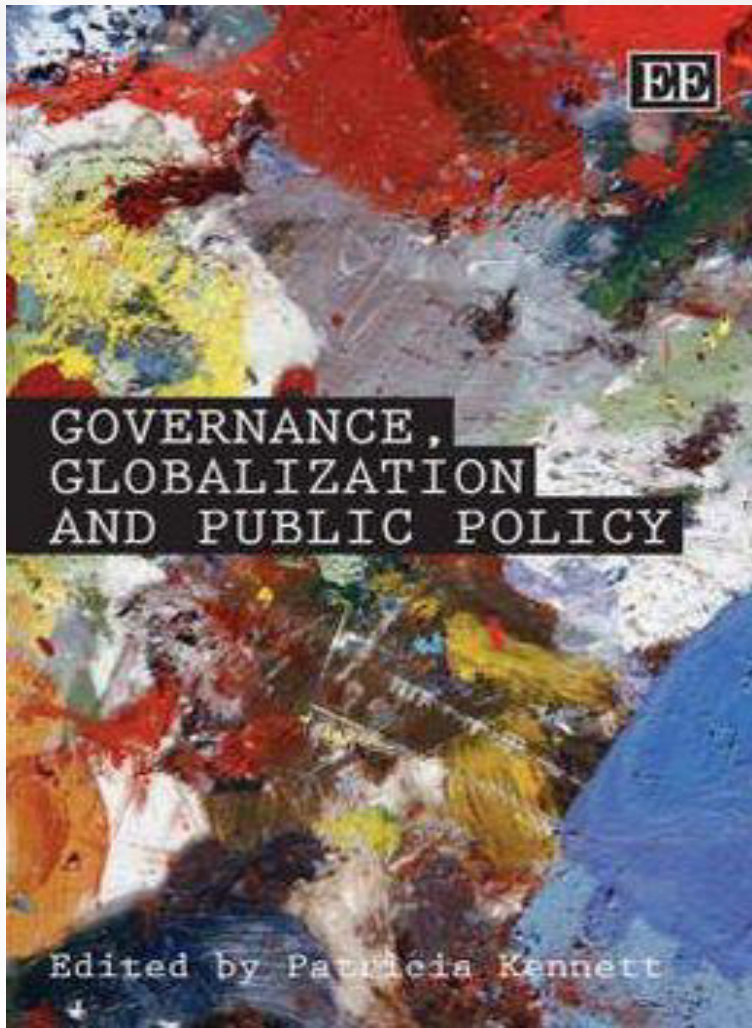
# Globalization and Public Policy

**Resources**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines. The pattern is more dense on the right side and fades towards the left. The word "Resources" is centered in the middle-right portion of the slide.

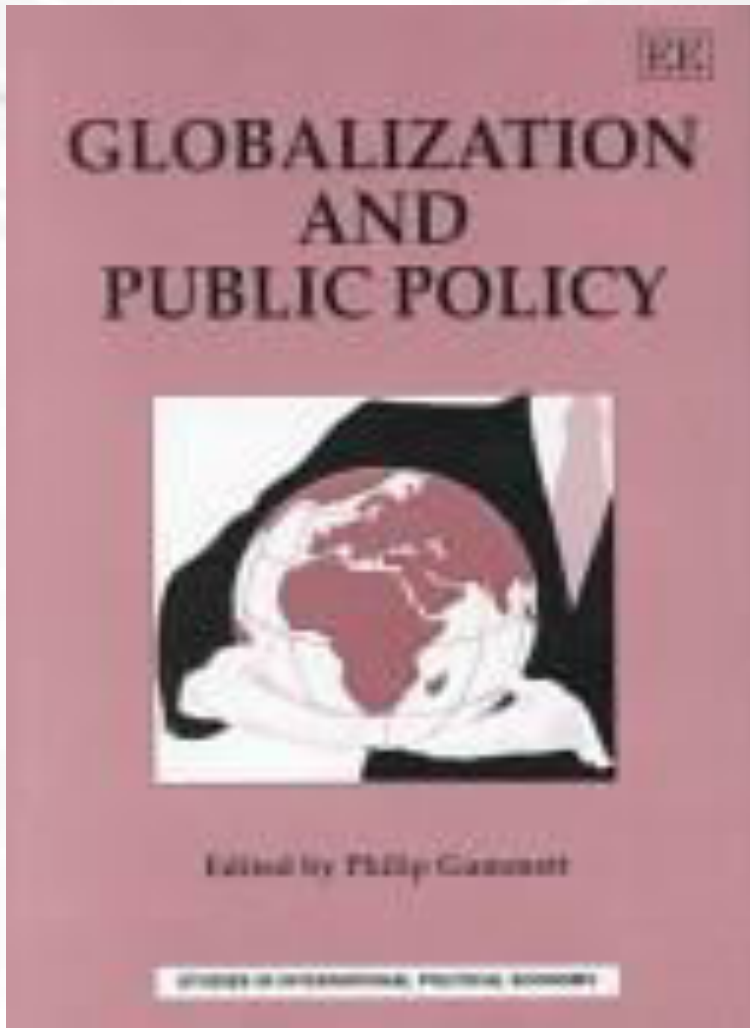


# State and Public Policy



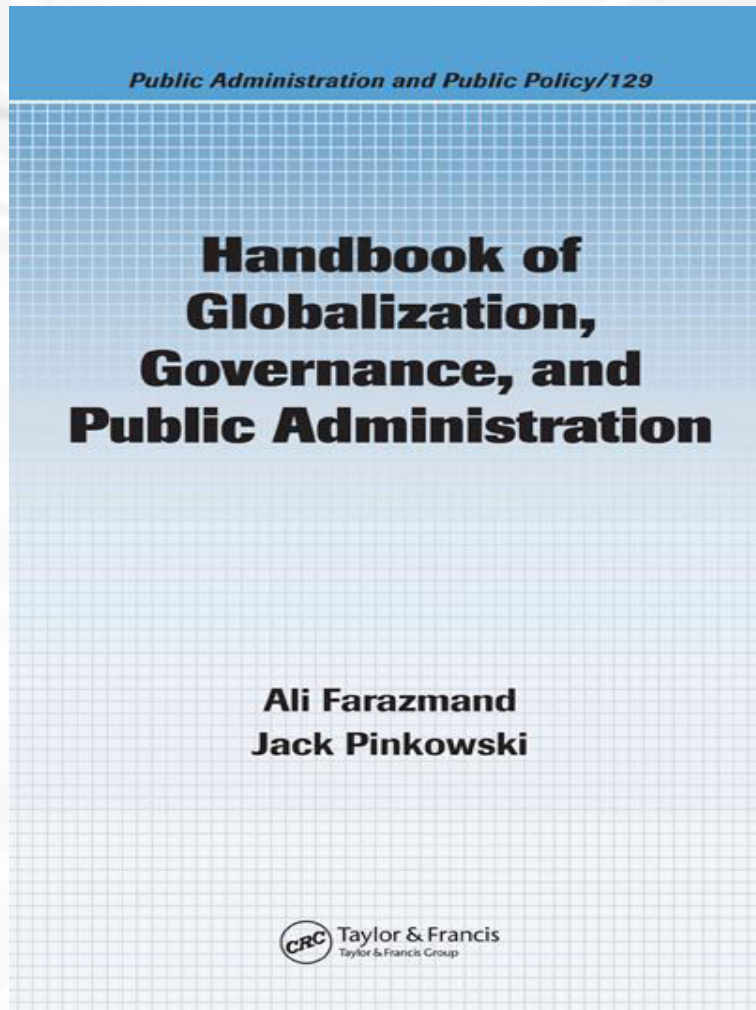
- Book: Governance, Globalization and Public Policy
- Publication: 2008
- About the Author: Edited by Patricia Kennett, Reader in Comparative Policy Studies, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol, UK

# State and Public Policy



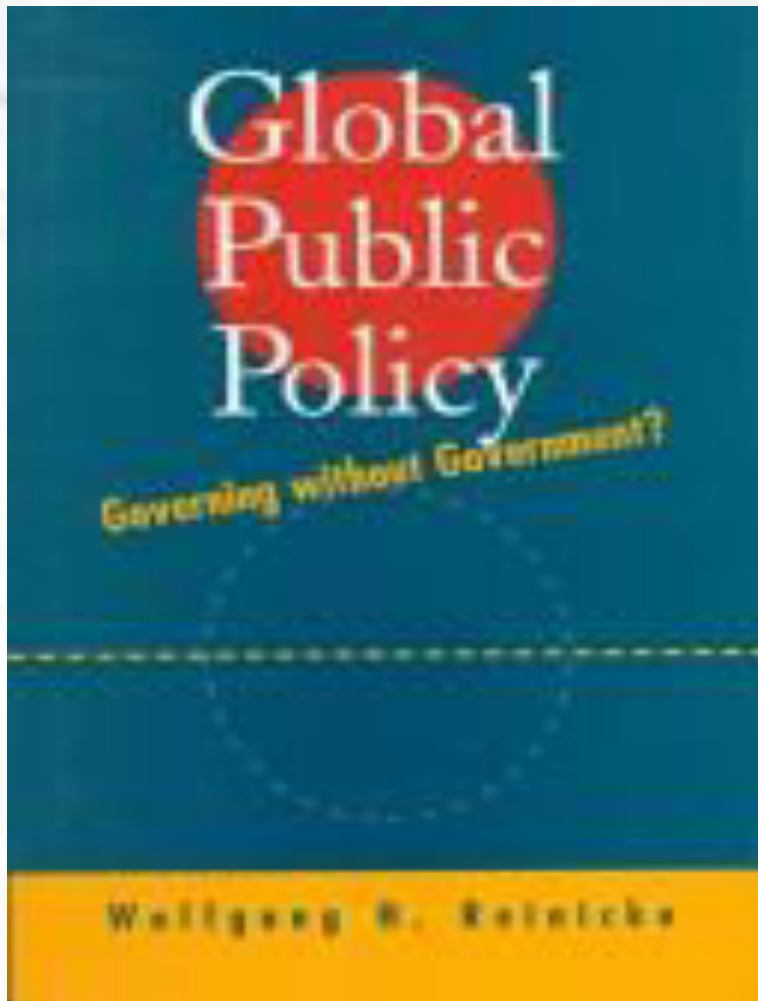
- Book: Globalization and Public Policy
- Publication Date: 2008
- About the Author: Colin Hay is Professor of Political Analysis and Co-Director of the Political Economy Research Centre at the University of Sheffield

# State and Public Policy



- Book: Handbook of Globalization, Governance and Public Administration
- Publication Date: 2006
- Author: Edited by Ali Farazmand and Jack Pinkowski

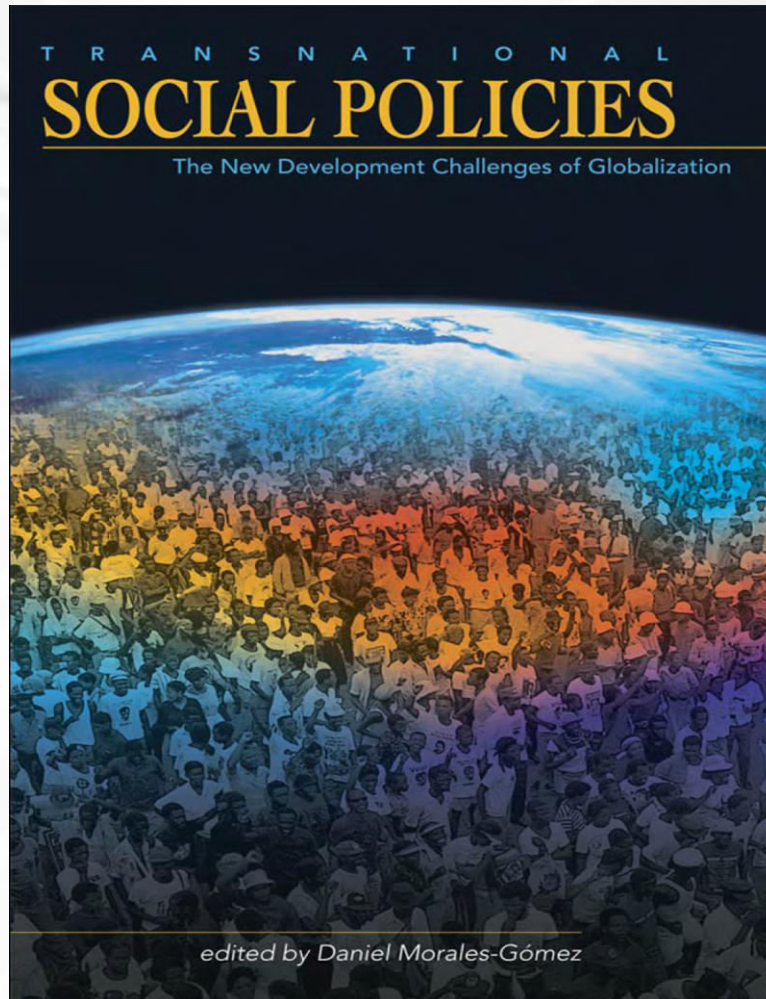
# State and Public Policy



- Book: Global Public Policy: Governing without Government?
- Publication Date: 1998
- Author: Wolfgang H. Reinicke

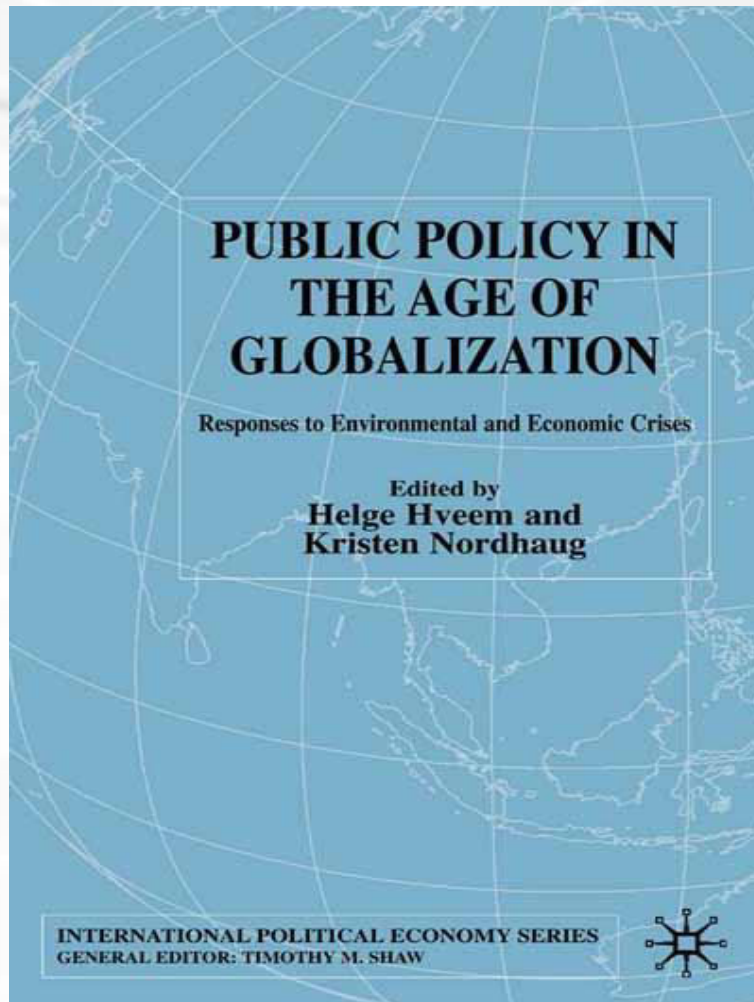


# State and Public Policy



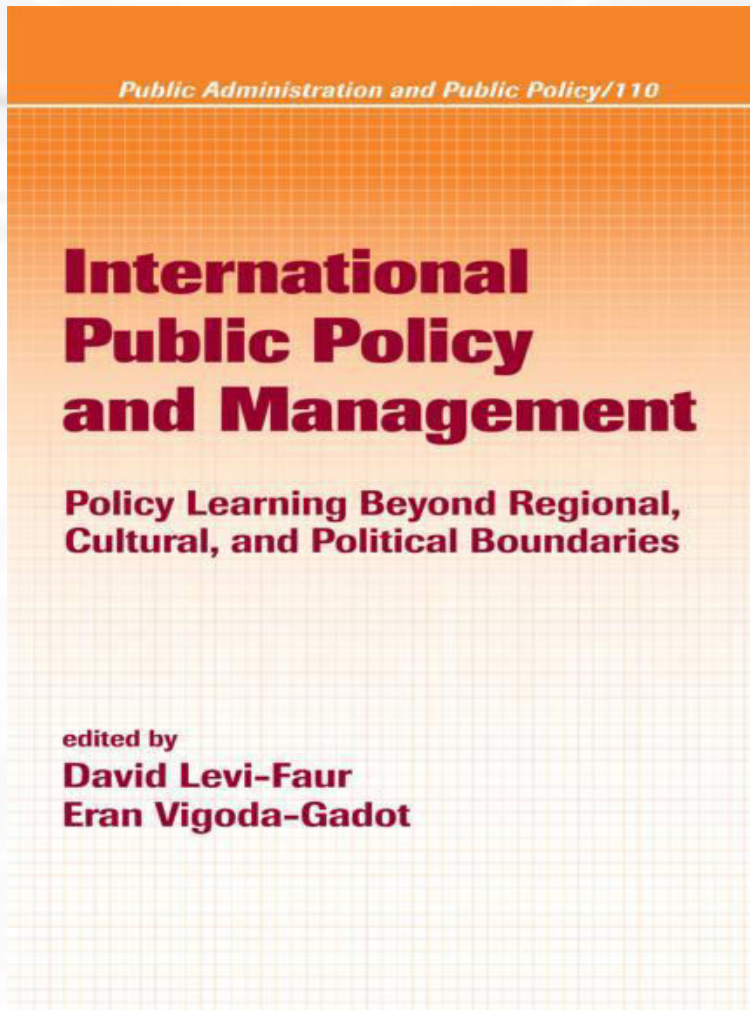
- Book: Transnational Social Policies  
The New Development Challenges of Globalization
- Publication Date: 1999
- About the Author:  
Daniel Morales-Gomez is Senior Specialist in IDRC's program on the assessment of social policy reform

# State and Public Policy



- Book: Public Policy in the Age of Globalization: Responses to Environmental and Economic Crises
- Publication Date: 2003
- Author: Edited by Helge Hveem Professor at University of Oslo and Kristen Nordhaug Assistant Professor at Roskilde University.

