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MGT522

Introduction to Public Policy

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MGT522 - Introduction to Public Policy

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MGT522
Introduction To Public Policy
Handouts

This data is compiled and simplified directly from the official **MGT522: Public Policy** PowerPoint presentations found on the **Virtual University of Pakistan (VU) LMS**.

Lecture 1: What Is Public Policy? Why Study It?

- **Public Policy: Definitions**
  - It is simply whatever a government decides to do or decides not to do (Dye, 1972).
  - It is a plan of action created by a person, a group, or the government to deal with a specific situation. It uses opportunities and tries to beat obstacles to reach a certain goal or purpose (Friedrich, 1963).
  - Public policy is the way a government department relates to the world around it (Eyestone, 1971).
- **Why Study Public Policy?**
  - **General Reasons:** To make sure people are well-informed about how things work.
  - **Scientific/Academic Reasons:** To build basic knowledge about how the process of making rules works and how those rules change over time.
  - **Professional Reasons:** To train experts (policy analysts) who work for the government or private groups to study and improve rules.
  - **Political and Social Reasons:** To find ways to gain political support and to argue for changes in the rules (policy advocacy).
- **Summarizing the Main Goal:** We study it to make sure the country is governed better.

Lecture 2: Public Policy and Social Sciences

- **Place of Public Policy in Social Science:**
  - **Philosophy:** Public policy starts with basic ideas about right and wrong (Political Philosophy).
  - **Political Science:** This focuses on power—specifically, who has the power to get what they want, when they get it, and how they get it.
  - **Economics:** This is about how the government uses its resources and money wisely. It looks at whether the benefits of a rule are worth the cost.
  - **Sociology:** This looks at how rules and laws affect society and different groups of people living together.
  - **Public Administration:** This is the practical side—how the government actually carries out and manages the rules it makes.
  - **New Public Management and Governance:** This focuses on making the government run more efficiently, similar to how a modern business is run.
- **Media and Journalism:**
  - The media is very important because it gives the government information and tells them what the public thinks (feedback).
  - The government uses the media to tell people about new rules.
  - Citizens use the media to tell the government what they think about those rules.
  - The media is a tool for pushing for change, such as asking for better gun control in the USA or changing school rules in Pakistan.

Lecture 3: Why Study the Origins of Public Policy?

- **Medieval Philosophy:** From the 1500s to the 1700s, smart thinkers known as "Machiavellian philosophers" acted as advisors to rulers on how to make policies.
- **Key Text:** Remember the book *The Prince*. It was written in 1505 and published in 1515. It explained how leaders should behave to stay in power.
- **Early Modern Social Science:** We study this to see how people began using organized facts and logic to help run a government in modern times.

Lecture 4: Stages of Policy Process

- **Stages in the Policy Cycle:**
  1. **Agenda Setting:** Identifying which problems are important enough for the government to pay attention to.
  2. **Policy Formulation:** Creating different plans or options to solve the problem.
  3. **Decision Making:** Picking one specific plan out of all the options.
  4. **Implementation:** Putting the chosen plan into action and doing the work.
  5. **Evaluation:** Checking to see if the plan actually worked.
- **Key Authors of this Model:** Brewer and deLeon (1983), May and Wildavsky (1978), Anderson (1975), and Jenkins (1978).
- **Benefits:** This model helps break down a complex process into simple steps.
- **Critique (Problems with the model):** Some people say this model is too simple because in real life, these steps often happen at the same time or in a messy order.

Lecture 5: Colonial Public Policy

- **Principles and Ideology (The "Why"):**
  - **Civilizing Mission:** The British used the excuse of "civilizing" people to control them.
  - **Social Order:** They wanted to keep things quiet and under control.
  - **Local Elite:** They brought powerful local people into the government to help them rule.
  - **Victorian Culture:** They tried to prove the British were better by pushing British culture and English ideas on Indians.
  - **Capitalistic Economy:** They connected India to the global trade system mainly to take resources (money and goods) out of India.
- **Institutions (The "Who"):** Decisions were made by the British Parliament, the Secretary of State, and top British civil servants. Local councils had very little power.
- **Implementation:** The people making the rules were totally separate from the people doing the work. It was a strict "boss-and-worker" (hierarchical) system run by the civilian bureaucracy.
- **Low Budgetary Allocations (The Money):**
  - **Defense:** 40% (The biggest part of the money went to the military).
  - **Police/Jails/Courts:** More than 10%.
  - **Agriculture:** In 1936, less than 3% was spent on farming.
  - **Social Sector:** Only 1.5% was spent on schools and health.
- **Resource Extraction (Taxing the Land):**
  - **Zamindari system:** Created by Phillip Francis and Lord Cornwallis.
  - **Ryotwari system:** Created by Thomas Munro.
- **Mercantilism (Three Phases of Trade):**

  1. (1757-1813): Buying Indian goods using the tax money collected from Indians.
  2. (1813-1858): Making India a place where British-made goods were sold.
  3. (1858-1947): British banks and companies took total control of India's money and trade.
- **Exclusion (Who was left out):**
  - Indian history and local knowledge were ignored.
  - Local traditions were replaced by British government rules.
  - Ordinary people (teachers, farmers, traders) had no voice in making rules.
  - Ideas of "democracy" and "equality" were not given to Indians.

Sector	Percentage of Budget
Military (Defense)	40%
Police, Jails, and Courts	>10%
Agriculture (1936)	<3%
Schools and Health	1.5%

Lecture 6: Colonial Influences on Policymaking in Pakistan

- **Bureaucracy:** The government structure in Pakistan is still the same as the old British one. Civil servants are still in charge, and they stay far away from the regular people. Rules are often made to serve the powerful.
- **Lower Level Officials:** These are the people who do the work but know very little about the actual rules. They act as "middlemen" between the public and high officials. Often, they work in secret and use government items for their own benefit.
- **Lack of People's Participation:**
  - People are not asked for their opinion before rules are made.
  - There are no public meetings for new projects.
  - There are no votes (referendums) for big changes.
  - No one asks for feedback on how government services are doing.
- **Outdated Laws:** Many laws don't fit the world today. The government isn't ready to make rules for new problems like internet crimes (cyber crimes) or climate change.
- **Exclusions:**
  - Policies ignore many personal issues, like how families are run.
  - The problems of the poorest people (like gypsies, minorities, and tribal people) are ignored.
  - The voices of low-wage workers like cleaners are silenced.
- **Possibilities of Decolonization (How to change):** We need to make policy a public discussion, redesign the bureaucracy, and give more power to local city/town governments.

Lecture 7: The Measures of Good Policy

- **Builds on Trends:** A good policy looks at long-term patterns (trends) rather than just the immediate situation (conditions).
- **Builds on Local Solutions:** Every area has its own way of solving problems. Local solutions are easy to start, cheap, can be changed easily, and last a long time (e.g., Is the "Qing Qi" rickshaw a local solution?).
- **Creates Ownership:** When the people who are being helped by a law are involved in making it, they feel like they "own" it and will support it.
- **Feedback Mechanism:** Good policies have an easy way for people to complain or give advice. This feedback should be respected, used, and even rewarded.
- **Flexible:** Rules should not be "one-size-fits-all." They should change based on different cultures and needs.
- **Improvise:** Good policies learn as they go. they collect knowledge and fix their own mistakes (self-corrective).

Lecture 8: Improving Policy Implementation in Pakistan

- **Disseminating Policy (Spreading the Word):** Most people—and even some government workers—don't know the rules. We need to translate laws into Urdu and local languages. We should use TV, newspapers, and school books to explain them.
- **Training Implementers:** We must train the people who do the work (like mid-level officials) using easy and interesting manuals. This training should be continuous and rewarded.
- **Creating Partnerships:** The government should work together with private companies to combine their strengths.
- **Strengthening Civil Society:** Groups like NGOs need to be stronger so they can watch the government, make sure things are fair, and link citizens to the government.
- **Developing Feedback Mechanisms:** It is very important to hear what the public and the workers (like teachers) think. Their opinions should be studied and used to change how things are done.
- **Improving Implementation:** We should write down our experiences and study "case studies" to teach others how to do the job better.

Lecture 9: Rational Choice Theory (RCT)

- **Introduction:** This is a very popular theory in economics and politics. It assumes that people act like "Homo economicus"—meaning they are always calculating how to get the most for themselves. Gary Becker and Herbert Simon are famous for this.
- **Basic Assumptions:**
  - **Individualism:** Every person is selfish and wants to maximize their own benefit.
  - **Logic:** People have stable preferences and use the information they have to make the best possible choice.
- **How to Apply:**
  - **Formula:** Preferences + Rules = Outcomes.
  - **Carrot and Stick:** Governments use rewards (incentives) and punishments (sanctions) to get people to change their behavior.
- **Current Status:** This theory is used by the World Bank and IMF. It often pushes for "neoliberal" changes, which means more market power and less government spending on welfare.

Lecture 10: What is Advocacy and it is Not

- **What it is:** Trying to influence the people who make or carry out rules so that they make better choices for society. It’s about convincing the government that something needs to change.
- **Two Types:**
  1. **Normative:** Based on the Constitution or rights (like stopping child labor).
  2. **Evidence-based:** Based on facts and data.
- **Advocacy is NOT:** It is not just raising money, and it is not just telling people to be "aware." It specifically targets the people in power, not just regular individuals.
- **NGOs in Pakistan:** Groups like SDPI, Aurat Foundation, and the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan use advocacy to advise the government, run media campaigns, and lobby for new laws.
- **Success Stories:** Advocacy helped create the 2009 laws to protect women from harassment and the "Freedom of Information" laws. It also helped save the trees on Canal Road in Lahore.

Lecture 11: How to Design Policy Advocacy

- **Steps in Planning Policy Advocacy:**
  - **Decide whether to advocate:** Think about the ethics and study the situation to see if a policy really needs a push for change.
  - **Decide where to focus:** Choose the specific part of the policy that needs intervention and get the attention of the people who make decisions.
  - **Develop a support base:** Build groups of supporters, networks, and organizations to help you.
  - **Developing a proposal:** Use policy analysis to find solutions and put them into a professional format.
  - **Implement policy advocacy:** Gather the money and tools needed to start the plan.
  - **Evaluate your plan:** Collect data to see how well your project is performing.
- **Research & Skills Needed:**
  - Advocacy is a long process and can take years; research is vital to gather political info.
  - **Analytic skills:** Used to study issues, identify barriers, and design evaluations.
  - **Political skills:** The ability to use power and build strategic relationships.
- **Features of Effective Advocacy:**
  - It should be based on facts, identify clear targets (people in power), and be sustained for a long time.
  - It should use modern technology, adapt to changes, and learn from its own mistakes.
- **Measuring Effects:** It is hard to measure impact because many things happen at once. Use both numbers (quantitative) and descriptions (qualitative) for evaluation.

Lecture 12: Writing Policy Briefs

- **What is a Policy Brief?**:
  - It is a short document (2–4 pages, max 1,500 words) that presents research findings and advice to non-specialist readers.
  - It should address only one topic and suggest how a recommendation can be carried out.
- **Five Components:**

1. **Executive Summary:** 3–5 sentences giving a quick overview.
2. **Introduction:** Sets the stage for the issue.
3. **Approaches and Results:** Explains the research and what was found.
4. **Conclusion:** Interprets the data—tells the reader "what it means".
5. **Implications and Recommendations:** Explains what could happen (implications) and what *should* happen (recommendations).

- **Persuasion:** You must convince the reader that the situation is urgent and that your advice has value for them.