# State and Public Policy



- Book: International Public Policy and Management: Policy Learning Beyond Regional, Cultural, and Political Boundaries
- Publication Date: 2007
- Author: Edited by David Levi-Faur and Eran Vigoda-Gadot

# State and Public Policy

## **Global Public Policy**

Business and the countervailing  
powers of civil society

*Edited by*  
**Karsten Ronit**

RIPE Series in Global Political Economy





# Yehezkel Dror

## Biography



# Biography

- Born 1928
- Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Public Administration at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- International consultant
  - UN, EU, OECD
  - Policy planning
  - Capacities to govern
  - Statecraft

# Biography

- More than 30 countries
- RAND Corporation (1968-70)
- European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht
- Fellow, the World Academy of Art and Science

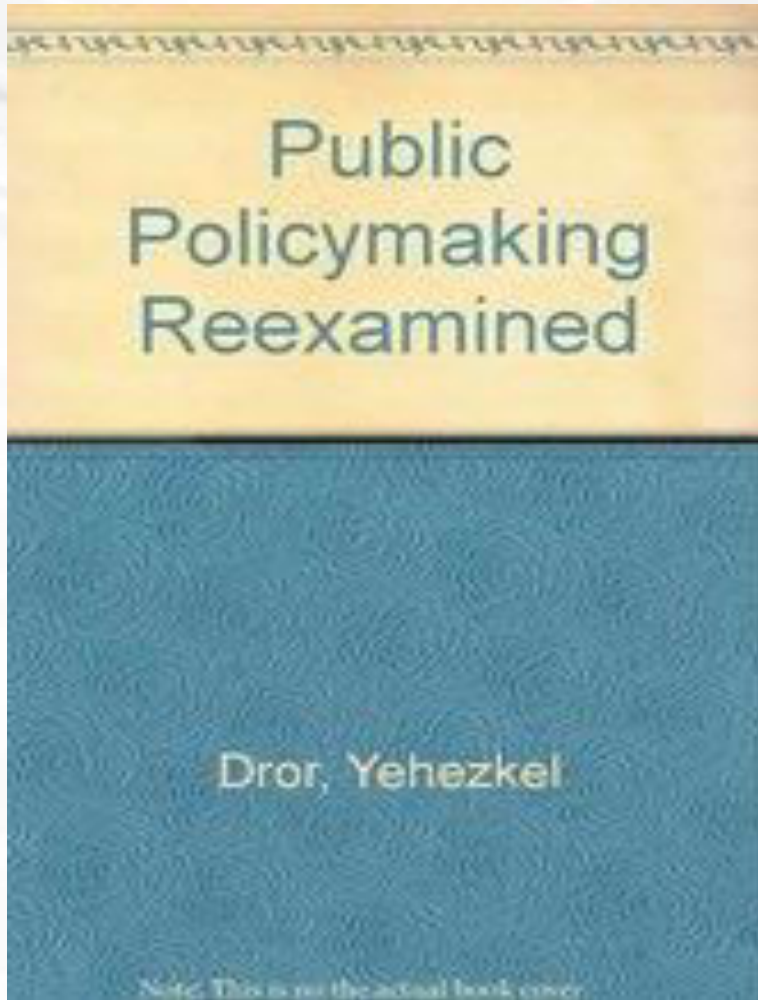
# Biography

- Fellow, the European Academy of Sciences and Arts
- Awards:
  - The Policy Studies Association
  - The annual Landau Prize for outstanding contributions to the social sciences

# Biography

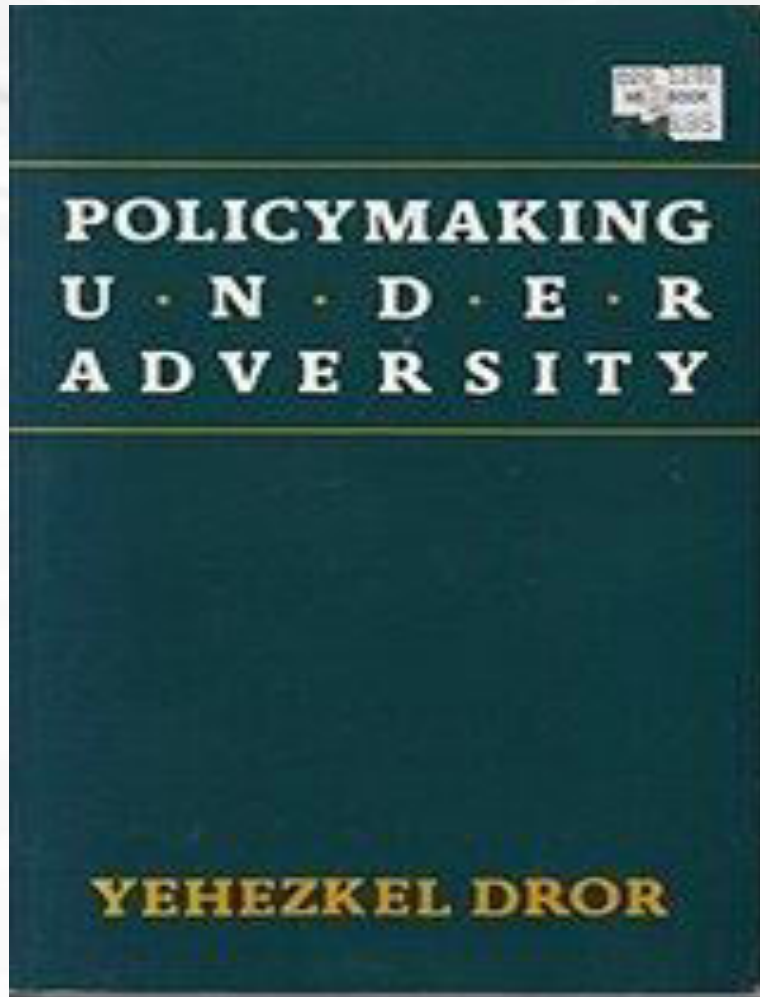
- Internationally respected scholar; founder of policy sciences
- Catalyst: established policy departments
- Key role in establishing Policy Studies Organizations
  - Served as president: PSO

# Biography



- Public Policymaking Reexamined (1968)

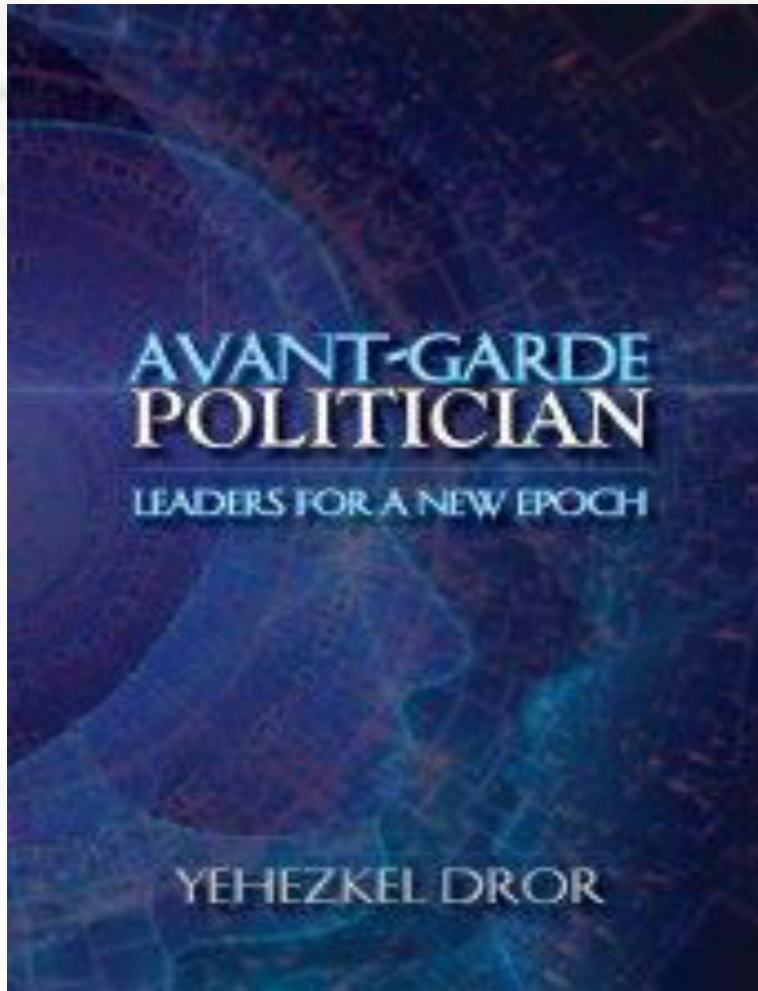
# Biography



- Policymaking under Adversity (1986)



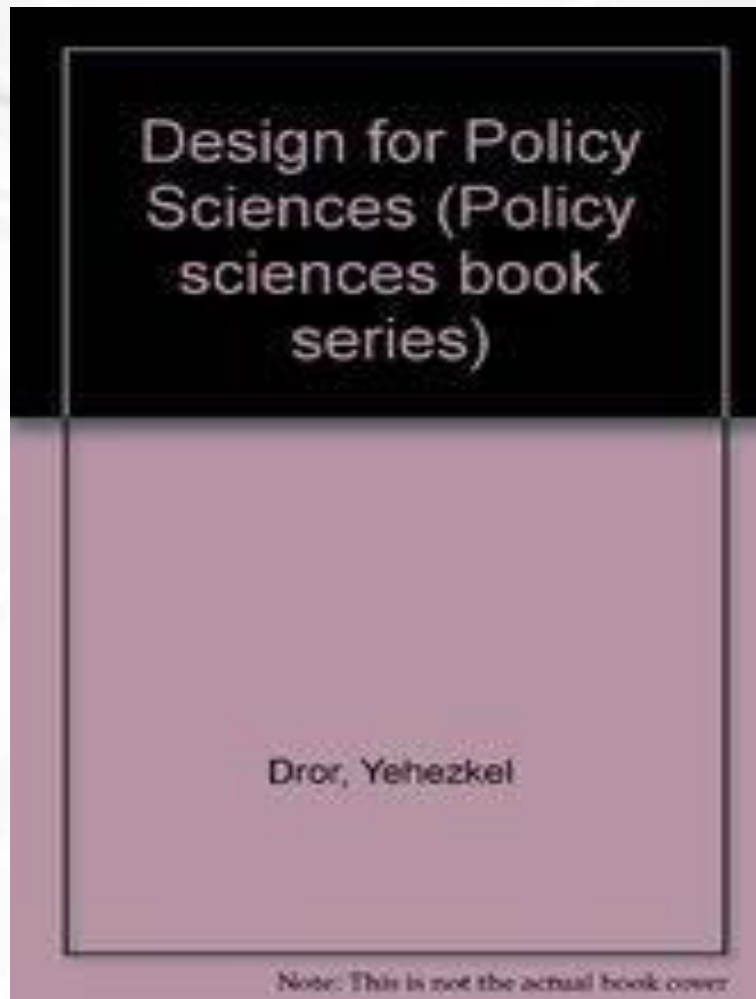
# Biography



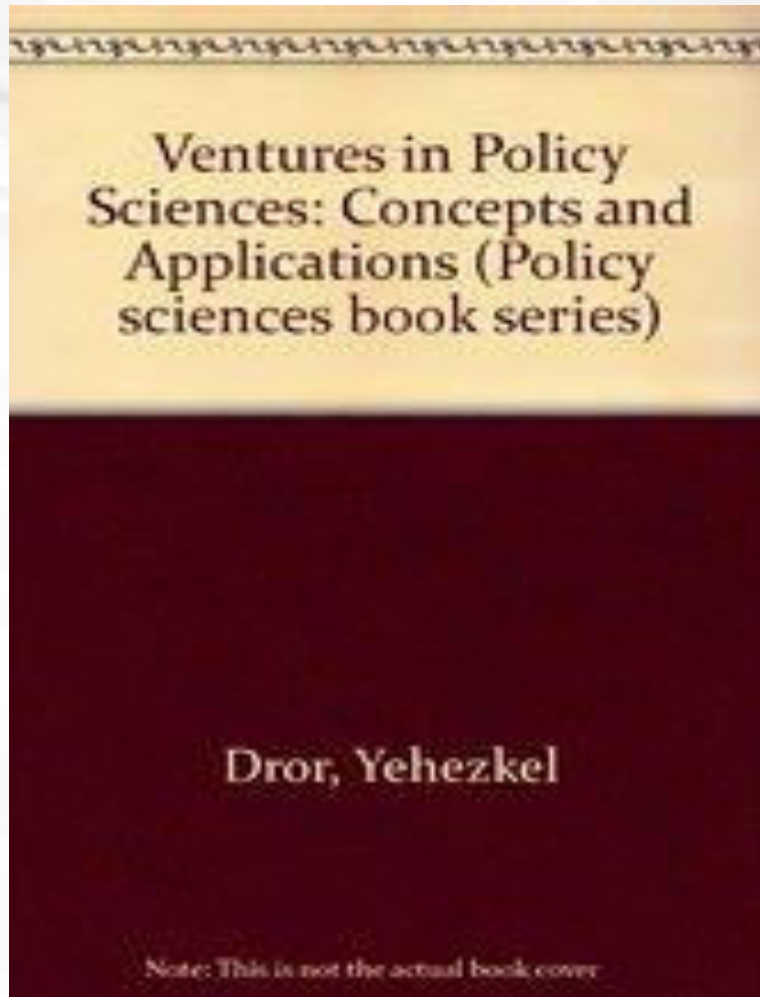
- Avant-Garde Politician: Leaders for a New Epoch (2014)

# Biography

- Design for Policy Sciences (1971)

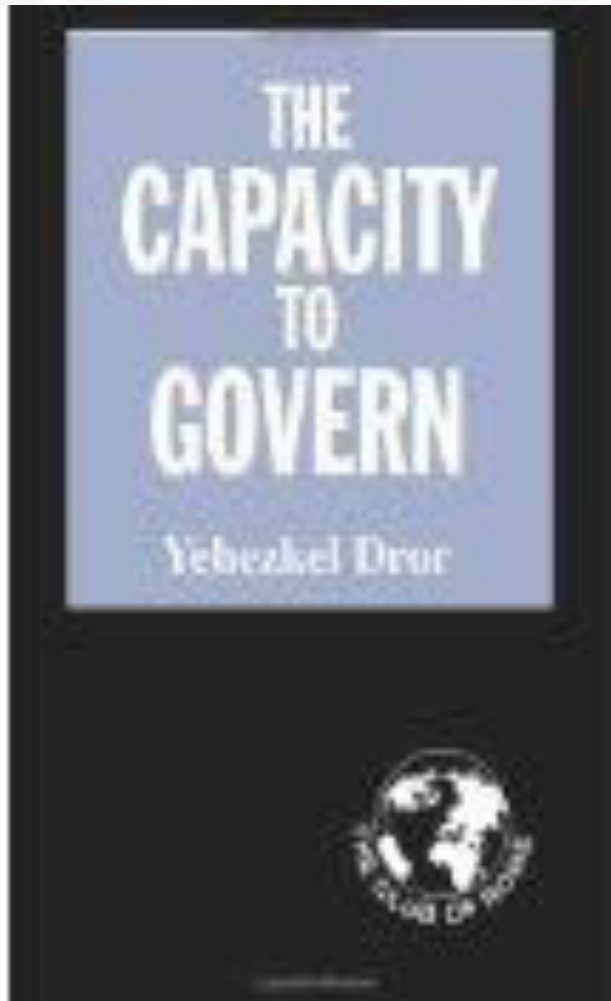


# Biography



- Ventures in Policy Sciences: Concepts and Applications, 1971

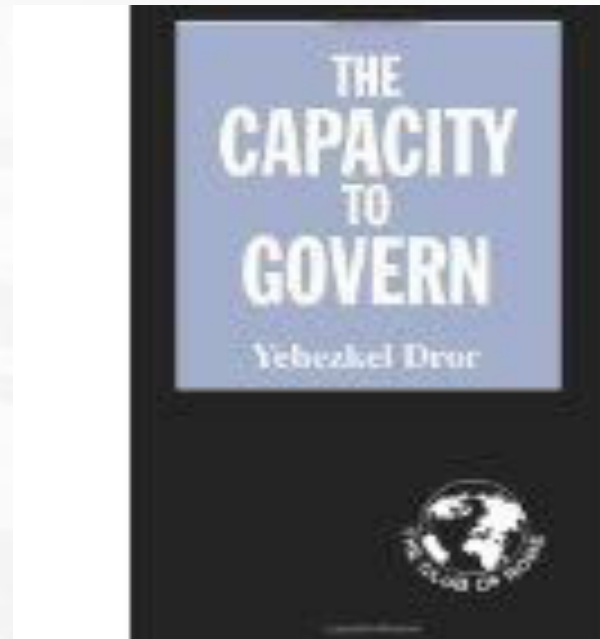
# Biography



- The Capacity to Govern: A Report to the Club of Rome (2001)\*

# Biography

- The Capacity to Govern: A Report to the Club of Rome (2001)\*



# Yehezkel Dror

## Major Works/Ideas

# Major Works/Ideas

- Advocacy: make policy analysis a new profession
- Commented:
  - “An invasion of public decision making by economics”

# Major Works/Ideas

- “Going far beyond the domain of economic policymaking, the economic approach to decision making as an allocation of resources between alternatives, that is, as an economic problem”



# Major Works/Ideas

(Yehezkel Dror, “Policy Analysts: A New Professional Role in Government Service,” *Public Administration Review* 27, no. 3 (1967): 197-203.)