Lecture 13: Punjab Drinking Water Policy 2010

- **Why was it made?**: Because of water scarcity, falling water tables, pollution (arsenic), and the need to meet Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- **Key Features:** Reducing leakages, making users pay through meters (rationalizing tariffs), and involving the private sector and donors.
- **Implementation Problems:** It has been slow. There is a lot of confusion between the Physical Health Engineering Department and Local Governments.
- **Budget (2011-12):** Often only half the requested money is given, and even that is not fully spent. In 2008-09, only about 45% of the allocated funds were actually used.
- **How to improve:** Address the root causes, give local governments more power, and reduce reliance on foreign loans.

Lecture 14: Harold Dwight Lasswell

- **Who was he?**: The "Father of modern policy sciences." He was a professor at Yale and President of the American Political Science Association.
- **Three Characteristics of Policy Science:**
  1. **Multidisciplinary:** It should combine law, economics, and sociology.
  2. **Problem Solving:** It should focus on fixing real-world problems, not just academic talk.
  3. **Normative:** It shouldn't pretend to be "neutral"—it should work toward human dignity and democracy.
- **Famous Quote:** Politics is "Who Gets What, When, How".
- **Relevance to Pakistan:** His ideas help us ask how to promote human dignity and who is getting the resources in Pakistan.

Lecture 15: Institutionalism

- **Why need rules?**: Just like cricket needs umpires and rules so players don't cheat, society needs institutions (rules) so transactions can happen without fighting.
- **What are Institutions?**: Arrangements based on rules that last a long time, like family, marriage, religion, and the State.
- **Modern View:** Instead of just relying on "being a good person," we use institutional devices (mechanisms and controls) to solve social problems.
- **State Theory:** Policy is seen as the "output" of institutions. It is officially made and enforced by the government (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches).

Lecture 16: Institutions & Public Policy in Pakistan

- **Why learn this?**: Because institutions decide the rules, and you must understand how the government works to design good research.
- **Key Frameworks:**
  - **The Constitution (1973):** The fundamental law. Chapter 2 contains the "Principles of Policy" which all government bodies must follow.
  - **The President & Governors:** They organize discussions on the progress of these policies.
  - **Senate and National Assembly:** They have "Rules of Procedure" that govern how they conduct business.
- **Role of Ministries:** They suggest policies, draft bills, and—most importantly—decide the budget.

Lecture 17: Charles E. Lindblom

- **Critique of the "Rational" Model:** He argued that the idea of experts making "perfect" scientific decisions is impossible because humans have limited capacity and information is expensive (lack of time/money).
- **Polyarchy & Corporatism:** In democracies (Polyarchies), business groups often get too much power. He argued that sometimes "the masses are persuaded to ask only what the elites want to give them".
- **The Market System:** He believed markets are great for creating wealth but can't provide social justice or "non-economic" values.
- **Solution:** He pushed for egalitarianism (equality), high political participation, and an end to brainwashing citizens.

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Lecture 18: National Education Policy 2009

- **Current Problems:** High dropouts, poor quality of learning (memorizing instead of thinking), and a curriculum that doesn't fit real life.
- **History of Failure:** Pakistan has had many policies (1958, 1971, 1998, etc.), but they failed because education was never a "political priority" and there was no dialogue between different types of schools (multiple streams).
- **Key Issues:** The language of instruction (mother tongue) remains unresolved, and the system is too bureaucratized.
- **Way Forward:** Translate research into action and learn from countries like Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

Lecture 19: Trade Policy of Pakistan

- **The Concept:** Trade policy is basically "export policy." Many countries grow by trading, but Pakistan's export portfolio is very small (55% is just textiles).
- **Failure of 2009-2012 Framework:** Only 3 billion was spent out of 35 billion allocated. Human resources at the Ministry of Commerce were lacking.
- **Reforming Trade:** Experts suggest linking trade with industrial policy. We need "export incentives" and should avoid a "whole-sale opening" of imports that hurts local industry.
- **The Chinese FTA (2006):** Led to a massive increase in imports ($40bn) while exports could only pay for half of them, causing the manufacturing sector to shrink.

Lecture 20: Herbert Simon

- **Intellectual Profile:** A Nobel prize winner who combined psychology, computer science, and economics to study how people solve problems.
- **Decision Theory:** He believed policy science is all about decision-making.
- **"Bounded Rationality" (Heuristics):** Since humans have limited time and brain capacity, we don't look for the "perfect" choice. Instead, we use "heuristics" (shortcuts) to find a "satisfactory" choice.
- **Trial and Error:** His approach encourages learning through experimentation. If a shortcut doesn't work, you adjust it.
- **Advantage:** Unlike "incrementalism" (small changes), his approach encourages new and innovative solutions using tools like computers.

Summary Table (Allocations/Budget Trends)

Lecture Topic	Key Data/Table Info
Colonial Budget	40% Defense; 1.5% Social Sector (Education/Health)
Drinking Water	45% of allocated funds spent (2008-09); release vs. spending gap exists
Trade Policy	55% share is Textiles; only Rs 3bn of Rs 35bn allocated was used in 2009-12

Lecture 21: Theory in Public Policy

- **What is a Theory?**: It is like a lens or a tool that explains how things work. Knowing theory is practical because you can't fix a "car engine" (a social problem) unless you understand how it functions.
- **The Problem of "No Single Theory"**: Scholars like Paul Cairney note that no one has made a single theory that explains *all* of public policy. The world is too messy for just one simple explanation.
- **A "Mood" Not a Science**: Some experts describe public policy as a "mood" or a "craft" rather than a strict science.
- **Theory Takers vs. Theory Makers**: Policy students are often accused of just "taking" theories from other fields (like economics or sociology) instead of creating their own unique ones.
- **Is No Theory Good?**: Some scholars think it's actually better not to have a strict theory because it keeps the field flexible and focused on human values rather than cold math.