- Differentiated systems analysis and policy analysis

# Major Works/Ideas

- Defined the role of government policy analyst
- Called for advanced knowledge of decision-making
- Policy analyst as new professional role in government

# Major Works/Ideas

- Proposed establishing policy analysis offices in all government departments, at senior levels
- Significant autonomy; highly qualified staff
- Strict secrecy
- Confidential relation between analyst and decision maker

# Major Works/Ideas

- Policy analysis separate from implementation
  - “To move into such items cannot but ruin the essence of policy analysis as focusing on policymaking”
  - Many departments followed advice
- Policy analysis is more than technical work\*

**Yehezkel Dror**

**The Capacity to  
Govern 2001**

# The Capacity to Govern 2001

- Redesigning of governance is needed
  - Knowledge, technology has changed
  - Policymaking remains the same

# The Capacity to Govern 2001

- Governance need to deal with social self-destruction
  - Without improved capacity to govern, negative outcomes for society
  - Governance should stop: “devilish use of knowledge...for mass killing”

# The Capacity to Govern 2001

- Societies are unprepared; governance obsolete
- Change from: “Raison d’etat”, created by Italian Renaissance thinkers to “Raison d’humanite”
- Change governance at all levels: make quantum leap



# The Capacity to Govern 2001

- If UN is unable to cope with global crisis, USA and EU should act
- Breakdown in countries should be prevented
- Intervention to prevent evil rulers from doing harm
- Quality of politicians should be improved

# The Capacity to Govern 2001

- Moral democratic rule is preferred over direct democracy
- Create capacity to govern groups at universities, think tanks
- Promote doctoral research on capacity to govern
- Think: “Science and Technology for what?”\*

**Yehezkel Dror**

**Policy Analysis for  
Advising Rulers**

# Policy Analysis for Advising Rulers

- Developing it as a specialized field
- Experience of working with more than 35 governments
- Most rulers do not understand language of PA
- Most rulers work with bureaucrats, politicians, mono-disciplinary experts but not with PAs

# Policy Analysis for Advising Rulers

- Experience with economists makes rulers apprehensive of PAs
- PAs morally responsible
- PAs should not work with tyrants, evil rulers
- Advice for policy innovations

# Policy Analysis for Advising Rulers

- Single-person focus
  - Adjust to psychological and political needs of the ruler
  - Personal relations important\*

# Yehezkel Dror

**Relevance to  
Pakistan**

# Relevance to Pakistan

- Leadership
- Mixing technical and political skills
- Optimum policymaking\*



# Aaron Wildavsky

## Biography

# Biography

- Short Life: 1930-93
- PhD from Yale University
- Joined political science faculty at UC Berkeley, 1962-63
- Dean: Goldman School of Public Policy (1969-77)
- President: Russell Sage Foundation (1977-78)

# Biography

- Leading scholar of budget, budgetary process
- Politics of the Budgetary Process
- American Society for Public Administration: most influential work of PA in the last five decades

# Biography

- Fellow:
  - National Academy of Public Administration (1971)
  - American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1973)
  - Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences
  - Guggenheim Fellowship (1971)

# Biography

- Awards:
  - Dwight Waldo Award,  
The American Society  
of Public  
Administration
  - The Charles E.  
Merriam Award:  
American Political  
Science Association
- President, American  
Political Science  
Association, 1985-86

# Biography

- One of the most innovative and prolific scholars of political research
- Culture and Social Theory
- Federalism and Political Culture
- Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership
- The Beleaguered Presidency

# Biography

- Craft Ways: On the Organization of Scholarly Work\*

**Aaron Wildavsky**

## **Larger Questions**



# Larger Questions

- Larger question: how people manage to live together?
- Budgeting makes living together possible
- Can't budget, can't govern
- Budgeting: US government; comparative budgeting; theory of political culture

# Larger Questions

- "when a process involves power, authority, culture, consensus, and conflict, it captures a great deal of national political life"
- Budgeting can tell about the classic questions of politics:
  - who gets what, how, and why?

# Larger Questions

- Worked on budgeting personnel and agency actors in answering these questions
- Politics was about finding terms for living together in spite of ideological differences.

# Larger Questions

- Budgetary incrementalism helped to manage this otherwise unmanageable task.
- Synoptic budgeting could increase disagreement: it was unwise.
- Analysis had to serve politics, not try to displace it\*

**Aaron Wildavsky**

**Citizen as Analyst**

# Citizen as Analyst

- Like Dewey, Wildavsky opposes:
  - State imposed planning
  - Planning based on rationalistic design
  - Achieving preconceived ends by means of coercive regulation of behavior

# Citizen as Analyst

- Opposed: “central direction by one mind that decides everything once and for all”
- Instead encourage citizens to “figure things out for themselves”
  - Instead of standardized curriculums, give vouchers

# Citizen as Analyst

- Benefits by “altering the pattern of relationships between participants which leads to outcomes that are different”



# Citizen as Analyst

- It is helpful because it encourages citizens to “act as analysts by becoming part of public policies through which they can determine what they are getting for what they give”

**Aaron Wildavsky**

**Craft Ways**

# Craft Ways

- C. W. Mills, “On intellectual craftsmanship,” In *The Sociological Imagination* (1959)
- What kind of person a social/policy scientist be?

# Craft Ways

- Writing and reading
  - In the same place, at the same time, and in the same way
  - Rationality in writing
  - Reading with a purpose
  - Organization of time
  - Semi-structured interviews
  - Collaborations\*

**Robert S. McNamara**

**Biography/Context**

# Biography/Context

- Harvard Business School graduate
- Influenced by W. Edward Deming
  - Statistician: loved numbers; loved quantification
    - Everything could be expressed in numbers
  - Helped census in Japan

# Biography/Context

- Quality/productivity revolution in Japan
  - Toyota, Fuji, Sony improved productivity, quality
  - Competitiveness, quality, lower-cost
- Statistical process control
- Six Sigma
- Total quality management
- Kaizen

# Biography/Context

- President Ford Motor Company
- Second World War/Financial Crisis of 1930s
- Cold War
  - “The Social Science Weapon System”



# Biography/Context

- “The social science was also viewed as a weapon but for use against a different enemy. For the military, the most useful social science available during the Cold War was that embodied in policy analysis, and policy analysis was used as

# Biography/Context

argumentation in  
domestic bureaucratic  
battles for budget &  
mission.”

(Hamilton Cravens, *The  
Social Sciences Go to  
Washington: The  
Politics of Knowledge in  
the Postmodern Age*  
(Rutgers, 2003))\*

# Robert S. McNamara

**Ideas**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines, creating a sense of depth and movement.

# Ideas

- Saw himself as  
“enlightened rationalist”
- Analytical techniques:
  - Data driven
  - Quantitative analysis
  - Cost benefit analysis
  - Linear programming
- Systems analysis:
  - Identify problem
  - Enlist  
options/alternatives
  - Objectives/criteria

# Ideas

- Impact evaluation
- Estimate future effects
- Recommendations/course of action
- Planning, programming and budgeting system (PPBS), 1961, Department of Defense
  - Past history: RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California (est. 1948)

# Ideas

- Work: Analytic work for DoD
- Decision allocation system
- Charles Hitch requested to set up Office of Systems Analysis to undertake PPBS
- Lyndon B. Johnson extended PPBS to other departments in October 1965

# Ideas

- PPBS uses:  
microeconomic theory,  
welfare economics,  
quantitative decision  
theory, operations  
research, cost-benefit  
analysis, program  
budgeting, systems  
analysis
- Systems Analysis Office
  - McNamara built a  
team of analysts

# Ideas

- Analysts had access to Secretary
- Secretary had access to President
- Highly powered; freedom from bureaucratic hierarchy
- Specialization in techniques of analysis; not in the details of their application



# Ideas

- Lack of knowledge in the substance of policy
- Analysts:
  - Identify objectives;
  - Relate cost/budgetary decision to objectives
  - Assess cost effectiveness of current/proposed programs

# Ideas

- Analytic planning process was linked to budget process
- Purposes:
  - Control over fragmented units: Army, Air Force, Navy
  - Improve efficiencies in allocation & implementation
  - Improve use of knowledge/information\*

# Robert S. McNamara

## Vietnam War

# Vietnam War

- Applied statistical methods to the US bombing campaign in WWII as US air force officer
  - Increased efficiency of US air attacks
- Criticized for applying abstract thinking to Vietnam war

# Vietnam War

- Weidman: “McNamara treated everybody like they were a spare part on a Ford”
- Deaths of American soldiers: 58, 220
- US soldiers Wounded: 303, 644
- Total casualties: 4 million
- McNamara’s son agitated against Vietnam war\*

**Robert S. McNamara**

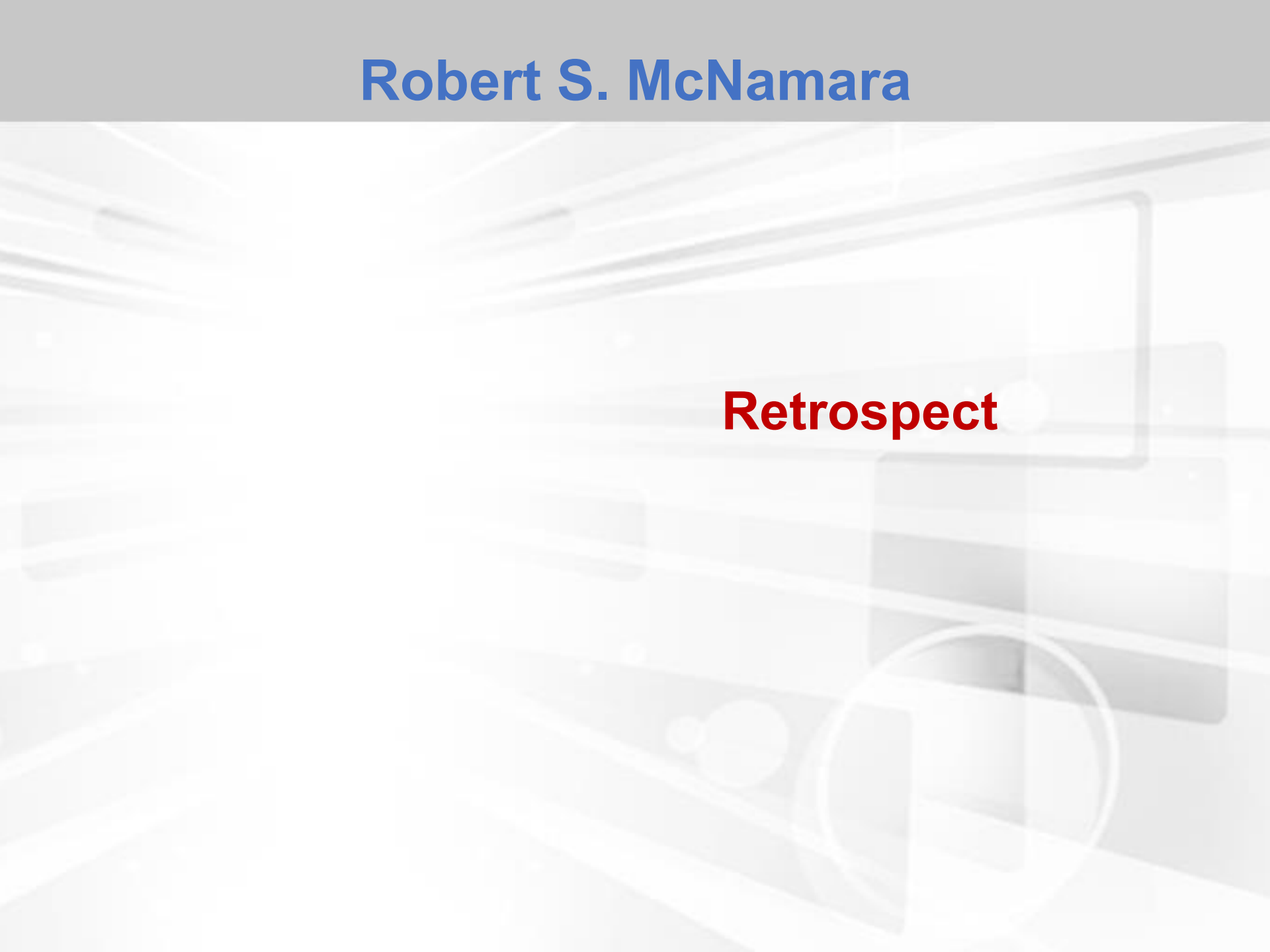
**World Bank**

# World Bank

- Tried to remake the WB
- Lending from US\$ 1 bn to US\$ 13 bn
- Focused on the rural poverty\*

**Robert S. McNamara**

**Retrospect**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines. These shapes are rendered in various shades of gray, creating a sense of depth and movement. The overall effect is a modern, architectural feel.



# Retrospect

- Advocated nuclear disarmament
- American and British nuclear policy: "immoral, illegal and militarily unnecessary", in 2005
- The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S McNamara
  - Oscar-winning documentary, 2003

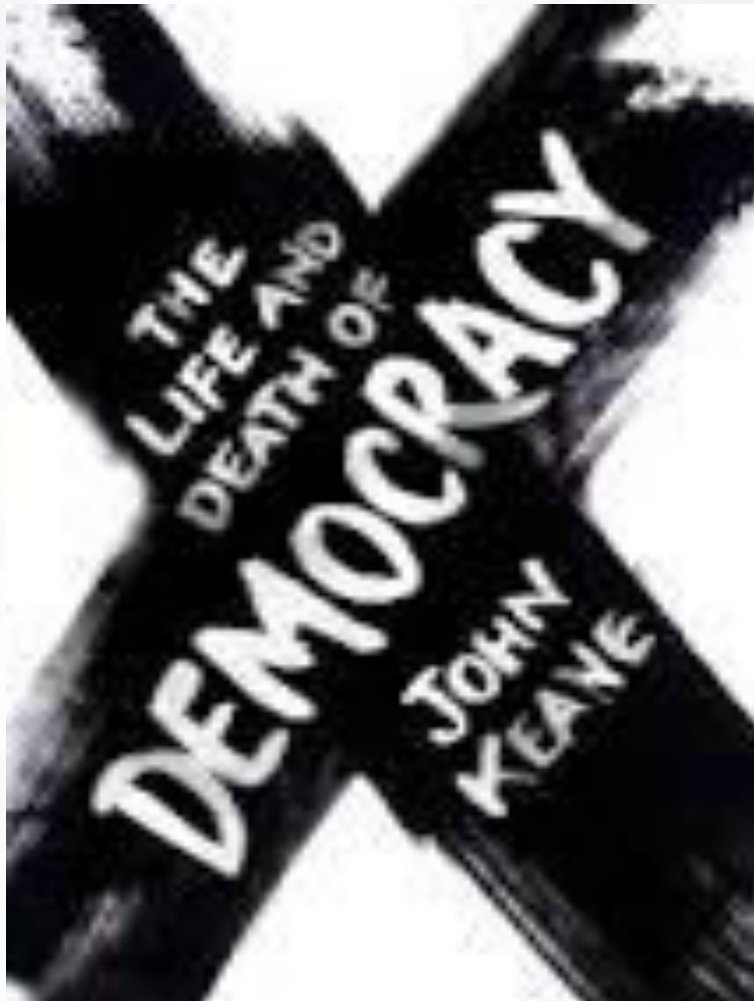
# Retrospect

- Admitted Vietnam War as a mistake
- Selected Lessons
  - Rationality alone will not save us
  - Get the data
  - Be prepared to reexamine your reasoning
  - Never say never
  - Human nature can't be changed\*

**Helen Ingram**

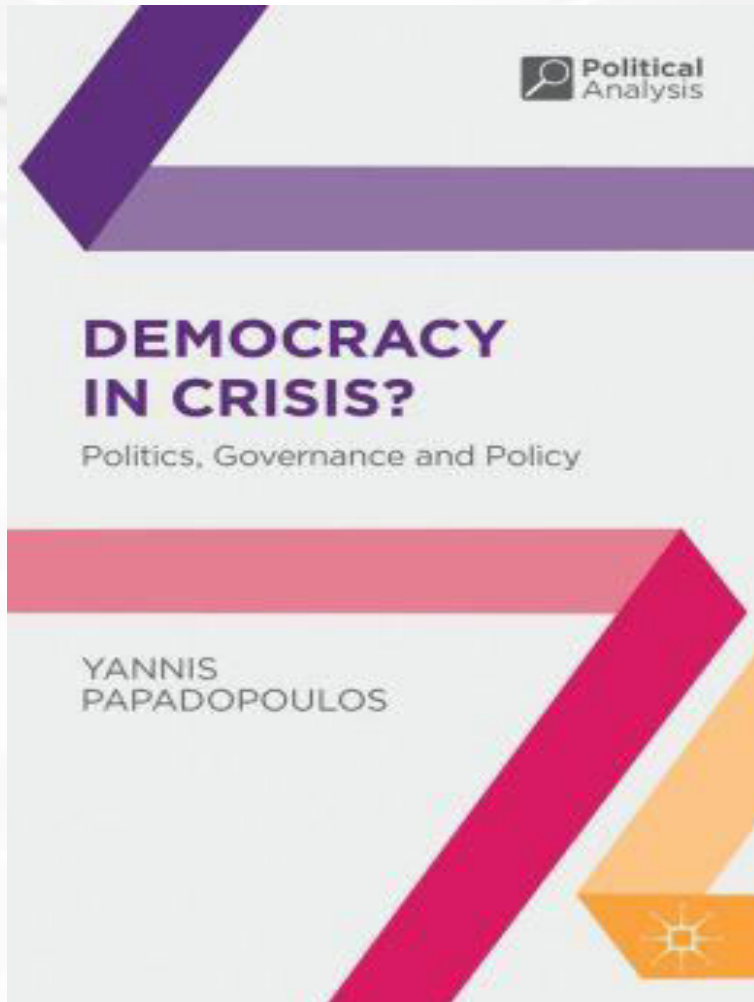
**Think about This!  
Democracy in  
Trouble**

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



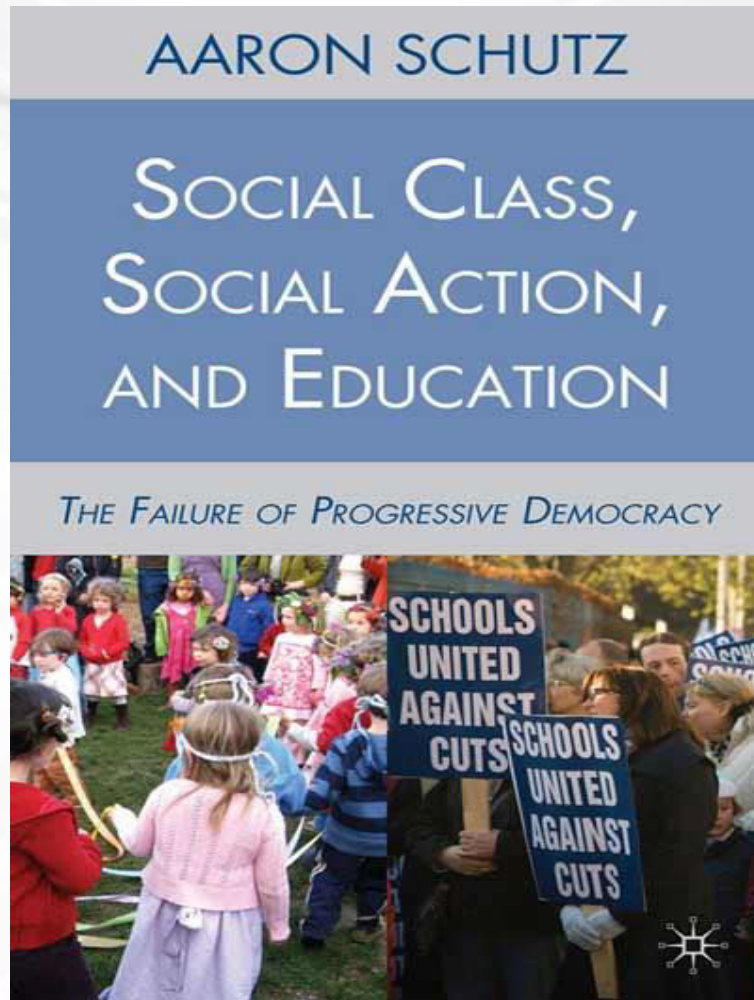
- The Life and Death of Democracy by John Keane (2009)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



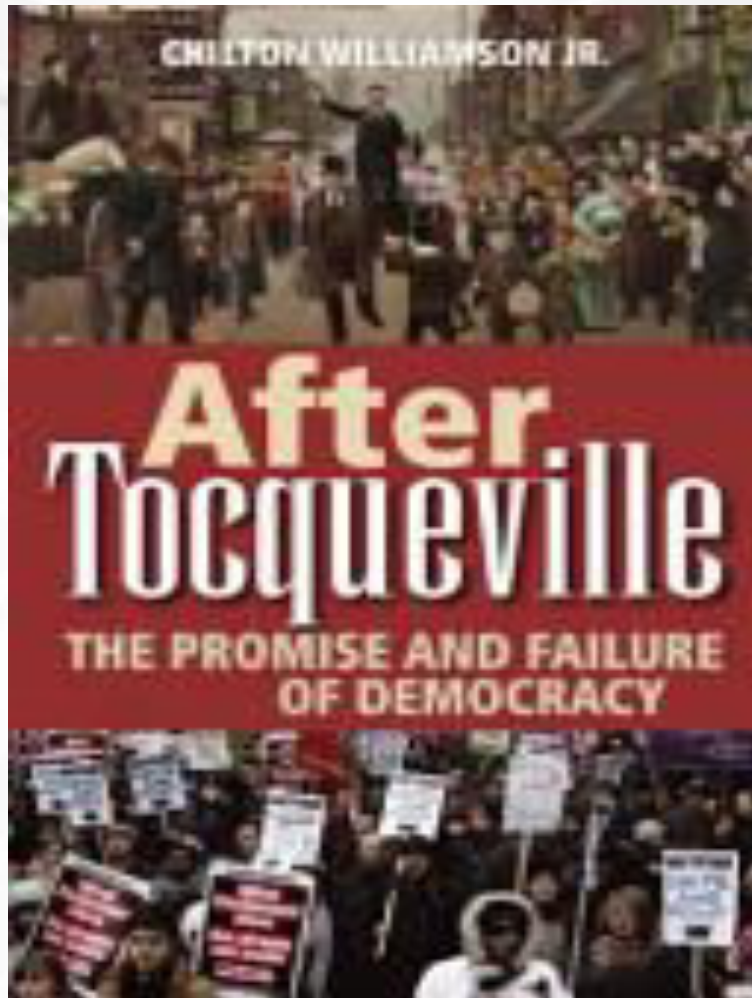
- Democracy in Crisis? Politics, Governance and Policy by Yannis Papadopoulos (2013)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- Social Class, Social Action, and Education  
The Failure of Progressive Democracy  
by Aaron Schutz (2010)

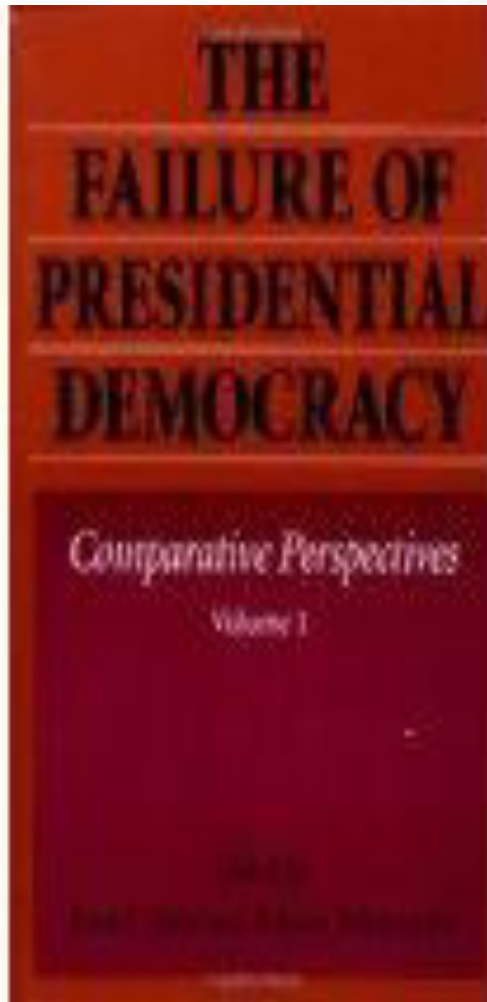
# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- After Tocqueville: The Promise and Failure of Democracy by Chilton Williamson (2012)



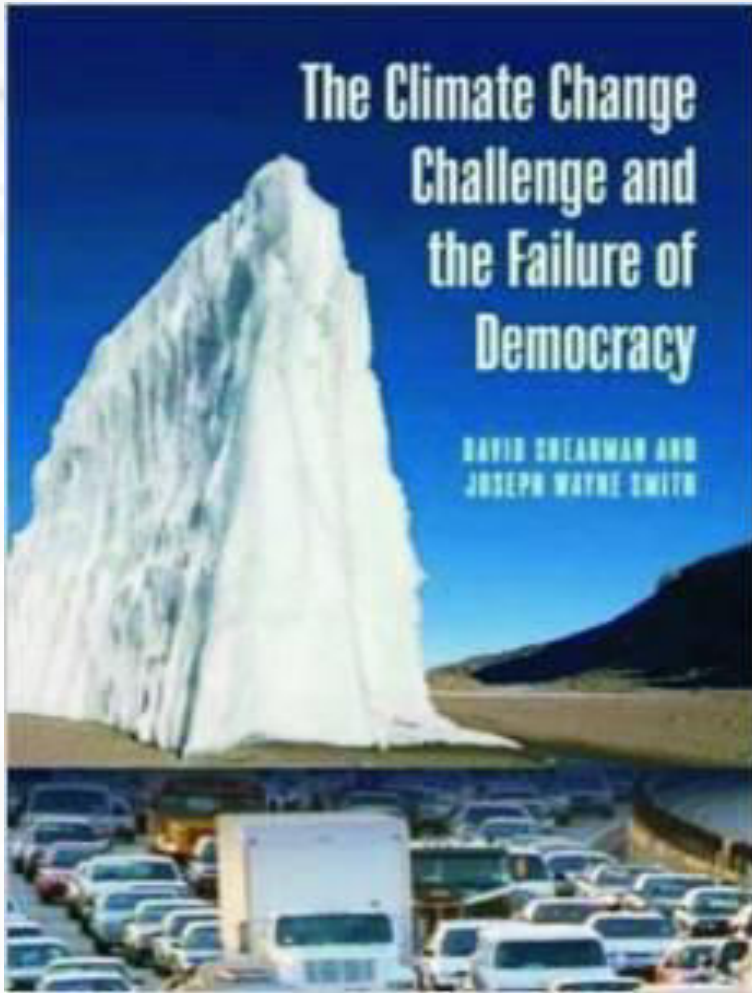
# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives by Juan J.Linz (Editor) & Arturo Valenzuela (Editor), (1994)

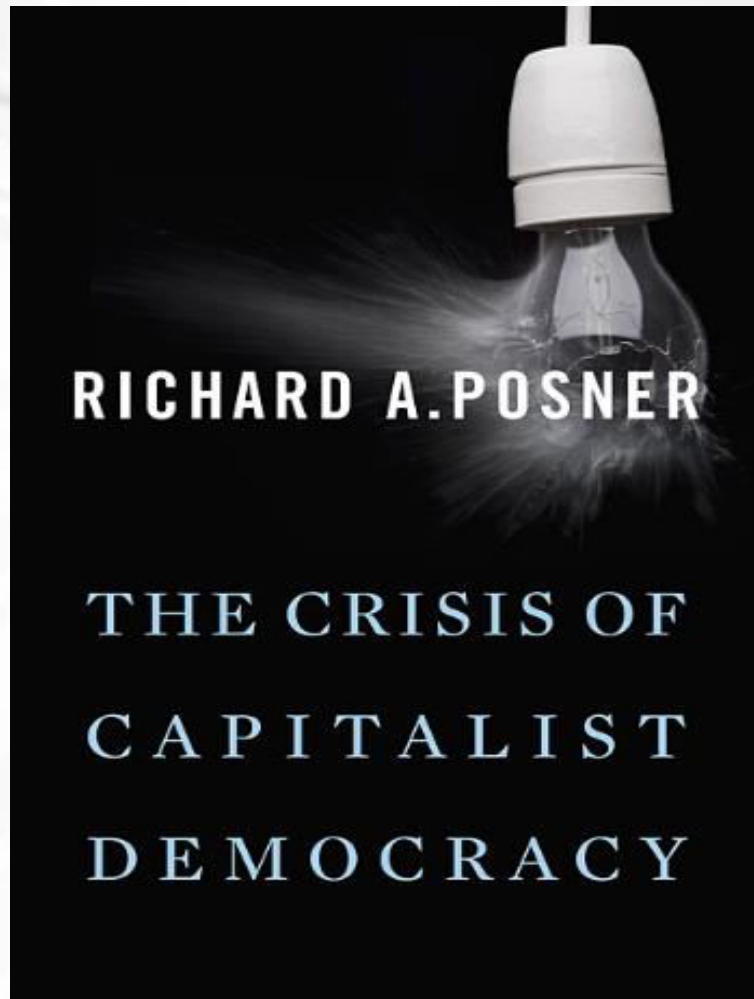


# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- The Climate Change Challenge and the Failure of Democracy by David Shearman and Joseph Wayne Smith, (2007)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- The Crisis of Capitalist Democracy by Richard A. Posner (2010)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble

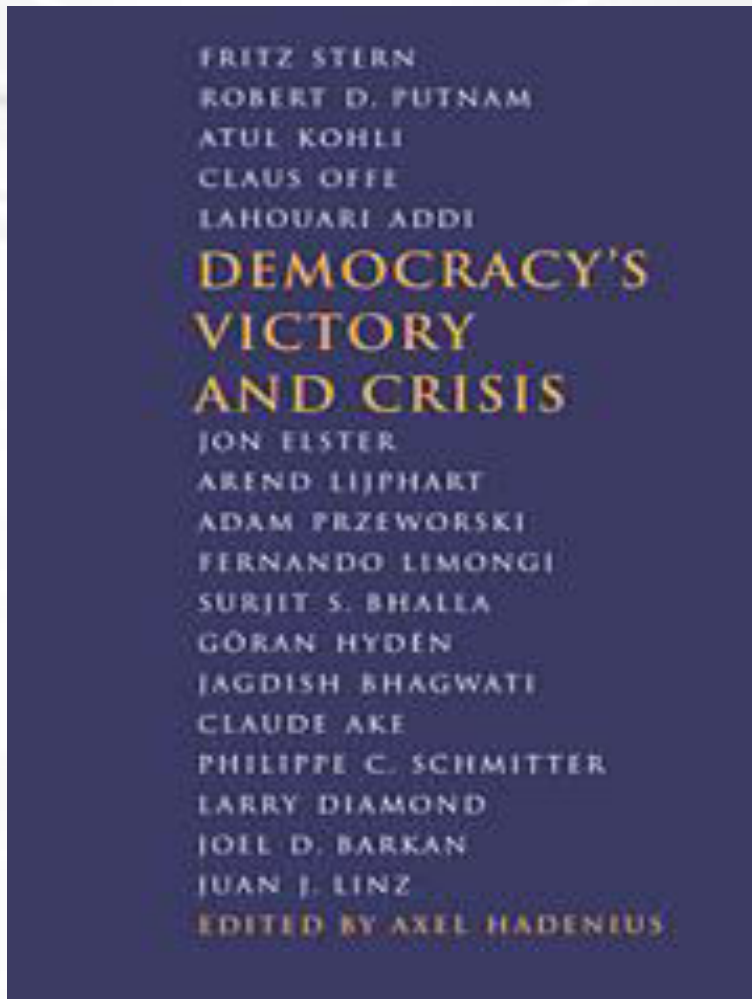


REPORT ON THE GOVERNABILITY  
OF DEMOCRACIES TO THE  
TRILATERAL COMMISSION

MICHEL J. CROZIER  
SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON  
JOJI WATANUKI

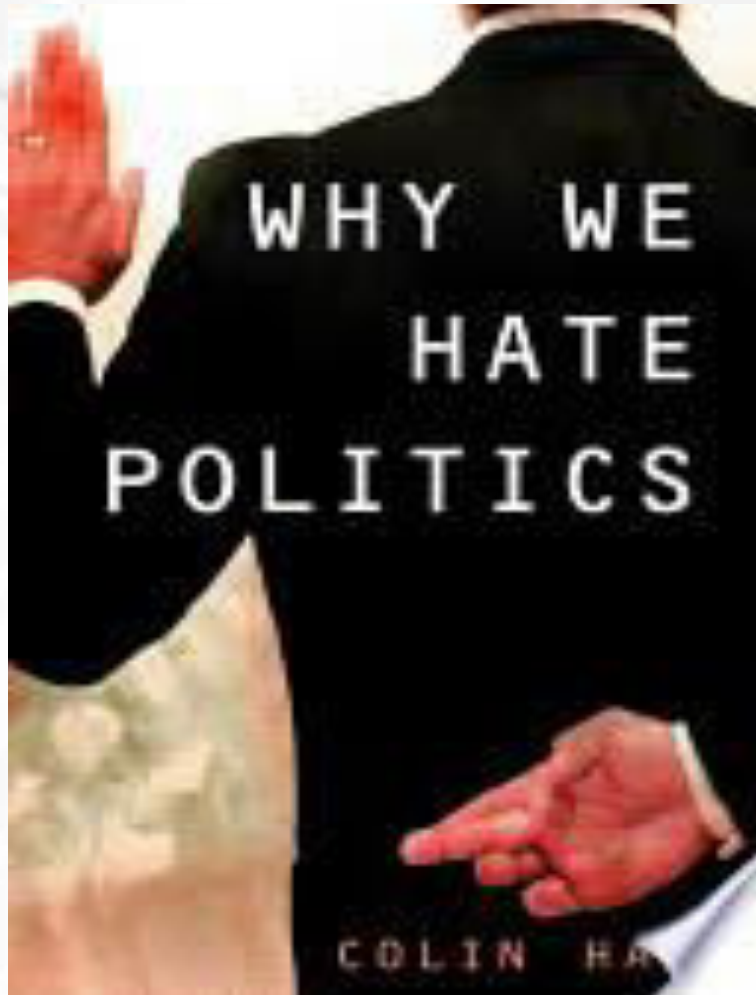
- The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission by Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington & Joji Watanuki, (1975)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