Lecture 22: Responding to Pakistan's Sanitation Crisis

- **The Massive Problem**: 50 million people in Pakistan (31% of the population) still go to the bathroom in the open. This causes the country to lose about 343 billion Rupees (nearly 4% of GDP) every year due to health costs and lost work time.
- **Why is there a Crisis?**: Local governments have stopped focusing on cleaning, community involvement is missing, and the government relies too much on expensive engineering solutions from colonial times.
- **The National Sanitation Policy**: The government promised to make sanitation available for everyone and use the "3 Rs" (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle), but they only spent a tiny amount (0.1% of GDP) on it.
- **A Success Story (OPP)**: The **Orangi Pilot Project** showed that people can solve their own sanitation problems using low-cost, self-help methods if they stop waiting for the government to do everything.

Lecture 23: Making Pakistan Healthier

- **Scary Numbers**: In 2005/06, for every 1,000 babies born, 78 died as infants. There is only one doctor for every 1,326 people, and one nurse for every 22,622 people.
- **The Cost of Getting Sick**: Over 73% of health costs in Pakistan are paid "out of pocket" by regular people, which can ruin a poor family financially.
- **Why is the System Failing?**: There is a lot of corruption, too much focus on treating diseases after people get sick rather than preventing them, and low spending on things like clean water and nutrition.
- **The Future**: Pakistan needs to coordinate better between provinces, regulate private hospitals, and provide health insurance to the poor.

Lecture 24: Dealing with Climate Change

- **Is it Dangerous?**: Yes. Recent massive floods (2010–2013) show that climate change is a bigger threat to Pakistan's survival than even terrorism.
- **Signs of Trouble**: Mangrove forests are disappearing, sea levels are rising, and birds are changing their migration patterns.
- **The Government's Response**: There is a National Climate Change Policy (NCCP), but the budget for it was actually *cut* from 135 million to 58 million Rupees in just one year.
- **What is Needed?**: Better flood forecasting, better storm drains in cities, and "resilience" (the ability to bounce back) for people living on the coast.

Lecture 25: Making Cities Work for Pakistan

- **The Urban Shift**: Cities create 78% of Pakistan's money (GDP). More than half of all city-dwellers live in just 8 major cities (Karachi, Lahore, etc.).
- **Managed Badly**: City planning is messy. Local governments don't have enough power or money to manage the growth, so they rely on the provincial government even for salaries.
- **The Housing Crisis**: Real estate is mostly for the rich. Property prices are too high, and there isn't enough land for the poor to live on.
- **The Solution**: Give full financial independence to local governments and focus on "skill development" (teaching plumbing, electrical work, etc.) so the young population can find jobs.

Lecture 26: Deborah Stone (The "Polis" Model)

- **Her Big Idea**: She argues against the "Market Model" (the idea that society is just individuals trading things to get the most for themselves).
- **The "Polis" Model**: She says society is a "Political Community." In this model:
  - **Community** is the focus, not the individual.
  - **Cooperation** is just as important as competition.
  - **Loyalty and Emotion** are what drive people, not just cold logic.
- **Critique of "Rationality"**: She thinks the "Rationality Project" (experts making all the rules) takes power away from regular people and ignores the fact that policy is always about human values and "storytelling."

Lecture 27: Investment Policy of Pakistan

- **The Problem**: Foreign investment in Pakistan is very low (less than 1% of the Asian total). Most of it goes into the "Power Sector," which costs the country a lot of foreign money.
- **The 2013 Policy**: The government opened up almost every sector to foreign investors. They are now allowed to own 100% of a business and take their profits back to their home country easily.
- **The Danger**: This can hurt local businesses, lead to "land grabs," and cause money to leave Pakistan instead of staying here.
- **Better Way**: Encourage local entrepreneurs (business starters) and "social responsibility" instead of just waiting for foreigners to save the economy.

Lecture 28: Globalization and Public Policy

- **What is it?**: Globalization is the "shrinking of distances" because of technology.
- **Changing the State**: The national government is no longer the "only" boss. Now, global partnerships and international networks also help make rules.
- **Government vs. Governance**:
  - **Government** is the organization/instrument.
  - **Governance** is the process of setting rules and managing power.
- **Hollowing Out**: Some say globalization "hollows out" the state, making it less powerful because it has to follow international trade and investment rules.

Lecture 29: Yehezkel Dror (Advising Rulers)

- **His Message**: Most world leaders are "unprepared" for the modern world. Their way of governing is obsolete (outdated).
- **The "Quantum Leap"**: He says we need to move from "State-interest" to "Human-interest."
- **Advising the "Prince"**: He has worked with over 35 governments. He says policy analysts must adjust to the psychological needs of the ruler but should *never* work for evil tyrants.
- **Capacity**: Universities and think tanks must train a new generation of leaders who have both technical skills and high morals.

Lecture 30: Aaron Wildavsky (Budgeting and Craft)

- **Budgeting is Everything**: He says, "If you can't budget, you can't govern." Budgeting is how people with different ideas agree to live together without fighting.
- **Incrementalism**: He believed in making "small changes" to the budget every year rather than trying to redo the whole thing from scratch (which causes too much arguing).
- **The Citizen as Analyst**: He didn't want the government to plan everything. He wanted citizens to "figure things out for themselves"—for example, giving school vouchers so parents can choose where their kids go.
- **Intellectual Craftsmanship**: He gave advice on how to be a good student/scholar: have a regular time and place to write, read with a specific purpose, and organize your time strictly.

Quick Data Reference

Issue	Key Statistic / Fact
Sanitation	31% open defecation; 4% GDP loss
Health	73% of costs paid out-of-pocket by citizens
Climate	Budget cut from 135m to 58m Rupees in one year
Urbanization	78% of GDP comes from cities
Trade	55% of exports are just textiles

Lecture 31: Robert S. McNamara

Biography/Context

- Robert S. McNamara.
- Harvard Business School graduate.
- Influenced by W. Edward Deming.
- Statistician: loved numbers; loved quantification.
- Everything could be expressed in numbers.
- Helped census in Japan.
- Quality/productivity revolution in Japan.
- Toyota, Fuji, Sony improved productivity, quality.

- Competitiveness, quality, lower-cost.
- Statistical process control.
- Six Sigma.
- Total quality management.
- Kaizen.
- President Ford Motor Company.
- Second World War/Financial Crisis of 1930s.
- Cold War.
- “The Social Science Weapon System”.
- “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 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)).