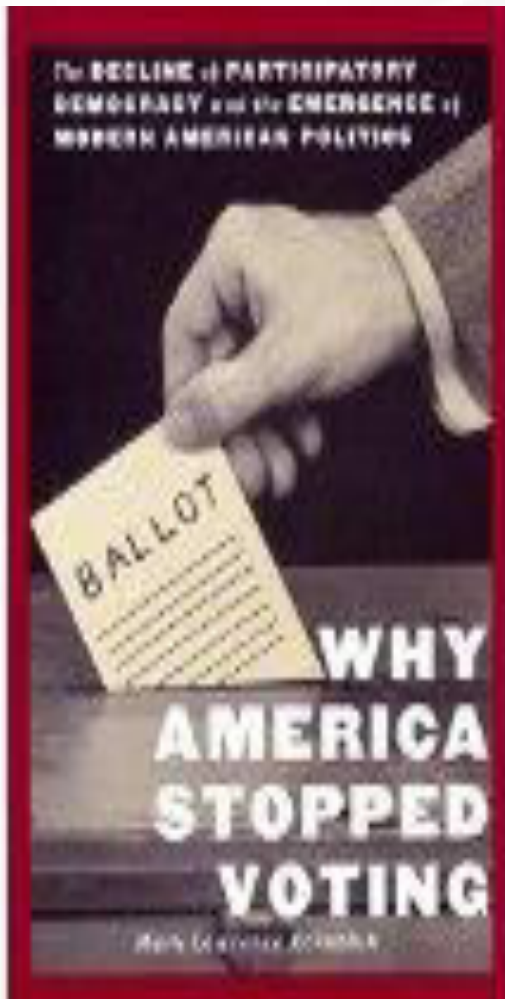
- Democracy's Victory and Crisis Edited by Axel Hadenius, (1997)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- Why We Hate Politics by Colin Hay (2007)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble



- Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics by Mark Lawrence Kornbluh, (2000)

# Think about This! Democracy in Trouble

- Democracy has hollowed out as a means of popular governance
- Unaccountable administrators, technocrats, judges,
- Democratic deficit
- Participatory democracy\*

**Helen Ingram**

**Policy Design for  
Democracy**



# Policy Design for Democracy

- John Dewey:  
Democracy
- Harold Lasswell: policy  
science of democracy
  - Policy sciences  
abandoned this dream
- Democracy in crisis  
across the globe
  - Governments are  
seen part of the  
problem

# Policy Design for Democracy

- People believe government officers pursue self-interest
- Governments could not solve problems of violence, poverty, gender, etc.
- Distrust of governments, politicians

# Policy Design for Democracy

- This needed response, but
  - Policy analysis programs ill equips, dealing with quality of democracy
- Policy analysis focused:
  - Efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery

# Policy Design for Democracy

- Macroeconomics tools:
  - Means-ends assessments
- Political science:
  - Political feasibility and support, responsiveness of policy to citizens, implementing agencies

# Policy Design for Democracy

- Efficiency, effectiveness, political feasibility are the only measures, and inadequate measures
- What should be the purpose of policy analysis?:
  - Creating a just, democratic society (Ingram)

# Policy Design for Democracy

- Advance citizenship by:
  - Listening to, educating, and involving ordinary people
  - Balance the interests of individuals with a concern for the collective good

# Policy Design for Democracy

- Why?
  - Distributive justice, responsive leadership
    - Not academic issues alone
    - Rather central issues for policy analysts

# Policy Design for Democracy

- Why?
  - Contexts of policies have changing (i.e. climate change)
  - Focus on democracy gap needed\*



**Helen Ingram**

**How to Improve  
Democracy?**

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Policy design and democracy are linked
  - Therefore, purposes and tools for contemporary policy analysts need to change
- Policy is not a black box
  - Outputs can't be understood through inputs (demands, support, resources)

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Policy is also not an extension of culture/public opinion
- Policy design has consequences:
  - Goals
  - Target populations
  - Rationales
  - Images
  - Implementation structures
  - Rules
  - Tools

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Solution: Public forums  
(Arif Hasan's idea also)
  - Citizens discuss/confront policy problems which affect them
  - People do not face policy problems as clients/interest groups
    - But as citizens

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Public forums depend on policy framing and design
- Who defines the problem has control of the design of solutions
- Problems do not occur; they are constructed
- Is domestic violence health issue, criminal justice problem, or religious issue

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Issues defined in moral or economic terms encourages different stakeholders
- Public do more than delivering services
- National Testing Service
  - Definition: no trust on government exams

# How to Improve Democracy?

- Benefits different people differently
- Preparation academies have strong interest\*

**Helen Ingram**

**Challenges for  
Policy Analysts**



# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- Government/governance structures need to be evaluated beyond efficiency and effectiveness
- Analysts should
  - ‘unmask framings of problems’ and ‘social constructions of targets’
  - ‘Degenerative’ and anti-democratic constructions resisted

# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- “As a philosophical orientation, social constructionism holds that the meaning of acts, behaviors, and events is not an objective quality of those phenomena but is assigned to them by human beings in social interaction

# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- “Meaning, in other words, is socially defined and organized and therefore is subject to social change”
- Policy is inherently normative exercise

# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- Linking public policy to citizenship
  - Important antidote to the overly technical and goal-driven orientation
  - Improve policy designs and help restore citizen confidence in government

# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- Policy analysts should focus:
  - How the elements of design in policy impact
    - Framing
    - Constructions
    - Implementation
    - Information/transparency
    - Opportunities offered to citizens

# Challenges for Policy Analysts

- Rather than serve mainly the narrow interests of powerful groups
  - who are socially constructed as "deserving"
  - or issuing discipline and punishment to powerless people socially constructed as "undeserving"\*

# Hugh Helco

## Biography



# Biography

- Clarence J. Robinson  
Professor at George  
Mason University
- Former Professor of  
Government at Harvard  
University
  - American national  
politics
  - Social welfare policy
  - The philosophy of  
history



# Biography

- The philosophy of religion and politics
- Institutionalism
- George Washington University, B.A., 1965
- Manchester University (England), M. A., 1967
- Yale University, PhD in political science, 1970

# Biography

- Woodrow Wilson Award: American Political Science Association
  - Modern Social Politics (the best book of the US in 1974)
  - Government, politics, or international affairs

# Biography

- Gladys Kammerer  
Award: Comparative  
Public Policy, 1976
  - National policy
- Louis Brownlow Book  
Award: The National  
Academy of Public  
Administration
  - A Government of  
Strangers
  - The best book in  
public administration

# Biography

- Best Article Award:  
Politics and History  
Section, APSA
- "The Sixties' False  
Dawn: Awakenings,  
Movements and  
Postmodern Policy-  
making," in The Journal  
of Policy History, 1997.
- Elected member:
  - American Academy of  
Arts and Sciences

# Biography

- The National Academy of Public Administration
- Guggenheim Fellowship: 1985-86
- The John Gaus Award for lifetime achievement by APSA (2002)
  - Public administration, public policy, political science\*

# Hugh Helco

**On Public policy  
Making**

# On Public Policy Making

- Heclo's comment on economics driven public policy:
  - The influence of economics "is far in advance of any other approach in policy studies"

# On Public Policy Making

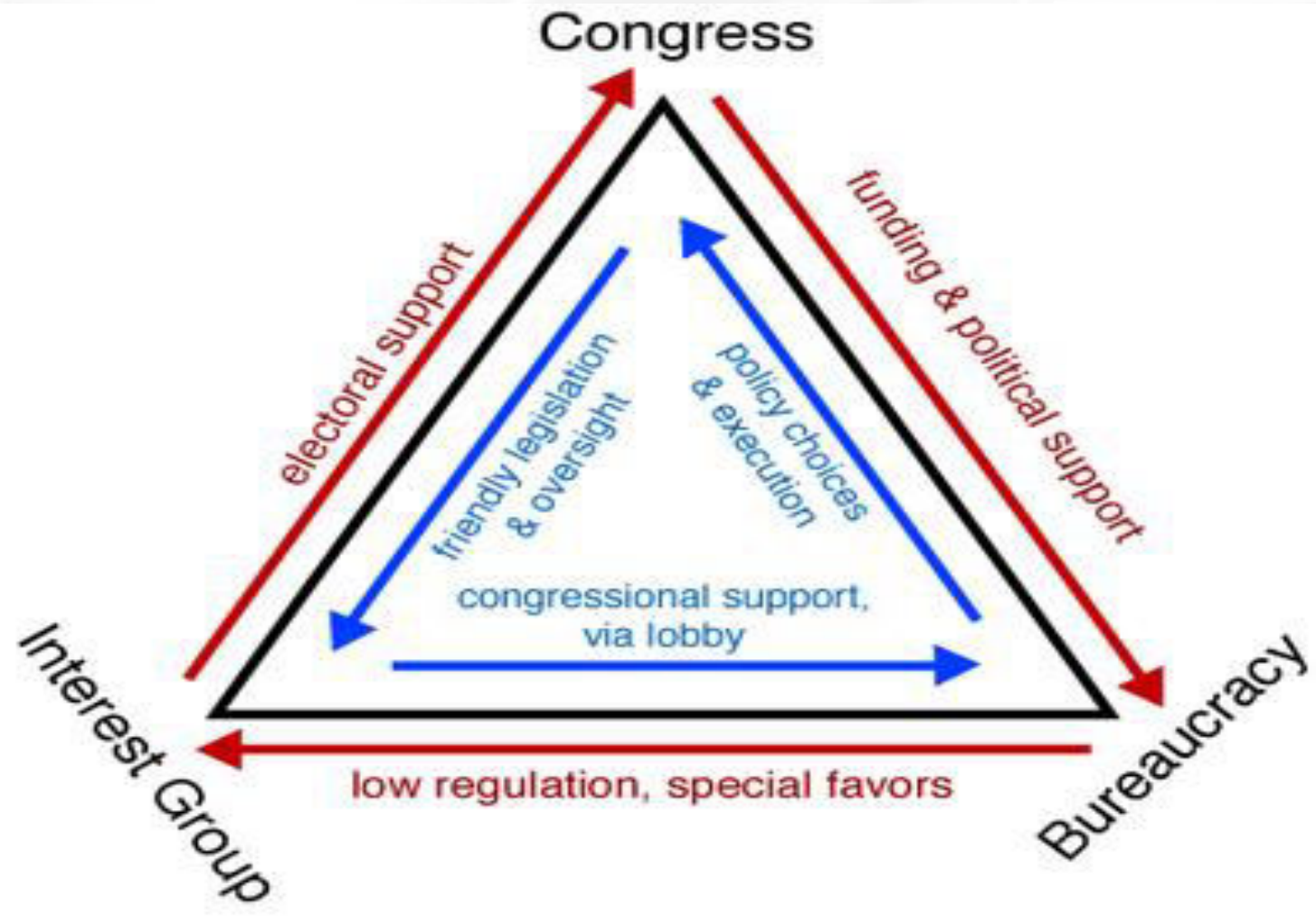
- “Analysis of rational program choice [considered the only] legitimate arbiter of policy analysis”
- “Policy studies are politically deodorized”
- “Politics is taken out of policy-making”
- ‘Policy’ is ambiguous term



# On Public Policy Making

- ‘Policy’ not self-defining:  
it is analytical category
  - Its contents identified  
by the analyst
    - Not by policy-maker,  
laws or  
administration
- Critiqued “Iron  
Triangle”(by Ralph  
Pulitzer, 1919) – “Social  
networks”

# On Public Policy Making



# On Public Policy Making

- Heclo studied the actual process of policymaking in the US and the UK
- Was familiar with the White Hall as teenager, thanks to his mother
- Importance of personal relations among policymakers

# On Public Policy Making

- Relations of mutual trust and confidence most pervasive features in explaining public policy
- 'Policy' is a course of action rather than a formal program

# On Public Policy Making

- Employs cognitive concepts in the explanation of policy process
  - Interpretation
  - Deliberation
  - Learning

# On Public Policy Making

- “Governments not only ‘power’, they also puzzle. Policymaking is a form of collective puzzlement on society’s behalf. It entails both deciding and knowing.”\*

**Hugh Helco**

**Issue Networks &  
the Executive  
Establishment**

# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- Classic
- Contains Heclo's insight
- Combines four analytical perspective
  - Actor-centered/Agent-based perspective
    - Macro structures (social, political, economic) not used to explain
    - Interaction of individuals and organizations



# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- Relational perspective
  - Positive & negative ties which bind policymakers
  - Emphasis on middlemen and brokers
- Cultural/cognitive perspective
  - Analysis not focused on material interests

# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- But on intellectual involvement
- How actors learn, interpret
- Long-term perspective
  - Policy changes/shifts contextualized
  - Embeddedness of social and political

# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- The social structure of bureaucracy
  - Flows and networks of informal communication, influence, and advice
    - As important to the policymaking process as the formal structure

# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- Networks of actors across agencies and in the nonprofit and private sectors
  - Are more central to policymaking than formalized governance structures alone

# Issue Networks & Executive Establishment

- Heclo advised:
  - Both appointees and bureaucrats must build constellations of professional and personal contacts,
  - “The personalized networks that honeycomb the bureaucracy,” in order to be effective policymakers\*

# Hugh Helco

**Thinking  
Institutionally**

# Thinking Institutionally

- Responding to the anti-institutionalism
  - Though skepticism in institutions may be healthy
  - Americans think institutions are oppressive and self-serving
  - Pakistanis also think/act so

# Thinking Institutionally

- Why? Scandals: from Congress to church, bank and baseball
  - Media also create cynicism



# Thinking Institutionally

- Culture also produce cynicism
  - “every person should be free to seek out his or her own Golden Rule without being judged or casting judgments on others.”

# Thinking Institutionally

- “Modern thinking inherently distrusts institutions because they are barriers and weights that impede our personal journeys toward meaning.”
- Why it matters?

# Thinking Institutionally

- “Thinking about institutions” to “thinking institutionally.”
  - “To think about art is not the same thing as having an artistic view of the world, just as thinking about science is not identical to thinking like a scientist.”

# Thinking Institutionally

- “To think about religion is clearly not the same thing as being religious in your approach to daily life.”
- “To think about marriage is certainly not the same thing as thinking like a married person”

# Thinking Institutionally

- An internal perspective shows something different
  - “When the house is on fire, a person who rushes to save the family photo album rather than the television... is expressing a form of institutional thinking.”

# Thinking Institutionally

- Institutional thinking helps us to clarify our obligations, both to the past and the future.
  - The progressivists leap into the future with little consideration of what has come

# Thinking Institutionally

- The preservationists reject all change as an abandonment of what has already been achieved.

# Thinking Institutionally

- Heclo's third way:
  - “When thinking institutionally, current decisions are made with a continuing awareness that you are enjoying the fruits of something belonging to predecessors and successors.”