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

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.
- 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 causalities: 4 million.
- McNamara's son agitated against Vietnam war.

World Bank

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

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).
- 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.

Lecture 32: Helen Ingram

Think about This! Democracy in Trouble

- The Life and Death of Democracy by John Keane (2009).
- Democracy in Crisis? Politics, Governance and Policy by Yannis Papadopoulos (2013).
- Social Class, Social Action, and Education: The Failure of Progressive Democracy by Aaron Schutz (2010).
- After Tocqueville: The Promise and Failure of Democracy by Chilton Williamson (2012).
- The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives by Juan J. Linz & Arturo Valenzuela (1994).
- The Climate Change Challenge and the Failure of Democracy by David Shearman and Joseph Wayne Smith (2007).
- The Crisis of Capitalist Democracy by Richard A. Posner (2010).
- The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission by Michel Crozier, Samuel P. Huntington & Joji Watanuki (1975).
- Democracy's Victory and Crisis Edited by Axel Hadenius (1997).
- Why We Hate Politics by Colin Hay (2007).
- Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics by Mark Lawrence Kornbluh (2000).
- Democracy has hollowed out as a means of popular governance.
- Unaccountable administrators, technocrats, judges.
- Democratic deficit.
- Participatory 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.
- People believe government officers pursue self-interest.
- Governments could not solve problems of violence, poverty, gender, etc..
- Distrust of governments, politicians.

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VU Learning Hub

- Policy analysis programs ill equips, dealing with quality of democracy.
- **Policy analysis focused:**
  - Efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery.
- **Macroeconomics tools:**
  - Means-ends assessments.
- **Political science:**
  - Political feasibility and support, responsiveness of policy to citizens, implementing agencies.
- 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).
- **Advance citizenship by:**
  - Listening to, educating, and involving ordinary people.
  - Balance the interests of individuals with a concern for the collective good.
- **Why?**
  - Distributive justice, responsive leadership.
  - Not academic issues alone.
  - Rather central issues for policy analysts.
  - Contexts of policies have changing (i.e. climate change).
  - Focus on democracy gap needed.

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).
- Policy is also not an extension of culture/public opinion.
- **Policy design has consequences:**
  - Goals , Target populations , Rationales , Images , Implementation structures , Rules , Tools.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Benefits different people differently.
- Preparation academies have strong interest.

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.
- "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".
- "Meaning, in other words, is socially defined and organized and therefore is subject to social change".
- Policy is inherently normative exercise.
- 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.
- **Policy analysts should focus how the elements of design in policy impact:**
  - Framing , Constructions , Implementation , Information/transparency , Opportunities offered to citizens.

- 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“.

Lecture 33: Hugh Heclo

Biography

- Clarence J. Robinson Professor at George Mason University.
- Former Professor of Government at Harvard University.
- Fields: American national politics , Social welfare policy , Philosophy of history , Philosophy of religion and politics , Institutionalism.
- Education: George Washington University (B.A., 1965) , Manchester University (M.A., 1967) , Yale University (PhD, 1970).
- **Awards:**
  - Woodrow Wilson Award: APSA.
  - Modern Social Politics (best book of US in 1974).
  - Gladys Kammerer Award: Comparative Public Policy, 1976.
  - Louis Brownlow Book Award: A Government of Strangers.
  - Best Article Award (APSA): "The Sixties' False Dawn..." (1997).
  - Guggenheim Fellowship: 1985-86.
  - John Gaus Award for lifetime achievement (2002).

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”.
- “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; it is an analytical category.
- Its contents identified by the analyst, not by policy-maker, laws or administration.
- Critiqued “Iron Triangle” (by Ralph Pulitzer, 1919) – favored “Social networks”.
- **Graph Found: The Iron Triangle**
  - A triangle with three points: **Congress**, **Bureaucracy**, and **Interest Group**.
  - Relationship arrows:
    - Interest Group to Congress: "electoral support".
    - Congress to Bureaucracy: "funding & political support".
    - Bureaucracy to Interest Group: "low regulation, special favors".
    - Bureaucracy to Congress: "policy choices & execution".
    - Congress to Interest Group: "friendly legislation & oversight".
    - Interest Group to Bureaucracy: "congressional support, via lobby".
- Importance of personal relations among policymakers.
- Relations of mutual trust and confidence most pervasive features in explaining public policy.
- ‘Policy’ is a course of action rather than a formal program.
- Employs cognitive concepts: Interpretation, Deliberation, Learning.
- “Governments not only ‘power’, they also puzzle. Policymaking is a form of collective puzzlement on society’s behalf. It entails both deciding and knowing.”.

Issue Networks & the Executive Establishment

- Combines four analytical perspectives:
  1. **Actor-centered/Agent-based:** Interaction of individuals and organizations.
  2. **Relational:** Positive & negative ties; emphasis on middlemen and brokers.
  3. **Cultural/cognitive:** Focus on intellectual involvement; how actors learn/interpret.
  4. **Long-term:** Policy changes/shifts contextualized.
- Social structure of bureaucracy: Flows and networks of informal communication, influence, and advice are as important as formal structure.

- Networks across agencies, nonprofit, and private sectors are more central than formalized governance alone.
- Appointees and bureaucrats must build “personalized networks that honeycomb the bureaucracy” to be effective.

Thinking Institutionally

- Responding to anti-institutionalism; Americans (and Pakistanis) see institutions as oppressive/self-serving.
- Media and culture create cynicism.
- “Modern thinking inherently distrusts institutions because they are barriers and weights that impede our personal journeys toward meaning.”.
- “To think about art is not the same thing as having an artistic view of the world...”.
- Internal perspective: “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.”.
- Institutional thinking clarifies obligations to past and future.
- Heclo’s third way: Decisions made with awareness of predecessors and successors; strong appreciation for what was before and what will follow.

Integrating the Sixties

- Postmodern policymaking is:
  - Radically pluralistic.
  - Rights-based group conflict.
  - Fundamentally confrontational.
  - A multiplier of conflict.

Lecture 34: Creating New Bureaucracy in Pakistan

Reduce Reliance on Technical-Expert Knowledge

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

Change Recruitment

- Everyone may not become administrator.
- Change syllabus (recent changes not effective, e.g., public policy).
- Change assessments: Do not test memory.
- Teach Thinking: administrative, political, social.

Improve Training

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

Rationalize Work

- Work according to training and experience.
- Address overwork/underwork.
- Link promotions to performance.
- Flexibility; Encourage innovation.

Reduce Hierarchy

- Address difference between Grade 1-22.
- Take Harold Lasswell's advice: Democratize services to promote democracy.
- Deal with 'politics is a mess' attitude.
- Horizontal organization styles.

Curtail Massive Powers

- Centralization of power; power corrupts.
- Curtail sweeping powers (e.g., police).
- Diffusion of power may reduce corruption.

Lecture 35: Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

Dr. Akhtar Hameed Khan

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

Arif Hasan

- Chairman, Orangi Pilot Project, Karachi.
- Chairman, Urban Resource Centre, Karachi.
- Focus: Appropriate Technologies, Social transformations, Low-cost models.
- Question: Why successful models are not becoming culture of government?.

Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui

- Civil servant.
- Project: Saiban-Khuda Ki Basti.
- Award: Habitat Award.

Perween Rahman

- (January 22, 1957 – March 13, 2013) .
- Director of OPP-RTI, social worker, assassinated in Karachi.
- Principles: Learn from the community, Mapping and documentation, Work through activists.

Lecture 36: Amitai Etzioni

Profile

- Sociologist, communitarianist.
- Took sociology into politics, policy, social reform.
- Influenced by Martin Buber's "dialogue":
  - "I-Thou" (treating others as fellow human beings).
  - "I-It" (treating others as objects).
- Studied Durkheim's "anomie".
- Socio-economics: "better economics for a better society".
- Good society does not allow a free or unfettered market.
- 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.".

Mixed Scanning

- Rebuttal of CBA; response to Rational-comprehensive vs Incremental models.
- Mixed scanning mixture of two.
- **How to make decision:**
    1. List all alternatives.
    2. Examine alternatives.
    3. **Reject "crippling objections":**
        - Utilitarian objection (means not available).
        - Normative objections (violates basic values).
        - Political objections (violates interests of essential actors).
- Rational approach often unrealistic; Incrementalism often a bit lazy (suggests inertia).
- Mixed-scanning uses different lenses for small issues vs bigger problems.

Basic vs Policy Research

- **Basic Research (BR):** Understanding the world.
- **Policy Research (PR):** Changing the world.
- PR is private, confidential, and wider in scope.
- PR needs to be communicated in Plain English; no jargon.
- Medical science is "proto policy science" (experience-based).

Controversies

- Communitarian movement engages moral right but eschews authoritarian prescriptions.
- Addresses individual rights but links them to responsibilities.
- Balance between individual and community.
- Idea of a "good society" that nurtures virtues (revive holidays, public shaming).
- "Virtue comes from the community, not from the state.".

Lecture 37: James Q. Wilson

Motivation

- Old-fashioned conservative; studied problems of ordinary, poor citizens (crime, family, morality).
- Preferred field work and facts over ideology/philosophy.
- Wrote for popular publications (Commentary, Wall Street Journal) rather than scholarly journals.
- Liked facts/data but not quantitative analysis; statistical regression is crude for race, poverty, crime.
- Strong families and mother-infant relationships are bases of moral sense.

The Moral Sense

- Defend morality against "modern skepticism" (the idea morals are arbitrary/irrational).
- Drew on evolutionary psychology and Scottish philosophers (Hutcheson, Hume, Smith).
- Mankind has moral nature: Sympathy, Fairness, Self-control, Duty.
- Critiqued enlightenment belief that "Individuals are everything" and people should be bound only by "choices, contracts, and entitlements".

Criminology

- Work: **Broken Windows**.
- Inspired by Jane Jacobs's "eyes on the street".
- Identifying and encouraging what makes a neighborhood work.
- Influenced Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (1993-2002).

Advice for Students

- Get the facts before opining.
- Be practical.
- Root causes of social problems are elusive; policy must make do regardless.
- Be prudent with "reforms"—they often make matters worse.

Lecture 38: Peter DeLeon

Observations & Diagnosis

- Citizens feel unimportant and distance themselves from government.
- Policies fail to achieve results or deliver promises.
- Policy analysts are “effectively sequestered” from the people they help.
- Over-reliance on instrumental rationality and technocratic orientation.
- Jenkins Smith: Policy analysis may unintendedly erect barriers to participatory democracy.

Argument & Paradigm

- Relevant to Pakistan (Democracy returned, unelected technocracy governs).
- Policy sciences must accept new paradigm: Critical thinking, Post-positivism.
- Incorporation of public participation (Madisonian/Tocquevillean visions).
- Policy sciences need greater "verisimilitude" (life-likeness) and empathy.

Participatory Policy Analysis (PPA)

- Influences: Frankfurt School, Jurgen Habermas (Communicative rationality).
- Citizens deserve say; they articulate needs via "tacit knowledge".
- John Dewey: Expert-led government is oligarchy.
- Need improvement in methods of debate and discussion.
- **Methods:**
  - Citizens Assemblies (Mini).
  - Horizontal policymaking.
  - Values beyond efficiency/effectiveness (e.g., trust).
- **Example: Consensus Conference in Denmark:**
  - Select Advisory Committee (8-10 impartial members).
  - Citizens’ panel (10-20 people).
  - Experts (chosen by citizens).
  - Questions selected by citizens.
  - Final report circulated to media, public, and politicians.

Advice for Students

- Appreciate issue complexity and multiple sides.
- Accommodate different views.
- Learn from students; they teach new concepts.