# Thinking Institutionally

- “Therefore, while change is inevitable, the recognition of its implications is embedded in a strong appreciation for what has gone on before you were here and what will go on after you are gone.”\*

# Hugh Helco

## **Integrating the Sixties**

# Integrating the Sixties

- Postmodern policymaking is radically pluralistic
- Postmodern policymaking is rights-based group conflict
- Postmodern policymaking is fundamentally confrontational
- Postmodern policymaking is a multiplier of conflict \*

# Creating New Bureaucracy

**Reduce Reliance on  
Technical-Expert  
Knowledge**

# Technical-Expert Knowledge

- Reasoning: technical vs. political
  - Donors; Think tanks; NGOs
  - Technical thinking/use of power
- Political feasibility
- Participation: Deborah Stone, Helen Ingram
- Collect narratives
- Ordinary knowledge
  - Charles Lindblom
  - Michael Plonyi\*

# Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

**Change Recruitment**

# Change Recruitment

- Everyone may not become administrator
- Change syllabus
  - Recent syllabus changes not effective
  - Example: public policy
- Change assessments
  - Do not test memory
- Teach Thinking: administrative, political, social.\*

# Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

**Improve Training**



# Improve Training

- Abandon academic training.
- Field work & community placements.
- Replace discipline with thinking.
- Case studies of Pakistani bureaucracy.
- Case studies on policy failures.
- Make trainees part of the training design.\*

# Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

**Rationalize Work**

# Rationalize Work

- Work according to training and experience
- Overwork/underwork
- Link promotions to performance
- Flexibility
- Encourage innovation.\*

# Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

**Reduce Hierarchy**

# Reduce Hierarchy

- Difference between Grade 1-22
- Take Harold Lasswell's advice
  - Democratize services to promote democracy
- Deal with disgust against 'politics is a mess' attitude
- Horizontal organization styles.\*

# Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

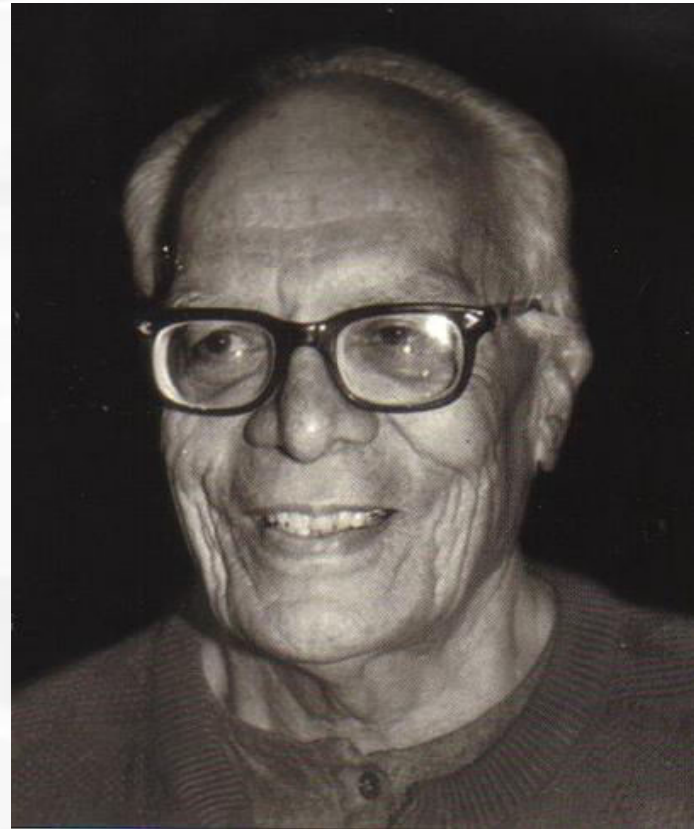
**Curtail Massive  
Powers**

# Curtail Massive Powers

- Centralization of power
- Power can be good but it corrupts also
- Curtail sweeping powers, e.g. powers to police
- Diffusion of power may reduce corruption.\*

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan**





# Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan

Orangi Pilot Project:  
Reminiscences and  
Reflections (Oxford  
Pakistan paperbacks)

Khan, Akhtar Hameed

Note: This is not the actual book cover

# Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan

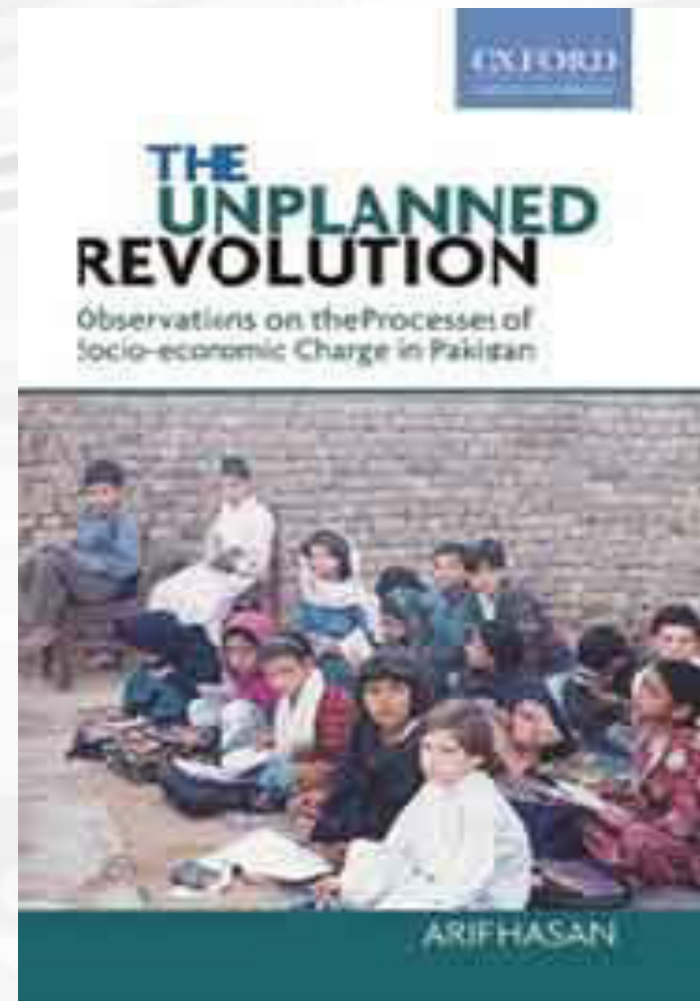
- Indian Civil Service
- Comila
  - Savings
  - Organizations
  - Collective bargaining
  - Credit
- Orangi Pilot Project
  - Low-cost, affordable
- Our problem is moral

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Arif Hasan**



# Arif Hasan



# Arif Hasan

- Chairman, Orangi Pilot Project, Karachi
- Chariman, Urban Resource Centre, Karachi
- Appropriate Technologies
- Social transformations
- Low-cost models
- Why successful models are not becoming culture of government?\*

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Tasneem Ahmad  
Siddiqui**



# Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui



# Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui

- Civil servant
- Saiban-Khuda Ki Basti
- Habitat Award\*



# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Perween Rahman**



# Perween Rahman



# Perween Rahman

- Learn from the community
- Mapping and documentation
- Work through activists\*

# Amitai Etzioni

## Profile



# Profile

- Highly influential sociologist, communitarianist
  - Took sociology out of academe: into politics, policy, social reform
  - Knows society to change it, reform it
    - Criticized for conflict between academe and activist roles

# Profile

- Buber's concept of "dialogue" profoundly influenced Amitai
  - "I-Thou" relationships (treating others as fellow human beings)
  - "I-It" relationships (treating others as objects)

# Profile

- Studied Durkheim's "anomie" at Hebrew University
  - Buber/Durkheim shaped communitarianism
- Socio-economics: "better economics for a better society"
  - Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (1989)

# Profile

- Good society does not allow a free or unfettered market
- Moral implications of guided change
  - Sociological variables necessary for economic models



# Profile

- Rational choice, neoclassical economics morally inadequate
  - “Show me a society in which people really behave as if pleasure and self-interest were the governing motivations.”\*

**Amitai Etzioni**

## **Mixed Scanning**

# Mixed Scanning

- Rational-comprehensive, bounded rationality, synoptic and incremental (rebuttal of CBA)
  - Vast information; processing capacity for rational
  - Remedial thinking for incremental
- Both overlook

# Mixed Scanning

- Other models: Yehezkel Dror
  - Normative-optimum model of decision-making
- Mixed scanning mixture of two
- How to make decision
  - List all alternatives
  - Examine alternatives

# Mixed Scanning

- Reject “crippling objections”
  - Utilitarian objection to alternatives which require means that are not available
  - Normative objections to alternatives which violate the basic values of the decision-makers

# Mixed Scanning

- Political objections to alternatives which violate the basic values or interests of other actors whose support seems essential for making the decision or/and implementing it

# Mixed Scanning

- Rational approach is often unrealistic
  - It requires a high degree of control over a particular situation
  - Incrementalism is often a bit lazy
    - Suggests inertia is insufficient as a response to an issue
    - Incrementalism seeks to

# Mixed Scanning

- “Adapt strategies to the limited cognitive capacities of decision-makers to reduce the scope and cost of information collection and computation”
- The mix-scanning approach uses different lens



# Mixed Scanning

- For small issues and the bigger problems.\*

# Basic vs Policy Research

## Basic vs Policy Research

# Basic vs Policy Research

- BR: Understanding the world
- PR: Changing the world
  - Uses large set of information with no basis in analytics or theory
  - Medical science is proto policy science
    - More than half of the information physicians apply have no bases in biology, chemistry, etc
  - Knowledge based on experience

# Basic vs Policy Research

- Criminologists and police
- PR is private and confidential
- Wider in scope like medical science which is based on many sciences
- It needs to be communicated to the policymakers
- Plain English; no jargon

**Amitai Etzioni**

## **Controversies**

# Controversies

- Communitarian movement engages the agenda of moral right
  - But eschews its reactionary stance and authoritarian prescriptions

# Controversies

- Addresses libertarian concerns for the freedom and rights of individuals
  - But not their single-minded insistence of the individual above all else
  - Seeks to further traditional liberal goals for a more equal and humane society

# Controversies

- But not the liberals' tendency to excuse people of responsibility for the consequences of their actions
- Linking rights to responsibilities
- Strike a balance between individual and community



# Controversies

- Some support his argument for family
  - But do not support aid for husband and wife
  - Some do not like two-parent family argument
- Some do not like the idea virtue-sustaining communities

# Controversies

- Not merely a civil but also a good society, one that nurtures virtues
  - Revive holidays
  - Greater reliance on public shaming.
- Virtue comes from the community, not from the state.\*

# James Q. Wilson

## Motivation



# Motivation

- Old-fashioned conservative
  - Helping ordinary, poor people
- Studied problems of ordinary citizens
  - Crime, family, morality
  - Most study esoteric topics: federalism and separation of powers
  - Issues of ordinary people

# Motivation

- Field work
- Facts over ideology/philosophy
- Intersections of theory and reality
- Did not write for scholarly journals
- Popular publications

# Motivation

- *Commentary, American Spectator, The New Republic, Wall Street Journal*
- Training for writing blogs; write for twitter
- Regard for traditional writing
  - Policymakers take cues from general public

# Motivation

- Making documentaries  
b/c they make  
emotional impact
- Liked facts, data but  
not quantitative  
analysis
- Problems such as  
race, poverty, and  
crime
  - Go beyond our crude  
ability to regress  
statistically significant  
correlations

# Motivation

- Through lucid prose and an ideal that academics can and must serve both the academy and society.
- Strong families, mother-infant relationship bases of moral sense.\*



**James Q. Wilson**

## **The Moral Sense**

# The Moral Sense

- “Defend morality” against “modern skepticism”
- Objection: Morals have no rational bases; morals are arbitrary.
  - People say morality has no basis in science or logic.
- Fear of virtue

# The Moral Sense

- Response:
  - Evolutionary psychology and moral sentiment theories of Scottish philosophers
    - Francis Hutcheson
    - David Hume
    - Adam Smith

# The Moral Sense

- Mankind has moral nature
  - Sympathy
  - Fairness
  - Self-control
  - Duty
- Moral sense
- Closer to communitarianism

# The Moral Sense

- Critiqued enlightenment's belief:
  - “Individuals are everything”
  - “Rights are trumps,”
  - People should be bound together by nothing but “choices, contracts, and entitlements”\*

**James Q. Wilson**

**Policy Intellectual**

# Policy Intellectual

- Policy intellectual and policy researcher\*

**James Q. Wilson**

**Criminology**



# Criminology

- Broken Windows
  - Neither conservative; nor liberal
  - Nor 'zero tolerance'
- Jane Jacobs's
  - Eyes on the street
  - Diversity of public use
  - Identifying and encouraging what makes a neighborhood work

# Criminology

- Most important work on crime, police
- Contribution to criminology theory
- Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York (1993-2002)\*

**James Q. Wilson**

## **Advice for Students**

# Advice for Students

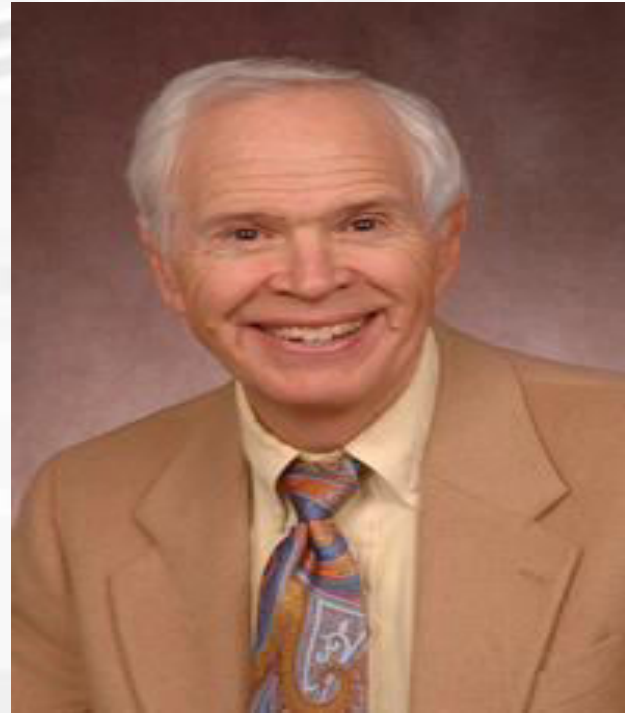
- Be sure to get the facts before opining.
- Be practical
  - Recognize that the root causes of many problems in society are elusive, and that public policy has to make do regardless

# Advice for Students

- Be prudent when proposing solutions — or "reforms" — for they can often make matters worse.\*

# Peter Deleon

## Biography



# Biography

- Graduate School of Public Affairs at the University of Colorado, Denver.
  - *Thinking About Political Corruption;*
  - *Advice and Consent: The Development of the Policy Sciences*
  - *Democracy and the Policy Sciences*

# Biography

- *The Altered Strategic Environment: Towards the Year 2000*



# Biography

## Observations

- Citizens perceptions of being unimportant
- Citizens distancing from governments
- Policies inability to achieve results or deliver on their promises
- Legitimacy of analysts at stake
- Critique of new public management

# Biography

## Motivation

- Policy sciences not contributing to democracy
  - PAs in their geographical and bureaucratic positions are “effectively sequestered from the demands, needs, and values of the people they are requested to be helping”

# Biography

## Motivation

- Isolation of Pas
- Utilitarian
  - Bentham inspired, Madison-articulated models of analysis
  - Institutional measures/technical expertise

# Biography

## Motivation

- Hank C. Jenkins Smith: “Thus, an unintended side effect of policy analysis may be to erect barriers in the way of important ends of participatory democracy”

# Biography

## Diagnosis

- Why?
  - Over reliance on instrumental rationality
  - The complexity of problems contexts
  - Technocratic orientation
- Distance from original idea of multidisciplinary policy sciences
  - Dignity, democracy

# Biography

## Fixing Responsibilities

- Criticizes professional elites in the policy process

# Biography

## Method of Diagnosis

- How Deleon Learned?
  - History of policy sciences
  - Democratic theories
  - Politics of ideas
  - Results of the policy implementation

# Biography

## Is Deleon Relevant to Pakistan?

- Relevant to Pakistan
  - PP is a new discipline
  - Democracy returned
  - Unelected, economics, technocracy governs policy making
- The policy sciences far removed from the democratic process



# Biography

## Argument

- Policy sciences must accept a new analytic paradigm to move toward democracy
- Critical thinking
- Post-positivism
- "Minipopulist"  
procedure for more citizen participation

# Biography

## Argument

- Wrongs of 'traditional' policy analysis'
- Policy analysis process should incorporate more public participation
  - Madisonian (representative) and Tocquevillean (participatory) visions of democracy

# Biography

## Argument

- “It is...incumbent upon policy scientists to turn their analytical light on their own discipline...and ask how theories will operate in the cauldron of the political kitchen” (1988)

# Biography

## Argument

- Policy sciences need to reflect greater verisimilitude (fiction/life likeness) and empathy\*

**Peter Deleon**

# **Participatory Policy Analysis**

# Participatory Policy Analysis

- Frankfurt School
  - Jurgen Habermas
  - Communicative rationality
    - citizens deserve greater say in policy
    - Citizens can best articulate their needs
    - Tacit knowledge

# Participatory Policy Analysis

- Government can become more responsive and effective basing its actions on citizens voice
- Result: informed, responsive, involved, engaged citizenry

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Prerequisites

- John Dewey, The Public and its Problems (1929)
  - Expert led government means oligarchy by the few



# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Prerequisites

- “The essential need...is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion, and persuasion. That is the problem of public”

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Methods

- Citizens Assemblies
- Mini
- Expand range of actors, stakeholders...in a discursive and deliberative mode
- Greater inclusion of affecters and affectees
- Public fora- prescribed rules of evidence and argumentation

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Methods

- Horizontal-not hierarchical policymaking
- Values incorporated into policy analysis

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Collaborative Policy Networks

- Values beyond efficiency, effectiveness, rationality
  - Imagine: cancer is being treated by a herb, by a hakim no one trusts, would you take that treatment or not

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Examples

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Example

- Consensus Conference in Denmark
  - Select Advisory Committee (AC = 8–10 impartial members)
  - Recruit citizens' panel (typically 10 – 20 people)

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Example

- Set up a pool of experts (including scientists, ethicists; 12-15 members: Chosen by Citizens!!)
- Citizens' panel preparation: governmental analysts + independent actors!!

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Example

- Selection of questions to be asked of experts: Chosen by Citizens!!
- Consensus conference unfolding 3 – 4 days



# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Example

- Final report and recommendations circulated to the media, public, policy analysts, or even politicians”

# Participatory Policy Analysis

## Outcomes

- Policy sharing between analysts and public
- Citizens responsible to voice their preferences
- Analysts responsible to include them in policy
- Policy sharing is essential to sustain democracy and avoid tyranny –policy sciences of tyranny\*

**Peter Deleon**

## **Advice for Students**

# Advice for Students

- Appreciate the complexity of the issues
  - e.g., “What is the confusion about immigration? They settle and do the best they can”
- Recognize that there are many sides to many issues
  - Appreciate what those sides look like

# Advice for Students

- How they affect one another
- Accommodate different views and different postures
- Enjoy working with students
  - Students introduce me to new concepts
  - Learn more from my students

# Advice for Students

- Teach how to structure and analyze
- Students teach all sorts of new things.\*

# John S. Dryzek

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines, creating a sense of depth and movement.