Lecture 39: John S. Dryzek

Profile

- Critique of instrumental rationality: It destroys meaningful human association and is ineffective for complex problems.
- Technocracies are repressive and ill-equipped.
- Advocates communicatively rational/discursive democracy.
- Active citizenship and public discourse.

Policy Sciences of Tyranny

- Current policy analysis is consistent with a “subtle policy sciences of tyranny”.
- Lasswellian dream failed because analysis was left to technicians and systems analysts.
- Decision making about science must be democratic.
- Science for ordinary people: Ask poor people in Pakistan what research is needed.

Deliberative Policy Analysis

- Founding father of deliberative democracy.
- Representation of **discourses** as well as persons.
- Legitimacy comes from authentic deliberations by those affected.
- A defensible theory should be critical of power, pluralistic, reflexive, transnational, ecological, and dynamic.

Critical Policy Analysis

- “No individuals may possess authority on the basis of anything other than a good argument”.
- Purpose: Enlighten affectees (not elite) to empower them to resist/transform.
- **Tasks:**
  - Explicate dominant meanings; uncover suppressed/marginalized meanings.
  - Identify agents of impairment (ideologies, lack of education).
  - Equalize communicative capacities of actors.
- Uses interpretive, narrative, discourse analysis instead of logical analysis.

Lecture 40: Pakistani Policy Thinkers I

Masood Khadar Posh

- Indian Civil Service, 1941.
- Member of Hari Inquiry Committee (Agricultural lands Reforms).
- "Note of Dissent" (Hari Report): Advocated ending sharecropping.
- Advocated for use of mother tongue.

Zahid Hussain

- Aide to Quaid-i-Azam; First Governor of Central Bank.
- Chairman of Planning Commission Board (1953).
- Architect of First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60 (inspired South Koreans).
- Views: No dependence on foreign loans; prioritize everything at once is impossible; education is complimentary to economic development.
- Critiqued public administration as an obstacle to development; tendency to hide "ugly facts".

Khalifa Abdul Hakim

- Philosopher, scholar; Founder Director of Institute of Islamic Culture.
- “Khalifa Abdul Hakim, too, is Iqbal in his own way”.
- Islamic Socialism: Progressive taxation, regulated economy, social justice.
- Commission on Marriage and Family Laws (June 1955); influenced Muslim Family Law Ordinance, 1961.

Fazlur Rahman

- Director, Islamic Research Institute in Islamabad (1961-68).
- Logician and philosopher; matchless access to Classical Arabic/Persian and Western languages (Greek, German, etc.).
- "Intellectual renaissance as the most important prerequisite for Islamic revival".

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Lecture 41: Training for Policymakers

Why Train Policymakers?

- There is general dissatisfaction with leaders and rulers across administrative, business, and social sectors, but particularly in politics.
- Leaders play a crucial role in decision-making and implementation.
- While routine decisions may not make much difference, critical decisions and long-term strategies (e.g., anti-terrorism, climate change, industrialization) are significant.
- **Examples of critical decisions:**
  - Japanese automobile policy.
  - Russian decision to shift to a market economy.
- Yehezkel Dror emphasizes "Grand Policy Thinking".
- While the significance of a ruler's quality is recognized, suggesting their improvement is often considered taboo.
- Historically, rulers were trained (e.g., Alexander the Great by Aristotle).
- Even the best rulers can fail or make mistakes, making the improvement of rulers imperative.
- In Pakistan, local government decisions are needed to provide vision to regions.
- Improving grand policy crafting qualities is a high priority.
- Training in value clarification and goal setting is essential as policies are value-based and goal-directed.

Cognitive Capacities

- Policymakers must be able to judge research and policy advice.
- "Raison d'humanite": The capacity to understand and "weave" the future.
- Grand policies reduce the probability of a "bad future" and help in coping with the unforeseen.
- Recognizing that the "wisdom of the past may be the stupidity of the future".
- Focus on accepting reality and "cogitation".
- **References:** Mahathir Muhammad, Anwar Ibrahim, Lee Kuan Yew.

Knowledge Capacities

- Study of political philosophers: Machiavelli, Plato, Al Farabi, Ibn Khuldun.
- Modern influences: Arthashastra, Zahid Hussain.
- Skills in reading, skimming, and analyzing.
- Importance of "thinking in history".
- Technical understanding: Budget analysis and understanding the economy.
- **References:** Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Muhammad Iqbal, Feroz Khan Noon.

Political Capacities

- Assessment of political feasibilities to ensure only doable actions are taken.
- Forging political and social alliances and appreciating diversity.
- Use of "Socratic dialogue" for self-clarification of values.
- Engaging in dialogue with religious and cultural minorities.
- **Reference:** Senator Raza Rabbani.

Institutional Capacities

- Grand policies involve institution building, structural changes, and drafting of laws.
- Building new governance structures (e.g., Regional local government associations).
- Integrating markets through collective action of chambers and local governments.
- **Reference:** Senator Raza Rabbani.

Risk and Problem Solving

- Developing "steering capacity" and responsiveness to problems.
- **References:** Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir Muhammad.

Lecture 42: Postmodernism and Public Policy

Modernist Public Policy

- **Modernism Characteristics:** Science, reason, secularism, progress, economic development, individualism, managerialism, objectivity, and neutrality.
- Modernity represents a break with pre-modern tradition.
- Public policy is seen as a "project of modernity" to assist the state in social engineering for development.
- **Qualities:** Universally valid, grand, totalizing (metanarratives), and based on linear progress and absolute truths.
- **Modus Operandi:** Rational planning of ideal social orders with significant power given to experts using natural science methods.
- **Effectiveness:** It is becoming obsolete as it alienates citizens, creates distance from government, and ignores history and lived experience.

Postmodernist Public Policy

- **Postmodernism Characteristics:** Chaos, pluralism, culture, superstition, and happiness.
- Represents a break with modernism and positivism.
- **Qualities:** Locally valid narratives, traditions, and aspirations; "progress" is not necessarily needed.
- **Modus Operandi:** Deliberative, communicative, and collaborative planning.
- Communities lead policy debates using methods of literature and democracy.
- Replaces expert-led analysis with "citizens analysis" and networks.
- **Effectiveness:** Seen as empowering and democratizing.

Studying Postmodernist Public Policy (Key Texts)

- *The Myth of Scientific Public Policy* by Robert Formaini (1990).
- *Seeing Like a State* by James Scott (1998).
- *Postmodern Public Policy* by Hugh T. Miller (2012).
- *Reframing Public Policy* by Frank Fischer (2003).
- *Planning for a Postmodern Era* by SE McClilan (2012).

Future of Postmodern Policy

- Identity-based claims on public policy.
- Environmental and climate change movements.
- Addressing social problems amidst a lack of resources and limits to economic growth.
- Concern over the legitimacy of government.

Lecture 43: Collaborative Planning

Why Study Planning?

- Planning is used for control, order, and goal achievement.
- **Infrastructure in Pakistan:** Planning Commission, P&D Departments, Development Authorities, and Local Governments.
- **Achievements:** Pakistani planning models influenced South Korea and Malaysia.
- **Criticisms:** Planning often favors the rich; failures are frequently attributed to "rational planning" models.
- **The Collaborative Solution:** People shaping their places together.

History of Collaborative Planning

- Origins in the 1990s as a response to the crisis of classical rational planning theory.
- **Influences:**

    - John Dryzek: Communicative and deliberative democracy.
    - Patsy Healey: "Planning through debate".
    - John Forester: The "turn" in planning theory.
- It is a hybrid of communicative theory and sociological institutionalism.
- Rooted in "Postpositivism" (rejection of mechanical science models).

Studying Collaborative Planning (Key Texts)

- *Planning with Complexity* by Judith E. Innes and David C. Booher.
- *The Craft of Collaborative Planning* by Jeff Bishop.
- *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* by Patsy Healey.
- *Beyond Consensus* by Richard D. Margerum.

Collaborative Planning in Pakistan

- Expectations for local governments to lead planning efforts.
- Mention of the **Integrated Strategic Development Program 2035 (ISDP-2035)**.
- Necessity to change the culture of government.
- Reference to Arif Hasan's skepticism: Why successful local models aren't adopted by the state.

Lecture 44: Making Policy Work

Making Policy Work?

- A decision is just a decision, not an outcome; implementation is not the result.
- States require **Capacity**, **Strength**, and **Direction** to be effective.
- **Key Scholars:**
    - Joel S. Migdal: *Strong Societies and Weak States*.
    - Atul Kohli: *State-Directed Development*.
- Simply making and implementing policies is not enough; one must learn how to make them "work".

Policy Tool: Law and Regulation

- Hard to rely on because laws often fail, have high costs, and are rarely fully implemented.
- "Selective enforcement": Agencies choose which laws to enforce, a problem that grows as regulations expand.
- Effective regulation is a "meta-problem".
- Fines and severe punishments rarely change behaviors or fight crime effectively.
- **Alternative:** Restorative justice has better chances of success.

Policy Tool: Public Spending & Taxation

- High spending does not guarantee good outcomes; wastage is common.
- Outcomes depend on governance arrangements, not just inputs.
- **Example:** In Kenya, more inputs did not produce better educational outcomes due to lax examinations or measurement problems.

Policy Tool: Bureaucracy

- Often fails to produce outcomes because bureaucrats resist change.
- Bureaucrats fail to see implementation through "outsiders' eyes" due to vested interests in power, prestige, and money.

Policy Tool: Institutions

- Can be effective for speedy decisions, timely responses, and aggregating public knowledge.
- Centralized institutions are considered worse for decision-making.
- **Reference:** Arend Lijphart on "Consociational democracy".

Conclusion on Making Policy Work

- Overreliance on any single tool is counterproductive.
- Law faces legitimacy problems; Finance can "crowd out" altruistic or voluntary motivation.
- Institutions are superior devices but take a long time to develop.

Lecture 45: From Theory to Theorizing

Troubles of Theory

- Theory is often viewed as abstract, difficult, useless, or the opposite of "practical".
- Students often learn theory but do not know how to apply it.
- Public policy theory is currently less developed than its methods; theoretically interesting articles are uncommon.
- The gap between method and theory can be reduced by focusing on **theorizing**.

Theorizing

- **Definitions:**
  - Theorizing is the **process**; theory is the **product**.
  - To theorize means to engage in the activities required to produce a theory.
- Students should theorize their own empirical work rather than just knowing others' theories.
- Theorizing is a skill and a craft that should be done in unison with observation.
- C.W. Mills: A scholar should be their own theorist and methodologist, using "sociological imagination".

Ways and Rules of Theorizing

- **Methods:** Induction, Deduction, Generalizing, Model-building, Analogies, and Abduction (Charles Peirce).
- **Basic Rules:**
  1. **Observing:** Following Auguste Comte’s concept of "Mental Hygiene".
  2. Developing tentative explanations.
  3. Naming, conceptualizing, and using metaphors.

⚠ Important Disclaimer

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Mix Herbs

Herbal Shampoo

- Natural care for stronger, healthier hair
- Helps reduce hair fall
- Nourishes scalp
- Sulfate-free



Hibiscus Shampoo

- Promotes hair growth
- Adds natural shine
- Helps reduce dandruff
- Sulfate-free



Herbal Oil

- For long & shiny hair
- Nourishes scalp
- Helps strengthen hair roots
- Non-greasy formula



Rose Water

- Refreshes & tones skin
- Helps soothe irritation
- Natural glow
- Suitable for all skin types

Herbal Soap



- Gentle cleansing
- Keeps skin fresh and smooth
- Enriched with herbal ingredients
- Suitable for daily use



Glowra Ubtan Powder

- Natural glow for face & skin
- Helps in tan removal
- Supports even skin tone
- Made with 14 skin-loving herbs

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Gentle care from nature.

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Safe for you and the environment.

Better Results Than Chemical Shampoos
Visible, natural and effective results.

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