**Profile**

# Profile

- Centenary Professor
  - Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance
    - University of Canberra's Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis
- Critique: instrumental rationality, democracy theory



# Profile

- Instrumental rationality destroys the more congenial, spontaneous, egalitarian, and intrinsically meaningful aspects of human association

# Profile

- Instrumental rationality and the political institutions in which it is manifested—is ineffective when confronted with complex social problems

# Profile

- Instrumental rationality makes effective and appropriate policy analysis difficult

# Profile

## Expertise

- Political theory, empirical social science, Democratic theory and practice, environmental politics, Deliberative turn in democratic theory, Green political philosophy, Global climate governance, global justice, global civil society,

# Profile

- Comparative studies of democratization, post-positivist public policy analysis,
- Early proponent of global democracy
  - Democratization of international power
  - Reflexivity and democratization

# Profile

- How highly complex issue areas - notably climate governance - can be democratized through deliberation and public reason
- Criticism of the dominance of instrumental rationality/objectivism

# Profile

- Technocracies are repressive, ill equipped for dealing with complex problems
- Draws on critical theory
- Advocates communicatively rational democracy/discursive democracy
- Active citizenship and public discourse\*

**John S. Dryzek**

**Policy Sciences of  
Tyranny**



# Policy Sciences of Tyranny

- Forty years after Harold Lasswell
  - “Most policy analysis efforts to date are in fact consistent with an albeit subtle policy sciences of tyranny”
    - Why Lasswellian dream failed in America?
    - How it could be redeveloped?

# Policy Sciences of Tyranny

- Most policy analysis was undertaken by technicians, systems analysts and operations researcher
- If science has to serve democracy, the decision making about science should also be democratic

# Policy Sciences of Tyranny

- What research is needed to be done?
  - Ask this question to the poor people in Pakistan?
  - Perhaps they will ask science to help them
    - Develop easy ways to grow more food
    - Save their children from disease

# Policy Sciences of Tyranny

- The methods of science will also be democratic
- Science for ordinary people
- The conduct of science can't be left to the ambitions of scientists and bureaucrats\*

**John S. Dryzek**

**Deliberative Policy  
Analysis**

# Deliberative Policy Analysis

- Founding father of the concept of deliberative democracy
  - Representation of discourses as well as persons or groups
- Deliberative turn in democratic theory
  - Democratic legitimacy
    - Authentic deliberations by the affected

# Deliberative Policy Analysis

- The deliberative turn began as a challenge to established institutions and models of democracy
- Defensible theory of democracy should be
  - Critical of established power
  - Pluralistic

# Deliberative Policy Analysis

- Reflexive in its questioning orientation to established traditions
- Transnational in its capacity to extend across state boundaries
- Ecological



# Deliberative Policy Analysis

- Dynamic in its openness to ever-changing constraints upon and opportunities for democratization

# Deliberative Policy Analysis

- Explains and advocates
  - Discursive representation
    - Justifications, advantages, and problems
    - How it can be practiced\*

**John S. Dryzek**

**Critical Policy  
Analysis**

# Critical Policy Analysis

- “No individuals may possess authority on the basis of anything other than a good argument”
- The purpose is to enlighten affectees of policy not the elite/policymakers
  - To empower them to resist, transform

# Critical Policy Analysis

- Tasks

- Explication of dominant meanings in policy content and process

- Uncovering suppressed and marginalized meanings

- Identify agents of impairment, that suppress alternative meanings

# Critical Policy Analysis

- Tasks
- Ideologies
- Lack of education
- Baffling rather than enlightening processes

# Critical Policy Analysis

- Tasks
  - Identify ways to equalize communicative capacities of policy actors
  - Criticism of technocratic policy analysis

# Critical Policy Analysis

- Tasks
  - Identify ways to equalize communicative capacities of policy actors
  - Criticism of technocratic policy analysis
    - Policy is only experts' undertaking
    - It is disempowering

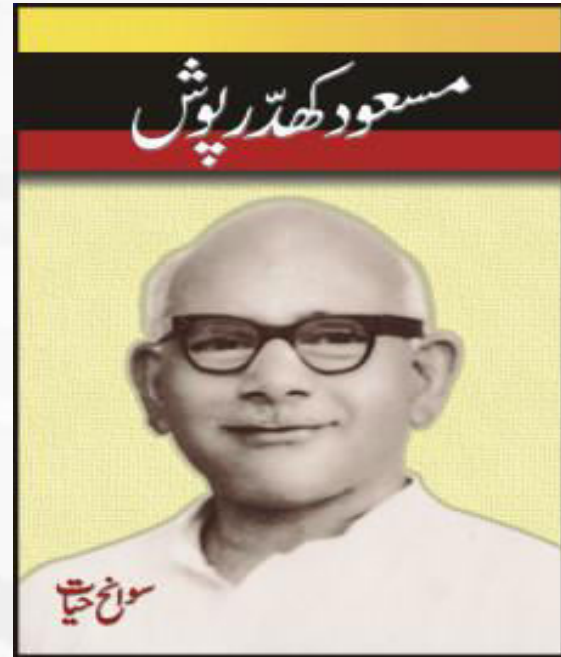


# Critical Policy Analysis

- Interpretive, narrative, discourse analysis
  - Instead of logical analysis
  - Purpose is to empower the disempowered.\*

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Masood Khadar  
Posh**



**(1916-1985)**

# Masood Khadar Posh

- Indian Civil Service, 1941
- Two years with Bhil Tribes in Khandesh, Maharashtra
  - Bhils: Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan

# Masood Khadar Posh



# Masood Khadar Posh



# Masood Khadar Posh



# Masood Khadar Posh

- Appointed a member of Hari Inquiry Committee (Agricultural lands Reforms for landless peasants)
  - Not of Dissent (commonly known as Hari Report)
- Ending Share Cropping
- Mother tongue

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Zahid Hussain**



**(1893-1957)**



# Zahid Hussain

- Vice Chancellor to Aligarh Muslim University
- Aide to Quaid-i-Azam
- First Governor of the Central Bank
- First High Commissioner to India
- First chairman of Taxation Inquiry Committee

# Zahid Hussain

- Chairman of the Planning Commission Board, (est. 1953)
- First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60
- South Koreans inspired by 5 Year plan
- Land reforms
- Administrative reforms

# Zahid Hussain

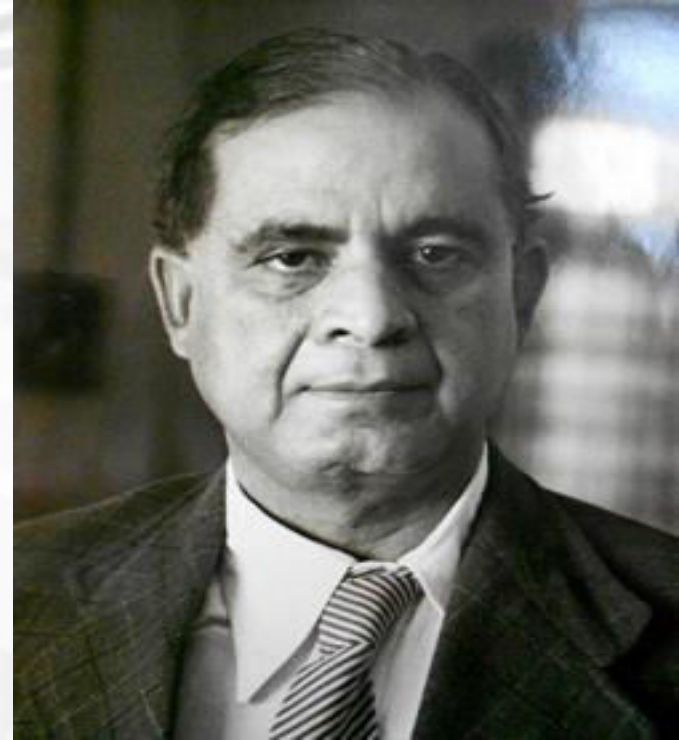
- Regulated development
- Agriculture development
- False promise of state welfarism
- No dependence on foreign loans
- Prioritize: everything; every sphere, same time, not possible
- Education complimentary to economic development

# Zahid Hussain

- Political, administrative, social impediments
- Public administration serious obstacle to development
- Separation between policymaking and execution
- Facing facts
  - Tendency to hid ugly facts\*

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Khalifa Abdul Hakim**



**(1893-1957)**

# Khalifa Abdul Hakim

- Philosopher, scholar, writer
- Founder Director of the Institute of Islamic Culture (1949-59)
- Metaphysics of Rumi
- Translated Bhagvad Gita

# Khalifa Abdul Hakim

- Khalifa- Iqbal close relationship
  - Osmania University, Hyderabad's Philosophy Department
  - “Khalifa Abdul Hakim, too, is Iqbal in his own way”

# Khalifa Abdul Hakim

- Islamic Socialism
  - Hanif Ramay
  - Professor Muhammad Usman
  - Mohammad Safdar Mir
- Progressive taxation, regulated economy
- Social justice
  - Women equality
  - Muslim family law



# Khalifa Abdul Hakim

- Universal features of Islamic civilization
- Commission on Marriage and Family Laws (June 1955)
- Polygyny, divorce rights
- Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961\*

# Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

**Fazlur Rahman**



**(1919-1988)**

# Fazlur Rahman

- Islam and modernity
- Islam and the West
- Harold H. Swift  
Distinguished Service  
Professor of Islamic  
Thought
- University of Chicago
- Director, Islamic  
Research Institute in  
Islamabad 1961-68.\*

# Fazlur Rahman

- Classical Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish was equally matched by his easy access to the Greek, Latin, German, and French languages
- logician and philosopher
- Intellectual renaissance as the most important prerequisite for Islamic revival\*

# Training for Policymakers

**Why Train  
Policymakers?**

# Why Train Policymakers?

- Dissatisfaction with leaders/rulers
  - Administrative, business, social
  - But particularly, Political
- Leaders play crucial role in decisions
  - Making and Implementation

# Why Train Policymakers?

- Routine decisions do not make much difference
  - But critical decisions/long-term strategies do make difference
  - Example: anti-terrorism; climate change; industrialization

# Why Train Policymakers?

- Example: Japanese automobile policy
- Russian decision to shift to market economy
- Yehezkel Dror: Grand Policy Thinking
  - Significance/quality of ruler is recognized
    - Improvement considered taboo



# Why Train Policymakers?

- In history, rulers were trained
- Alexander by Aristotle
- Best of the rulers often fail
- Few good rulers also make mistakes
- Improvement of rulers is imperative

# Why Train Policymakers?

- Local governments in Pakistan
  - Decisions needed to give vision to regions
- Grand policy crafting qualities improvement high priority
  - Value-based, goal directed, goal seeking
  - Training in value clarification and goal setting important\*

# Training for Policymakers

## Cognitive Capacities

# Cognitive Capacities

- Judge research/policy advice
- *Raison d'humanite*
- To understand future; to weave the future
- Grand policies reduce probability of bad future
- Coping with unforeseen, unforeseeable

# Cognitive Capacities

- Wisdom of the past may be stupidity of future
- Understanding/accepting reality
- Cogitation
- Mahathir Muhammad, Anwar Ibrahim, Lee Kuan Yew\*

# Training for Policymakers

**Knowledge  
Capacities**

# Knowledge Capacities

- Machiavelli, Plato, other political philosophers
- Arthashastra/Al Farabi; Ibn Khuldun; Zahid Hussain
- Reading, skimming, analyzing
- Thinking in history is important
- Budget analysis
- Understanding of economy

# Knowledge Capacities

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah,  
Muhammad Iqbal,  
Feroz Khan Noon\*



# Training for Policymakers

## **Political Capacities**

# Political Capacities

- Assessment of political feasibilities
  - Only doable actions
  - Increasing political feasibility
- Forging political and social alliances
- Appreciate diversity

# Political Capacities

- Socratic dialogue to self-clarify values
- Dialogue with religious and cultural minorities
- Senator Raza Rabbani\*

# Training for Policymakers

## **Institutional Capacities**

# Institutional Capacities

- Grand policies mean institution building and structural changes
- Drafting of laws, legal changes

# Institutional Capacities

- Building new governance structures
  - E.g. Regional local government associations
  - Integrating markets through chambers and local governments collective action
- Institutional support
- Senator Raza Rabbani\*

# Training for Policymakers

## **Risk and Problem Solving**

# Risk and Problem Solving

- Steering capacity
- Responding to problems
- Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir Muhammad\*



# Postmodernism and Public Policy

## Modernist Public Policy

# Modernist Public Policy

- Modernism/Modernity
  - Era, ism, process
  - Break with pre-modern/tradition
  - Science, reason, secularism, progress, economic development, individualism
  - Managerialism, objectivity, neutrality

# Modernist Public Policy

- Public policy: project of modernity
  - Assist modern state modernize
  - Social engineering for development
- Modernism in Public Policy
  - Universally valid
  - Grand
  - Totalizing/metanarratives

# Modernist Public Policy

- Rational and unified subjects
- Linear progress
- Absolute truths
- Seeing Like a State
- Modus Operandi
  - Rational planning of ideal social orders
  - Too much power to the experts
  - Methods of natural science

# Modernist Public Policy

- Rational analysis
- Bureaucracy
- Did modernist policymaking work?
  - No, it is becoming obsolete
  - Alienated citizens
  - Distance from government
  - “Bumper sticker slogans”

# Modernist Public Policy

- Eschews lived experience
- Ignores history
- Replacement: pluralist interest in diversity and choice\*

# Postmodernism and Public Policy

## Postmodernist Public Policy

# Postmodernist Public Policy

- Postmodernism/postmodernity
  - Era, ism, process
  - Break with modernism/positivism
  - Chaos, pluralism, culture, superstition, happiness



# Postmodernist Public Policy

- Public policy:  
postmodern response
  - Encourage plural voices
  - Development not the end goal
- Postmodernism in Public Policy
  - Locally valid
  - Local narratives
  - Traditions, aspirations
  - Progress not needed

# Postmodernist Public Policy

- Multiple truths
- Seeing Like a State
- Modus Operandi
  - Deliberative/communicative/collaborative planning
  - Communities lead the policy debates
  - Methods of literature, democracy, deliberation

# Postmodernist Public Policy

- Citizens analysis
- Networks
- Is postmodernist policymaking working?
  - Yes, it is empowering people
  - Democratizing\*

# Postmodernism and Public Policy

**Studying  
Postmodernist  
Public Policy**

# Studying Postmodernist Public Policy

- Robert Formaini, *The Myth of Scientific Public Policy* (1990)
- David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1992)
- James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (1998)
- Hugh T. Miller, *Postmodern Public Policy* (2012)

# Studying Postmodernist Public Policy

- John B. Conn,  
*Postmodernism and Public Policy* (2012)
- John Fenwick & Janice McMillan, eds. *Public Management in the Postmodern Era* (2010)
- Miller & Fox,  
*Postmodern Public Administration* (2007)

# Studying Postmodernist Public Policy

- Griffin & Falk, *Postmodern Politics for a Planet in Crisis* (1993)
- Frank Fischer, *Reframing Public Policy* (2003)
- SE McClilan, *Planning for a Postmodern Era: Storytelling, Public Participation, and the Limits of Ordinary Democracy* (2012)\*

# Postmodernism and Public Policy

**Future of  
Postmodern  
Policy**



# Future of Postmodern Policy

- Identity based claims on public policy
- Environmental movements
- Climate change
- Social problems and lack of resources
- Limits to economic growth
- Legitimacy of government\*

# Collaborative Planning

**Why Study  
Planning?**

# Why Study Planning?

- We all plan, but not development planning
  - To control, order, goals-achievement
- Controversies on planning
  - There is no alternative
  - We do not plan

# Why Study Planning?

- Planning Infrastructure in Pakistan
  - Planning Commission
  - Planning & Development Departments
  - Development Authorities
  - Local Governments
  - Planning: part of all departments

# Why Study Planning?

- Achievements of Planning in Pakistan
  - South Korea
  - Malaysia
  - Planning for rich
- Failures may be due to rational planning
  - Failures in other parts of world also

# Why Study Planning?

- The answer may be collaborative planning
  - People shaping their places together\*

# Collaborative Planning

## History of Collaborative Planning

# History of Collaborative Planning

- Origins in 1990s
  - Response to the crisis of classical rational planning theory
- John Dryzek
  - Communicative, deliberative democracy
- Patsy Healey
  - Planning through debate



# History of Collaborative Planning



# History of Collaborative Planning

- John Forester
  - Turn in planning theory
- Hybrid of communicative theory, sociological institutionalism
  - Postpositivism (rejection of mechanical, natural science model)

# History of Collaborative Planning

- Worldview; theory of practice\*

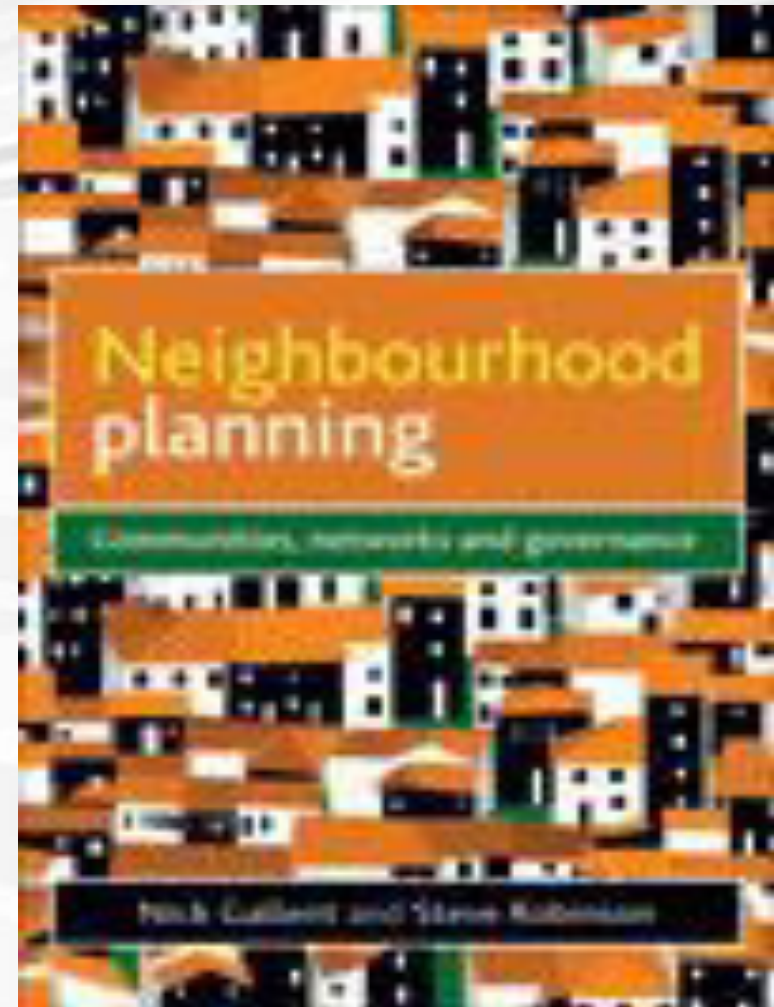
# Collaborative Planning

## **Studying Collaborative Planning**

# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?

## **INSURGENCIES:**

ESSAYS IN PLANNING THEORY

**JOHN FRIEDMANN**



**RTPI**

the profession of planning in the United Kingdom

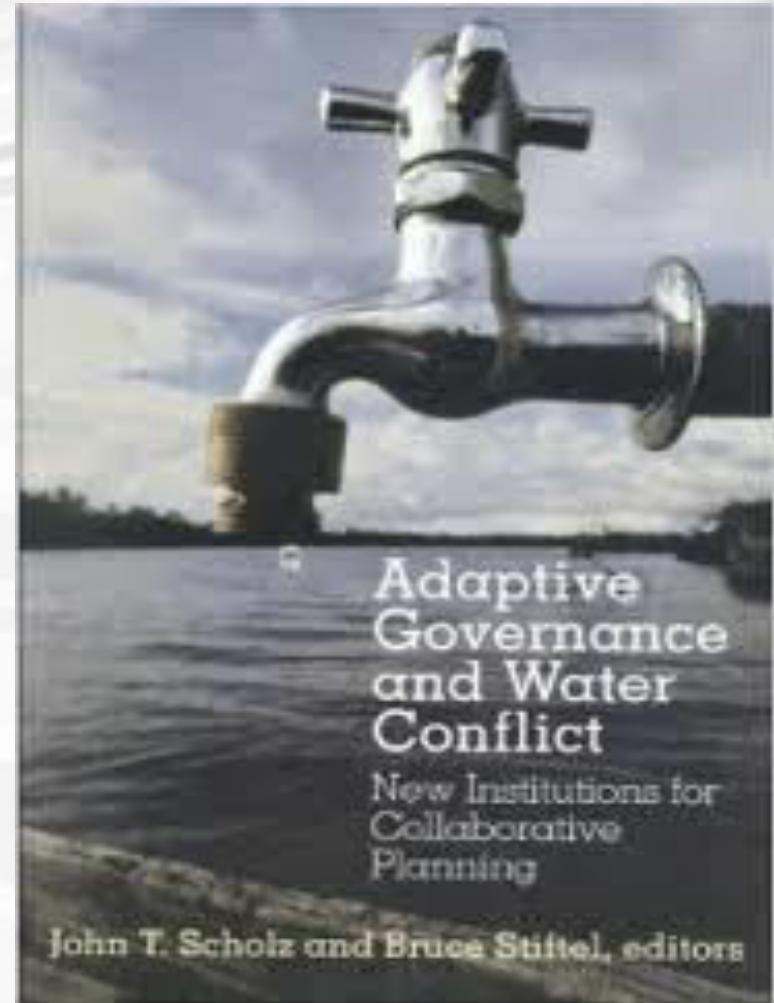




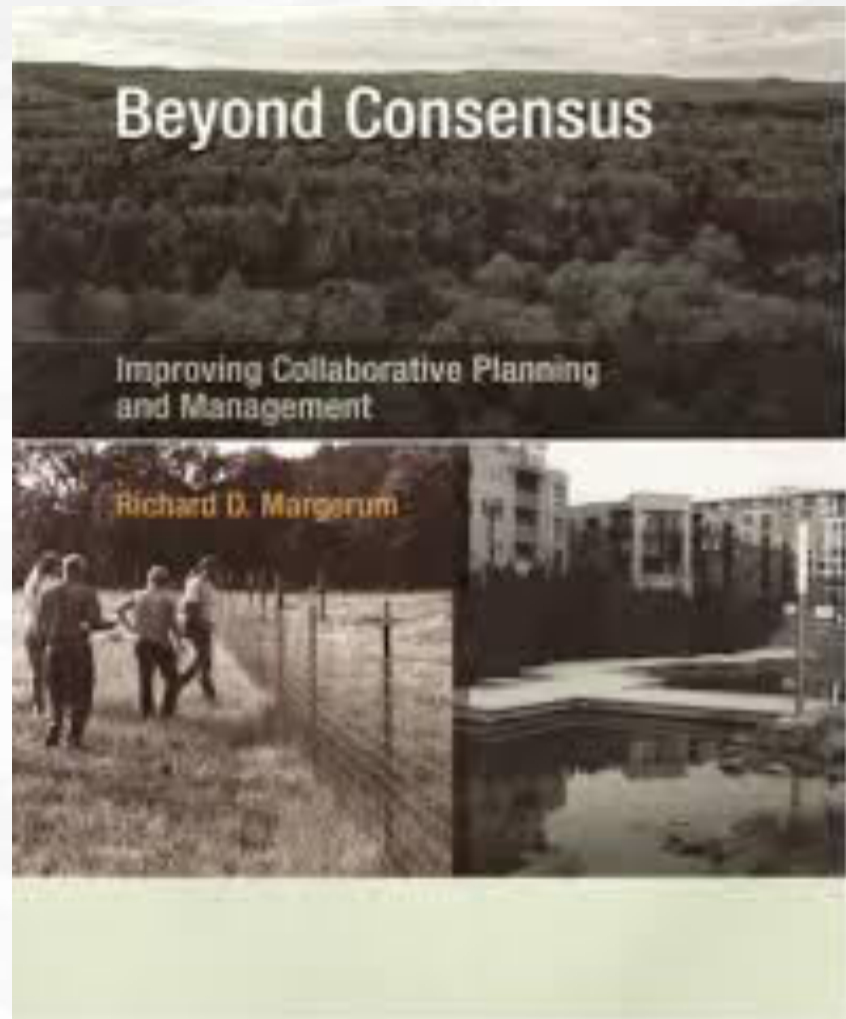
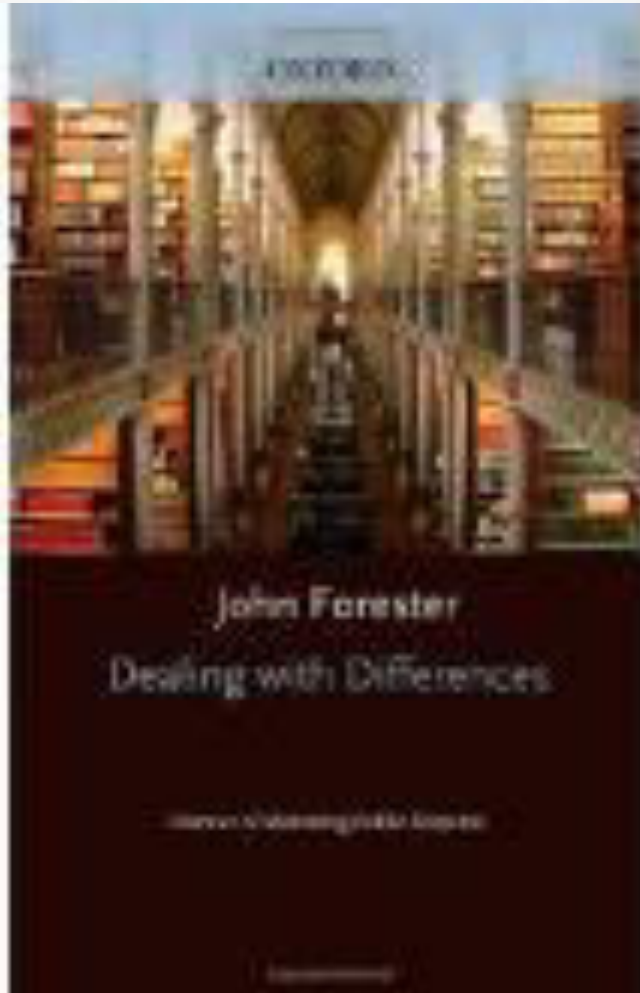
# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Studying Collaborative Planning?



# Collaborative Planning

## Collaborative Planning Practice

# Collaborative Planning Practice



# Collaborative Planning

## Collaborative Planning in Pakistan

# Collaborative Planning in Pakistan?

- Local governments will plan
- Integrated Strategic Development Program 2035 (ISDP-2035)
- Need to change the culture of government
  - Arif Hasan's question\*



# Making Policy Work

**Making Policy  
Work**

# Making Policy Work?

- Decision is just a decision
  - Not outcomes
- Implementation is just implementation
  - Not the results
- States are just states, until they have
  - Capacity
  - Strength
  - Direction

# Making Policy Work?

- Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton, 1988)
- Joel S. Migdal, *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge, 1994)

# Making Policy Work?

- Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery* (Cambridge, 2004)

# Making Policy Work?

- Ashwini Tambe & Harald Fischer Tine,  
*The Limits of British Colonial Controls in South Asia: Spaces of Disorder in the Indian Ocean Region*  
(Routledge, 2008)

# Making Policy Work?

- Policy is just a policy, until
  - It works
- It means:
  - Making and implementing policies not enough
    - Learn how policies can be made to work\*

# Making Policy Work

**Policy Tool: Law  
and Regulation**

# Policy Tool: Law and Regulation

- Law/regulation hard to rely because laws often fail
  - High costs
  - Never fully implemented
    - Most laws require some effort to get enforced
    - Temptation to avoid full implementation



# Policy Tool: Law and Regulation

- Agencies often choose laws they wish to enforce
- As the number of laws and regulations expands, so this problem grows
- Task of achieving effective regulation is a meta-problem

# Policy Tool: Law and Regulation

- Prioritizing which laws to implement is a political issue
- Implementation of law requires cooperation of society

# Policy Tool: Law and Regulation

- Fines, sanctions, sentences do not change behaviors
  - Severe punishments hardly help fight crime
  - Restorative justice has better chances\*

# Making Policy Work

**Policy Tool: Public  
Spending &  
Taxation**

# Policy Tool: Public Spending & Taxation

- High spending may not produce good outcome
  - Wastage
- Difficult to get money for the right thing, at the right time
- Spending outcomes depend on governance arrangements

# Policy Tool: Public Spending & Taxation

- Examples:
  - More inputs do not produce better educational outcomes: Kenya
    - Examinations may be lax
    - Measurement systems may have problems\*

# Making Policy Work

**Policy Tool:  
Bureaucracy**

# Policy Tool: Bureaucracy

- Bureaucracy may not produce outcomes
- Failures:
  - Bureaucrats do not accept change
  - Do not see the problems of policy implementation through outsiders eyes
  - Vested interests, power, prestige, money\*



# Making Policy Work

## Policy Tool: Institutions

# Policy Tool: Institutions

- Institutions may be effective means
  - Speedy decisions
  - Timely responses
  - No delays/prevarication
  - Little interference/excessive cross-checking
  - Aggregate public knowledge

# Policy Tool: Institutions

- Centralized institutions worse for decision-making
- Arend Lijphart: Consociational democracy\*

# Making Policy Work

## How to Make Policy Work

# How to Make Policy Work

- Overreliance on a tool may be counterproductive
  - On law: problems of legitimacy
  - On Finance: crowd out other forms of motivation
    - Ethical/voluntary/altruistic
- Institutions are better devices, but they take long time\*

# From Theory to Theorizing

## Troubles of Theory

# Troubles of Theory

- Theory is a lens
  - Machine can be fixed by knowledge of how it works
- Theory is abstract
  - Theory is considered difficult
  - Some find it useless
  - Theory considered opposite of practical
- Student learn theory but do not to know to use it

# Troubles of Theory

- Public policy theory is not well-developed
- Methods have advanced quickly, not theory
  - Theoretically interesting journal articles uncommon
  - Can theory be brought at par with method?

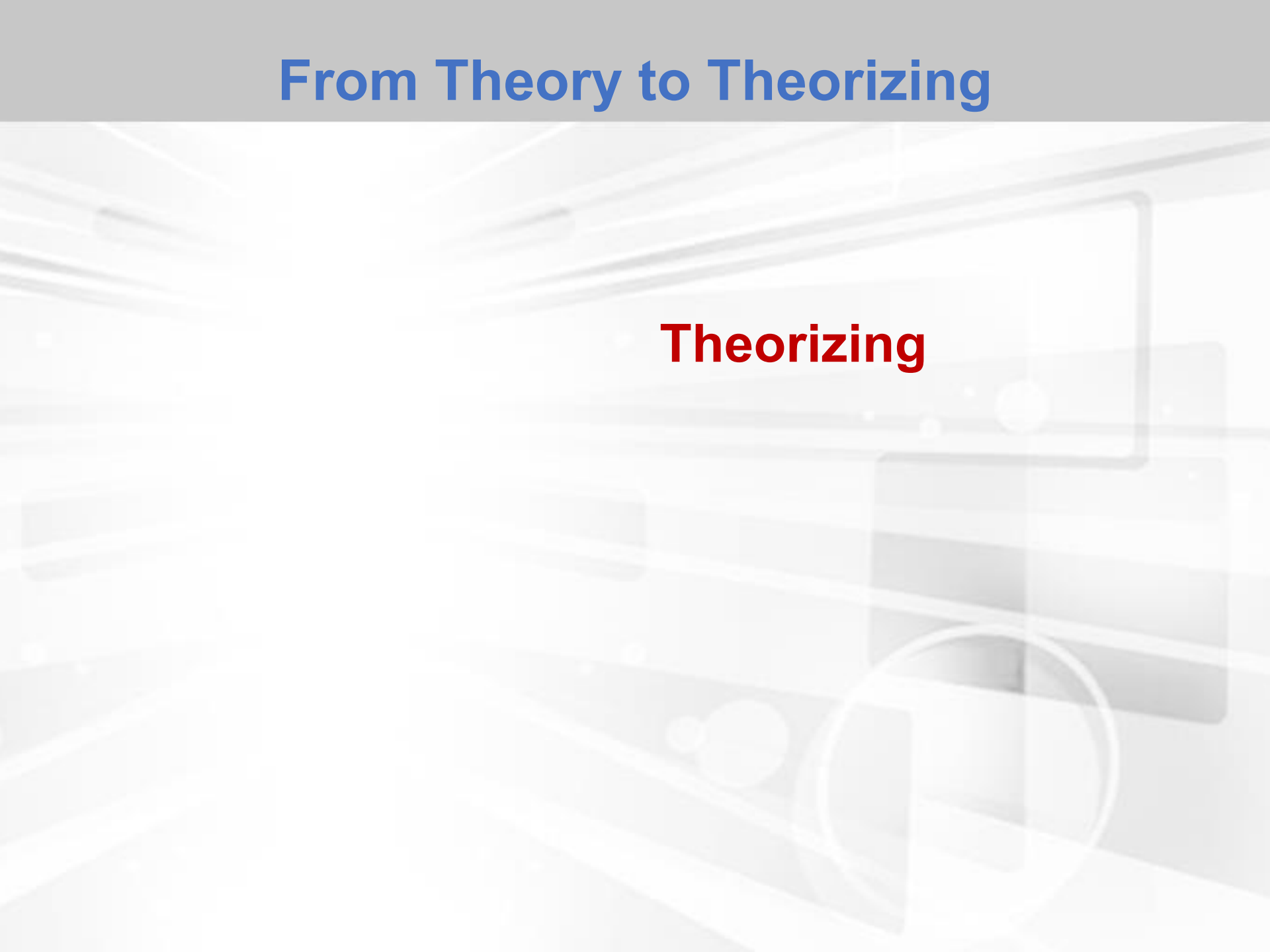


# Troubles of Theory

- Gap b/w the method and theory can be reduced by focusing on theorizing\*

# From Theory to Theorizing

**Theorizing**

The background of the slide is a light gray with a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping geometric shapes, including rectangles, circles, and lines. The pattern is more dense on the right side and fades towards the left. The overall effect is a modern, architectural feel.

# Theorizing

- To theorize mean: what to do to produce a theory
  - Theorizing is a process; theory is a product
  - By focusing on theory, we ignore how it is produced
- Student generally know theories of others

# Theorizing

- To theorize means students theorize their own empirical work
- Theorizing can be used in the context of discovery
- Basic rules for how to theorize
  - Successful theorizing in close unison with observation

# Theorizing

- Theorizing is a skill; iterative
  - Intuitive ways of thinking
- C W Mills: A sociologist should be his own theorist and methodologist
  - “Above all seek to develop and to use the sociological imagination”

# Theorizing

- “Let every man be his own methodologist; let every man be his own theorist”
- “Let theory and method again become part of the practice of a craft”
- “ Stand for the primacy of individual scholar”\*

# From Theory to Theorizing

## Ways of Theorizing

# Ways of Theorizing

- Induction
- Deduction
- Generalizing
- Model-building
- Using analogies
- Charles Pierce:  
abduction\*



# From Theory to Theorizing

## Basic Rules of Theorizing

# Basic Rules of Theorizing

- Observing
  - Comte's concept  
Mental Hygiene
- Developing a tentative theory, explanation
  - Naming,  
conceptualizing,  
using analogies,  
metaphors\*